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A Map of *CANAAN* according to Dr. *LIGHTFOOT*. *Page* 1.

At the End,

Five Tables
I. Of Scriptures illuſtrated, explained or reconciled.
II. Of ſome places of Scripture differently read from the ordinary Tranſlation.
III. Of Authors or their Works quoted.
IV. Of Hebrew and Greek words explained.
V. Of Principal Matters or Things, Alphabetically digeſted.

AN

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THE Publiſhers Epiſtle Dedicatory and Preface.
A Map of the City of *JERUSALEM* drawn according to the AUTHOR'S Chorography. *Page* 2[illegible].

At the End,

A Chorographical Table or Deſcription of the ſeveral places contained and deſcribed in the Two Volumes of Dr. *Lightfoot's* Works, by Mr. *John Williams.*

Five other Tables
- I. Of Scriptures illuſtrated, explained or reconciled.
- II. Of ſome places of Scripture differently read from the ordinary Tranſlation.
- III. Of Authors or their Works quoted.
- IV. Of Hebrew and Greek words explained.
- V. Of Principal Matters or Things Alphabetically digeſted.

TO THE

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS

AND

High-born Princeſs

MARY

PRINCESS OF

ORANGE, &c.

MADAM!

WHEN my unhappy Circumſtances obliged me to retreat from Your *Highneſſes* Perſon and Service, it ſoon came into my mind what engagements I remained ſtill under, to teſtifie, as I had occaſion, my ſincere and Profound Reſpect and Devotion to both; And that although I could not enjoy the Honour and Happineſs of a near attendance, yet I ſhould never think my ſelf emancipated and at liberty. The rare Goodneſs and Sweetneſs of Your Temper and Behaviour; The exemplary Piety, Virtue and Prudence of ſo exalted a condition have ſo powerful an influence upon all who approach Your

 Highneſs,

Highneſs, that nothing but a perfect inability can hinder them from ſerving You without any other reward than the honour and ſatisfaction of its performance and acceptance.

Perſons of our Garb and Profeſſion have ſeldom any better way of ſignifying our reſpect than a Book, ſometimes our own, ſometimes anothers; of the former I had none ready, of the latter it hath happened I had no contemptible one under my hand: A Divine of Your *Highneſſes* own Country, A Son and Dignitary of the Church of *ENGLAND*; In one ſort of Learning the moſt knowing perhaps of any Man in *Europe*, and the moſt enquired after in the Country where Your *Highneſs* now reſides of any *Engliſh* Divine. Inſomuch that moſt of theſe *Engliſh* Works are (as I am informed) Tranſlating into Latine by ſome of our own Country-Men here and in *Holland*, as his Latine ones are here in *England* now Tranſlated into *Engliſh*. Theſe laſt, with ſome pieces in *Engliſh* never before Printed, are Collected into a Second Volume and with the firſt humbly beg the honour of admiſſion into Your *Highneſſes* preſence. This will ſtill more confirm Your *Highneſſes* own Obſervation and the proof of Your *Highneſſes* own Cloſet, that no one Country hath and doth ſtill more abound in Learned, Pious, Judicious, writing Divines, than *ENGLAND*. In Talking, Noiſe and Geſture, perhaps they may be equallized or out done.

Not that I will anſwer for all, or perphaps a great number of Notions and Obſervations of the Author (that's enough to do for ones ſelf): Some things were written when young; Some things were the Syſtematical and received Opinions of the Times;

Times; But, generally ſpeaking, as many uſeful and peculiar Notions are to be found in this Author as in moſt other.

I am not unſenſible that although the Author be in *Engliſh*, yet not only the meanneſs but alſo the unſuitableneſs of ſuch a Preſent to Your *Highneſs*, being ſo full of *Hebrew* and Chronological Learning, may ſeem to want excuſe enough: But firſt the greateſt part of this Volume is the whole Hiſtory contained in the Scriptures, the moſt Venerable and Valuable for Antiquity, Certainty, Variety, Rarity and Uſe of any extant; and that ſo well Methodized and laid together, according to order of time, as to make it very eaſie and pleaſant. And then for the *Hebrew*, as all other the Learned Languages, they are generally rendred into *Engliſh*, except the unuſualneſs of the Writing, or the Emphaſis of the Phraſe, or ſome other ſuch cauſe hinder. Finally for the Chronological part, The great Condeſcenſion and moſt obliging Freedom with which Your *Highneſs* is pleaſed to Treat thoſe who have ſerved You in my Quality, have given me opportunity enough to know ſo much, as not to doubt of Your *Highneſſes* capacity to underſtand and make uſe of it when You pleaſe. Beſides the Dedication of this Authors Works thus Reviſed and Corrected to ſo Great, ſo Judicious and exemplary a Patroneſs of the Church of *England*, and ſo Illuſtrious an Ornament to it by Your Practiſe, ſeems a convenient expiation for (I had almoſt ſaid) the innocent fault, or the unhappy miſtakes of the Author in that kind; having through an exceſs of miſguided Gratitude prefix't the Name of one of the Worſt of Men (free Confeſſion may ſooner gain pardon) to one of the beſt of his pieces.

I am

I am not here to detain Your *Highneſs* any longer than with the addition of my unfeigned and unceſſant Prayers for the improvement of thoſe excellent Qualities already attained in ſo great a degree by Your *Highneſs*, of Religion, Virtue and Prudence, the proper Characters of great Minds who are to fill great Places; the Continuance and Preſervation of Health; the Bleſſing of Poſterity in Gods due time; the Encreaſe of all Proſperity here, and the Immortal reward of Pious and Virtuous Souls hereafter. Theſe I am ſure have the concurrence of all who have had the happineſs of knowing any thing of Your *Highneſs*; But are more eſpecially due from him who hath had the Honour and Benefit too of attending Your *Highneſs* in Holy things, and ſtill retains the juſt Ambition of ever continuing

Your Highneſſes

Moſt Devoted and

Moſt Humble Servant

GEORGE BRIGHT.

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

ALthough this very Learned Author's Epiſtles and Prefaces to many of the Engliſh pieces contained in this Volume may ſave me much the labour of a general Preface to them all: Yet it may be convenient to add ſomething concerning the uſe of this kind of Learning, the Author himſelf, and theſe Engliſh Tracts of his.

AS for the Firſt, the Reader muſt not expect a Treatiſe about it in a Preface to Anothers Book: But only ſome brief ſuggeſtions for the direction and encouragement of the Studious; that the Author might not ſeem to have employed ſo much time and tedious labour too fruitleſly in Writing; nor my ſelf ſomewhat of both in Reviewing, Correcting and Publiſhing what is here preſented to him. There ſeems to me two chief Points of a more comprehenſive Wiſdom, the one is juſtly to eſtimate and prize the ſeveral parts of Knowledge, and that principally from their *uſefulneſs*; not ſo much from their Antiquity, their being eſteemed and cultivated perhaps by great Perſonages, or the like ſlight and pedantique conſiderations, any further than as they are ſigns or arguments of the former: The other is to underſtand the inclinations, capacity and ability of any perſon for one or more of them. Theſe two things are principally to be obſerved by thoſe who apply themſelves to any ſtudy (and indeed to any imployment) in making their choice: Which is in it ſelf of greateſt uſe and importance, and which a perſon can make moſt progreſs in; what is beſt in it ſelf, and what he can beſt do. If any thing be of no good uſe or advantage, it is not to be undertaken at all; if a man wants ability or capacity for it, it is not to be attempted by him. Although there be truly great difference between the ſeveral ſorts of Science in reſpect of their value; yet there is hardly any which hath not its uſe, and oftimes much more than the ignorance, or envy, or faſhion, or humor of an Age will allow.

There are four things which our Author hath been very diligent and laborious in, and where we may be conſiderably benefited by the Reading of theſe Tracts. I. The Chronology of the Holy Scriptures. II. Their Chorography. III. Their Original Texts and various Verſions. IV. Talmudical and Rabbinical Authors.

First, For Chronology, it is nothing but the knowledge of the Relation and the existence of things one to another, before, with or after; and particularly with the conversions and situations of the Sun and Moon, *i. e.* years, months, weeks, days, as being the most constant and the most universally known. Though the time of a things existence may be and frequently is characterized by the existence of other things likewise, nor is it so easie to define what is the first measure of time. But this is not so much to our purpose. The uses of the knowledge both of the times of writings, and of their matter or contents, are very considerable, and in short these among others. First, From thence we collect many other circumstances, and consequently a more full and adequate knowledge of things; such as place, Authors, qualities, conditions, persons to whom, reasons why, and twenty others: Whence it frequently helps to the discovery of the true writing in an Author, or of its meaning and sense; and in prophane and fallible writings, the truth or falshood of things themselves therein delivered. Instances of the former are numerous in the Scriptures, (for as to the latter, the truth of what is delivered therein, we are secure). As in *pag.* 80. of the ensuing Volume, according to our Author, the sense of למלכות לאסא *i. e.* of the Kingdom of *Asa* (2 *Chron.* XVI. 1.) in the thirty sixt year, of which *Baasha* King of *Israel* is said to come up against *Judah*, is not his *personal* but his *National* Kingdom, if I may so call it, not *his* Reign, but the Kingdom of *Judah* in opposition to that of the ten Tribes, since their division. This appears from the Chronology or computation of *Baasha*'s reign, who is said 1 *Kings* XV. 33. to begin it in the third of *Asa*, and to continue it but twenty four years, that is, to the twenty seventh of *Asa*; and this according to all the translations too. *Baasha* therefore could not come up against *Israel* in the thirty sixt of *Asa*'s reign being understood of his *personal* reign or Kingdom. Wee'l take leave to argue from the Chronology of the Scripture, especially where all Copies and Translations agree, notwithstanding the assertions and conjectures of the late famous Critick, ★ *That no exact Chronology* (*what for no time?*) *can be stated upon the Authority of these Books*; till he lays surer foundation for his Opinion, and more particularly explains it. However this and other following instances are proofs and illustrations of what use Chronology may be; although the integrity and truth of the present writing in the Hebrew Copies be only supposed not proved. Thus also *Omri*'s beginning to reign over *Israel* twelve years in the thirty first year of *Asa* King of *Judah* according to the Hebrew Text, and all the Versions must have the sense which Chronology will there allow. *vid. Harmony of the Old Testament, pag.* 81. In *p.* 87. *Ahaziah*'s being forty two years old when he began to reign, 2 *Chron.* XXII. 2. and *Jehojachin* eight years old, 2 *Chron.* XXXVI. 9. must be otherwise rendred than it usually is to make it consistent with Chronology, supposing no error in the Hebrew Text. But both the Greek and Oriental Versions in the first place, having the number twenty two or twenty instead of forty two; and in the other place, the Oriental Versions having eighteen instead of eight, makes it probable that there is a mistake. *Grotius*'s confident assertion concerning the reading of *Isa.* 7. 8. *viz.* that in the Hebrew it should be שש וחמש i. e. *six and five*, not ששים וחמש *sixty and five*

★ *Pref. to Crit. Hist. of Old Testament.*

five (though this laſt agree with all the verſions too) and conſequently that it was to be *ſix and five* or *eleven* years, not *ſixty and five* to the time when *Ephraim* ſhould be no people, to the taking of *Samaria* and captivating the ten Tribes; I ſay this aſſertion of his is to be rejected (however otherwiſe that place is to be interpreted) becauſe it is inconſiſtent with Chronology as well as for other reaſons. For this Propheſie muſt be in the third year of *Ahaz* at the furtheſt, becauſe it was in the time of *Pekah* King of *Iſrael*, when he invaded *Jeruſalem* with *Reſin* King of *Syria*. *Ahaz* began to reign in the ſeventeenth year of *Pekah*'s twenty years reign, 2 *Kings* XVI. 1. and therefore could be contemporary with him but three years at moſt. But now from *Ahaz*'s third year to the taking of *Samaria*, which was the ninth of *Hoſea* King of *Iſrael*, was eighteen years, not eleven as *Grotius* would have it. Even to the beginning of the ſiege it was fifteen years. For *Hoſea* began to reign in the twelfth of *Ahaz* (2 *Kings* XVII. 1.) there is nine years; and *Samaria* was taken in the ninth of *Hoſea*, there is nine more. The reaſon of *Grotius*'s miſtake, we read in the 2 *Kings* XV. 30, viz. *that Hoſea ſlew Pekah, and reigned in his ſtead.* This he takes to have been immediately after *Pekah*'s death, which is not neceſſary. And it appears from the other computation, that there was an *Interregnum* in the Throne of *Iſrael* ſeven years; or at leaſt that *Hoſea* was not accounted to reign, as our Author hath obſerved. The reaſon of which he probably conjectures to have been that *Shalmanezer*, the *Aſſyrian* King, had conquered him and his Kingdom, and kept them for about ſeven years; afterwards he permitted him to govern as his Tributary, or *Hoſea* by force reſcued himſelf from that ſubjection. Our Author in *pag.* 104. makes the ſame obſervation ſerviceable for the methodizing and explaining *Iſa.* I. 9. and XIV. 28. Once more the moſt probable reading of that known place, *Exod.* XII. in the *Samaritan* Text and *Alexandrine* Copy of the Septuagint is determined by Chronology. A number of other places there are both in the Propheſies and Epiſtles eſpecially, beholding to the knowledge of the time both of their writing and matter for their meaning; As on the other hand oftimes the matter is a Character of the time.

The proof of the completion of Propheſies by Chronology is a matter of great importance, to aſſure us that there hath been ſuch a thing as *Revelation* in the World, by one of the greateſt Miracles the prediction of contingent futurities. As that of the habitation and ſervitude of *Abraham* and his poſterity in *Canaan* and *Ægypt* four hundred years, a round and even number for an uneven and more particular; a thing ſo uſual in the Scriptures, that the Rabbins have made a rule of it in the interpretation of them. And the number four hundred and thirty recorded *Exod.* XII. is an argument of no deſign in the Writer or Compiler of the Pentateuch to make the Propheſie and its Completion exactly agree; but that he ſet down, as he receiv'd by writing, tradition, or Inſpiration. Remarkable alſo are indeed the Propheſies of the pollution of *Jeroboam*'s Altar, about three hundred and fifty years after the prediction, by *Joſiah* offering up the Prieſts of *Baal*, and burning mens bones upon it; 1 *King.* XIII. 2, 23. That of *Daniel*'s ſeventy weeks or four hundred and ninety years from the going out of the Decree to the coming of the Meſſiah; That of the 70 years *Babylonian* Captivity; The expreſs

argument on the other ſide. That famous place of difficulty, *Exod.* XII. 40. *The ſojourning of the children of Iſrael who dwelt in Egypt was four hundred and thirty years*, would be juſtly ſuſpected of defect from the *Samaritan* Text, and *Alexandrine* Copy of the Seventy, though there was no evidence from Chronology. Both of which have it, *The ſojourning of the children of Iſrael, and of their Fathers in Egypt and Canaan:* and even the *Roman* edition, of the Seventy, adds *the land of Canaan* to *Egypt.*

In old *Jacobs* Propheſie concerning his youngeſt ſon *Joſeph*, *Gen.* XLIX. 22. The *Samaritan* Text confirmed by the Seventy ſeems much the better reading than the *Hebrew.* In the *Hebrew* it is בְּכוֹתִצְעֲדָה עָלֵי שׁוֹר Which our *Engliſh* tranſlation renders, *whoſe branches run over the wall.* But indeed according to the preſent punctation it can hardly be conſtrued: But in the *Samaritan* Text it is ܦܪܝܬ ܗܘܬܝܬ and in the Seventy υἱός μου νεώτατος, i. e. *Joſeph my youngeſt ſon:* which alſo well anſwers that in the prediction concerning *Reuben*, verſ. 3. *Reuben my firſt born.* In *Gen.* IV. 8. The agreement of the *Samaritan* Text and Verſion, the *Syriack*, *Septuagint*, *Vulgar Latine*, for the interpoſition of נלכה השרה (as it is in the *Samaritan* Text) i. e. *let us go into the field*, in the ſpeech of *Cain* to *Abel* (beſides the word ויאמר *and he ſaid*, neceſſarily requiring it, and a void ſpace left in the *Hebrew* Copies) makes it extreamly probable that thoſe words are really wanting in our preſent Books. As for the great difference of the intervals, or ſum of years, from the Creation to the Flood, and from the Flood to *Abraham*'s birth, which is between the preſent *Hebrew*, the *Samaritan* and the *Septuagint*, I leave it to Chronologers. This is not a place to diſpute it.

That there are alſo many Errata's and faults in many places of the preſent *Hebrew* of ſingle letters, both conſonants and vowels (I mean the ſounds, not the characters of vowels, which without doubt are very late) cannot reaſonably be denyed by one unprejudiced, as principally from other arguments, ſo from one or more of the Verſions. I do not allow of all the Examples produced by Learned Men, and ſome of them as much partial on the other hand, and almoſt ſpiteful againſt the *Hebrew:* But I think ſome inſtances are juſt and reaſonable. As to ſingle out one or two, *Pſal.* II. 9. we read now in the *Hebrew* תְּרֹעֵם i. e. *Thou ſhalt break them with a rod, or rather a ſcepter of Iron:* But in the *Septuagint* and in the *New Teſtament*, as *Rev.* I. 27. it is ποιμανεῖς αὐτοὺς *Thou ſhalt feed or rule them:* to which agree all the other tranſlations except the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe. Whence we have very likely reaſon to believe that they did read it תִּרְעֵם in the *Hebrew*, which ſignifies, *thou ſhalt feed, govern, or rule them.* It is true the ſenſe of both readings is much the ſame, and therefore the variety of no great conſequence. For the ſame reaſon it is probable that in *Hoſ.* XIII. 14. the true reading of the *Hebrew* formerly was איה *where are*, which St. *Paul* follows, 1 *Cor.* XVI. 55. not אהי *I will be thy Plagues O Death.* Though the conjecture of the very Learned Dr. *Pocock*, obſerved alſo by *Buxtorf* in his ordinary Lexicon, concerning a Metatheſis or tranſpoſition of the letters י and ה be ingenious. But I confeſs his citation of the *Chaldee* Paraphraſt, *verſ.* 10. of the ſame Chapter is ſo far from proving it, that it might as well argue another defect in the *Hebrew* of the ſame kind; and that there alſo the

Not. Miſc. ad po. mos. cap 4.

The Paraphraſt as well as the Vulgar, and all the reſt of the tranſlations, did read in the *Hebrew* formerly, איה *where* not אהי *I will be*. Nor I doubt is there one example of אהי by a *Metatheſis* ſignifying interrogatively. And yet *Buxtorf* in his Lexicon before cited, only upon the Authority of theſe two places, hath given us this new word אהי for *where*. Our *Engliſh* Tranſlation following the preſent *Hebrew* hath more truly rendred it, *O Death I will be thy Plagues*; *and I will be thy King*. For nothing more ordinary than for the future tenſe of the Verb, היה to be written defectively with an *Apocope*. Again *Amos* 9. 12. there ſeems to be three words otherwiſe read by the *Septuagint*, and followed by St. *Paul*, *Act*. 15. 16. than is now extant in the *Hebrew*, which much alters the ſenſe; for ירשו *they ſhall poſſeſs* the *Septuagint* read ידרשו *they ſhall ſeek*; for את the Article of the Accuſative Caſe אותי *me*; and for אדום *Edom* אדם *Man or Mankind*. The *Septuagint*, and out of them the *Arabick* reading one way; the *Chaldee*, *Vulgar Latine*, and *Syriack* reading another; leave it uncertain which is the right unleſs it can be determined by other means,

Theſe things are now almoſt known to every body, and are brought here only for inſtances with ſome little additional obſervation.

Moreover it may not be amiſs to take notice that the punctation of the preſent *Hebrew* is not always accurate. This is apparent enough as from many other Anomalies not mentioned by the *Maſora*; ſo alſo from many proper names otherwiſe written in the Verſions, and that according to their own Analogy of the Hebrew Tongue. As בִּלְעָם שִׁנְעָר in the Seventy Βαλαὰμ and σεναὰρ and ſo likewiſe in the Vulgar: whence it is moſt likely theſe words ſhould have been pointed בִּלְעָם שִׁנְעָר As כְּנַעַן with pathach not ſcheva before the guttural.

And to add this upon this occaſion; It hath been nothing but meer ſuperſtition, I concieve in the Modern Jews, and perhaps in the more ancient even beyond the time of the Seventy, to put the vowels of אדני *Adonai* under יהוה *Jehovah* the proper Name of the God of *Iſrael*. For it ſeems to me more likely that this proper Name of God was pronounced, becauſe it frequently made a part of mens names both in the beginning and ending. As in יְרְמְיָהוּ וְשַׁעְיָהוּ (to be pointed as יִרְבְעָם יְכָנְיָהוּ not יִרְמְיָהוּ as it is falſly in our *Hebrew* Bibles) יְהוֹנָתָן &c. vulgarly written, *Iſaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Jonathan*. Nor is it leſs probable that the true punctation of this proper Name יְהוָה *Jehovah* as now pointed was anciently יַהְוֶה *Jahavoh*, As שְׁלוֹמֹה יִצְחָק יַעֲקוֹב &c. But this by the bye for a little digreſſion. Another uſe and benefit of the ſeveral Verſions of the Scriptures is oftimes to ſuggeſt to us ſome ſignifications of phraſes or words which otherwiſe we ſhould not have thought of. Thus *Iſa*. xxviii. 16. In the Hebrew we read חמאמין לא יחיש which our *Engliſh* Tranſlateth, *He that believeth will not make haſt*: But the Seventy render it ὁ μὴ καταισχυνθεὶς and St. *Paul Rom*. ix. 33. ὁ καταισχυνθήσεται *ſhall not be aſhamed*, and the *Chaldee* Paraph. לא יזדעזעון ſhall not be troubled or diſturbed, and the *Syriack* לא נרחל ſhall not fear. Now from theſe different Tranſlations it may not be unlikely that the *Hebrew* word may ſignifie all theſe four ſenſes, eſpecially being of ſo near an alliance one to another; though in our modern interpretations we take notice but of one. Which is rendred ſomewhat more probable by that very learned Orientaliſt Dr. *Pocok*, who tells

Not. Miſcell. ad port. Mſ cap. 1

tells us the *Arabick* verb *Hauſch* anſwering to the *Hebrew* חוש ſignifies three things, *viz. to haſt, to fear, to be aſhamed.* And in the *Heptaglott Lexicon* of the indefatigable Dr. *Caſtle*, now the worthy *Arabick* Profeſſor in *Cambridge*, who with the loſs almoſt of his Senſes, Limbs and Eſtate, undertook that laborious Work; and underwent a great part of the toil in the edition of the *Engliſh Polyglott Bible* (ſuch is too often the fate of Learned drudgery) I ſay in this Lexicon appears four or five more ſignifications. But as to this laſt, It ſeems I confeſs that the arguing from the various ſignifications in one Tongue, to the like in another, may be too much relied upon. For what is more ordinary than for people in a little Tract of time by reaſon of many accidents to change the ſignification of words, and to give others; and for one Country who firſt borrowed a word from another, to add more ſenſes and oftimes quite to loſe the firſt. As for example, The word *concieve* hath many ſignifications in Engliſh different from thoſe of *Concipio* in Latine, from whence it is derived. Nor doth *infælix* in Latine ſignifie both *unhappy and miſchievous*, becauſe *unluckie*, in Engliſh, which anſwers to the Latine *infælix* ſometimes ſignifies both. Nor do the French words *Trier* and *Craquer* ſignifie any other thing that I remember at this day, than *to pick or chuſe, or cull*, and *to ſhake or quake*, not to *try, attempt, make an eſſay*, or *to boaſt*; Though the Engliſh words to *try*, and to *crack* do, which are derived from thoſe French words. Nor finally doth the word *Letten* in Dutch ſignifie Contraries, *viz.* to *hinder* and to *permit*, becauſe the Engliſh word to *lett*, which anſwers to it doth: of which Dr. *Pocock* takes notice (*loc. cit.*) as one inſtance of a word ſignifying contraries amongſt many others of other Languages. No more will it follow that צעיר in *Hebrew* is ἀναπόσπαστον of two repugnant ſignifications, becauſe the *Arabick* ſometimes tranſlating it according to ſome of their Lexicographers is of that kind.

I know that the Engliſh to *lett*, ſignifying to *permit*, comes from the Dutch word *Belaten* not from *letten*; but the word *lett* in Engliſh ſignifying to *hinder*, is written with the ſame letters, and anſwers to the Dutch *letten* in one ſenſe, whence one might infer that *letten* in the Dutch ſhould have the ſame ſignifications. But I fear I ſhall almoſt tyre my Reader before I come to that I principally deſigned, which was the beneſit and advantages of Talmudical and Rabbinical Learning, the chief talent of this learned and laborious Author.

This kind of ſtudy hath now flouriſhed in theſe Weſtern parts about the ſpace of one Century, and ſomewhat more; But at preſent begins (as it ſeems) to be neglected and laid aſide, partly becauſe it is thought that the beſt of it is already extracted and prepared to our hands, by the hard and aſſiduous labours of many both Learned and Judicious Men, (in which may be much miſtake) partly becauſe it requires much time and pains not attended with ſuch ſecular Advantages as other Studies more eaſie and delightful. Since its reſtauration it hath had ſomewhat the fortune of Chymiſtry, and hath been by degrees inſpected, improved and uſed not only by men of whimſey, memory, or vanity, but by the more Wiſe, Judicious and Philoſophical. Many of both ſorts have given us a large account and examples of the great uſefulneſs of it: perhaps beſides ſome more inſtances of what they have obſerved I may

ſuggeſt

ſuggeſt or more inſiſt on one or two which they have not taken ſo much notice of.

Firſt then, The very knowledge of the opinions and cuſtoms of ſo conſiderable a part of mankind, as the Jews now are, and eſpecially have been heretofore, is valuable both for pleaſure and uſe. It is a very good piece of Hiſtory, and that of the beſt kind, *viz.* of *Humane Nature*, and that part of it which is the moſt different from us, and commonly the leaſt known to us. And indeed the principal advantage which is to be made by the wiſer ſort of men, of moſt writings, is rather to ſee what men think and are, than to be informed in the Natures or Truth of things they write of; To obſerve what thoughts and paſſions have run through mens minds, what opinions and manners they are of. Particularly it is of good importance here to take notice of the ſtrange ignorance, the putid fables, the impertinent trifling, the ridiculous diſcourſes and diſputes, the odd conceits, the fantaſtical obſervations and explications, the childiſh reaſonings, the groundleſs arrogance and ſelf-conceit, the ſuperſtitious temper of this people univerſally, except *Maimonides* and one or two Modern more Philoſophically given, who yet had enough of it too. The very Spirit of Hypocriſie, Weakneſs, Pride and Superſtition, which our Saviour and the Prophets, thoſe illuſtrious Preachers of inward and real Righteouſneſs, of a ſolid and intelligent Piety and Virtue, reproved and inveighed againſt in their times, runs ſtill generally through their writings. It appears yet by them, how blindly or hypocritically they prize the ſmaller matters of their Religion and their own additional circumſtances beyond the weightier and more important. They make a great noiſe of their being Gods peculiar people, in ſpecial Covenant with him; of the Divinity of their Religion, and the *jus Divinum* of all their little inſtitutions and non-ſenſical myſteries, eſpecially of their *Cabbala*, either from the groundleſs and whimſical interpretation of ſome command of their Law, or from uncertain or falſe tradition; when in the mean time they little mind the great end and deſign of what is true and uſeful in them. They will diſpenſe with Charity and Humanity it ſelf, to obſerve their own deciſions, while they think it lawful to compaſs the Death of an Iſraelite, who wears Linſey-woolſey, and unlawful to take up a Heathen out of the Sea ready to periſh. They talk as if God were ſo enamoured of their Anceſtors, and doted on their poſterity, that he made the World only for their ſake; and thought himſelf ſtill ſo obliged to them for their honour they do to him, by preferring and chuſing him and his Laws, and Religion, before others; that he muſt needs be their Protector and Saviour, nor ever ſuffer one of thoſe his dear people to periſh or ſcarce come to any harm. This is a diſeaſe in all Religions, and but too ready to creep into the beſt of Religions, Chriſtianity it ſelf. Which hath ſo expreſly diſcover'd, and ſeverely condemned it, in the fooliſh Hypocrites of the Moſaical Religion, to which it ſucceeds. We may further alſo obſerve how much the Jews and other Oriental people, are given to ſtrange, uncouth and ſtrong imaginations, eſpecially about intellectual things, like the Pythagorean's and Platoniſts, who had their Learning and Notions from the Eaſt and the South: which as it hath its uſe for invention and diſcovery, ſometimes of more than what ever enters into the thoughts of the dull generality

of mankind; ſo it is a great diſadvantage of nature too, ſtuffing the mind with a great many impertinencies, follies and falſhoods, and that believed with great pertinacity, unleſs it be managed by the ſupreme faculties of underſtanding, reaſon and judgment. After all this a man may meet with ſome opinions among them, either by chance or Tradition, and many Inſtitutions, Rites and Laws, with the explication and application of them, which may be good hints to Wiſer Men. Though I have been generally inclinable to believe that the moſt of the conſiderable Doctrines among them, about intellectual matters in Divinity and Philoſophy, As concerning the Nature and Attributes of God, ſome things of the Meſſia, the nature and orders of Angels, of the Holy Spirit, and Divine preſence (רוח הקודש and שכינה) of the Reſurrection of the dead, the Immortality of Souls and their ſtates after death, of the firſt and ſecond death, of a kind of Purgatory, of the day of judgment, of original ſin, *&c.* of ſome of which there is ſome account in the *Theol. Jud.* of *Du Voiſin*; I ſay, I have been always prone to think that the Jews, eſpecially the Modern, ſuch as *Ramban*, *Raſi*, *Saadia*, *Kimchi*, *Abarbanel*, *&c.* have received them though inſenſibly, and not known to themſelves, and with ſome mixture and interpolation of their own from Heathen and Chriſtian Philoſophers, Fathers, Schoolmen, who firſt taught them and ſet them about in the World. I have ſaid the *moſt* not *all*; and this I think I could make probable in many particulars, if this were a place for it. But this is enough for the firſt Advantage.

A ſecond uſe of the Talmudical and Rabbinical Authors, may be the confirmation of the Hiſtory of our Saviour *Jeſus* the true Meſſias. That there were ſuch perſons as *Jeſus* and his Diſciples, who lived in ſuch a Country, and in ſuch an Age, that he performed ſuch actions, and delivered ſuch diſcourſes, that there was ſuch places, opinions, cuſtoms, practices, publick and private, in that time. For the Jewiſh Writers, who then lived or not long after, and others from them make mention of theſe matters of fact, they report to us ſuch uſages and rites among themſelves, they relate and diſcuſs ſuch opinions and controverſies; Their ſtile and phraſe is perfectly the ſame with that of the Evangeliſts, nay much of the matter too, ſuch as Proverbs, Parables, Similitudes. Now what confirms or weakens the credit of an Hiſtory in ſome particulars doth it in all the reſt; for the oftner any one relates things truly or falſly, the more probable it is he may do ſo again. Were it not in our own Tongue I ſhould think it almoſt ſuperfluous to give but an inſtance or two, out of many of our own obſervation, there being ſo great a number already produced by our Author, and other Learned Men, to commend and encourage this ſtudy. How like to that of our Saviour, in his Sermon on the mount, *Matth.* VI. 25. and *Luke* XII. 22. *Therefore take no thought for your life, what ye ſhall eat, or what ye ſhall drink*, &c. is that, in the *Babylonian Talmud*, in the *Gemara* of the Treatiſe *Sota*, *fol.* 48. *col.* 2. ר"א הגדול אומר כל מי שיש פת בסלו ואומר מה אוכל למחר אינו אלא מקטני אמנה

i. e. *'Twas a ſaying of Rabbi Eliezer the elder, That whoſoever having one morſel in his basket, enquires what he ſhall eat on the morrow, he is no other than one of little faith.* ὀλιγόπιστος. This ſame ſaying is quoted by our Author, in his *Horæ Heb.* but at the ſecond hand, out of *R. Abuhabb's* Preface to *Menorath Hammaor*. And again, *T. B. kidd. in Miſn. Miſn.* 14.

בצער

דם מתפרנסין שלא בצער אני שנבראתי לשמש את קוניאינו ין שאתפרנס שלא בצער. i. e. *Shall the Beaſts and the Fowles be fed without ſolicitous care and trouble, and ſhall not I who am created to ſerve my Maſter and Maker?* Again, *Matth.* X. 35, 36. Our Saviour tells his Diſciples, *That he was come to ſet a man at variance againſt his father, &c.* We meet with the very ſame Tradition almoſt in the ſame words, *T. B. cap. 9. miſ.* 15. The citation is too long to be all recited. It begins בעקבות משיחא חוצפא to this purpoſe, *That about the time of the Meſſias, impudence ſhould abound, &c.* and then a little after בן מנוול אב בת קמה באמה כלה בחמותה אויבי איש אנשי ביתו. *The ſon ſhall revile and ill treat his father, the daughter ſhall riſe up againſt her mother, and the daughter in law againſt the mother in law, and a mans foes ſhall be they of his own houſhold. R. Judah* tells the ſame ſtory in *T. B. Sanhed. fol.* 97. *Col.* 1. Although theſe unwonted things ſeem to be ſpoken by theſe Rabbins, not as the conſequents or effects, but as the immediate precedents of the Meſſias coming. Some of the moſt notable parables of our Saviour, in the Goſpels, we meet with them, the very ſame or very like, with ſome few alterations in their *Talmuds*. That of the rich glutton, *Luke* XVI. in *T.B. Gem. Berac.* That of the Labourers in the Vineyard, *Matth.* XX. in *T. H. Gem. Berac.* That of the Marriage feaſt, and the wiſe and fooliſh Virgins, *T. B. Gem. Schab.* 153. Theſe tranſlated by *Cunrade Otho*, are already cited by *Sheringh.* In his Preface to *Codex Joma.* The laſt of which is looſely and ill rendred, with additions and omiſſions, for the better explication and accommodation of it to the Text of the Evangeliſt. Furthermore, how exactly true doth that reproach of our Saviour to the Scribes and Phariſees appear, *Matth.* XXIII. 3. from their own diſputes and deciſions, in *T. B. Maaſ. Miſn. cap.*4. *Miſ.*5. our Saviour pronounceth a wo againſt them for their greater care and accuracy, in paying Tythe, of Mint, Anniſe and Cummin, than in Judgment, Mercy and Faith. Their great Doctors and Wiſe Men, in the place cited, make it an important queſtion, whether Anniſe (which they call שבת) ſhould give Tythe of its ſeeds, leaves, ſtalks or ſprouts altogether (as I ſuppoſe). *R. Eliezer* was of opinion that it ought: but the Wiſe Men (חכמים) who always carry it, judged that nothing was to be Tithed in its leaves and ſeeds, but only השלחים וגרגר *Naſturtium & Eruca*, which ſome Engliſh *creſſes and rocket.* Scores of places might be here ſet down which have not been taken notice of by other Authors: nor was it worth their while always to do it, unleſs very briefly to indicate ſuch a cuſtom or phraſe, and the places in their Authors where for curioſity or exerciſe they may be found. And to keep my ſelf within the bounds of a Preface, I will here together juſt note many places in the *Talmuds* where there is mention made of our *Jeſus*, that the learners or learned may conſult them at their leiſure: Moſt of them are to be found ſcatteringly in *Buxt. Lex. Talmud.* only we muſt obſerve that partly out of ignorance, partly out of malice, they have mixed many fooleries and falſities with what is true. In *T. B. Sanh. Gem.* 43. 1. It is delivered as a Tradition, *that Jeſus was hanged (upon a Croſs) the day before the Paſsover, becauſe he had enchanted, ſeduced and drawn away the people; that it being proclaimed three days for ſome perſon to appear in his behalf, to teſtifie his innocence, there was none found to do it; that he was* קרוב למלכות *regno propinquus*, i. e. either of the Royal Family or in favour with ſome Courtier; *that there*

was five of his Diſciples (the names except one agree not with ours) *who pleaded they were not to be put to death.* Again, in the ſame Treatiſe, *fol.* 101. 2. and in *Sot.* 47. 1. they ſay, *Jeſus uſed enchantments and ſorceries*; and they tell a ſtory of his going into *Ægypt* with one *Joſhua* ſon of *Perachiah*, and that he was excommunicated by *R. Symeon.* The reſt of the places are *T. B. Avod. Zar.* 17. 1. and in thoſe which ſpeak of בן סטרא an Apoſtate. By whom *Buxtorf* and others think they covertly mean *Jeſus.* As *T. B. Sanhedr.* 67. 1. *Schab.* 104. 2. and *T. H. Sanhed. cap.* 7. about the end. It were eaſie to fill many ſheets more under this head: but theſe are abundantly ſufficient for inſtances of this ſecond uſe of Talmudical and Rabbinical skill. The Reader alſo in peruſing this Volume will find a multitude of paſſages and obſervations to this purpoſe, and particularly *Chap.* 9,10. *Of the Temple Service:* and *Sect.* 77. *Of the Harmony of the New Teſtament.*

To theſe ought to be added the known benefit and advantage of the interpretation of many places of the Old Teſtament, concerning the Meſſias; the rendring more probable even to Chriſtians, and the eſtabliſhment of many Chriſtian Dogms againſt the Jews, denied by ſome, or many, or almoſt all the later of them, from Authors and Writers of greateſt Authority in their account. As to this laſt point againſt the the Jews, it matters not ſo much of what Authority they are in themſelves, (though ſome may be allowed them) or from whence they had their opinions. Such are for example, the time of the Meſſias coming, the excellency of his Nature, the greatneſs of his Power, that he was to be a Spiritual Prince, to have Spiritual Power againſt Satan, and to turn him and wicked men into Hell; yet a Calamitous, Afflicted and Deſpiſed Perſon, though highly Meritorious, the Juſtification of men for his ſake, his ſatisfaction by his Merits for the ſins of penitents, &c. I do not ſay that what we meet withal among the Jews, eſpecially more ancient, is exactly the ſame with theſe Chriſtian Doctrines; but that at leaſt it is ſo like, and comes ſo near them truly and intelligibly explained, that they have reaſon to be fairly diſpoſed to the belief and reception of them.

And, Firſt, I will very briefly put together (that I take in as much as I can into this Preface) many Scripture interpretations, eſpecially of the Ancients, concerning the Meſſias, to which many more may be added. *Iſa.* I. 6. *His Name ſhall be called Wonderful, &c. Maimonides* in his אגר' תימן confeſſeth theſe ſix Names to belong to the Meſſia, conſtruing the words as we do. So doth *ABen Eſra.* But *R. Lipman*, *R. Selomo* and *D. Kimchi* make another conſtruction, *viz.* that the mighty God, the everlaſting Father, &c. ſhall call him (the *Child*) Wonderful, *&c. Iſa.* XI. 1, 2. *and there ſhall come forth a rod out of the ſtem of Jeſſe*, &c. The Gemariſts in *T. B. Sanh.* 93. 2. and *Maiem.* in his אגר' תימ and the *Chaldee* Paraphraſt interpret it of the Meſſia, *Iſa.* LII. 17. *Behold my ſervant ſhall deal prudently, he ſhall be exalted*, &c. Tanch in Jalkut underſtands it of the Meſſias, and *R. Houna* in the ſame place refers the fifth *verſ.* of *Chap.* 53. *He was wounded for our Tranſgreſſions* to the afflictions of the Meſſias. That whole Propheſie is generally by the Antients interpreted of the Meſſias; though *R. Saadia*, and *ABen Eſra*, whom *Grotius* thought good to follow, refer it to *Jeremy*; and the *Kimchi*'s, *R. Solom*, and *ABarbanel*, with

with much leſs reaſon or ſenſe, to the people of *Iſrael. Iſa.* XI. 10. *To it ſhall the Gentiles ſeek.* In *Bereſ. Rabb. fol.* 110. it is ſaid to be meant of Meſſiah: So indeed do all the Jewiſh interpreters. *Iſa.* II. 4. *And they ſhall beat their ſwords into plow-ſhares, &c.* it is ſpoken of the times of the Meſſias in *Jalk.* out of *T. B. Schabb. Zech.* XI. 12. *And they weighed for my price thirty pieces of Silver. R. Chanian,* and *R. Jochanan in Bereſ. Rab.* are of opinion that thoſe thirty pieces were thirty new precepts, which the Meſſias was to bring with him, whence would follow ſome change in their Law. Though there are there who object that thoſe thirty precepts are to be given to the Gentiles, not to the Iſraelites, as the *Scholiaſt R. Iſſachar* there interprets it. *Zech.* XII. 10. *And they ſhall look upon me whom they have pierced* (which place I think may be better rendred to ſecure it againſt the Grammatical objection of the Jews) *R. Douſa in T.B. Succ.* 52. 1. will have it meant of the Meſſias the ſon of *Joſeph. Mich.* V. 2. *Out of thee ſhall he come forth unto me, that is to be ruler in Iſrael.* The *Chaldee Paraph.* tells us this is the Meſſia. *Buxt.* in his *Lex. Talm.* gives us above ſixty places where the *Chaldee Paraphraſts* mention the Meſſias: Many or moſt of which interpretations or alluſions being fantaſtical, and not owned by any Chriſtian Expoſitors, who have handled the Scripture with Judgment and Sobriety, are impertinent to our purpoſe. Although I fear I have already cloyed the reader with the firſt ſort of citations, yet I muſt beg his patience a little while, for one or two more of the ſecond, *viz.* thoſe that belong to the eſtabliſhment and more eaſie reception of ſome Chriſtian Dogms. That Gloſs of *Tanchuma in Jalkut* on *Iſa.* LII. 13. a place juſt before mentioned is now quoted by every body. The words of the Prophet are הנה ישכיל עבדי ירום ונשא וגבה מאד i. e. *Behold my ſervant ſhall deal prudently, he ſhall be exalted, and be extolled, and be very high.* That ancient Author gloſſeth, i. e. ונשא. זה מלך משיח ירום מאברהם ממשה וגבה ממלאכי השרת שנ' וגביהם גבה להם *This is the King Meſſias, He ſhall be exalted above Abraham, extolled above Moſes, and high above the miniſtring Angels; For it is ſaid,* (Ezek. I. 18.) *As for their heights or backs, there is a height above them.* I know in the *Hebrew* this laſt ſentence brought for proof, may and ought to be otherwiſe rendred: But it is ſufficient to my purpoſe that the ſenſe muſt be as I have tranſlated it, according to this ancient Author, becauſe otherwiſe it proves not the thing for which it was quoted. Now that which is principally obſervable is that by the *living creatures* in *Ezekiel.* This Author and others underſtood the ſupreme order of Angels (of which they make ſeven) called חיות הקודש *or holy animals,* and by גביהם which we tranſlate *rings,* they *backs,* they mean their *dignity:* and yet they ſay there was גבה להם *a height or dignity above them,* which was that of the Meſſias; and therefore that he was next God the fountain of being: And why not then that he did from eternity emane or iſſue from him. This Doctrine of this ancient Author is directly contrary to the opinion of *Majemonides,* who tells us, that the dignity or eminency of the Meſſias ſhould be greater than that of all the Prophets except *Moſes.* But nothing can be more agreeable to the firſt Chapter of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* and eſpecially to the 7. & 14. verſes; and indeed this Chapter, and the beginning of St. *Johns* Goſpel, and the Epiſtle of *Jude,* and many things in St. *Johns* and St. *Peters* Epiſtles, in the *Apocalypſe* and elſewhere, have ſo much

of

of a Cabbaliſtical ſtrain, both as to matter and phraſe, that the Jews methinks ſhould have a kindneſs for them, if it were but only upon that account. I ſhould here ſcarce mention ſo whimſical a Writer as *Baal Hatturim*, who ſeems to attribute at leaſt the formation of the Chaos to the Meſſias; did not our Learned Author, in his *Harmony of the New Teſtament*, tell us that the ſame is to be met withal in *Zohar* and *Bahir*, two of the moſt eſteemed books among the Jews. Upon the words, &c. רוח אלוהים מרחפת *the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters*, Gen. I. 2. that Author notes, זה היא רוחו של משיח This was the Spirit of the Meſſias. Nor is that Tranſlation and Paraphraſe of the *Chal. Paraph. Iſa.* LII. 13. to the end of Chap. LIII. now I ſuppoſe leſs commonly known, where Juſtification or Remiſſion of ſins is ſo plainly aſcribed to the interceſſion of the Meſſias. *Chap.* LIII. 4. &c. בכן על חובנא *Therefore he ſhall pray for the remiſſion of our ſins, and our iniquities ſhall be forgiven for his ſake*; and *verſ.* 6. & 7. In the *Chaldee*, &c. כלנא כענא i. e. *we all of us have been ſcattered like Sheep, every one ſtrayed and wandred in his own way: But it hath ſeemed good to God to forgive us all our ſins for his ſake, he prayed and was heard, nay before he opened his mouth he was accepted.* It may indeed be ſome doubt whether the Paraphraſt by this, *He*, who ſhall interceed, underſtands the *Meſſias* or ſome other; becauſe thoſe things which are ſpoken from *verſ.* 13. of *Chap.* LII. to *verſ.* 4. of *Chap.* LIII. He ſeems to mean them confuſedly, ſometimes of the Meſſias, and ſometimes of the people of *Iſrael*, as many of their modern Authors do: But the doubt may ſoon be reſolved by obſerving, that he attributes remiſſion of ſins to the ſame perſon, of whom he ſaith, *That he ſhall gather the captivity of Iſrael, and ſhall ſend the wicked to Hell:* But this cannot be meant of the people of *Iſrael*, and conſequently it muſt be underſtood of the Meſſias. Nor is it any wonder that the Jews ſhould do this honour to the Meſſias, when they give ſo great a part of it to their Anceſtors, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, &c. The *Jeruſalem Targum*, *Gen.* XXII. 14. introduceth *Abraham*, deſiring of God that when the children of *Iſrael* ſhould addreſs themſelves to him in time of neceſſity, he would remember *Iſaac*'s voluntary oblation of himſelf to be a ſacrifice (for ſo they think it was) and pardon them and forgive their ſins. And in *T. B. Ber.* 7. 1. there is one *Rabi* who interprets thoſe words in *Daniel*'s prayer, *Dan.* IX. 17. *for the Lords ſake*, בשביל אברהם i. e. for *Abrahams* ſake. But the plaineſt and cleareſt place to this purpoſe, as if it had been written by a Chriſtian under the diſguiſe of a Jewiſh ſtyle, is extant in a book of great repute among the Jews for its Antiquity (Though for ſome reaſons I conjecture the Author lived after *Mahomets* time) called *Peſikta*. It is quoted in *Jalkut* on *Iſa.* LX. 1. *Buxtorf.* hath already given us this place largely tranſlated into Latine, in *Arc. fœd. cap.* 14. I'le here ſet down as little as may be of it, for brevity ſake, with an obſervation or two. התחיל הק"בה מתנה עמו וכ' *God beginning to make a Covenant with him (the Meſſias) thus beſpake him. Thoſe whoſe iniquities are hid with you, will put you into an iron yoke, with which they'l make you like an heifer almoſt blind with labour, and ſtrangle you; for the cauſe of their iniquities your Tongue ſhall cleave* (with grief and drought) *to the roof of your Mouth. Do ſuch things as theſe like you?* To which the Meſſias anſwers, *Perhaps thoſe afflictions and ſorrows may laſt for many years.* God tells

tells him, *That he had decreed him to ſuffer them for a whole week of years, but if he did not conſent thereto he would preſently remove them.* To whom the Meſſias returns, *That he would moſt willingly undergo them upon condition that not one Iſraelite ſhould periſh, but that all of them ſhould be ſaved. Thoſe who lived and dyed in his days, thoſe who were hid in the Earth, thoſe who were dead ſince Adam, even all embryo's and untimely births, finally all who had been or ſhould be created.*

Are not theſe expreſſions very near the Chriſtian Doctrine of the Meſſias ſuffering for the ſins of all mankind, or of Chriſts being a propitiation for the ſins of the whole World? Only theſe true Jews according to their wonted uncharitableneſs and arrogance, reſtrain the benefit to themſelves. Again the ſame Author *Peſikta* tells us, *That it is a tradition of their Maſters, that in the month Niſan their forefathers are to riſe up and ſay to the Meſſias, O Meſſias, Although we are your Anceſtours, yet thou art more excellent than we, becauſe thou haſt born the iniquity of our ſons, and harder, and heavier afflictions have paſſed over thee than ever yet happened or ſhall happen to any man, &c. Is it your pleaſure that our children ſhould enjoy the benefits which God will beſtow upon them? For peradventure becauſe thou ſuffereſt even from them while they caſt thee into priſon* (he came unto his own and his own received him not, *John* I. 11.) *thou mayſt be leſs favourable unto them.* To whom the Meſſias anſwered, *That what he had done, he had done it for the ſake of them and their children.* What's all this but what the Chriſtians teach, that the Meſſias was to be a perſon deſpiſed ('tis there one inſtance of his condition) afflicted and cruelly uſed even by his own Kindred and Countrymen? It is true, in the ſame place of the ſame Author, we have two traditions likewiſe of the victorious, pompous, ſplendid and proſperous ſtate of the Meſſias at laſt: but they are different traditions of different perſons, the one of *R. Iſaac*, the other of *R. Simeon.* And then ſuppoſe they had been of the ſame perſons, yet ſtill the Meſſias was to have been a man of mighty ſufferings; and no marvel if they withal retained their inveterate Opinion of his temporal Power and Greatneſs. In the ſame place, a little before, they feign a ſhort Colloquy (according to their faſhion) between God and Satan; where God tells Satan, *That the light which he ſaw under his Throne of Glory belonged to him, who ſhould in time confound him with ſhame; and that Satan when he ſaw it fell down and trembled, crying out, that He truly was the Meſſias, who was to caſt him and all the Heathen people into Gehenna. For this purpoſe was the Son of God manifeſted* (ſaith St. *John* I.3,8.) *that he might deſtroy the works of the Devil.* Much more might be obſerved and tranſcribed in this quotation, and many more inſtances might be brought: but I am to remember I am writing a Preface not a Treatiſe.

But laſtly, The principal uſe of Talmudical and Rabbinical Authors is yet behind, namely the right interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, eſpecially of the New Teſtament. Inſpired writings are an ineſtimable treaſure to mankind; for ſo many ſentences, ſo many truths, but then the true ſenſe of them muſt be known; otherwiſe ſo many ſentences ſo many Authorized falſhoods. Whatever therefore contributes to the finding out of that, muſt in proportion be valuable. And no greater help to do it with eaſe, ſpeed and plainneſs, than the knowledge of the phraſes,

Phraſes, Opinions, Laws, Rites and Cuſtoms, as well as other circumſtances of the Jews at the time of thoſe writings. This appears from the great and frequent ignorance or miſtakes of many both ancient and modern interpreters, who had as great a ſhare of piety, parts and wit, and other ſutable qualities as other men, but wanted this aſſiſtance; and even *Jerom* and *Origen* who had the moſt skill would have done better if they had had more of it. In this age all Commentaries are full of this kind of Learning, and none hath more frequently, and perhaps to better purpoſe made uſe of it than this our laborious and learned Author. I will only here, as I have done in the particulars before, add an inſtance or two out of many of our own obſervation, and put an end to this ſhort eſſay of the utility of oriental Learning. In *Matth.* XII. 36. the ῥῆμα ἀργὸν or *idle word*, for every one of which our Saviour ſaith men ſhall give an account (he doth not ſay ſhall be condemned or puniſhed) may perhaps be of the ſame importance with that which the Talmudiſts and Rabbins call שיחה בטילה i. e. the talk of thoſe who are idle, at leiſure, have little to do; ſuch as is uſed among people in ordinary converſation when they meet together. As what news? How doth ſuch a perſon? Or the like. Even this may be well or ill done, prudently or fooliſhly; and therefore even of this an account will be required. See *Maiem. Comment. in Pirk. Av. cap.* 1. That of our Saviours promiſe, *Matth.* XVIII. 20. *Where two or three are gathered together in my Name, I will be in the midſt of them*; is well parallel'd and illuſtrated by the ſaying of *R. Chaninah Pirk. Avo. cap.* 3. שני יושבים ויש ביניהם דברי תורה שכינה ביניהם *If but two together employ themſelves in the Law, the Shechinah or divine preſence will be among them*; the like alſo *T. B. Ber.* 6. 1. That of St. *Mark* XIV. 56. concerning the falſe witneſſes againſt our Saviour, *that their witneſſes agreed not together*, ὅτι οὐκ ἴσαι may be ſomewhat explained by the cuſtom we read of in *T. B. Sanh. Miſn. cap.* 5. they uſed to put ſeven queſtions to every one of the witneſſes apart; namely in what Jubilee or ſpace of forty nine years any thing was done, in what year of that Jubilee? What month? What day of the month? What day? What hour? What place? If the words of the witneſſes agreed not, the Teſtimony was called עדות בטילה or an idle Teſtimony which was to no purpoſe, if they did agree it was עדות קימת a firm and effectual Teſtimony. And a ſomewhat more obſcure ſaying of our Saviour to the Samaritan woman, *John* IV. 14. *Whoſoever drinketh of the water that I ſhall give him, ſhall never thirſt, but the water that I ſhall give him ſhall be in him a well of water ſpringing up into everlaſting life.* This may receive light from a like ſaying in *in pir Avo. cap.* 6. נותנת מלכות לו וממשלה וחקר דין ומגלים לו רזי תורה ונעשה כמעין שאינו פוסק וכנהר מתגבר והולך i. e. *The Law gives him that ſtudies in it a Kingdom, Dominion, Sagacity in judgment, revelation of its ſecrets, and becomes to him like a never ceaſing fountain, and mighty flowing river.* The קורת רוח ב"עה i. e. *the refreſhment of Spirit in the World to come*, of which *R. Jacob* (*in pir Av. cap.* 4.) pronounceth that *one hours enjoyment is more worth than a whole life in this World*, is very like St. *Peters* καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως, *the times of refreſhment which ſhall come from the preſence of the Lord, Acts* III. 19. The Apoſtles advice, *Cor.* I. 8. to abſtain from things offer'd to Idols; was in compliance with thoſe Brethren who thought it unlawful from a Jewiſh Canon. *T. B. Avod.*

בשר הנכנס לע"א מותר והיוצא אסור מפני שהוא מובחי המתים *Avod. zar. Miſ. cap.* 2. *It is lawful to eat of the fleſh which is carrying into an Idols Temple, but not of that which comes out, becauſe it is of the ſacrifices of the dead,* i. e. to inanimate Idols or to dead perſons. That place of 1 *Cor.* XI. 10. where St. *Paul* commands the women to cover their heads in praying, *becauſe of the Angels*, would have given Criticks and Expoſitors no trouble, if they had obſerved that the Apoſtle alluded to, and allowed of, the received opinion of the Jews concerning Angels being preſent, and that with curioſity in ſome humane affairs of importance, but eſpecially in Religious matters. We may learn thus much and ſmile into the bargain from what we read concerning *R. Joſhua* and *R. Joſe* the Prieſt in *T. B. Chag.* 14. 2. 'Tis this, ר' יהושע ור' יוסי הכוהן היו מהלכין בדרך אמרו אף אנו נגדש במעשה מרכבה פתח ר' יהושע וגרש ואותו היום היה תקופת חמוז נתקשרו שמים בעבים ונראה כמין קשת בענן והיו מלאכי השרת מתקבצים לשמוע כבני אדם שמתקבצים בחומוטי חתן וכלה׃

To this ſenſe. *As R. Joſhua and R. Joſe the Prieſt were walking together they ſaid one to another let us diſcourſe of the Mercavah or Chariot* (that is the Metaphyſical part of their Cabbala or traditional myſterious Philoſophy, ſo called from the viſion of *Ezekiel* where they think it was myſtically taught) *R. Joſhua began* (*and it was upon the day of the Summer Solſtice*) *preſently the Heavens were covered with clouds, and there appeared a kind of a Bow in a cloud, and the miniſtring Angels were crowding to hear as men uſe to do at the ſolemnities of the Bridegroom and Bride.* This ſtory will not fail to bring to our minds that of St. *Peter* 1. I. 12. εἰς ἃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι. *Into which things* (the matters of the Goſpel) *the Angels deſire to look into.* Which makes me a little wonder at the opinion of our Author, *pag.* 303. ſo well verſed in thoſe Books, that by the *Angels* are meant the *Devils* making a bait of the beauty of the women to entangle the Eyes and Hearts of the men. Perhaps he hath changed his opinion in his notes upon the Epiſtle to the *Corinthians* which I could never yet ſee. He that reads in the *Chaldee Paraph.* commonly called *Jonathan's* on the Pentateuch, *Gen.* XXXV. 25, 26. That the Angels uſed to meet together at certain times to praiſe God vocally; and in the ſame *Targ.* as alſo in the *Jeruſalem*, how the Angel which wreſtled with *Jacob* deſired him that he would let him go becauſe that very morning was his firſt courſe from the Creation with others to laud and praiſe God; He that reads the long ſtory of *R. Chaninah* and *R. Kaſma.* in the *Medraſchim* Printed with *Zohar, fol.* 46. *pag.* 2. *col.* 2. concerning the Angels *Aza* and *Azael* (עזא & עזאל) who murmuring and rebelling againſt God, and by him tumbled down from his holy place, and then clothed with aiery vehicles, playing pranks with women, were bound with long Iron chains to the mountains of darkneſs; I ſay he that reads theſe, cannot but refer them to 1 *Cor.* XIII. 1. *The Tongues of Angels*; and 2 *Pet.* II. 4. *The Angels that ſinned and were caſt down to Hell and delivered into chains of darkneſs*; and *Jude* verſ. 6. *The Angels which kept not their firſt eſtate, but left their own habitation, he hath reſerved in everlaſting chains under darkneſs.* I have put as many things together here as I could conveniently, and could add much more. But it is time to put an end to this part of our little diſſertation, and to draw to a concluſion of the whole.

But his reflection upon the Proteſtants in another place wants either judgment or ſincerity; where when he hath ſhewed, as he thinks, the very great difficulty in tranſlating the Holy Scriptures, he infers the great ignorance of the Proteſtants, or the little pains they have taken in finding out their difficulty, when they affirm that the Word of God contained in the Scriptures is plain and not at all intricate. But what Proteſtant ſaith ſo? They ſay indeed, that the matters neceſſary to ſalvation are plainly contained in the Scriptures; which in my opinion is ſo certain and eaſie a truth, that neither he nor any other will be able to confute it; and for my part I am ſo far from believing that all neceſſaries to ſalvation are not plainly contained in the Scriptures, that I think both they and a multitude of not neceſſaries too (though of great uſe) are there plainly to be found. Yet I am not ignorant what they have ever ready to object againſt Proteſtants.

Hiſt. Crit. *lib.* 2. *cap.*14. And for his explication of *Authentick*, viz. *A faithful Copy which one cannot ſuſpect to have been altered.* It is not only *equally* (as himſelf honeſtly acknowledgeth) but *much more* applicable to all the Modern Latine and Vernacular Tranſlations than to the Vulgar Latine, a great part of which no body can tell what it is or whence it comes. For the preſent Hebrew Copy it ſelf, though it may have its defects: yet without doubt coming infinitely nearer the true firſt Original, as himſelf confeſſeth, than the Vulgar Latine, muſt be a more faithful Copy, and conſequently more *Authentick*. And then all the Modern both Latine and Vernacular Tranſlations, though they have their faults, not every where truly rendring the Hebrew, yet more agreeing with the preſent Hebrew than the Vulgar Latine, as every one knows, they muſt be more faithful Copies, and conſequently more *Authentick* too.

Defence of the Crit. Hiſt. *p.*57. And in effect the reaſons of the ingenious *Pariſian* Divine, who is ſo well pleaſed with this Notion for the *Authentickneſs* of the Vulgar Latine, are only becauſe the Council of *Trent* hath ſaid ſo; and thoſe of Father

Hiſt. Crit. *lib.* 2. *cap.* 14. *Simon* an unreaſonable ſuſpicion of all other Tranſlations from the *Hebrew*, and the long uſe of it for ſome Centuries in a corrupted ignorant Church.

It is pretended for the reputation of that Council by this *Critique*, *Bellarmine* and others, who were too Learned not to ſee the advantage of Proteſtants againſt the Romaniſts by this Decree; that the Conncil did not intend either to exclude the preſent Hebrew, or to prefer the Vulgar Latine before it. But either the contrary is true, or elſe they were ſtrangely negligent in a moſt important affair which they ſhould have firſt ſetled, *viz.* the beſt Verſion of the Holy Scriptures. Otherwiſe why did they not appoint ſome of their own to review and correct the Latine Tranſlation of *San. Pagn.* from the Hebrew, encouraged by *Leo* the tenth, or elſe to make a new one and a better? Beſides the words of the Decree, *in publicis lectionibus, diſputationibus, prædicationibus & expoſitionibus pro Authentica habeatur, & ut nemo eam quovis prætextu rejicere audeat vel præſumat.* Can infer nothing leſs than that every one ſhould be bound, either quite to neglect the Hebrew and conſequently to exclude the uſe of it, or elſe whereſoever they found the Vulgar Latine differing from or contrary to the Hebrew, yet to ſtick to the Vulgar Latine; and what is this but to prefer it before the other?

This

This methinks is a conſiderable inſtance of the indefenſibleneſs and wilfulneſs of ſome of the opinions of the Roman Church. Wherefore this Learned and induſtrious Critick follows the preſent mode of *France* to make the moſt plauſible and tenable explications of their received Dogms; which for my part, ſuppoſing they be not only plauſible but true, ſhall have not only my permiſſion but commendation. But that they have been always the general ſenſe of their Church, or though true, ought to be impoſed upon all Chriſtians as conditions of Communion; the one I do not always believe, the other I do not by any means allow. I am glad to ſee ſuch effects of the increaſe of ſolid knowledge amongſt a people more ingenious, free and generous, that they are aſhamed ſomewhat of follies and falſhoods though too ancient and too much Authorized.

This Writer indeed is Learned and hath much conſidered the task he undertakes; but all is not extraordinary, and all that is ſo is not perhaps true. For very many things are now commonly known, and many obſervations concern the Pontifician or the more early reformed Criticks and Commentators, altogether ignorant or indifferently skilled in Oriental Learning, nor gotten out of the prejudices of an infallible Church or more modern Syſtems, not then to be queſtioned without the ſuſpicion of Atheiſm or Hereſie. Many alſo are his remarques, which though they have the hap now firſt to appear in publick, yet they have been taken notice of by many among the Proteſtants, who have not been ſo forward to publiſh them, but choſe rather to reſerve them to longer conſideration. And in general I think it may be obſerved that that Learned Genius, that free, judicious and ſerious Spirit, in Philoſophy, Morality and Religion, which hath of late ſhewed it ſelf amongſt the French, hath been much earlier and more propagated among us here in *England*; if it be not again oppreſſed or diſcouraged by confidence, ſuperſtition and intereſt. For I look upon *Roman* Catholicks, till lately in *France*, under too much reſtraint, and the reformed generally under too much employment, and both under too much prejudice to make any conſiderable diſcovery or improvement in Science, Religion and Learning. In fine, as there is in this ingenious and new Critick many unuſual and uſeful remarks, ſo he will give occaſion for, and hath need of many Animadverſions.

But to return to our Author, What he hath written in Latine is as much and perhaps more conſiderable than what is here collected in Engliſh: The various pieces are now with us Tranſlated into our own Tongue, and Printed altogether alſo in one Volume. Amongſt theſe are his *Horæ Hebraicæ & Talmudicæ* upon the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, which I had not ſeen when this Preface was firſt written and gone off from the Preſs, but ſince I have ſeen and peruſed it. And the managers of this whole Edition for ſome reaſons of their own, having deferred the perfecting and publiſhing of it till this preſent time, have put me upon a neceſſity of altering ſome things in this ſheet, and given me opportunity of adding others.

I have

I have before in this Preface mentioned the moſt natural and eaſie interpretation in my Judgment of that ſo much criticized and ſeemingly difficult place 1 *Cor.* 11. 10. *For this cauſe ought the Woman to have power on her head* διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους *becauſe of the Angels.* It ſeems a received opinion among the ancient Jews, that ſome of the good Angels, when they pleaſed, uſed to be preſent with ſome curioſity and concernment in their Religious affairs and aſſemblies, as perhaps the evil ones were in the filthy and Idolatrous ones of the Heathens which were by their own contrivance, ſuggeſtion and encouragement. This opinion in it ſelf not improbable to reaſon, the Apoſtle might approve and make uſe of. It was there ſomewhat unexpected to me that our Author ſo well verſed in theſe writings ſhould not take notice of it: but that contrariwiſe in *Page* 303. of the enſuing Volume he ſhould interpret that place of *evil Angels making a bate of the beauty of Women to entangle the Hearts and Eyes of the Men.* Yet I ſuſpected that he might have changed his opinion in his Notes upon this Epiſtle to the *Corinthians.* But now upon peruſal I find he hath here taken little notice of the firſt, and I think moſt genuine interpretation, and ſtarted a new one. *Becauſe of the Angels*, that is ſaith he, *becauſe of the meſſengers or deputies of eſpouſals*, the Women were permitted the liberty either of unvailing their faces to ſhew their comlineſs and beauty, or of vailing them to ſhew their modeſty. Which interpretation as it ſhews his notable conjectural faculty, ſo it ſeems to me remote and improbable.

For firſt, It is hard to find any inſtance in the Scripture where ἄγγελοι without any addition ſignifies an office and not an order of beings which we call *Angels:* nor in the Rabbines themſelves, as he acknowledgeth, do we find the word שלוחים without the addition of קדושים ſignifying thoſe deputies, unleſs they have been before mentioned together.

Secondly, The Apoſtle ſpeaks not only of Women to be married, but of Women in general married or unmarried: whereas the reaſon by this interpretation of the Womens having power on their Heads would reach only the unmarried. But this only occaſionally and to fill up a *Page.*

In the late ill and unjuſt Times he was not for nothing taken from his Country employment, and put into the Maſterſhip of *Katherine-Hall* in *Cambridge*; By thoſe who out of intereſt did oftimes reſpect and draw in Perſons of ſome Account and Reputation for Learning. Here he continued till the happy Return of our Sovereign to the rightful poſſeſſion of his Crown and Kingdom, when he ſoon ranged himſelf in the Church of *England*, in which his Innocency and Learning were ſo far taken notice of by his Superiours, and eſpecially the late moſt Reverend and Generous Archbiſhop, and the Lord Keeper *Bridgman*, two impartial countenancers of honeſt Men and Scholars, that (as I have been informed) they always uſed him with kindneſs, reſpect and liberality. And indeed his Dedicatory Epiſtles before his Latine Commentaries on St. *Mark* and St. *John* are ſufficient witneſſes both of his Benefactors and his gratitude. By their care and bounty it was, that what he had before his Majeſties Reſtauration, was continued to him, and moreover a Prebendary of *Ely* beſtowed upon him. In thoſe Stations

Stations he followed his Studies, and conſtantly and honeſtly diſcharged his duty till his Death, which hapned in *December* in the year 1675. And thus much of the Author. Much more without doubt might be ſaid to his Advantage by thoſe who had more acquaintance with him or knew him better. I have done what right I could to his Worth and Memory.

It remains only, in the laſt place, that we ſay ſomething concerning this Edition of theſe ſeveral pieces of the Author, and ſo conclude this ſomewhat long Preface. All his Writings being in very good eſteem here among us, and in greater beyond Sea, where I have been more than once enquired of about them, and his Engliſh ones being grown ſcarce; ſome Bookſellers were deſirous to reprint theſe in Engliſh, and put them altogether in one fair Volume: In order to which they requeſted me to Diſpoſe, Reviſe, Correct and put ſome Preface before them, which I have now done.

I have ordered them according to their more natural uſe, not according to the time of publiſhing them by the Author: and therefore I have put in the firſt place, The general Harmonies of the Old and New Teſtaments, then the particular Books, as the Harmony of the four Evangeliſts, his Obſervations on *Geneſis* and *Exodus*, his Commentary on the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, and in the rear his two Tracts of the Temple Service and Miſcellanies, which contain many Obſervations applicable and uſeful, to the interpretation of the Scriptures. The latter of which was written by him when very young, and when that Learning was not ſo much cultivated nor diſperſed by others Works,and therefore no wonder if there be in it many things now more ordinary and well known. I have Corrected hundreds of Errors both in the Texts and Hiſtory, and in the Chronology and Figures. In the firſt notwithſtanding I left ſome ſmall Matters, as being uncertain whether they were the Printers faults or the Authors own way of Writing, which was ſometimes a little out of the common road. My principal care was in the Hebrew, Talmudical and Rabbinical quotations, which were generally miſprinted. This I thought more worth the pains, becauſe the many Citations and Tranſlations of theſe Authors, are a very conſiderable help for young beginners to underſtand them, otherwiſe tedious and difficult enough. They are many and very uſeful examples, ſo that many good notions may be gotten at the ſame time with the Language. In the Chronology were a great number of faults likewiſe to be mended: Thoſe which were more manifeſt and plain I did alter; but ſome which to me ſeemed miſtakes, yet uncertain whether it was the Authors opinion, I have left to the obſervation and correction of others if they ſee cauſe. And indeed it would have been endleſs to have examined all the little accuracies; as the *Interregnums*, the concurrent reigns of ſeveral Kings, eſpecially the laſt and firſt years, when they were compleat and in order ſucceeding one another, when they were in part coincident and concurrent, ſo that the laſt year of one ſhould be the firſt of another.

There is one thing generally altered for the beſt. Whereas in the former Edition the numbers of ſeveral *Epocha's* anſwering one another were ſet any how as the Printer could hit it, now they are put one over againſt another in the ſame line, except here and there where the Printers have neglected

neglected my directions in the Copy; of which I ſhall preſently adviſe by an inſtance or two. There is alſo a place or two where I know not how to reconcile the numbers, as in *pag.* 99, 100. For *Jotham*'s firſt year and *Uzziah*'s laſt and the 3252[d] year of the World ſhould be concurrent according to the Author himſelf; unleſs he gives a double ſenſe to the word *reign* of *Jotham*; namely one more improper as Deputy to his Father *Uzziah* ſtruck with Leproſie in his laſt year, and the other more proper by himſelf alone the year after his Fathers death; which is a way of Solution he ſometimes uſeth. How far it is to be allowed I am not here to ſay. I am not to ſet down my own but my Authors ſenſe, be it what it will, or what others can make of it. And in general, once for all, I hope no man will think me oblig'd to applaud or approve every notion or remark of theſe Treatiſes. It is not my buſineſs to make an Author, but to give him made; not to tell what the Author ſhould ſay, but what he hath ſaid; every one may take or leave as he pleaſeth. For he ſeems I confeſs too ſeriouſly to make and imitate Cabbaliſtical and Rabbinical obſervations, ſuch as that of the Talmudiſts and *Baal Hâtturim*. But ſometimes perhaps the importance of the matter of the obſervation, more than the certainty or probability of it, might induce him to do ſo. Though indeed I think more generally it was his kindneſs for ſuch Authors, and his ſetled opinion of the Authentickneſs of every point and tittle of our modern Maſoretical Copies of the Old Teſtament. As *p.* 86. He obſerves that the Hebrew Text hath divinely omitted a letter in one word, *viz.* the letter (א) in מאומה which ſignifieth *ſomething*; (as all Tranſlations render it) and written it מומה ſignifying a *blott*; to brand *Gehazi* for his villany in running after *Naaman*, and deſiring ſomething from him in his Maſter *Eliſha*'s Name, 2 *Kings* V. 20. As the obſervation is taken from *R. Salomon* in his Commentaries upon that place, an Author much given to ſuch Talmudical phanſies: ſo it is alſo founded upon a miſtake. For it is not written מומה but מאומה in the Copies which our Polyglotte Bibles followed, and in *Athias* edition, all that I had at preſent to conſult beſides *Buxtorfes* Bibles with the Rabbinical Commentaries. Here indeed it is מומה the reaſon of which is I ſuppoſe the *Maſora*'s marginal note upon that word which is חסר אלף כפר"ש i. e. *Aleph* in מומה is wanting according to the Commentary or explication of *R. Salomon Jarchi*. It ſeems therefore only to be ſo written in the Copy which that *Rabbi* uſed and thoſe who were pleaſed to follow him. Beſides that the word which ſignifies a blot is not מומה but מום and even this laſt is ſometimes written with an Epenthetical *Aleph* מאום. But enough of this trifle. Such alſo is his conjecture, *pag.* 129. concerning the reaſon of the tranſpoſition of the Hebrew letters (ע) and (פ) in the Alphabetical Chapters of the *Lamentations*, or rather of the verſes which begin with (פ) being ſet before thoſe which begin with (ע); whereas (ע) in the Hebrew Alphabet is before (פ). The reaſon may be (ſaith our Author) to hint the Seventy years deſolation of *Jeruſalem*, becauſe the Hebrew letter (ע) ſtands for the number Seventy. If it were to denote any ſuch thing, it might as well have hinted Eighty years as Seventy, (פ) being the Numeral letter for Eighty. Beſides the *Syriack* and *Arabick* Verſions there have retained their uſual and natural order. His note upon the extraordinary and unparalled punctation of the Hebrew words לנו ולבנינו *To us*

and

and to our children belong the revealed things, Deut. XXIX. 29. With points over every one of those letters, nay with eleven points according to the *Masora*; I say this is of the same nature. It is, saith he, to give warning against curiosity in prying into Gods secrets, and that we should content our selves with his revealed will. But it is far more probable or certain, that these things were the casual mistakes or crotchets of some transcribers. His style also is often less proper, sometimes Grammatically defective, which is to be attributed to his perpetual converse with the Talmudists, Rabbins, and other Oriental Languages, whose Genius is so extreamly different from that of the Western; and to the want of reading Authors in our own Tongue, being sufficiently employed with his own thoughts and compositions, and sometimes perhaps to the singularity of his notions. It may be observed also, that he often differs much from many or all other Chronologers; As in the time of Christs birth, the time from Christs Baptism to his Death, the two terms of *Daniels* seventy weeks or four hundred and ninety years. In his account from the Flood to *Abraham's* Birth, he differs sixty years, from the generality of computists, and that upon a different interpretation of *Gen.* XI. 26. and proof that *Abraham* was not *Terahs* eldest son. From whence it necessarily follows that where he agrees with others in the intermediate intervals, as from *Abraham's* birth to the Promise, to their going out of *Ægypt*, to the building and destruction of the Temple, *&c.* he must assign these to different years of the World, *viz.* sixty later than usual; perhaps in some points he may have as good reason and proof as others; of which let the Reader judge; for I intend not in this place to dispute or decide any Chronological controversies which are numerous, often operose and of little moment.

Tis pity he finished not his Harmony upon the Evangelists and added not a fourth part, or perhaps as many as are Printed. But it may be the Bulk of them, and the time they would take up to perform them as the rest are done, he having by him other collections and designs might make him unwilling to go on. He might also suppose that some other hand in time might add the rest in the like method. So likewise his Commentaries on the *Acts* are imperfect, they go no further than *Chap.* IX. and the year of Christ 45. whereas the whole story reacheth to about the year of Christ 60.

In the last place, according to promise, it is to be advised that all is not so well Printed as might be desired; some numbers are not so accurately placed over against other. As *pag.* 81. *numb.* 24. of *Baasha.* And *pag.* 81. The first of *Jehoash* should have been set two lines higher against the 15th of *Jehoahaz.* Sometimes a Column and Name at the head of it is needless; As *pag.* 49. *Abimelech.* Sometimes the Name in the top of the Column mistaken; as *pag.* 50. *Jair* for *Tolah* and *pag.* 83. *Ahab* for *Jehosaphat.* But such small things as these, as they could not be easily prevented, so they may easily be remedied by any one who will make use of the Chronology. And as for other *Errata's* I hope they are not worth the pains of collecting, or else are such as will be at first sight mended by an intelligent Reader; The sheets being carefully corrected by a Reverend and worthy friend of mine in *London*, of long study and great skill in this kind of Learning; when I by the undeserved favour of my Superi-

Superiours was called to an Honourable employment out of my own Country.

To conclude all. As I doubt not but the ſerious and intelligent Reader in the peruſal of this Volume, will ſee abundant reaſon highly to eſteem the great and profitable labours of the Pious and Learned Author; ſo I hope he will be pleaſed kindly to accept my little care and pains in publiſhing it with decency and advantage, and thereby endeavouring to contribute ſome ſmall aſſiſtance to the ſtudy and underſtanding of the Holy Scriptures, and conſequently the Advancement of Piety together with the moſt uſeful knowledge in the World.

G. B.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE OF THE REVEREND and moſt LEARNED John Lightfoot D.D.

THE exemplary Vertue and Induſtry of good Men hath always had a conſiderable influence upon the manners of Men: Great Examples do work more powerfully than the moſt ſubtle Reaſonings, and the moſt Elaborate Arts of Perſwaſion. For though Men are generally ſhye of an Eloquent and Witty Man, and apt to ſuſpect an Artifice where they diſcern a piercing Wit, and a ready Invention; and conſequently are little bettered by the ſtrongeſt Arguments of Perſwaſion, but go on in a courſe of Vice, and Sloth in ſpight of all endeavours to reclaim them; yet there is ſomething in a good Example which does more powerfully charm them: Here is a certain force not eaſily eluded: This confirms the Truth of what we ſhould not without it ſo firmly have believed. Beſides, it does after the moſt lively manner repreſent Vertue and Goodneſs to us, and its Deſirableneſs, and its Beauties in the moſt ſenſible and familiar way that we can deſire. A great Example does alſo convince us, That it is a poſſible thing to do Vertuouſly, and that our excuſes are but pretexts and covers to our Sloth and Lazineſs.

Hence it is that as the Death of a vertuous and good Man is a great loſs to the Community, ſo the preſervation of his Memory, and repreſenting his Example to thoſe who ſurvive him, doth greatly advance the Publick good. Many excellent Perſons have paſſed through the World with little obſervation; They have affected privacy, and avoided crowds, and ſhunned Publick notice. Their Modeſty hath been as great as their other Vertues; and many others, who could not be concealed while they lived, have yet been ſoon forgotten after their deceaſe, for want of ſome to do them right in tranſmitting their memory to poſterity.

Upon theſe conſiderations, and upon no other whatſoever, I have undertaken to give the World ſome ſmall account of our Reverend and very Learned Author. I Sincerely declare I had much rather it had been done by any other hand: For, beſides my want of time and leiſure, and of many other helps needful for ſuch a Work, which I could plead for my excuſe; I might juſtly have expected that this ſhould have been done by ſome one who upon all accounts was better provided for it.

Our Author, *John Lightfoot* D. D. was born in the Rector's Houſe of *Stoke* upon *Trent*, in the County of *Stafford*, on the 29th day of *March* (being *Tueſday*) *Anno Domini* 1602. As for this time of his birth I find it under his own Hand in one of his Academical Exerciſes, which he performed being Vice-Chancellor, in the ſtead of Dr. *Arrow-Smith*, Publick Divinity Profeſſor and Maſter of *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*, who was at that time Sick: He tells us there That that Doctor and Himſelf were born

in the ſame year, on the ſame day above named, and almoſt in the ſame hour; that Doctor near *New-Caſtle* upon *Tine* in *Northumberland*, Himſelf near *New-Caſtle* under *Line* in the County of *Stafford*. For which he had a very dear affection, calling it, in one of his Epiſtles, his *Mother*, the *Mother of his birth*, and *the Mother of his deareſt intereſts*. And in another, moſt paſſionately, and moſt elegantly, lamenting her under the miſeries, that the Civil Wars had brought upon her.

He was the Son of Mr. *Thomas Lightfoot* Vicar of *Uttoxetar* in the County of *Staffford*; A man not to be named without a preface of honour and reſpect. He was born in a little Village called *Shelton* in the Pariſh of *Stoke* above named: He was a Man of exemplary Piety, and of an induſtry indefatigable, and one of the greateſt examples of this laſt Age for his conſtant care of thoſe Souls which were committed to his Charge. This he ſhewed by his conſtant Preaching, and diligent Inſtructing and Catechizing the Youth of his Pariſh, which his Preaching did not excuſe him from. He was a burning and ſhining light, and ſhewed his love to his great Lord and Maſter by the unwearied care of his Sheep. He was in Holy Orders ſix and fifty years, and thirty ſix years Vicar of *Uttoxetar* above named. Died *July* 21. *Anno Domini* 1658. and in the eighty firſt year of his age.

Our Authors Mother was Mrs *Elizabeth Bagnall*, a Gentlewoman of a very good Family; Three of which Family were made Knights by Queen *Elizabeth* for their martial Proweſs and Valour in the then Wars in *Ireland* againſt the Rebels. She was a Woman of exemplary Piety, and died *Jan.* 24. *Anno Domini* 1636. at the age of ſeventy and one.

Our Author, when he was fit to be ſent to a Grammar School, was committed to the care of Mr *Whitehead* School-Maſter at *Morton*-Green near *Congerton* in the County *Palatine* of *Cheſter*. There he continued till *June*, *Anno Domini* 1617. And thence he was ſent to *Chriſt College* in *Cambridge*, where he was admitted under the Tuition of the very Learned and Pious Mr. *William Chappel* then Fellow of that Houſe, and afterwards Doctor in Divinity, and Maſter of *Trinity College* in *Dublin*, and laſtly Lord Biſhop of *Cork* in *Ireland*.

While he continued in *Chriſt College* he gave great proofs of a pregnant Wit, and great proficiency in his Studies. His Tutor told ſome of the Heads of the Univerſity, at that time, that he had a young Pupil, meaning *Lightfoot*, whom he thought the beſt Orator of all the Undergraduates in the Town. He made an extraordinary proficiency in his Studies during his ſtay in that place, eſpecially in the Latine and Greek Tongues. For the *Hebrew* Tongue he neglected it there, and loſt that ſkill in it which he brought thither. And for *Logick* he could by no means fancy that contentious and quarrelſom ſtudy, it being very diſagreeable to the quiet genius of this young Student. He could not be ſo happy as to ſtay any longer in that learned Society than till ſuch time as he was Bachelor of Arts.

After this he was admitted as an aſſiſtant to his former Maſter, Mr. *Whitehead*, who was then Maſter of a famous School at *Repton* in the County of *Darby*, where he continued a year or two, and made great improvement in the *Greek* Tongue. His converſation there was as pleaſing to the Maſter, as his mildneſs was acceptable to the Boys who were under his truſt.

Sometime after this he entred into Holy Orders; and the firſt place of his ſettlement, after this, was at *Norton* under *Hales* in the County of *Salop*: This was near to *Bellaport* in the ſame County, which was the Manſion Houſe of the very Learned and Worthy Sir *Rowland Cotton* Knight, who was his conſtant hearer then, his Patron afterwards, and his faithful friend whiles he lived.

This Sir *Rowland Cotton* was a Man of very ſingular learning: He was the Son of Mr. *William Cotton* Citizen and Draper of *London*: He had great ſkill in the *Hebrew* Tongue by the early inſtructions of Mr. *Hugh Broughton*, who often lodged, and, for ſome conſiderable time, reſided at his Fathers Houſe. There were few places in the Hebrew Bible which he was not able readily to read, and render into Engliſh, when he was but ſeven or eight years of age, and he did not only underſtand but readily ſpeak the Language. This worthy Knight our Author often mentioned as his great Friend, and a perſon of a moſt exemplary life, as well as of great Learning and Judgment. I have ſeen a Sermon of our Authors prepared to be Preached at his Funerals, in which he bewails his death; and complains at the cloſe of it that he was hindred by the expreſs Command of this worthy and modeſt Knight, upon his death bed, from ſaying any thing of him.

This may ſeem to be a digreſſion, but it is a very pardonable one, it being deſigned only to take an occaſion of ſpeaking well of one who deſerved well of the World, and particularly of our learned Author, whoſe incomparable learning and ſkill in the Hebrew affairs are under God in great meaſure owing to the Learned and Religious Gentleman.

Sir

Sir *Rowland Cotton* did, whiles our Author preached at the place above named, out of reſpect to his hopeful parts, take him into his own family, as his Chaplain: There he laid the foundation of his Rabbinical Learning, for which he is juſtly renowned, not only here in *England* but beyond the Seas. And that which put him upon it, as our Author himſelf would frequently relate it, was this. Sir *Rowland* would often queſtion him in that Language, in which our Author was then but a Novice; and this after ſome time wrought upon him ſo effectually, that out of ſhame and indignation that he wanted that Learning, which his Patron had, he ſet himſelf cloſe to the Study of the Tongues, and the Hebrew eſpecially. He was aſhamed to be batfled (as he confeſſed he often was) by a Country Gentleman; and that alſo in a piece of Learning which he by his Profeſſion and his Character, was much more obliged to attain to than his Patron could be ſuppoſed to be. And this was the occaſion of his applying himſelf to thoſe very uſeful Studies, to which otherwiſe probably he would have continued a ſtranger.

In his Studies in this Family he made a great progreſs, and was greatly cheriſhed in them by his Patron, to whom he was always very dear. With him he continued at *Bellaport*, till Sir *Rowland* left the Country and went to reſide at *London* with his Family, at the requeſt of Sir *Allen Cotton*, his Fathers younger Brother, who was Lord Mayor of the City.

Within a little while our Author followed his Patron to the City: He continued not long there before he returned into the Country again, and viſited his Father and Mother at *Uttoxetar* above named, of whom he took a ſolemn leave, with a reſolution to travel beyond the Seas, to their no little ſorrow. But having left his Father and Mother and travailing as far as *Stone* in the County of *Stafford*, which place was then deſtitute of a Miniſter, he was, by the importunity of thoſe who were concerned, perſwaded to accept of that place: And ſo he did, and forthwith ſet his Parents at eaſe by letting them know that his Travels were now at an End. At this place he continued two years or thereabouts: During this time (*May* 21. 1628.) he married *Joice*, the Daughter of *William Crompton* of *Stone Park* Eſq; and Widow of *George Copwood* of *Dilverne* in the County of *Stafford* Gentleman.

From *Stone* our Author removed to *Hornſey* near the City of *London*, for the ſake of the Library of *Sion College*, to which he often reſorted; and from thence in the Spring, *Anno Domini* 1630. he and his Family came to *Uttoxetar* aforeſaid; where he continued till the *September* following, when Sir *Rowland Cotton* preferred him to the Rectory of *Aſhley* in the County of *Stafford:* Here our Author continued in great eſteem for the ſpace of twelve years; and here he very much purſued his *Rabbinical* Studies. And to that end he bought a ſmall piece of Land lying near unto his Parſonage-houſe, where he built a ſmall Houſe in the midſt of a Garden, containing a Study and withdrawing room below, and a lodging Chamber above. Here he cloſely followed his ſaid Studies with great delight, and unwearied diligence, and did chooſe to lodge here very often, though it were ſo near to his Family and Parſonage Houſe. He continued in this place till *June Anno Domini* 1642. when upon what occaſion ſoever it was (moſt probably being called up to the Aſſembly of Divines) unwillingly he ſeems to leave his abode and Country, and became a kind of Exile in *London:* as we may collect from his Epiſtle before his *Handful of Gleanings* upon *Exodus*. Where he thus beſpeaks the Pariſhoners of S. *Bartholomews* behind the Exchange, That *when exiled from his own, they made him theirs.* But in this his deſtitute ſtate, it ſeems, he continued not long. His parts and worth, like a great light, could not be hid; but ſoon were taken notice of in the City. So that he became Miniſter to the Inhabitants of the Pariſh aforeſaid. Where, as we learn from that Epiſtle, their firſt meeting was with extraordinary kindneſs, and the ſame mutual affection abated not between them. About this time it was alſo, that another employment was laid upon him: namely to be a Member of the Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter*. Whether I ſhall now follow him, and give ſome account of his carriage and demeanour there.

In the year 1643. The Miniſters of the City of *London* met together to conſult whether they ſhould preach on the *Chriſtmas* day following as they had been wont to do, or take no notice at all of the day. One of them (whom I ſhall not name) of great Autority among them was againſt their Preaching, and was very near prevailing with the reſt of his Brethren to forbear: Our Author was at that meeting (being at that time Miniſter at St. *Bartholomews* aforeſaid) who was ſo far from conſenting to the advice of that perſon who gave it, that he took him aſide, and argued the Point with him; and did not only maintain the lawfulneſs of the thing in queſtion, but the expedience of it alſo; and ſhewed that the omitting it would be of dangerous conſequence, and would reflect very much upon thoſe Men who made profeſſion of no other deſign but reforming what was culpable and faulty. In a word he ſo far prevailed with the Company, that when it was put to the queſtion it was carried in the Affirmative, and there were not

above four or five of the whole who diſſented. I forbear to mention the particular arguments which our Author made uſe of (which I could eaſily have done) becauſe I do not mention it as an inſtance of his Learning that he was able to maintain this cauſe; than which no thing can be thought more defenſible; but only to let the Reader know, that though our Author lived in the late unhappy times, and converſed with Men who were extravagantly bent upon extreams, yet he did not want courage and integrity in ſtanding againſt the ſtream.

In the debates of that Aſſembly at *Weſtminſter*, our Author uſed the like freedom, and gave great proofs both of his courage and learning alſo, in oppoſing many of thoſe Tenets, which the Divines were endeavouring to eſtabliſh; of which I ſhall give ſome inſtances, which I do not take upon hearſay and uncertain report, but from better grounds, and ſuch as are unexceptionable.

It is very well known that thoſe Divines ſpent much time concerning *Lay Elders*, and their power of ruling. This they endeavoured to prove from 1 *Cor.* XII. 28. *Helps*, *Governments:* This opinion our Author did not forbear to oppoſe, and did with great truth and judgment affirm that the Seventy two uſed the word Κυβέρνησις (*Prov.* 1. 5. & XI. 14. & XX. 18. & XXIV. 6.) to tranſlate תחבלות which word imports not the *act* but the *ability* of gifts fit to govern. And that the ἀντιλήψεις, and Κυβερνήσεις in the place in hand imported *helps* to interpret the Languages and ſenſe of thoſe who ſpake with Tongues: as may be gathered by a diligent comparing of the 28, 29, and 30 verſes together.

And whereas ſome would have founded *Lay Elders* upon the Elders of the Jewiſh Church, and did affirm that there were two Conſiſtories in every City, and that they were Civil and Eccleſiaſtical; Our Author replied that the two Sanhedrin's or Conſiſtories in every City are not owned by the Jewiſh Authors: and for that he alledged *Maimonides* at large. He proved that there were three Courts in *Jeruſalem*, but that they were not diſtinguiſhed into *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Civil*; and that there was but one Court or Conſiſtory in every other inferior City. He granted indeed that there were Elders in the *Sanhedrin* that were not *Prieſts* or *Levites*, but withal they were *Civil Magiſtrates*.

At another time when they were for making a Court to conſiſt of *Lay Elders* mixed with *Presbyters* to decide Eccleſiaſtical matters, and that from the Jewiſh practice; Our Author ſhewed that in divers things the Prieſt had a propriety and was only concerned, and the Civil Magiſtrate had nothing to do, as in the caſe of Leproſie, and the trial of Jealouſie, and judging between clean and unclean, *&c.* and that in thoſe things where the Lay Judges were concerned, as in Blaſphemy, Idolatry, falſe Doctrines, *&c.* the cenſure was *Civil*, it being *Capital*.

And when ſome of them affirmed that the Civil Elders in the *Sanhedrin* judged in all caſes, our Author replied that this was impoſſible in the caſe of Leproſie: It being evident that Leproſie was infectious to all *Iſrael*, but only to the Prieſts. And as for that place, *Deut.* XVII. he affirmed that it ſpake not of *Appeals* but of *Advice*, not of *Judicature* but of *Direction*. For that the Judges of the inferior Courts were to go to the place which the Lord ſhould chooſe to inform themſelves in a matter too hard for them in judgment.

In that Aſſembly, in diſcourſing of Church Officers, there was a certain Divine who affirmed that *Widows* were to be eſteemed as ſuch; and for the confirmation of his opinion he alledged that it appeared from hence, *viz.* that they were choſen at ſixty years of age. Our Author oppoſed that fond opinion from that very argument on which the Divine aforeſaid grounded it, alledging that under the Old Teſtament the Officers at the Temple were diſmiſſed at fifty years of age, and that it was therefore unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that in the New any ſhould be admitted to Office who were not under ſixty. And whereas another Divine in that Aſſembly affirmed that the Prieſts were diſmiſſed from their Service, becauſe of the burden of carrying the Ark, &c. our Author replied that the Ark was fixed in *Solomon's* time, and that the courſes of the Prieſts were ſo full as that eighty oppoſed *Uzziah*; and that *Joſephus* ſaith, That the courſes had five thouſand a piece at leaſt in them, and their ſervice but one week in about half a year, and that therefore they could not be ſuppoſed to be overladen with Work.

Our Author was againſt the Peoples election of their Miniſters, which ſome in that Aſſembly attempted to prove from the word χειροτονία, which they would have to ſignifie not *Laying on of Hands*, but *Election*. He argued againſt this opinion from *Zonaras* and *Balſamon* and from an Apoſtolical Canon, and from the notation of the Greek word. To which he added, That it was not poſſible for the people in thoſe early times of Chriſtianity to Elect their Miniſters, becauſe none were fit in thoſe times to be ſuch but by the gift of the Holy Ghoſt; and that it was not reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the People did nominate and chooſe ſuch who were to receive that heavenly gift.

I find

I find alſo that upon a conſultation whether they ſhould add ſomething forbidding the Directory to be turned into a ſet Form, that our Author ſpake againſt it as a dangerous thing ſo much as to intimate any thing againſt a ſet Form of Prayer.

Upon that Propoſition relating to Baptiſm, *it is lawful and ſufficient to ſprinkle the child*, our Author oppoſed them that worded it in that manner; it being unfit to vote that as lawful only, which every one grants ſo to be. And whereas one of that Aſſembly attempted in a large diſcourſe to prove that טבילה (which ſignifies *Baptiſm*) imports a *dipping overhead:* Our Author replied at large, and proved the contrary. 1. From a paſſage of *Aben Ezra* on *Gen.* 38. (2.) From *R. Solomon Jarchi* who in his Commentary on *Exod.* 24. ſaith, That *Iſrael* entred into Covenant with ſprinkling of blood and טבילה which the Author of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* expounds by ſprinkling, *Heb.* IX. (3.) From this, That *John* the *Baptiſt* ſometimes Preached annd Baptized in places where he could not poſſibly Dip thoſe who were Baptized. In concluſion, He propoſed to that Aſſembly to ſhew him in all the Old Teſtament any one inſtance where the word uſed *de Sacris & in actu tranſeunte* implied any more than *Sprinkling*. It is ſaid indeed, That the Prieſts waſhed their Bodies, and that the unclean waſhed himſelf in Water, but this was not a tranſient action. And when they came to the Vote whether the Directory ſhould run thus, *The Miniſter ſhall take Water and Sprinkle, or pour it with his Hand upon the Face or Forehead of the Child*; ſome were unwilling to have *Dipping* excluded; ſo that the Vote came to an equality within one: For the one ſide there being twenty four, and for the other twenty five. The buſineſs was thereupon recommitted, and reſumed the day following, where our Author demanded of them, who inſiſted upon *Dipping*, the reaſon of their opinion, and that they would give in their proofs; Hereupon it was thus worded, *That pouring on of Water, or Sprinkling in the adminiſtration of Baptiſm is lawful and ſufficient.* Where our Author excepted againſt the word *lawful*, it being all one as if it ſhould be determined to be *lawful* to uſe Bread and Wine in the Lords Supper; and he moved that it might be expreſſed thus, *It is not only lawful, but alſo ſufficient.* And it was done ſo accordingly.

Concerning the Members of a Synod the Propoſition was, *That Paſtors and Teachers and other fitting perſons are conſtituent Members of a Synod*; This our Author oppoſed and gave his Interpretation of the *Brethren* and the *whole Church*, *Act.* XV. *viz.* that by *Brethren* was meant the *uncircumciſed Converts*, as *verſ.* 1, & 23. And that it was moſt likely the Churches of the uncircumciſed, would ſend their *Miniſters*, and not *Laymen*; And that by Ἐκκλησία was meant not *the Church*, but the *meeting* of the Council.

There were many other matters debated in that Aſſembly in which our Author was greatly concerned, and did not fail to argue very ſtrenuouſly upon occaſion againſt thoſe opinions that were then in vogue. I could give a particular account of what he ſaid in the debates touching the admiſſion of perſons to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, of Private Baptiſm, of the Learning required in thoſe who were to be Ordained, of the raiſing Doctrines from a Text, of the uſe of learned Languages in Sermons, &c. But I forbear theſe things not being willing to exceed that ſhort account of our Author which I only undertook at firſt.

In the later end of the year 1643. I find our Author was preferred to the Rectory of *Much-Munden* in the County of *Hertford*, void by the Death of that excellent Perſon *Samuel Ward* D. D. the Lady *Margaret* Profeſſor in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*. In that Rectory he continued to the day of his Death; He reſided upon his Living as much as was conſiſtent with his relation to *Catharine-Hall* in *Cambridge*, of which he was Maſter many years before his Death. He was uneaſie when he was from his Living, and would expreſs a great deſire to be at home with his *Ruſſet-Coats*, as he was wont to call his Country neighbours, when he was abſent from them. His Labours in that place were very great and exemplary: He was unwearied in his Studies, which he followed early and late with indefatigable diligence; he was a moſt conſtant and painful Preacher. His Parſonage-Houſe was about a mile diſtant from his Pariſh Church, whereunto he reſorted every Lords-day, read the Prayers, and Preached Morning and Afternoon, and did many times continue there all the day, and returned not home till Night, remaining in the Church, not diverting to any other Houſe to refreſh himſelf, until Evening Service was all finiſhed. He had for his Flock the care and compaſſions of a Father; he lived among them in great peace and with great Hoſpitality. There he continued without let or diſturbance many years. Indeed ſoon after the happy Reſtauration of his Majeſty, a Fellow of a College in *Cambridge* procured a grant of our Authors Living. Of this he was ſoon advertiſed by his Neighbour and worthy Friend, Sir *Henry Caſar*, upon which, by the favour of the late Archbiſhop *Sheldon*, our Author was confirmed in his *Rectory*. This great favour of the *Archbiſhop*, our Author gratefully acknowledgeth in two Epiſtles Dedicatory to him, prefixed to his *Horæ Hebraicæ* upon St. *Mark*, and St. *Luke*. And he would often mention the great favour he received from that worthy and very

excellent

excellent Perſon Sir *Henry Cæſar*, whoſe Neighbourhood and encouragement was one of the greateſt comforts of our Authors life.

He commenced Doctor in Divinity in the year 1652. His Latine Sermon was upon thoſe words, *If any Man love not the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, let him be Anathema Maranatha*, 1 *Cor.* XVI. 22. When he was in the Univerſity, he Preached frequently, and to the great advantage of the Students there. He always preſſed an exemplary Life upon his Auditors, and to very good purpoſe Preached up the neceſſity of humane Learning, and exploded the Enthuſiaſm which had at that time gotten a great poſſeſſion of the minds of unſtable Men: He Preached up the lawfulneſs of Forms of Prayer in thoſe times, when many Men were ſo extravagantly vain as to decry it. And for Schiſm and Separation from an Eſtabliſhed Church, he was ſo great an Enemy to it, that he did in thoſe times urge the neceſſity of Communion with a Church, which had corruption in it. And whoever will be at the pains to conſider what he hath to this purpoſe in his *Horæ Hebraicæ* upon St. *Matthew*, Chap. VIII. verſ. 4. and eſpecially in his Sermon Preached at St. *Michaels* Church in *Cornhill*, before his Country-men of the County of *Stafford*, upon St. *Joh.* X. 22. (which is Printed with the reſt of his Works) will be abundantly convinced of this. When he Preached at *Cambridge*, he did generally pitch upon ſome difficult Text of the Holy Scriptures which he explained to the great ſatisfaction of the learned Auditors. In which, I reckon, he did very conſiderable ſervice to the Publick. In doing ſo he relieved the minds of honeſt and inquiſitive Men, who were at a ſtand, and defended the Holy Scriptures from the contempt of thoſe who were prophane Scoffers, and were ready upon all occaſions to leſſen their Autority. And indeed he was very happy this way: I have heard a very Learned and Reverend Divine (lately deceaſed) Profeſs, that *he never heard our Author preach but he learned ſomething which he did not know before.* He was of very ſingular uſe in the Univerſity in thoſe times, and his diſcourſes were of that nature that they greatly gained upon the more Studious, and inquiſitive ſort of Men. He laboured much in proving *Infants Baptiſm* againſt the *Antipædobaptiſts* of thoſe times: This he did upon moſt ſubſtantial grounds and ſuch as commended themſelves to the lovers of Truth: I doubt not but that he did confirm many by his way of proof who were wavering before. I find among our Authors Papers a letter directed to him from a very Learned Divine *William Outram* D. D. who was then his Auditor in *Cambridge*. In which he gives our Author all poſſible thanks for *his choice and truly learned Obſervations* (as he juſtly calls them) in relation to the Lords Prayer, in which he aſſerted the lawfulneſs of Forms; and is earneſt with him to grant him his Notes of his Sermons on Baptiſm, *which* (ſays he) *I have moſt earneſtly longed for ever ſince they were Preached, and not without due cauſe: For verily had I not heard them I ſhould not to this day have been ſo well reconciled to Infants Baptiſm,* (*as I bleſs God I now am.*) *I deſire therefore that you would be pleaſed to conſider what real uſefulneſs your notes may be of; and how* (*for my own part*) *I am infinitely more perſwaded by your way of probation, than by ſome other ratiocinations of Men ordinarily uſed.* There are many perſons now living that have great cauſe to bleſs God for our Author, and will confeſs the eminent ſervice which he did in that time.

In the year 1655. our Author was choſen Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*; which Office he diſcharged with great care and diligence, though he had at that time a multiplicity of affairs to divert him, eſpecially that of peruſing the ſheets of the *Polyglott* as they were wrought off from the Preſs. He was extreamly ſolicitous during his being Vice-Chancellor that he might not do any wrong to any Man, or any unkindneſs to his friend. He did once fear, during that year, that he had by a Sentence determined injuriouſly againſt a Friend of his. This was ſo great a torment to his mind, that he told a Friend that is yet alive, that *he thought it would accompany him with ſorrow to his grave.* But the good Man was ſoon ſatisfied that what he had determined was not only juſt but neceſſary alſo.

Nor were our Authors Labours confined to the Univerſity and to his Rectory. For beſides the many excellent Books which he wrote (of which I forbear to give any account here, becauſe I find it done to my Hand) he was concerned in the uſeful undertakings which were begun and finiſhed in his time.

Among which the Edition of the *Polyglott* Bible, which was finiſhed in the year 1657. deſerves to be mentioned in the firſt place. This excellent and uſeful Work was in great meaſure accompliſhed by the indefatigable pains of the Learned and Reverend *Brian Walton* D. D. (and afterwards Lord Biſhop of *Cheſter*) and remains a monument of the exemplary diligence and eminent Learning of that excellent Prelate. I ſhall only at preſent conſider how far our Author was concerned in that Work. I find him conſulted about that whole Work by Doctor *Walton* at his firſt entrance upon it in a Letter of the Doctors to him bearing date *Jan.* 2. 1653. In which he begs our Authors aſſiſtance, as to the *Samaritan Pentateuch*, which he beſtowed much pains about; *Vid. Dec. Chorograph. in S. Marc.*

S. Marc. Cap. X. §. 5. Nor was this the first application which had been made to him; for by that Letter it appears that our Author had modestly declined the employment upon the score of his inability, to which the Doctor in that Letter replies, that our Author had given *sufficient and publick Testimony to the World of his ability.* I find also that Doctor *Walton* (as appears by his Letters bearing date *Feb.*23.1653. and *April* 24 1654. and *June* 14. 1654. and several others) sent our Author the several *Alphabets* of sheets as they came off from the Press, and desired him to peruse them as he had done, and note the mistakes he should meet withal. In one of which he tells him that as to the *Samaritan, his Diligence and Judgment had been so exact that there would be little cause to alter, much less to censure and correct.* I find also that our Author assisted in that Work several other ways, not only by procuring Subscriptions toward its encouragement, but by furnishing him with several MSS. out of the University Library, *viz.* a *Syriac* MS. of the Prophets (which the Doctor acknowledges in a Letter bearing date *Nov.* 7.1655.) and a *Syriac Lexicon*, a MS. He assisted him likewise in rectifying the Map of *Judæa*, as appears by another Letter dated *July* 23. 1656. and with certain Notes out of the *Jerusalem Talmud*, (as appears by another Letter *Nov.* 4. 1657.) Besides this our Author sent him his *Chorographical* Observations which we find prefixed to the *Polyglott Bible* under his Name.

Next to the *Polyglott* Bible, and in order to render that the more useful also, the greatest Work of this last age, and indeed of any other of that kind, is that incomparable Book, the *Lexicon Heptaglotton.* by *Edmund Castell* D. D. published in the year 1669. I find that Dr. *Castell* (a Man for his great Piety, incomparable Learning, and incredible Diligence not to be mentioned without a Preface of honour) before he entred upon that Work, consulted our Author about it, and submitted it to him *either to stifle or give it life*, as he expresseth himself in a Letter to him bearing date *Dec.* 2. 1657. To which when the Doctor had received our Authors Answer, in which he approves his excellent design, in a second Letter the Doctor returns him his thanks, and after his acknowledgments he adds. *And truly* (says he) *had we not such an Oracle to consult with, bootless and in vain it would be to attempt such an undertaking.* And a little afterwards he adds, *O nos felices ter & amplius, quibus contigit, Te vivo, opus hoc tam grande, quam arduum auspicato suscepisse: Et benedictus ob hoc semper sit summus ille rerum Arbiter.* This Letter is not dated, but must be written upon the beginning of that great undertaking.

I forbear to relate in how many particulars his Advice and Assistance toward that excellent Work was requested. The Doctor tells our Author in a Letter dated (*Feb.* 22. 1663.) what his sense of him was in these word, *your Worth and Works, so transcendent to the Vulgar way of writing, all the learned World doth and ought highly to esteem: I have and shall (as does become me) in this Work now upon me sundry times with honour mention, &c.* Our Author did not only advise, and command, and speak well: These are cheap things. He assisted by supplying with Money, and supporting the excellent undertaker: This I find acknowledged by the Doctor in a Letter bearing date, *March* 14. 1663. How far our Author gave his assistance this way I know not, but this I find, that in that Letter the Doctor is transported, *that in these three Kingdoms* (says he to our Author) *there should be one found* (בלא אח *for such a second has never yet appeared to me*) *who has manifested such a sentiment of my ruined and undone condition.* He does indeed except in that Letter the *Bishop* of *Exon* whose kindness to him was incomparably great.

Doctor *Lightfoot* indeed was very much concerned for that most Worthy undertaker, and did, I find, do his utmost to support the Good Man in that excellent Work. He wrote often to him, and failed not by all manner of ways to encourage him in his Labours. The Doctor tells him (in a Letter bearing date *Nov.* 15. 1664.) *next to the Divine I meet with no lines like yours, that so sweetly refresh and delight my Soul when quite wearied with labour, &c.* When the first Volume of that excellent Book came out, I find the Doctor giving our Author the notice of it, and promising him to transmit it, with a request to give a Censure of it, none being *either more able to judge, or that will do it with greater Candor*; especially he desires his more *severe scanning of the Arabick.* This he does in a Letter dated *Jan.* 14. 1667. He acquaints him also with the finishing of the Second Volume in a Letter dated to him *June* 9. 1669. By this it appears how far our Author was concerned in the encouraging of this excellent Work.

For the *Synopsis Criticorum* undertaken by Mr. *Matthew Pool*, I find our Author likewise concerned. For I have seen many Letters of Mr. *Pools* to him full of thanks and acknowledgment, and one bearing date *Jan.* 7. 1673. in which he does acknowledge to have received his second Papers, and expresses his great desire of receiving the Remaining. How far our Author was concerned in that very useful design of that Diligent and Worthy Man hath not come to my knowledge, and therefore I cannot give a particular account of it. This only is not to be omitted, that a Friend of mine hath seen many short Annotations in Latine, written by his own hand, upon many Chapters of *Exodus*, *Numbers*,

Numbers, *Joſua*, which he communicated to Mr. *Pool*; whether for the uſe of his *Synopſis*, or ſomewhat elſe, it is uncertain.

This Reverend Man was divers years before his Death preferred by the favour of Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, then Lord Keeper, to a *Prebend* in the *Church* of *Ely*: But in what year this was, hath not come to my knowledge: And I muſt confeſs there are many other things in which I wanted information: I did never think it would be my lot to give any account to the World of this excellent Perſon: had I foreſeen that, I could, ſome years ſince, have been more plentifully furniſhed with materials to this purpoſe; having had the honour to be acquainted with him my ſelf, and the opportunity (which is now paſſed) of informing my ſelf better of His Life than now I have. And I do acknowledge that this account that I now give I receive for the moſt part, from the Hands of the Reverend, and my worthy Friend, Mr. *John Strype*, Miniſter of *Low-Leyton* in *Eſſex*, who hath furniſhed me with ſuch an account, as (though it be ſhort of what might have been had, yet) may be relied upon. And I thought it better to give ſome (though imperfect) account of this Learned and Pious Man, than that he ſhould go without any at all.

As to his great Learning, his Works are a proof beyond all exception; I make no doubt but that the Reader will receive great benefit by them. Our Author was a very perſpicacious Man, and very happy in clearing the difficulties of the Holy Scriptures, and greatly furniſhed with that Learning which enabled him that way. His great abilities were acknowledged by the Learned of our own Country, and thoſe beyond the Seas. I ſhall not need to inſiſt upon the Teſtimonies to this purpoſe, which I could eaſily produce. However I ſhall not forbear to mention ſome. Our Author had ſent Doctor *Caſtell* one of his Books, at that time when he was engaged in his *Lexicon*. In a Letter of his (bearing date *Aug.* 16. 1664.) he makes this following acknowledgment: *Sir, you have laid an unutterable obligation upon me by the gift of this Learned and much longed for Work--- you have enriched my poor Library with an addition ſo excellent and delightful, that truly, when I firſt received it, I could not contain my ſelf from reading it quite through, notwithſtanding the importunacy of my publick engagement, and the clamor of all the Work-men, Corrector, Compoſitors, Preſs-men, &c. to all whom I turned a deaf Ear till I had ſatisfied my Eye with the entire peruſal of it.* And afterwards he adds --- *Sir, I will never be aſhamed to confeſs by whom I have profited: All that would underſtand that clear light, together with the myſterious hidden uſe and beneſit, which the moſt ancient Records of the Jews bring unto Holy Writ muſt confeſs themſelves, above all others, deeply indebted to your Elaborate and incomparable Writings, who have fetched out more of theſe profound and rich Mines than any of the beſt Seers in this or the precedent Ages, have been able to diſcover.* I might have added much more from that very excellent Perſons own hand. Take the ſuffrage of another Learned Man, Mr. *Herbert Thorndike*, who in a Letter to our Author bearing date *May* 18. 1669. expreſſes his eſteem of his Learning in the Jews Writings, and deſiring his Judgment of the Exercitations of *Morinus* in words too long to be tranſcribed. And for Foreigners I ſhall content my ſelf with two only. The firſt is that of *Mounſieur Le Moin*, a moſt Learned Miniſter of the Proteſtant Church of *Roan*, who in a Letter to Dr. *Worthington*, ſpeaking of his Notes and Exercitations upon *Joſephus*, he ſaith: *In iis utor ſæpiſſime Lightfooti Talmudicæ Doctiſſimi, quem ſi inter Philebræorum familiam ducem dixero, nihil certe dixero, quod aſſurgat ultra meritum eruditiſſimi illius viri. Quæ de Templo, dechorographia ſacra, in Matthæum, in Actus, erudite & feliciter Conſcripſit, diu eſt quod illa poſſideo, iiſq; præclaris operibus Bibliotheca mea ſuperbit.* The other Teſtimony is that of the moſt Learned Profeſſor of *Baſil*, the late Doctor *John Buxtorf*: This great Man ſpeaking of our Author, in a Letter of his to Doctor *Caſtell*, hath theſe words. *Ex horis ejus Talmudicis incepi illius doctrinam & diligentiam valde amare. Illæ ſalivam mihi moverunt, ut propediem ab ipſo ſimilia videre deſiderem & guſtare. Precor ipſi omnia læta, ac meritis ejus digna.* Again, in a Letter of the ſame Profeſſor to our Author, dated at *Baſil*, *Dec.* 12. 1663. I find he expreſſes the higheſt eſteem for him, whoſe diligence and accuracy, and dexterity, in illuſtrating the Holy Scriptures he tells him he admires. *Raræ hæ dotes hoc noſtro ſæculo in viris Theologis, rari hujuſmodi Scriptores, &c.* as he goes on in that Letter too long to tranſcribe.

As no man can queſtion the great Learning of our Author, ſo he will appear to be very exemplary for his indefatigable diligence, if we duly conſider under what diſadvantages he arrived to this great degree of knowledge. He was young when he left *Cambridge*, and a ſtranger to thoſe Studies which he was afterward ſo deſervedly famous for: He went as an *Uſher* into a Country School, remote from the Books and helps which might aſſiſt him: His hours were taken up with the care of Boys, and his Head filled with their noiſe and importunities. After this he entred into Orders, but that did not advance him in Learning: Beſides, he entred upon conſtant Preaching when he was very young. After this he married a Wife and ſoon had the charge and burden of Children, and the cares of the

the World to divert him from his Studies. His worldly circumſtances were not large, and his family encreaſed, and his work in Preaching was conſtant: He was far from the help, and the leiſure which a life in the Univerſity would have given him. But this brave Man ſurmounts all theſe difficulties and diſadvantages: He in his great Judgment ſaw that the Oriental Learning was worth his while, that Chronology, and other difficult pieces of knowledge would be of uſe to him; and make him ſerviceable to others; he was ſenſible of his defects, and generouſly does this young Divine reſolve to ſhake off all ſloth, and to make no excuſes: He knew very well that what he undertook was a great Work, that it was

Magnum mentis opus nec de Codice paranda
Attonitæ----

And now he betakes himſelf in good earneſt to theſe abſtruſe and perplexing Studies. He defrauds himſelf of his reſt and eaſe, withdraws from his Friends, and abſtracts himſelf from the World, and all Secular intanglements, and early and late purſues his wiſe and worthy End. His Motto ſeems to have been (for we find it written, in one of his Note Books, under his Name) השכם והערב denoting his reſolution to *riſe up early* and *ſit up late* in the purſuit after knowledge.

Our Author had not the *helps* of *Tutors* to inſtruct him in theſe Studies; he had not the time of *Students* in the *Univerſities* who need take no care for their dayly bread; He had not the advantage of *Books* and learned *Society* which thoſe Men have, who live in *Cities*; nor had he the advantages of *Wealth* or *Dignities* to provide himſelf of helps; nor *intereſt* in great Perſons who might have encouraged his Studies; and yet when he appeared in the World he gave the greateſt proofs of his abilities. He drew after him the Eyes of the Learned part of the Kingdom, and exceeded far the expectation of all Men. What would not our Author have done if he had had the advantages which he wanted? Had he been aſſiſted by States and Kingdoms, encouraged with a ſupply of all Foreign helps, excited by ſome great Rewards, placed in a better Light, directed in his firſt attempts and Studies by the wiſeſt Guids and Maſters which the Age could afford?

He was not only a Man of great Learning, and exemplary Diligence, but of great Modeſty and Humility, and Gratitude, and Candor: He did not ſwell with pride upon the account of his Learning or his Labours. He was far removed from any great opinion and conceit of himſelf, or a low and mean one of his neighbour. Thoſe who knew him will confeſs this. Indeed he was ſo far from thinking highly of himſelf and his own performances, that ſome Men have thought him extream and ſomething faulty, and that he did not value himſelf as he ought to have done. There did not perhaps live in the World a Man of more profound humility, than our Author was: A Man ready to hear others ſpeak, willing to be put in mind of any thing that was a miſtake or ſlip; full of the ſenſe of another Mans worth, and without a juſt ſenſe of his own. The moſt grateful and modeſt Man, and of the greateſt Candor and Humanity, and ſweetneſs of Temper our Author was.

He died at *Ely*, *Decemb.* 6. 1675. To the great loſs of the whole Kingdom, and particularly of the Inhabitants of *Munden*; to whom he was a *Father*, a diligent *Paſtor*, and a bountiful *Friend*. Among them he ſpent the greateſt part of his time for many years: He was not at eaſe when he was abſent from his Flock. It was not the *Fleece* he regarded, but the *Sheep:* They had alſo a great regard for their *Shepheard*, they gladly heard his Voice and did not go aſtray in his time.

Thus I have given ſome ſhort account of this excellent Man, and of his uſeful Life in the World. He lived to great purpoſe, died much lamented, and hath left us who ſurvive an excellent Example. God grant that we may cloſely and vigorouſly follow every thing that in our Author, or any others was Virtuous and Exemplary: we ſhall in due time reap if we faint not.

thing. (He ſeldom ſpeaks ſo confidently,) *but the Hap of becoming publick is not happened unto it.* Though now at laſt by good hap it is.

But however the World has at length gained this Map ſo long ſuppreſſed, yet his *Chorographical* Deſcription of *Canaan*, and the places adjoyning, is irrecoverably loſt. You will be the more ſenſible of the loſs of it, if you will hear what the Deſign of it was, and what pains he had taken about it. Take it from his own pen in one of his Epiſtles, He intended *to deſcribe the Land of Iſrael in a way ſomewhat new indeed and untrodden, and*, as he believed, *unattempted:* he means, out of the Writings of the Jews. For he had obſerved three ſorts of things, that might be picked up out of the Talmuds, and other *Jewiſh* Authors (if dextrouſly managed) in reference to the Land of *Canaan.* I. *In exceeding many paſſages, when they come to ſpeak of places of the Land, that are mentioned in Scripture, they either deſcribe them, or ſhew their ſituation, or diſtance from ſuch or ſuch places.* II. *They give us abundance of names of Cities, Mountains, and other places in that Land. Which names are neither to be found in the Scripture, nor Joſephus; nor in the Heathen, or Chriſtian Records, that ſpeak of the places of that Country; but in theſe Judaick Writers only. But yet carry a fair probability, and rational Evidence, that there were ſuch names and places.* III. *They relate many choice, eminent and remarkable ſtories, occurring in ſuch and ſuch places, which are not to be found in any Records, but their own: and of ſingular illuſtration both of the ſituation, and of the ſtory of the Land and Nation.* Now the taking notice of paſſages of this nature had been his courſe for many years together, as he had occaſion to read the Talmudical Writers. So that he had gathered a great ſtock of theſe *Rarities*, as he ſtyles them, for the uſe of his Chorographical Work; even to the bulk of a great Volume. In ſo much that what he ſaith of his Book of the *Temple*, That it coſt him as much pains to give that deſcription of it, as to travail thither, is as much, or more true of this. The unhappy chance, that hindred the publiſhing this elaborate piece of his, which he had brought to pretty good perfection, was the Edition of Doctor *Fullers Piſgah Sight*; Great pity it was, that ſo good a Book ſhould have done ſo much harm. For that Book handling the ſame matters, and preventing his, ſtopped his Reſolution of letting his labours in that ſubject ſee the light. Though he went a way altogether different from Doctor *Fuller*, and ſo both might have ſhewn their faces together in the World, and the younger Siſter, if we may make compariſons, might have proved the fairer of the two. But that Book is loſt utterly, ſave that many of his Notions are preſerved in his Chorographical pieces put before his *Horæ.*

And for the laſt thing (whereof that Preface was to conſiſt) namely to give ſome Hiſtorical account of the affairs of the *Jews*; that is done in part in his Commentary upon the *Acts* of the Apoſtles publiſhed *Anno* 1645. and in his *Parergon*, *Concerning the Fall of Jeruſalem*, at the End of the Harmony, *Anno* 1655. But alas! theſe are but light touches of their ſtory, rather than any compleat and full account thereof. But ſuch as they are we muſt be glad of, and contented in the want of the reſt. Indeed the *Jews* Hiſtory from the beginning of the Goſpel downwards for ſome Centuries would have been as excellent and uſeful, as the ſubject would have been rare and unuſual. And a thing of that difficulty alſo, that the modeſt Doctor propounds it to others rather than dares to undertake it himſelf. For we find in one of his Epiſtles Dedicatory *, He recommends it to *ſome able pen to continue the ſtory of the Jews, where Joſephus and Egeſippus end theirs, and where Jeruſalem ended her days, until theſe latter times, out of the Jews own Talmud and Writings; for the illuſtration of the Truth of thoſe predictions of Scripture that foretel their doom, and for the evidencing that juſtice, that hath ever ſince haunted them for the murder of the Righteous One, whom they crucified.*

* To the Earl of Eſſex, *Anno* 1645.

II.

Concerning his Learning and Studies.

NAture had endued him with a ſtrong and ſound conſtitution of Body: ſo that in his old age he was able cloſely to follow his Studies without finding any inconvenience by it: and though he had not ſpared his Eyes in his younger years, yet they ſtill remained good; for which he bleſſeth God in a Letter to the Learned *Buxtorph*, *Anno* 1664. And divers years after that, he acknowledgeth the ſame bleſſing of health in his Epiſtle to his laſt Book that he put forth, which was not above a year or two before his death: calling it *Vivacitatem corporis, animi atque oculorum*; *The Vivacity of his Body, Mind and Eyes.* This excellent temperament qualified him for Study. Which he purſued hard all his days. He had read much. Which may be gathered from his Note Books, wherein are ſhort Notes from Book to Book and from Chapter to Chapter, of the chief Contents of many Authors, collected by his own Hand, and both Fathers and Hiſtorians, and

and especially the latter: and such of them chiefly as might afford him light into the affairs of the Church in the earliest times of it. And hereby he laid himself in a good stock of materials to make use of in his future Rabbinical Studies. That abstruse and more recondite Learning he from his younger years greatly affected. *To those Studies* *, he tells us himself, *he was most fervently carried out, ex innato mihi nescio quo genio, by he could not tell what innate Genius:* and that there was nothing so sweet and delicate to him: * *istis deliciis nihil mihi dulcius delicatiusque.*

* Ep. Ded. before the *Hor.* upon S. *John.*

* *ubi ante.*

Indeed this Learned Man seemed to have a Genius, that naturally affected the Study of such things, as were beyond the sphere of ordinary and common Learning; and delighted to tread in * *untrodden paths*, to use his own phrase; and loved to lead rather than follow. *He was willing to spare no labour, and to take up all things at the first Hand:* as he speaks somewhere. And this appeared by the very Title that he gave some of his Books. His *Observations* upon *Genesis* are called by him *New and rarely heard of.* In his *Handful of Gleanings*, he promiseth solution of difficulties scarcely given by any heretofore: And in the second part of his *Harmony* published *Anno* 1647. he professeth to give Observations upon Text and Story, *not commonly obvious, and more rare and unnoted.* And that Proposition before mentioned, of a just History of the *Jews*, bespake the high and more than ordinary flights of his Learned mind. But especially his Harmony shewed this. Wherein he reckons himself the first that ever essayed a Work of that nature in the English Language: which he himself calls *an untrodden path, and a bold adventure.*

* Ep. before his *Harm.* publish. 1647.

But let us follow him to his beloved Rabbies, or rather to the beloved Writings of the ill-beloved Authors. Of whom he gave this character, That *the Doctrine of the Gospel had no more bitter enemies than they, and yet the Text no more plain Interpreters.* The reason he bent himself to the Study of them was because he was fully convinced an insight into their Language and Customs was the best way to a safe and sure understanding of the New Testament; which he thirstily gasped and breathed after the knowledge of. And though the barbarous and difficult style, and the great store of trifling, wherewith they abound, might, and doth, justly discourage many from reading them, yet Dr. *Lightfoot* undervalued all hardships and discouragements for the compassing that great and noble end he aimed at. Let us now view him tugging day and night at these Studies, and especially take notice of that excellent method he proposed to himself for the prosecuting them with the more fruit and advantage. Which was to Note, 1. Whatsoever any way tended to illustrate the Phrase or Story of the New Testament. 2. Whatsoever tended to the better knowledge of the places in the Land of *Canaan.* And 3. whatsoever related to History, and especially that of the *Jews.* And to acquaint you more particularly how he ordered himself in taking up these notices, he used large Note-books in *Folio.* And therein he digested what he intended to Note, as he read the Talmuds, and other *Jewish* Books, under such Titles as these: *Quædam de Terra Israelitica sparsim collecta; Things scatteringly collected concerning the Land of Israel.* And ארץ ישראל *Quænam. What was the Land of Israel.* And ארץ ישראל *Things appropriated to the Land of Israel.* And there is an Alphabet by him framed, in this method: א ארץ. ב בבל. ג גבל. ק קדש. ד דרום. ה ארץ. *in Græc.* ג גר. ח חוה. ו איו. ל לא, *&c.* Under which according to their initial Letters he used to reduce all places of the Holy Land mentioned in the Talmud, and something of their Situation, or History, with references unto the page of the Tracts, where they were mentioned. And lastly, There is another Title, *viz. Places in Babylonia*, under which he collected the Names and Stories of Towns or Cities in that Country also.

He was very curious indeed in tracing the Countries and places mentioned in Scripture, and especially wherein the *Jewish* Nation were any ways concerned. This sufficiently appears in his laborious Disquisitions premised before each of his *Hebrew* and *Talmudical* Exercitations. And in one of his Note Books, he is tracing with much accuracy the Marches of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, under this Ὁδοιπορία, *The Motions and Stations of Israel in their March out of Egypt.* Pity it is, it was not perfected by him.

He read over both Talmuds often, and with great deliberation, as appears from several of his Paper Books, in which are many rough Notes of the Contents thereof taken by him at several times; and sometimes short Observations of his own thereupon. He seemed to have had a Design of publishing a brief account of the *Jerusalem Talmud*, and of the chief matters, whereof it treats from Tract to Tract. For there is such a thing fairly written out by him in Latin, bearing this Title, *Index aliqualis Talmudis Hierosolymitani.* But it is imperfect, reaching but to the seventh Tract of the first Classis.

He was as studious of the Sacred *Chronology*, of the Old and New Testament, as, we have seen, he was of the *Chorography* of the Holy Land: as accounting this highly necessary to the understanding of the Scriptures. When it was once debated by the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster* in what parts of Learning the Candidates for holy Orders should

ſhould be examined, and ſome were for waving the trying them in Scripture Chronology, Doctor *Lightfoot* urged the neceſſity of it in order to the apprehending the ſenſe of the Sacred Volumes; alledging, that he held, *that he read not Scripture, who was not expert in Chronology.* And he prevailed in that debate. His abilities in that ſort of Learning may be ſeen in ſeveral of his Works publiſhed, and in divers rude Eſſayes in MS.

He had long and very carefully ſearched into the Tranſlation of the LXX, and compared it verſe by verſe with the Hebrew Original, as appears by his MS. under this Title, *Diſcrepantiæ* ☞ *LXX a textu Hebræo*, with brief Notes here and there. And under another Title, *viz.* Σφάλματα ☞ LXX, he enumerates all their errors throughout the whole Tranſlation; and them he makes to be very many in this method; *Inaniter addita Periculoſe decurtata. Senſum clarum obfuſcantia. Vitiantia pulchrum. Reddita in ſenſum, alienum. Reddita in ſenſum plane contrarium. Reddita in ſenſum nullum. Traditiones Judaicas redolentia. Hebraica retenta. Reddita pro fama gentis. Pro fama textus. Paraphraſes. Propria nomina facta Appellativa. Numeri male calculati. Locorum nomina recenſa. Vocales male Lectæ. Literæ male Lectæ. Senſus fœdatus. Variatio nominum. Verſus male conjuncti, &c.* And accordingly under each of theſe Heads the places of Scripture, ſo miſtaken are by him diſpoſed, which are infinite. Which coſt him no ſmall pains. By theſe things it appears he was no good friend to the LXX. It was great pity he lived not to digeſt into a juſt Volume theſe his careful Studies concerning the LXX, as he intended to do; and had begun it in Latine, in three or four Chapters, written fair with his own hand, carrying this Title, *Diſquiſitio modeſta de LXX, & de Verſione Græca:* and had likewiſe conſulted the great *Buxtorph* about this his purpoſe.

He was alſo well ſeen in *Joſephus.* He ſeems to have communicated his own *Joſephus*, with Notes of his own written in it, unto *Monſeir Petit*, a Learned Man of *Niſmes* in *France:* who had laboured hard in preparing a good Edition of that uſeful Author: For *Anno* 1666. in a Letter *June* 12. from Dr. *Worthington* to him, ſpeaking concerning *Petit*, he hath theſe words, *I doubt not but when you have your own Joſephus returned, you will meet with ſome obſervations of your own noted in him.* Another *French* Man about the year 1666. *viz. Monſeir Le Moyn*, reputed to be one of the Learnedeſt Men in *France*, and Miniſter of the Proteſtant Church at *Roan*, laboured in the ſame work that *Petit* before had done. And for the furthering of his deſign he wrote to the ſaid Learned and Pious Doctor *Worthington*, that if he had any thing for the benefit of that Edition, to impart it. Whereupon he applies himſelf to his old Friend Doctor *Lightfoot*, (who, as he tells him, was *well verſed in Joſephus*) that he would aſſiſt him with his hints and ſhort obſervations upon the doubtful paſſages in that Author: a thing that he knew would be very acceptable unto that Learned Man. What the iſſue of this requeſt was, appears not; only we know the Doctor did not uſe to be backward in communicating any knowledge he had; who had ſo freely yielded his aſſiſtance to the *Polyglot Bible*, to the *Heptaglot Lexicon*, and the *Synopſis* of the *Criticks*, as we ſhall ſee by and by. We are ſure *Monſeir Le Moyn* made great uſe of what the Doctor had before publiſhed, eſpecially in the Chorographical Century before S. *Matthew*, where he had occaſion to ſpeak to ſeveral places in *Joſephus.* And ſo he writes expreſly to Doctor *Worthington*, ſpeaking of his Notes and Exercitations upon *Joſephus*, *In iis utor ſæpiſſime Lightfootii Talmudice Doctiſſimi, &c. In theſe I do very often make uſe of the Works of Doctor Lightfoot, a man well ſtudied in Talmudical Learning, &c.*

What Doctor *Worthington* contributed to this Work, beſides the uſing his intereſt with his Learned Friends for the ſame purpoſe, let me mention, though not ſo much to our preſent Theam. At the Library at S. *James*'s there was a *Joſephus* in *Greek*, Printed at *Baſil:* probably once belonging to the very Learned *Iſaac Caſaubon*; for in the Margin were various Lections written by his hand, which he had gathered out of MSS. and ſome conjectures and hints of his own; there were alſo marked in it other Notes of *Patrick Young*, written moſt in *Greek.* Theſe the aforeſaid Doctor tranſcribed, and numbred the Pages and the Lines, which made three Sheets of Paper cloſe written, a matter of no ſmall pains, and ſent them over to the ſaid *Monſeir Le Moyn.* But to return to our Author.

III.

Some account of him as a Divine.

HE gave no ſmall ſpecimen of his ſkill alſo in *Divinity*, as well as in Oriental and other Learning, when he proceeded Doctor, which was *Anno* 1652. The Queſtion upon which he diſputed, was, *Poſt Canonem Scripturæ conſignatum non ſunt novæ Revelationes expectandæ.* Which he managed againſt the *Enthuſiaſts*, againſt whom he by

by all means oppoſed himſelf; as being greatly ſenſible how that Sect tended to the overthrow of the Holy Scriptures; which were his deareſt Care and Delight. He managed this Queſtion by diſcourſing *firſt*, Concerning the Sealing of the Canon of the Holy Scriptures; And *ſecondly*, Concerning not expecting Revelations after it was once Sealed. His meaning he ſtated in theſe three particulars; That now after the Scripture Canon is ſealed, Revelations are not to be expected. I. To reveal new Doctrines of Faith. Nor, II. To diſcover the ſenſe of the Scriptures, or to explain the Doctrines of Faith. Nor, III. To direct our Lives and Manners. And among other Arguments whereby he proved his Queſtion, he produced two Hiſtorical paſſages for that purpoſe. The one was, *That in thoſe very Times wherein Revelations, Inſpirations and Propheſies abounded, even then Men were directed to the written Word. Yea (which is more, and moſt worthy of notice) from the firſt founding of the Church of Iſrael unto the expiration of it, though for the moſt part Prophets and Men inſpired were at hand; yet God ordained not theſe for the ſtanding and conſtant Miniſtry, whereby the People were to be inſtructed, but Prieſts, that were skilled in the Law, and ſtudied the Scripture. How far do our Enthuſiaſts,* ſaith he, *ſwerve from this Divine Inſtitution concerning the publick Miniſtry; Who ſuffer none to be a Miniſter, who is Learned and Studious, but he only, who is inſpired with the Spirit, and who can preach by the Spirit?* The other is, *That the Apoſtle S. Paul, after the firſt age of the Goſpel in which Revelations were often very neceſſary, would no longer uſe the Impoſition of his hands, which conferred the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, becauſe he well knew, that God ſaw good no further to make uſe of ſuch a Miniſtry: and therefore placeth Timothy in Epheſus and Titus in Creet, and other excellent Men elſewhere, who, though they could not confer the Spirit, yet they ordained Miniſters, not inſpired by the Spirit, but Learned by Study.* He the next day determined Learnedly upon that Queſtion, *An mors Chriſti fuerit in Redemptionem univerſalem.* His *Clerum* which he Preached was upon 1 *Cor.* XVI. 22. Ἴδις ὁ φιλῶν τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν χριστὸν ἤτω Ἀνάθεμα Μαρὰν ἀθά. The ſum whereof was afterward by him publiſhed in his *Horæ* upon the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*.

And ſince we are conſidering him now as a Learned Divine, having before taken notice of him as a Learned Man; let us hear him arguing and ſhewing his great abilities among the Divines at *Weſtminſter*. Whoſe notions he did not ſeldom oppoſe, even to a challenge; ſometimes by the ſtrength and clearneſs of his reaſonings, and evidence of Scripture (for he ſeemed to deſerve that character that was given to *Apollos*, *a Man mighty in the Scriptures*) he turned the whole Aſſembly: and ſometimes, ſuch was his honeſty and courage, he would in ſome caſes diſſent from the whole Company, and be the only Negative in the Aſſembly. Some paſſages of his judgment in that Aſſembly are related in the *Account* of his Life, there are divers more, that deſerve to be recorded to his fame and memory.

Doctor *Lightfoots* judgment was for general admiſſion to the Holy Sacrament, and ſpake for it by theſe arguments. I. That though the Law forbid the unclean to come *ad Sacra*, yet it gave not power to any to repel thoſe that offered themſelves to come. Nor find we any ſuch example. II. That in *Matth.* VII. *Sanctum canibus*, *Give not that which is holy to the Dogs*, is ſpoken in reference to the Apoſtles ſafety For the *Jews* themſelves, who uſe this Proverb, by *Dogs* and *Swine* underſtand the bitter Enemies and Perſecutors of the truth. And ſo our Saviour hereby warrants his Diſciples, though they Preach not to Perſecutors, and Enemies, leſt it coſt them their lives. III. Circumciſion was indifferently miniſtred to all the Seed of *Abraham*, Ergo. IV. *Judas* received the Sacrament, *Ergo*. And when Mr. *G.* inſtanced in *Uzziah* his being repelled, our Doctor anſwered, That it was *ab Officio & loco*, and withal ſaid, *Grant the Prieſt did and might repel the unclean, yet the caſe was different.* For that uncleanneſs was external, and it might be known, whether they were purified or no. But ſo cannot a Miniſter now judge of a Mans Conſcience. For though he were ſcandalous yeſterday, yet may his repentance be unfeigned by to day, for ought he knows. Dr. *B.* urged, That though Chriſt was καρδιογνώστης, yet *Judas* his Villany was not now known among the Diſciples. Our Doctor anſwered, Chriſt had publickly marked him out for a Traitor before. Dr. *H.* urged, *After the ſop he went out.* The Doctor anſwered, That was no Paſsover nor Sacrament, but before it. Upon this the matter aroſe to a great heat (for he ſeemed herein to oppoſe the whole Aſſembly) and leave was publickly given to our Author and Mr. *P.* to debate the point about *Judas*. And they did it ſomewhat largely. And the next day Dr. *H.* offered to diſpute the ſame matter againſt him; but the Aſſembly thought fit not to allow it. Again, *Matth.* VII. was taken up, which Dr. *Lightfoot* again oppoſed, and deſired, that the verſe might be taken in this ſenſe, which they would have, *Give not the Sacrament to Dogs, leſt they rend you*; and then that they would conſider, how doth this agree? And further urged, that *Dogs* in Scripture doth moſt conſtantly ſignifie *An Enemy:* and where *Dog* once ſignifies a *prophane* Man at large, it ſignifies many time for that one, either *thoſe without*, or *utter enemies* of the Truth. Mr. *S.* pleaded

for

of Aſcalon. Let not the Jews hear it, nor the Turks underſtand ſuch a thing: leſt they blaſpheme our Lord of Life, more than they do. For the proving that clauſe in the ſame *Article, To reconcile his Father to us*, they produced *Ezek.* XVI. 63. which the Doctor oppoſed, as improper for the thing in hand.

At another time, being upon *Diſcipline*, when there had been great bandying of that place *Epheſ.* IV. 11. *Paſtors and Teachers:* Diſputing what officers they were, whether diſtinct or the ſame, whether ordinary or extraordinary; the Doctor ſpake to this purpoſe, That he for his part was of a ſtrange indifferency in this place and point. For with the one part he held, that theſe two here named are diſtinct Offices, but it was *pro hic & nunc, & ad tempus.* For by that μέχρι καταντήσωμεν, &c. *Till we all come*, &c. *verſ.* 13. he means the coming in of the Gentiles: and that is ἑνότητος πίστεως, & μέτρον ἡλικίας, &c. *The unity of the Faith*, and *the meaſure of the ſtature*, &c. there ſpoken of. And, that theſe Officers were thoſe that God appointed for the bringing in the Gentiles to the union with the Jews, ἐν ἑνότητι πίστεως; and therefore is no inſtitution of ſuch Offices for the time to come. A *Paſtor* indeed is to continue, but this *ex neceſſitate rei*, rather than *hujus loci.* But a *Doctor* is not of ſuch neceſſity. Then indeed there were, as *Act.* XIII. *Prophets and* διδάσκαλοι, *Teachers*, but it was κατὰ τὸν ἕξῆ ἐκκλησίαν, *according to the Church being*, but now not ſo.

I will mention but one or two paſſages more, that will ſhew how accurate a Man he was, as well as Learned. When the Directory for Prayer was reading over, and they came to that clauſe, *Freeing us from Antichriſtian darkneſs*, he excepted againſt the expreſſion as too low: for that *Antichriſt* importeth an activeneſs againſt Godlineſs; and *Darkneſs* is but a privation of Godlineſs. Therefore it was thus mended, *From Antichriſtian darkneſs and Tyranny.* And again, whereas it was thus penned, *Theſe things we ask for the merits of our High Prieſt:* This he likewiſe excepted againſt, for that the alluſion would not hold. For the *Jews* prayed to God by the *Mediation* of the High Prieſt, but never by the *merits.* Whereupon the word *mediation* was put in.

By all which paſſages laid together we may diſcover not only his knowledge in Divinity, his great parts and quickneſs, and his happy ſkill in interpreting Scriptures, and the great progreſs he had then made in the Oriental Learning: but alſo much of his judgement in the *Presbyterian* points; and how frequently and freely he oppoſed their moſt beloved and eſpouſed Tenets.

He was now but a young Man, little above forty years old: but by all this it appears he had read much, and maturely digeſted his reading, eſpecially *Jewiſh* Learning. Nay long before this he was an Author. For he publiſhed his *Erubhin*, or *Miſcellanies* at ſeven and twenty years of age. By the frequent quotations in which Book it appears, that he had then read and ſtudied even to a prodigy. For he doth not only make uſe of divers Rabbinical and Cabbaliſtical Authors, and of *Latine* Fathers, but he ſeemed well verſed in the *Greek* Fathers alſo, as *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Epiphanius*, *Chryſoſtome*, &c. well read in antient *Greek* prophane Hiſtorians and Philoſophers, and Poets, *Plutarch*, *Plato*, *Homer*, &c. well ſeen in Books of Hiſtory Eccleſiaſtical and prophane of our own Nation: and in a word ſkilled in the *modern* Tongues as well as the *Learned:* as is evident from his quotation of the Spaniſh Tranſlation of the Bible, and a Spaniſh Book. And of what worth and value the Book it ſelf was, you may gueſs by the Cenſure, that a Man of great Learning and Wiſdom gave of it: I mean that Worſhipful perſon to whom he dedicated it, his Patron Sir *Rowland Cotton.* Who in a Letter to him upon the receit of the Book tells this young Author, *That he had read it over, and that there were many rarities; nothing ſo Vulgar that he needed to fear his Books entertainment, unleſs it lapſed into the hands of an envious or ſtupid Dunce. And that he joyed much in his proficiency.*

IV.

Some Remarks upon his Horæ Hebraicæ & Talmudicæ.

I Deſign not to give a particular account of his Works as they came forth, ſomething hath already been ſpoken of them; his ſeveral Epiſtles before them will ſhew that: only of his laſt pains, that crowned all the reſt, I mean his *Horæ Hebraicæ*, I would remark ſomething: and that is, the univerſal approbation and applauſe they met with in the Learned World, both at home, and in forain parts. When our Author had ſent his *Horæ* upon S. *Mark* to the great and profound Linguiſt Dr. *Caſtel*, he calls it *an unutterable obligation laid upon him; that it was a learned and much longed for work, and that it enriched his poor Library with an addition ſo excellent and delightful*, &c. And upon the Doctors ſending him his *Horæ* upon St. *John*, he writes thus; *I received laſt week by your appointment a gift auro quovis, gemmiſq; contra non charum: that all the riches of the Levant congeſted together cannot equal: ſuch a* מכתם *as will juſtly deſerve to be enrolled among the very next Records to thoſe of Infallibility. And truly, Sir, all your rare diſcoveries of Celeſtial*

Celeſtial Verities, ſeem to me to be at ſuch, above the reach either of doubt or heſitation. And again, *Your Criticiſm of Bethabara and Bethany* (ſaith he) *is ſo native, proper, genuine, and ingenious, I no ſooner read it, but ſtraitway ſaid to my ſelf, Securus jurarem in Verba Magiſtri. Tis like all the other births of your bleſt Minerva.* And upon the edition of another of thoſe pieces Mr. *Bernard* of S. *Johns, Oxon*, a Man of known learning, worth and piety, writes thus to him; *I moſt humbly thank you for the happy hours on the more copious Evangeliſt; by which that moſt excellent part of Holy Scripture is finiſht, and compleatly expounded in the moſt proper and yet untrodden way. God reward you both here, and in the better World for this, and the reſt of your labours in this ſort; which poſterity will admire, and bleſs, when they ſee them altogether.* Dr. *Worthington* another perſon of great judgment, learning and goodneſs, treats our Doctor with theſe words in a Letter wrote to him, *Feb.* 166½. concerning the ſame ſubject; *I wiſh you length of life, health, vacancy and freedom for what remains. I hope that you are ſtill proceeding, and are not weary in well doing, though Books ſell but little: thoſe that are able to buy, leſs mind Books, and thoſe that would buy are leſs able: having little to ſpare from what is neceſſary for their families. But your labour will not be in vain in the Lord: nor here neither.* The learned Men beyond the Seas had alſo an high value for theſe pieces: let ſome of them ſpeak for themſelves. *Frederick Mieg*, (ſon to a great Councellor of the *Elector Palatine*, once brought up under *Buxtorph* in *Hebrew*, and Rabbinical Studies, and of whom he gives a high character) thus writes to our Doctor from *Paris* 1664. concerning thoſe *precious Hours*, as he ſtyles them, and *publick Labours. Publicos enim labores non vereor appellare, quos in publicum literarii Orbis commodum redundare, nemo eſt qui ignoret.* And tells him beſides, that there were no learned Men, as he knew, on that ſide the Seas, but did *ſummis anhelitibus*, earneſtly pant after his *Hebrew and Talmudical* Exercitations upon the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, which he had then ready for the Preſs. And begs him in his own Name and in the Name of all that love thoſe Studies, *ut lucem non invideas ſcripto luce digniſſimo, neq; illud intra privatos parietes conſeneſcere ſinas, unde tantum imminet publico emolumentum. That he would not envy it the light, ſince it was ſo worthy of it: nor ſuffer that to lie longer concealed within private walls, whence ſo great profit would accrue to the publick.* In a Letter from *Nicholas Hoboken*, Secretary to the Dutch Ambaſſador, here in *England*, written to Dr. *Lightfoot* in the year 1659. he acquaints him with the ſenſe *Gisbertus Voetius* (Profeſſor of Divinity, and a Man of great Name in *Holland*) had of his *Chorographical Century* before his *Horæ* upon S. *Matthew*, namely, *That he had expreſſed to him* (the ſaid Secretary) *the complacency that he took from thoſe Geographical illuſtrations of his, fetched out of the Talmudiſts: ita tamen, ut ſpe largiori frui deſideret plura Lucubrationum ejuſmodi tuarum videndi.* And if we ſhould travail into *France*, there we ſhall find a Man of as great fame as the other was in *Holland*, and, it may be, of greater Learning, I mean, *Monſeir Le Moyn*, who in a Letter to Dr. *Worthington*, *Anno* 1666. expreſſing the value he had of Dr. *Lightfoots* Books, and among the reſt of his ſacred Chorography before S. *Matthew*, he ſaith, *that his Library is proud of them.* But the judgment of the Venerable *Buxtorph* is *inſtar omnium*, who in a Letter to Dr. *Caſtel* in the year 1664. earneſtly deſires to know what Dr. *Lightfoot* did: and ſaith, *That by his Talmudick Hours he began greatly to love his Learning and Diligence, and wiſhed heartily to ſee more of them.* And in the year before that in a Letter to our Doctor himſelf, he thus accoſts him: *Ex quo Horas tuas Hebraicas & Talmudicas in Matthæum vidi & legi, cœpi te amare, & pro merito æſtimare: Tantam enim in eis Talmudicæ lectionis peritiam, & ad illuſtrationem SS. literarum dexteritatem; tantam etiam diligentiam & accurationem in illis deprehendi, ut non potuerim non Te magnificere, & in admirationem Tui rapi. Raræ hæ dotes hoc noſtro ſæculo in viris Theologis, rari hujuſmodi Scriptores; qui nil niſi ſuas proprias obſervationes lectoribus proponunt: Unde ab eo tempore deſiderium me tenuit, ob ſtudiorum communionem propius tecum conjungi, & familiarius te noſcere. Since the time I ſaw and read the Hebrew and Talmudick Hours upon Matthew, I began to love you, and to eſteem you, as you deſerved. For in them I obſerved ſo great skill in Talmudical reading, and dexterity in illuſtrating the Holy Scriptures, accompanied with ſo great diligence and accuracy, that I could not but extol you, and be carried away with an admiration of you. Theſe endowments are rare in Divines in our days, writers of this nature are rare; who propound to Readers only their own obſervations. Whereupon from that time, I had a deſire from the commonneſs of our Studies, to be better acquainted with you.*

This was the reception theſe Learned *Hours* of his found in the World: and a great and invaluable loſs it was, that he went not through the whole New Teſtament in that excellent method of explaining them. His friends indeed often called upon him and ſet him on to proceed. Dr. *Worthington's* judgment was, that he would do better to publiſh more at a time than he did, ſince he needed not to fear now their reception; ſo as *Luke* and *John* might make one Volume, and after that the *Acts* and the Epiſtle to the *Romans* would make another; and then his Works would meet at the Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*.

But if the tediouſneſs of the Work ſhould diſcourage him to go on, yet he earneſtly recommends one Book at leaſt to him, and that is the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, the matter of it being ſo ſutable to his *Hebrew* Studies. Such good ſuggeſtions were made to him, but they took not effect: not that his ſtrength began to fail him, or that he was unwilling to give his pains, (for he had a mind generouſly diſpoſed to communicate his knowledge) but the true reaſon was, becauſe he could not get them Printed, and had ſo much impaired his own eſtate by what he had before ſent abroad. This he complains of more than once: and particularly in a Letter to *Buxtorph:* into whoſe boſom thus he pours out his mind. *Exaſciavi paucis adhinc annis commentariolum*, &c. *A few years ſince I prepared a little Commentary upon the firſt Epiſtle to the* Corinthians *in the ſame ſtyle and manner as I had done that on* Matthew. *But it laid by me two years and more, nor can I now publiſh it, but at my own charges, and to my great damage: which I felt enough and too much in the edition of my Book upon S.* Mark. *Some progreſs I have made in the Goſpel of S.* Luke, *but I can print nothing but at my own coſt. Whereupon I wholly give my ſelf to reading, and ſcarce think of writing more. Our Bookſellers and Printers have dulled my edge, who will print no Book, eſpecially Latine, unleſs they may have an aſſured and conſiderable gain.* So that I know not whether we ought to be more angry or grieved; grieved that we are deprived of ſuch uſeful Labours, or angry with thoſe, who were the occaſions of it.

V.

The aſſiſtances he gave to the Polyglot Bible, the Heptaglot Lexicon, and other Learned Works and Men in his time.

THUS his fame ſpred it ſelf far and wide: and this made him ſought unto by many Learned Men for his Counſel or furtherance in their Studies, or for his directions or caſtigations in their Labours that they intended for the publick. How much the Right Reverend Biſhop *Walton* made uſe of him in his Bible, one of the braveſt Works that ever came forth, and Reverend Writer of the account of the Doctors Life ſheweth. It was as good a Work as it was great, and this raiſed a wonderful zeal and affection in the Doctor to it, and excuſed the trouble that he was at about it, in reviſing it; and ſpecially the *Samaritan* Pentateuch: and ſo the great Undertaker tells him in one of his Letters to him. And it much rejoyced his heart, when the Work was brought to perfection: which he expreſſed in a congratulatory Letter to Mr. *Samuel Clark* of *Oxon*, who had a great hand in it. To which that excellent Linguiſt makes this anſwer: *As for the Work paſt through, I have great cauſe of thankfulneſs, bleſſing God, that hath even beyond our own hopes, carried us through it. Yet I have no reaſon to attribute to my ſelf, as due, any part of that thanks and praiſe, whereunto you are pleaſed joyntly to entitle me with others far more deſerving: But I rather contract a greater debt of thankfulneſs, that by the Teſtimony and ſuffrage of one ſo eminently Judicious as you are, I am adjudged to have been faithful.* I conclude this matter with a part of Dr. *Lightfoots* ſpeech, that he made at the Commencement, *Anno* 1655. being then Vicechancellor: wherein he mentions this Work then in hand in a kind of triumph, as ſo much tending to the honour of Learning, and particularly of the *Engliſh* (then deſpiſed) Clergy, and finally for promoting the knowledge of the Bible all the World over. *Sic ſub protrito & proculcato ſtatu Cleri nuper Anglicani germinavit, & adhuc germinat, nobile illud eruditionis germen, editio Bibliorum multi-linguium, qua quid generoſius vix vidit unquam Reſp. literaria, nec quicquam Anglia ſibi honorificentius. Opus æternæ famæ, monumentum memorabile in ſempiterna ſecula futurum, ſummæ eruditionis, zeli, & in Deo bonarum literarum protectore fiduciæ Cleri Anglicani jam tum ſumme periclitantis. Macti eſtote, viri Venerandi & Doctiſſimi, qui in opere tam magnanimo deſudatis. Pergite, quod facitis, trophæa vobis erigere, Patriæq; & perlegant ope veſtra omnes Gentes Sacra Biblia ſuis linguis; atque iiſdem linguis eadem ope prædicentur fama eruditionis & literatura gentis Anglicanæ. Thus under the now deſpiſed and trampled on Engliſh Clergy, hath grown up, that noble iſſue of Learning, the edition of the Polyglot Bible, and ſtill it grows: than which the learned World hath ſcarce ever ſeen any thing more generous, nor the Engliſh Nation any thing to its ſelf more honourable. A work of eternal fame, a memorial to endure to everlaſting ages of the Engliſh Clergies, great learning, zeal, and truſt in God the Protector of Learning, when now it lay under mighty hazzard. Go on, ye Reverend and Learned Men, who are ſweating in ſo brave a Work. Proceed, as ye do, to raiſe trophies to your ſelves, and your Country. And by your labours let all Nations read the Holy Bible in their own Tongues: and by the ſame Tongues, and the ſame labours let the Engliſh Nations fame for its Learning and literature be proclamed.* Thus did the good Man rejoyce in Learning, and in the fame of his Coat, and of his Country.

The

The next Book to the Polyglot Bible, for Labour and Worth, and which is always to be named with it, is the Heptaglot Lexicon: to the laborious Author of which our Doctor alſo contributed his aid. A Work it was of ſeventeen years; a *ſeventeen years drudgery*, as he ſtyles it in one of his Letters: in which, beſides his own pains, he maintained in conſtant ſalary ſeven Engliſh, and as many ſtrangers for his aſſiſtants: all which died ſome years before the Work was finiſhed; and the whole burthen of it fell upon himſelf. Though by Gods grace he at laſt finiſhed it, before it finiſhed him.

And here I cannot but turn a little out of my way, to condole with this Author, that wore out himſelf, and his Eſtate too in a Work ſo generally beneficial; and had little thanks after for his labour. See and pity his condition, as he ſets it out in one of his Letters to Dr. *Lightfoot:* where he ſays, *He had ſpent twenty years in time to the publick ſervice, above* 12000 l. *of his own eſtate, and for a reward left in the cloſe of the Work above* 1800 l. *in debt.* Thus he kept his reſolution, though it was as fatal to him as uſeful to the World. For in the beginning of the undertaking, he reſolved to proſecute it though it coſt him all his Eſtate, as he told Mr. *Clark.* This forced him to make his condition known unto his Majeſty, wherein he petitioned, *That a Jayl might not be his reward for ſo much ſervice and expenſe.* Tis pity ſuch true Learning and hard Labour ſhould meet with no better encouragement.

But to go back whence for mere charity and commiſeration, we diverted. In this great undertaking Dr. *Caſtel* more than once acknowledgeth the help of our Author. *Sure I am my Work could never have been ſo intire as it is without you. All pretenders to the Oriental Tongues muſt confeſs their great obligation to you.* And in another Letter, with which he ſent him his *Lexicons*, he tells him, *That his Name ought to have ſhined in the Front, who had given the moſt orient ſplendor (if there be any ſuch in them) unto all that is Printed, and may therefore moſt juſtly* (ſaith he) *be called Yours.* And again, He calls him *His greatlieſt and moſt highlieſt honoured Maſter, Father and Patron.* Indeed our Doctor did frequently encourage and comfort him with his Letters, got him Subſcribers and Friends, afforded him his Lodgings at *Katherine* Hall, whenſoever he came to *Cambridge* to read his *Arabick* Lectures, for ſome years, and ſuch like kindneſſes. For which he always profeſſed a moſt dear affection and honour for him.

Another great Man in this kind of Learning, I mean Mr. *Samuel Clark*, one employed in both the aforeſaid great Labours, applied to him for his Counſel and help in a learned Work, that he deſigned for the publick. Which was the publiſhing of the *Targum* upon the *Chronicles*, with his own Tranſlation; which was a part of the *Hebrew* Bible belonging to the Library of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*. A MS. it ſeems that the Univerſity ſet ſo highly by, that he made three journies to *Cambridge*, before he obtained it. But he borrowed it at laſt by Dr. *Lightfoots* means, about the year 1659. And by the Doctors intereſt had it continued to him for ſome years. This he deſigned (as ſoon as he had finiſhed it) to joyn, with ſome other Additionals, to the *Polyglot* Bible. Which deſign he communicates to our Doctor before he came to a reſolution about it; telling him, that *if he and ſuch as he approved the deſign, it would be an encouragement to him to proceed in it.* That the Doctor approved of his purpoſe it appears, from that conſtant aſſiſtance that he gave him afterwards about it: Mr. *Clark* ſending it as he tranſcribed and tranſlated, ſheet by ſheet, for the Doctors review and correction. For which in a Letter dated from *Holywel*, *Sep.* 3. 1667. He profeſſeth himſelf *exceedingly engaged to him for the great pains he had taken, and that he had ſo freely declared his judgment* in ſome places he had noted: *being ſo far from unwillingneſs* (ſaith he) *to have my errors ſhewed me, that I am very thankful to you for it: and entreat you to go on as freely with the reſt.* This *Targum*, it ſeems, by a place in the Talmud mentioning *Onkelos*, the Doctor was moved to think *Onkelos* might be the Author of. For which diſcovery Mr. *Clark* heartily thanks him, telling him, *that he would do him a great favour, if he would pleaſe to let him know his ſenſe of it, whether he conceived that paſſage of weight enough to entitle him to this his Targum* (as he calls it) *upon the Chronicles.*

This ſame worthy Perſon had Printed that Tract of the Talmud called *Beracoth*, which he ſent to our Doctor, deſiring his impartial judgment upon his performance therein, and begging him to ſignifie to him wherein he might be guilty of miſtake.

Nor ought we to forget the aſſiſtance he gave to the Author of the *Synopſis* of the Criticks, upon his deſire. For he cheerfully devoted himſelf to the publick good. Firſt, He encouraged him with an ample Teſtimonial of the uſefulneſs of the deſign in general, and of the careful and impartial management of it by the undertaker. Then as to his pains in the Work it ſelf; he ſeems to have reviewed it piece by piece as it paſſed from the hand of Mr. *Pool*, before it went to the Preſs. For in one Letter he tells the Doctor, *that he therewith ſent him one part upon Numbers, begging ſtill his thoughts upon any thing as he ſhould meet with it.* He likewiſe promiſed him, in ſuch places as he obſerved to be moſt defectively done, to give him ſome explications tending to the clearing of the *He-*

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brew words, or phraſes or matter which Mr. *Pool* deſigned to bring into a diſtinct Volume as *Paralipomena*, to go under the Doctors name, by themſelves, with ſome other things, as *Appendices* to his Work; as *De Nummis, ponderibus, menſuris, De Templo: Quæſtiones Chronologicæ, Chorographicæ, Hiſtoricæ, &c.* Some ſheets of theſe Explications of Scripture I have ſeen, which he had ſent to Mr. *Pool* according to his promiſe. There is all the Book of *Joſua*, and ſome Chapters of *Exodus* and *Numbers*. Where the Doctor proceeds Chapter by Chapter briefly to give the ſenſe or illuſtration of difficult paſſages according to the Talmudiſts and Rabbins. But this laſt deſigned additional Volume, I think, Mr. *Pool* never publiſhed. And this was not all, for in another Letter he takes notice of a promiſe, made him by the Doctor, of his aſſiſtance in reference to the Hiſtorical Books of the Old Teſtament from *Joſua* to *Job* out of the Rabbins and Talmud: unleſs perhaps this was the ſame with the former.

VI.

The addreſſes of Learned Men to him.

IT would be endleſs to mention the Applications of Learned Men to him. The deeply Learned Mr. *Herbert Thorndike* in the year 1669. writ to him a long Letter, deſiring him to communicate the ſum of his judgment concerning *Morinus* his Exercitations of the *Jews*, in the ſecond Book of his *Exercitationes Biblicæ*. Mr. *James Calvert*, a Learned Man of *York*, begs his advice about the right poſition of the Prieſts portion in the holy ſquare of *Ezekiel*. This Learned Man for the clearer underſtanding of divers paſſages in the Prophetical writings, was inclined to think, that that Viſion of *Ezekiel*, commonly underſtood myſtically, is rather literal and hiſtorical. The only or main objection againſt this Hypotheſis is the placing of the Prieſts Portion: *for if the Temple be either five, or thirty miles diſtant from the City, there can be no queſtion but that the Viſion is myſtical:* (they are his words) *but if there be an error in placing of the Prieſts portion, and that the City and Sanctuary may meet together, the greateſt objection againſt the literal ſenſe will be removed.* And thus concludes his Letter, *Sir, I do not know your perſon, but I have both read and heard ſo much of your excellent Learning, and your candid and ingenuous nature, that it emboldens me to write thus freely to you, and to entreat you, that as you have hitherto, ſo you would ſtill make this one great end of your rare Learning, to illuſtrate the Scripture Text, that inſtead of too many aerial and ſubtil ſpeculations the Church of Chriſt may be fed with ſolid food: I mean, the ſimple and ſincere meaning of the Holy Ghoſt, be it Hiſtory or Myſtery.*

It would be too long to tell of young *Buxtorph*, upon whom the Magiſtrates of *Baſil* conferred his Fathers *Hebrew* Profeſſors place at ſeventeen years of age. *Maximo Parente ſpe major filius*, as Dr. *Caſtel* characters him; *John Henricus Ottho*, a Learned Man of *Berne* in *Switzerland*, *Frederick Miege* a Noble, Learned and Ingenious *German*, *D. Knory* a very Learned Man of *Sileſia*, *Theodore Haac*, and many other forrainers of divers Nations; that came into *England* chiefly to ſee Dr. *Lightfoot*, and to be directed in their Rabbinical Studies by him: All whom he did with much humanity and affability receive: and from him they departed with great ſatisfaction; as by their Letters to him after their departure does appear.

VII.

His Correſpondences.

HE held a Learned Correſpondence, eſpecially with perſons moſt eminent for that recondite Learning, that he was ſo famed for, and was dear unto and highly valued by them. Namely, The great *Buxtorph* while he lived, and at home, the Right Reverend Father in God *Brian* Lord Biſhop of *Cheſter*, deceaſed, Dr. *Pocok*, *Hebrew* Profeſſor at *Oxon*, Dr. *Caſtel*, *Arabick* Profeſſor at *Cambridge*, Dr. *Marſhal* the Reverend and Learned Rector of *Lincoln* College, *Oxon*, Mr. *Samuel Clark*, ſometime Keeper of the Famous Library of the Univerſity of *Oxon*, Dr. *Worthington*, ſometime Maſter of *Jeſus* College in *Cambridge*, Mr. *Bernard* of S. *Johns* College, *Oxon*: all Men famous in their generation, whoſe names we need only mention; and among the laity, he held a moſt intimate friendſhip and correſpondence with Sir *Tho. Brograve*, of *Hertfordſhire*, Baronet, his Neighbour and Kinſman, a Gentleman well ſeen in thoſe abſtruſer Studies. Nor did their Letters conſiſt of vain ſtrains of Complements, nor were they ſtuffed with idle and unprofitable News, of affairs in the State: but they carried deep and Learned enquiries

enquiries about difficulties of Scripture, or doubts in their Oriental Studies: they conferred about brave and high Designs for the better promoting of Truth and Religion, and solid, useful Learning. One Conference I meet with between Dr. *Castel*, who was the συζητητὴς, *The Propounder*, and our Doctor, *The Resolver*, was upon this subject proposed by the former, Whether when the ordinary Interpretation of any *Hebrew* words renders the sense hard and rough, recourse may not be had to the Interpretation of those words according as they signifie in *Syriac*, *Chaldee* or *Arabic*. This question had been occasioned from Dr. *Lightfoots* excellent Interpretation of that difficult place, *Ezek.* VIII. 17. Upon which place he put a fair sense (as it seems) by Interpreting some word or words there, according to some of those Languages. Whereupon he tells him, *That he met often with many seeming contradictions and absurdities in our English (though one of the best) as well as in other Versions.* As *Job* III. 5. *Let the shaddow of death* stain *it* (*in the margent*, chalenge.) *A Catacresis I remember not to be found elsewhere. But* נאר (the word there used) *in the Arabic use is Excipere, Colligere, as the* LXX, *not there alone best.* Chap. XV. 4. תגרע *Thou* (speaking to *Job*) *restraineſt prayer. Whereas Job was often in Prayer: in Arabic (in which Language many words with him occur)* عنى *is, to Protract and Multiply, as the Syriac and Arab there render it,* Thou art much in complaints, *Chap.* XVIII. 2. קנצי למלין *Aucupia Verborum, again from the Arab* قنص *Contradicendi vices, as the Arab and Chaldee both. Chap.* XVI. 18. *O Earth cover not thou my blood,* ויהי *so that there should be no place to my cry: Because blood is a Crying sin. To pray his Cry should have no place: I am a Davus to that sense. Prov.* XXIII. 7. כמו שער בנפשו *As he thinks in his heart --- and yet his heart is not with thee: seem very repugnant.* Whereupon he propounds this Question, *That meeting with a World of these* (seeming contradictions) *every day, he craves his judgment, Whether the Arab, Chaldee, Syrian may not sometime sit upon the Bench, and pass their Vote concerning their old Mothers meaning?* All the News communicated between these Correspondents was about the further progress of Oriental Learning, the discovery of more Books of that Nature, &c. which was the best and joyfullest news to them. It may be it will not be amiss to communicate a Letter or two of this nature. The one is of the aforesaid Dr. *Castel*, written 1664. *Sir, Though I perish, it comforts me not a little to see how Holy Writ flourishes. I lately received an Armenian Psalter given me by Professor Golius, come newly off the Press: where they are Printing (at Leyden) the whole Bible in that Language. The Old Testament is there Printing in the Turkish Language, perfected by Levinus Warnerus. The New Testament in Turkish, done by Mr. Seaman, is just now in the Press at Oxford: of which I have some sheets by me: as I have also of the old Gothic, and Anglo-Saxon Gospels, now Printed with a Glossary to them at Leyden. Mr. Petreus hath Printed some parts of the Old Testament in Ethiopic, and hath many more prepared both in that and the Coptic Language. The Lithuanian (of which I have a good part by me) and the New England Bibles, I need not name. I have a specimen of a Turkish Dictionary Printed at Rome, and of a Chaldee Dictionary in folio in the Hebrew Language, composed by the Learned Coken de Lara; which our* ὁ μαγιστὴς *Professor Buxtorph much desired he might live to see finished: tis said to be now near its period at the Press.* And News of the same import the Learned Mr. *Bernard* communicated to him from *Oxon* about the year 167¾. which let it not be too tedious to peruse also: it ran thus.

Reverend and Right Learned, I cannot but acquaint you, that the Learned and Pious Mr. Robert Huntington, present Minister of the Church of the English Factory at Aleppo, hath lately sent over hither, a good Samaritane Pentateuch, together with an account of the Religion of the Samaritans of Sichem, written by themselves there upon his request, and sent as it were to their Brethren here in England (as they mistook Mr. Huntington, who told them that there were Hebrews here, he meaning Jews, and they their own Sect.) The Translation whereof into Latine out of the Samaritane (which is nothing but the Biblical Hebrew, save some Arabisms here and there: for that is the Language commonly made use of by them at Sichem) I have here sent: and, if you think it worthy the while, I will also transmit a Copy of the Samaritane unto you. Mr. Huntington acquaints me that there are about thirty families of these Samaritans at Sichem, and not more, that they desire correspondence here. But care is to be taken that we do not dissemble with them, but beg their History of Joshua, and their Liturgy; and also examine them upon points that may be material. If you please to send what Questions you would desire resolution from them in, I will send them to Mr. Huntington, to whom I shall write about three weeks hence. The said good Mr. Huntington hath likewise sent over an hundred and fifty MSS. *Arabic and Hebrew. Among which are Cosis in Hebrew, R. Saadias his Sepher Emunah in Arabic, Bar Bahlul's Lexicon well written, Maimonides his Yad entire except two Tracts, which are not quite compleat, R. Saadias his Version and Notes on Job in Arabic, Maimonides's Moreh, both in Arabic and Hebrew,*

Maimonides

Maimonides his Sons Notes on his Fathers Yad, Gregorius's Syriac Grammar, pieces of R. Tanchum, and his Lexicon, or Murshed, Kimchi's Michlol, R. Alphes, and Tanchuma, and other good Books in Hebrew MSS. *Besides, he hath sent over a Catalogue of Books to be had now at Damascus in Arabic and Persian, and some in Hebrew. He is skilful himself, and ready to serve you in any thing Jewish or Oriental, that may be had there. This opportunity I would not let you be ignorant of, knowing how you have recommended above all others the Study of Jewish Learning, as plainly necessary to the right understanding of the New Testament, as well as the Old.* And then by way of Postscript. *As for Greek* MSS. *he could meet with none, that were classical, but Ascetics enough. The account of their Calendar in the Samaritanes libel is somewhat obscure and defective.* Whether these two Gentlemen or either of them, are yet alive, my Country retirement and want of Society gives me not opportunity to know. But if they be, I am confident such an intire respect they have to the memory of this excellent Man, that they will not be unwilling these their Letters should be exposed to the publick, or any thing else, that I have mentioned from them, that may any ways tend to the preserving his fame or honour. If it be said that these matters are no news now, though they were then. I answer, Probably divers things here related are not so common and ordinarily known, at least to many, but that they may be read with satisfaction. But the truth is, I produced them not so much to inform the World of News, as to discover some of the Learned matters of the Doctors correspondence.

VIII.

An account of his imperfect pieces.

BEsides the Works of this our Learned Man, that saw the Light, and of which we have spoken somewhat, he had several other considerable things upon the Anvil: which shew as well his abilities as his inexhaustible and continual labour and industry. Of which give me leave to give this Catalogue.

In Latine.

I. *Historia Quadripartita. Chronica Universalis, Judaica, Romana, Ecclesiastica, De rebus Gestis, Imperante familia Flaviana, Vespaciano, Tito, Domitiano.* The *Chronica* begins at the birth of *Christ*, and is digested under six Columns, *viz.* The first contains the year of the World; the second of *Rome*; the third of the Emperor; the fourth of *Christ*; the fifth *Rerum Gestarum*; the sixth of the *Consuls.*

Pars Secunda, viz. Judaica.

CAP. I.

Cineres Hierosolymorum, & Vastatæ terræ facies.

CAP. II.

Synedrium magnum collocatur in Jabne. This is sufficient to shew the design of that Book.

II. *Computus Temporum Judaicorum ab Urbis Excidio ad conscriptum Talmud Hierosolymitanum.*
III. *Index aliqualis Talmudis Hierosolymitani.*
IV. *Disquisitio modesta de LXX, & de Græca Versione.*
V. *Discrepantiæ* פי *LXX a textu Hebræo in Pentateucho.*
VI. Σφάλματα פי *LXX.* Giving an account of all the errors of all kinds at large.
VII. *Hillel*, a short discourse.
VIII. *De spiritu prophetiæ.* A discourse occasioned from 1 *Cor.* Chap. XIV.
IX. *Concio ad Clerum, Habita in Ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ, Jan.* 12. 165½. *pro Gradu Doctoratus.*
X. *Disputatio in publicis Comitiis pro Gradu Doctoratus.*
XI. *Orationes & Determinationes, cum Procancelariatu functus est.*
XII. *Ætates Rabbinorum.*
XIII. *Quædam de Israelitica sparsim collecta.*
XIV. *Annotationes in primum & quartum Caput Geneseos.*
XV. *Memorabilia quædam sub Ezra, & Synagoga ejus magna, Chronologice disposita.*
XVI. *Correctiones & observationes in Textum Samaritanum.*

XVII. *Adver-*

XVII. *Adversaria e Rabbinis collecta in Josuam, & in quædam Capita Exod. & Numerorum.*
XVIII. *The Minor Prophets in the Vulgar and* LXX *translations compared with the Hebrew*, and the various readings and additions taken notice of.
XIX. Divers other loose papers, concerning the destruction of *Jerusalem*, situation of places in the Holy Land. Chronology, History, &c.

In English.

I. *The Book of Chronicles of the Kings of France, and of the Kings of the House of Otoman the Turk. Written in Hebrew by Joseph the Priest, and Translated in English by J. Lightfoot.*
II. *The Consent of the four Evangelists. A Century.* Perfect.
III. *A plain and easie Exposition of the Prophesie of Hosea.*
IV. *An Exposition upon the Old and New Testament by way of Chronology, and Harmony; with a preface instructing how to understand the Scripture.*
V. *The Motions and Stations of Israel in their March out of Egypt.*
VI. ארץ ישראל *Things appropriated by the Jews Traditions to the Land of Israel.*
VII. *Names of places in the Holy Land explained out of the Rabbins, set down by way of Alphabet.*
VII. *Of the Creation.* A Chapter.
IX. *A Discourse upon* Joh. XIII. 27, 30.
X. *History beginning from the fall of Jerusalem.*
XI. *Historical passages in the first year of Trajans reign.*
XII. *A Table of the years from the birth of Christ to the Fall of Jerusalem.*
XIII. *The Jewish, Christian, Roman History, Anno Christi* XXXVI.
XIV. *The Chronology and History of Diocletian, Constantine and Constantius.*

Indeed some of these were only Notes and *Memoranda* for his own private use; but several of them undoubtedly were intended to have seen the Light at one time or other, but that he found the Press so loth to receive things of that nature, and so he cast them by, some only begun, and as it were in Design; all of them imperfect, but One.

IX.

Encomiums given him by Learned Men.

ALL these Labours of his, published and unpublished, and those deep notions in the way of his Learning, that he communicated by Letters or in Conversation, raised high and Venerable opinions of him amongst the best and most knowing Men. It would be endless to recount what large Testimonials and Commendations they have given him. Some we have read already. Let us hear a few more. *Your Name* (saith Dr. *Castel*) *is indeed a sweet Odour poured out into all Nations, who are all bound to pray heartily for you, your health, welfare, prosperity, longevity.* And again, *Nemini notus, quin te humani generis æstimet delicias; nemini ignotus, cui non absconditus maximus sub Cœlo Thesaurus.* And if you will, once more, in another Letter: *Chaldea, whose antient glory, and multiplicity of Sciences are, by the wheels of Nature in the long decurse of time, rolled into Munden. Which you, Sir, a right Trismegistus, for Christian, Jewish and Ethnic literature, will make to after ages more illustrious than either Babylon, or Athens were of old.* Another, namely Mr. *Samuel Clark*, speaks thus, *Your own great worth is sufficient to preserve your memory verdant with me, or any other, that hath any sense of Learning or Goodness.* Mr. *Bernard* does violence to the Doctors modesty in these words: *I know your self and Doctor Pocok to be the very Pillars of Sacred Learning, like the Monuments of Seth, in a corrupt and vain age. God add, I beseech him, yet to your years and health so advantageous to his Church.* And for forainers, besides what we have heard from them already, take the Value they had for him by the words of one of them, named before, *viz. Johannes Henricus Otto:* He was a Learned young Man of *Bern*, who it seems had travailed into *France* and other places for his improvement, and at last came into *England*, and being at *Oxon*, sends a Letter to our Doctor: wherein apologizing for his address, he tells him, *That the fame of his Piety and singular Learning had so spred it self over the World, that there was no Scholar, who loved him not in his mind, and was not ambitious of his friendship. Plurimi sunt qui nondum meruerunt a te cognosci, qui tamen inter alias Gentes famam nominis tui exceperunt, & post præclarorum scriptorum tuorum lectionem, in cultum tui venerabundi iverunt.* But especially (he assures him) all studious of *Hebrew* do applaud him. And instanceth in

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Turretti-

Turretius junior at *Geneva : Justellus, Tormentinus, Tenevottus, Capellanus, Ferrandus,* at *Paris : Toignard* at *Orleans : not to speak any thing* (saith he) *of mine own Country and Germany also, whose Names this Letter would scarcely contain.* Abundance more I might produce, both of our own Country-Men and Strangers; but he stands not in need συστατικαῖς, *of Letters of Commendation.*

X.

Concerning his love to, and endeavours of promoting Oriental Learning.

THERE was no Man under the Sun our Author more reverenced and honoured, than *Buxtorph* Professor of Divinity and *Hebrew* in *Basil :* and the reason was because, next to his piety he had been so instrumental by his published Labours in furthering the knowledge of *Jewish* Learning : to which from his Youth the Doctor had a strong, and almost natural inclination, and it continued with him to the end of his Life. When Dr. *Buxtorph* had writ a Letter to him by the Hands of one, who had formerly been his Scholar, our good Man received both Letter and Bearer with the highest resentments of joy and complacency , for the sake of the Reverend Professor. And when he had signified in a Letter to our Doctor, that by reason of age and infirmities growing upon him, and finding himself greatly to decline in strength of body and mind, he must lay aside all thought of publishing any thing more ; this our Doctor took heavily to heart, and lamented in a Letter he sent him. For by him he acknowleged himself to have arrived to what skill he had in his Rabbinical Learning ; and from the grateful sense he had of this, arose a vast love and reverence for him. *Placet* (saith he) *Honoratissimo Domino, de peritia mea in Talmudicis loqui, quæ siqua est (quam scio quam sit exigua) tota tibi ipsi referenda est, & incomparabili Parenti tuo,* &c. *It pleaseth you, most honoured Sir, to speak of my skill in the Talmudists, which if it be any, (and how small it is I well know) is wholly owing to you, and to your incomparable Father. Plowing with your Oxen (using your Lexicons) I have sowed, and if any crop comes of it, it is yours. And what Christian is there, I pray, who reads over the Talmudick Writings, that ows not the same tribute? So much is the whole Christian World endebted to the great name of Buxtorph.* And then he professes to him, he could not read it without tears, when he told him, that by reason of the weaknesses and indispositions of old age, he must promise the World no more of his Writings. This was in the later end of the year 1663. And indeed the death of that Learned Professor happened not long after, namely in the beginning of *September* the year after. For whom the Magistrates of *Basil* had such a great esteem, that before the Fathers death, they chose his very young Son to succeed him in the *Hebrew* Professorship ; as in his other of Divinity Dr. *Zwinger* (descended of that famous Man of his name) was also elected. And one of the last respects Dr. *Lightfoot* could pay the memory of that great Man he wrote an *Epicedium* upon him, and got Sir *Tho. Brograve* to write another in some of the Oriental Languages : and so also did Dr. *Castel :* which were sent to the Friends of the deceased. And when not long after the young Professor came into *England*, he received a most kind and obliging reception from our Doctor as well for his Father, as for his own sake.

It was his love of this Learning, and his great desires to see it more Studied, that made him so great a friend to Dr. *Castel*, under his *ruinating and destructive Undertaking*, as he himself truly called it, and under that which was the bitterest pill of all for him to swallow, namely the scornful reproaches of his pains that he met with from some, as if they were of little or no use. This had quite broke his almost broken heart, had not our Worthy Man continually upheld him, encouraged him, by Mony, Subscriptions, Counsel, Comfort. So that, that the Work was ever finished was owing in a great measure, (*sub bono Deo,*) to Dr. *Lightfoot*, and a few more Men in the World of that tendency of Learning. *But the truth is*, saith he, *one Dr. Lightfoot is more to me than ten thousand such Censors. Besides some few others amongst our selves, I have a Golius, a Buxtorph, a Hottinger, a Ludolfo, &c. in forain parts, that both by their Letters, and in Print have not only sufficiently, but too amply and abundantly for me to communicate, exprest their over high esteem of that, which finds but a Prophets reward here in its own Country.*

He highly admired Mr. *Broughton* and Mr. *Selden*, Men deeply Studied in this kind of Learning, calling them a *matchless pair* ; and never mentioned them without honour ; undervaluing himself to nothing, as often as he had occasion to speak of them, or such as they.

And for the better setting afoot these Studies, upon the death of the Learned *Golius*, *Hebrew* Professor beyond Seas, who had an excellent collection of Rabbinical, and Oriental Books, vast were the pains and diligence he, and Dr. *Castel*, and some others used for

for the purchaſing of them for the enriching the Library of *Cambridge*, or ſome other publick one here in *England*. Though I think they ſucceeded not, thoſe Books being afterwards ſold at a publick Auction in *Holland*.

He could not patiently hear the antient Records of the Rabbines too much aſperſed, as proceeding moſt commonly from ignorance of their admirable uſe in explaining the Holy Scripture. When *Rutherford* in the Aſſembly of Divines had ſaid, that there was no news of ſomewhat in controverſie, but in the Rabbines, (It was of a *Cup* in the inſtitution of the Paſover,) ſeeming to ſpeak contemptibly of them; Dr. *Lightfoot* replyed, *That there are divers things in the New Teſtament, which we muſt be beholden to the Rabbins for the underſtanding of, or elſe we know not what to make of them.*

So much did he delight in any Scholar, that took in hand the Study of thoſe Eaſtern Languages, that in caſe any were minded to ingratiate himſelf into Dr. *Lightfoots* affection, next to Piety and Religion, he could not take a readier courſe to do it than bending his Studies that way. And very officious he was to aſſiſt ſuch with his directions; labouring to bring young beginners into an affection and liking to that Learning, and facilitating the crabbedneſs of it to them, as much as he could. I know, ſome now alive, that have had the experience of what I ſay.

XI.

His kindneſs and affection to Katharine Hall.

AS he truly loved Learning, ſo he had an intire favour to the Univerſities, where it was foſtered and promoted. This appeared in that publick and open joy and Triumph that he expreſſed in his Oration, when Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*, which was *Anno* 1655. at the opening of the *Commencement*. For when in thoſe unjuſt and Violent times wherein ſo much malice was exerciſed againſt *Religion*, no wonder its handmaid *Learning* was deſigned for ruine: nothing then was talked of ſo much, and ſo much intended, and almoſt come to a final reſolution, as the ſeizing the poſſeſſions and revenues of the Univerſity, and turning out the Scholars to ſhift for themſelves. But by Gods gracious overruling Providence this feral deſign took not place. Upon which our Vice-Chancellor made a long Harangue, expreſſive of wonderful joy and thankfulneſs. *Non fingere nobis idq; mœſtis animis tremuliſq; non potuimus, qualis futura Anglia erutis oculis, &c. We could not but imagine, and that with ſad and trembling hearts, what England would have been,* her Eyes, *viz. The Univerſities, and Clergy, being put out: what Cambridge would have been without Cambridge: what a ſpectre of a dead Univerſity, what a Sceleton of empty Colleges, what a funeral of the Muſes, and a carkas of deceaſed Literature, &c:* and after breaks forth into thanks to Almighty God for their happy deliverance. And then taketh occaſion hence to expatiate Learnedly in his Rabbinical way of the Antiquity, uſe and neceſſity of Univerſities. *Academias primum fundavit ipſe Deus, &c. God was the firſt Founder of Univerſities, of equal age with his Law and viſible Church, and not to dye but with them, &c.* as he Elegantly and Learnedly goes on.

Thus his good will ſpred it ſelf over the whole Univerſities, but it was more peculiar to two Colleges in that of *Cambridge*, unto which he was particularly related, *viz. Chriſts* College, where he had firſt been bred, and *Katharine* Hall, over which for many years he preſided. And this kindneſs he ſhewed by dedicating a Book to each. That to *Katharine* Hall is before the firſt, *Horæ Hebraicæ* he publiſhed. Wherein by giving them account of his firſt falling upon *Jewiſh* Studies, and the excellent method he uſed in peruſing the Rabbins, he, like a careful Maſter, directs their Studies; and in the cloſe he profeſſeth his Dedication proceeded from that real reſpect and endearment he had to them, and that he deſigned his Book as an eternal memorial of it. What elſe ſounded thoſe kind words which he uſed in his Letters to forainers concerning his College, ſtyling the Students thereof, *Catharinenſes mei?* And Doctor *Caſtel*, who knew as much of his mind as any, there being a great friendſhip between them, ſpeaking to him concerning the College, calls it, *Your delighted in Katharine Hall.* Tis true he was at firſt put in Maſter there by the Powers that then were; but upon the happy ſettlement of theſe Kingdoms upon their old and true foundation of Monarchy, and the reſtitution of the King, our Doctor knowing the right of that place belonged to another, namely to Dr. *Spurſtow*, voluntary and freely went and reſigned it up to him: but upon his refuſal to return back again, and take that charge, he applied to the King, who graciouſly beſtowed his Letters upon him to confirm and ſettle him in that Maſterſhip. And upon his coming down with thoſe Letters, the Fellows of the College rode

out ſome miles to meet him, and to receive him with that ceremony, as if he had been a New Maſter of *Katharine* Hall.

A ſmall College indeed it was, and illy built, but yet was ſo bleſſed by God, that it could boaſt of many famous and excellent Divines and Prelates of the Church of *England*, and other very worthy Men, formerly members of it; and was uſually ſtored with ſuch numbers of Students, that they could hardly be contained within the Walls of the College. For the honour therefore of it, as well as its neceſſary enlargement, this our Maſter and the Fellows reſolved to pull down at leaſt ſome part of it, and to build it with more decency, capacity and advantage. Towards which as every Fellow preſently laid down twenty pounds, ſo our Doctor gave a very liberal and generous contribution; and moreover was inſtrumental by his intereſt with his Friends to procure good benefactions for the ſame uſe from others. But he died ſoon after the Work was begun. So that the good Progreſs that is ſince made in that chargable Work is owing in the firſt place to the indefatigable pains of the Reverend and very Worthy *John Eachard* D. D. preſent Maſter, and thoſe very many generous perſons in *London*, and elſewhere, whoſe love of Learning, and favour to him, have excited them freely to contribute thereunto. But to return to Dr. *Lightfoot*. Who beſides the former contribution, had before been a Benefactor to his College by redeeming a piece of Land to it. And therefore is always mentioned at the Commemoration of the Benefactors.

It was not his want of affection to his College, that made him reſide not much there, but partly becauſe he thought himſelf moſt bound to be chiefly among his Flock, of whoſe Souls he had the care: and partly becauſe in the Country was moſt retirement, a thing that for the ſake of his Studies he greatly affected to the laſt. Which were not ingrateful to his old Age, but rather an eaſe and a pleaſure to it. *Studendo ſolor ſenectutem*, was a ſaying of his to a Learned Man.

XII.

His Patrons and Friends.

HIS great Learning and excellent Qualities reconciled him Friends and admirers among thoſe of his own Rank and Degree, and made him a favourite to Men of Eminency and Honour. Beſides thoſe I have already mentioned he was dear to, and highly valued by, his Grace, the moſt Reverend Father in God *Gilbert* late Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury:* through whoſe mediation, his Parſonage of *Great Munden*, and his Maſterſhip of *Katharine* Hall were confirmed to him by the King. Which he acknowledged in two Epiſtles before two of his *Hebrew* and Talmudick Exercitations. The Right Honorable, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, ſometime Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, a Learned and Good Man, took a pleaſure in his Learning; and when he was Judge, and went the Circuits, he always deſired, and frequently procured Dr. *Lightfoot* to preach at the Aſſiſes at *Hertford*, whom for his Learned and unuſual Notions he delighted to hear. He was one of his great Encouragers to proceed in his *Hebrew* and Talmudical Explanations of the New Teſtament; *Conſilio, auxilio, Patrocinio, Munificentia, by his Counſil, aid, Patronage, and Bounty*, as he ſpeaks himſelf in his Epiſtle Dedicatory before the *Horæ* upon S. *John*. The Right Honorable and Right Learned Sir *William Morice* Kt. one of the Principal Secretaries of State, deſerves to be mentioned in the next place; who, unaſked, unſought to, was very ſerviceable to our Author in procuring the Kings favour and his Letters Patents for him: The ſenſe of which (for none ſo ſenſible of kindneſſes) made him think himſelf obliged to put his Name before one of his Books. He was alſo endeared to two Perſonages of *Hertfordſhire*, of great Honour and Integrity, *viz.* Sir *Tho. Brograve* Baronet, and Sir *Henry Ceſar* Knight.

The former of theſe was doubly related to the Doctor, *viz.* in affinity, and in the courſe of his Studies, being Learned in the *Jewiſh* literature. As appears by a deſign he and the Doctor had of going to Dr. *Caſtels* Library to peruſe ſome Books of his of that nature. To which Dr. *Caſtel* in a Letter gives them free leave, telling them, *That his Cabbaliſtic and Rabbinic Books were moſt of them at Higham Gobyon: where his Study doors ſhould ſtand wide open to give Sir Thomas and him entrance, every Book they found there moſt truly at the ſervice of them both, to take and uſe at their pleaſure.* The entercourſe between Sir *Thomas* and the *Doctor* was very frequent both by Letters and Viſits, the diſtance not being ſo great, (only two miles) but that they might walk the one to the other on foot: which they often did, out of that great endearedneſs that was between them, and for conferring together in the things of their Studies. A Friend of mine has heard the Doctor tell more than once, how upon occaſion of ſome diſcourſe between them about ſuch a Subject, Sir *Thomas* departed from him, and preſently penned a Diſcourſe about the

the Univerſity of *Athens*, and brought it to him; which the Doctor after lent out to ſome one, that had deſired it, but could not call to mind to whom; ſo that that Learned piece was ſtifled, and irrecoverably gone. And I have great cauſe to ſuſpect, that this which happened to the Writing of the Doctors friend, happened alſo otherwhiles to himſelf. In whoſe hands ſoever any of his Books or Writings lie concealed, to ſay no worſe of them, they deſerved not the Friendſhip of ſo worthy a Man.

His friendſhip to Sir *Henry Ceſar* appeared in the ſeveral Viſits he gave him in his ſickneſs, the ſmall Pox, which I think was mortal to him. Though he was very fearful for his own Family; yet his ſingular love and reſpect to Sir *Henry* made him not to prefer that conſideration to his ſervice in ſuch a time. Whoſe early death he very much lamented.

But his firſt and antient Friend, Chaplain and Patron, (as he uſed to call him, and that in many juſt regards) we muſt not, we cannot forget: for he never forgat him to his dying day, and ſcarcely ever ſpake of him but with a tranſport of affection. I mean Sir *Rowland Cotton* of *Shropſhire*. Who gave him the Preſentation of *Aſhley* in *Staffordſhire*, and was the great inſtrument of putting him upon the ſtudy of the Rabbins, and being himſelf very Learned in them was his Tutor, as well as his Patron. *With much care, tenderneſs and condeſcenſion did he guide and lead on my Studies* (as he publickly declares in an Epiſtle to Mr. *William Cotton* his Nephew and his Heir) *in the ſame way, that he himſelf had been trained by that choice and incomparable Oracle of Learning, Mr. Hugh Broughton.* And in the ſame Epiſtle, He profeſſeth, *he always eſteemed it one of the choiſeſt advantages that ever accrued to him, that it was his hap and happineſs at his firſt ſetting out into the Study of Scriptures and Divinity, to be ſettled in his Houſe, and to come under his Tutorage and Inſtruction.* Undoubtedly Sir *Rowland* had perceived a good Spirit, and an excellent genius in young Mr. *Lightfoot*: and that he wanted nothing but counſil and direction, and ſome body to recommend a good method of ſtudy to him, to make him a great Scholar; and this made that worthy Perſon undertake him himſelf; as foreſeeing what he would afterwards prove, in caſe his Studies were well regulated at firſt. This kindneſs he ever remembred: which let him ſpeak for himſelf. *He* (meaning Sir *Rowland*) *laid ſuch doubled and redoubled obligations upon me by the tender affection, reſpect and favour that he ſhewed towards me, as have left ſo indelible an impreſſion upon my heart, of Honour to his dear Name and obſervance to his Houſe of Bellaport, that length of time may not were it out, nor diſtance of place ever cauſe me to forget it.* As a Commentary upon which words, I might mention the care and regard he ever had to the family of the *Cottons*. And I do remember, that when I was a Student of *Katharine* Hall, there was one who was a *Cotton*, and an heir of that Family, was likewiſe a Student, and admitted there by the Doctors means: over whom he had a more eſpecial Eye; and frequently had him ſent for into his Lodgings, to eat with him, and confer with him, and to ſhew kindneſs to him for *Jonathans* (I mean his Great Uncles) ſake. And out of reſpect to that dear name he cauſed one of his ſons to be called, *Cottonus*. Nay he loved the very name of *Bellaport*, the ſeat of Sir *Rowland*. And I have a Letter, which Sir *Rowland* wrote *Anno* 1629. in anſwer to his Epiſtle Dedicatory to him before his firſt Book, that he publiſhed; this beloved Letter the Doctor preſerved unto his dying day, as a kind of Sacred Relique: upon which was wrote with his own hand, Sir *Rowland Cottons Letter.*

And for a concluſion of our Diſcourſe of Sir *Rowland Cotton*, whom we have ſpoke ſo largely of (and of whom Dr. *Lightfoot* could never talk enough) hear the Concluſion of his Funeral Sermon upon him, prepared, though not Preached, upon what occaſion I know not. "That bleſſed Soul, that is now with God, in the night of its departure, "laid the burthen of this preſent Work upon me, in theſe words, *You are my old ac-*"*quaintance, do me the laſt Office of a Friend, make my funeral Sermon, but praiſe me not.*
"A *hard* taſk, Fathers and Brethren, is laid upon me; when I, who of all Men this day
"have the greateſt cauſe to mourn for his loſs that is departed, ſhould of all Men this day
"be allowed the leaſt liberty of mourning, becauſe of this preſent work. And a *ſtrange*
"taſk, Fathers and Brethren, is laid upon me, when I muſt make to you all a Funeral
"Sermon, and yet muſt tell to none of you for whom tis made. For if I do but call
"him Sir *Rowland Cotton*, I commend him. It was not a time to ſay ſo then, but now I
"dare ſay it over again; a hard taſk, Fathers and Brethren, is laid upon me, when I
"muſt have much cauſe of tears for his death, and yet not be allowed to weep; and
"ſuch reaſon of remembrance of his life, and yet be denyed to praiſe. I obey, Bleſt
"Soul, I obey: but I am full, I cannot hold: Diſpence with me ſomething, for I cannot
"hold. It is for your ſake, Worthy Audience, that I muſt hold tears, leſt they ſhould
"hinder my ſpeech. Be pleaſed to give me liberty of ſpeech, in recompence of my re-
"ſtrained tears. And it is for thy ſake, Bleſt Soul, that I muſt withhold commendation,
"leſt I ſhould break thy command: give me liberty of indignation againſt that command

"in

"in recompence of my reſtraint from thy Commendation. *Meus, Tuus, noſter, imo "Chriſti*, as *Hierom* of *Nepotianus:* ſo we of him, whoſe departure we may commemo- "rate: *My*, Sir *Rowland Cotton*, *Yours*, *the Countries*, nay *Chriſts*, hath forſaken us: and "becauſe *Chriſts*, therefore he hath forſaken us, to go to him, whoſe he wholly was.

"Oh! that my head were waters, or rather words, for only that manner of mourn- "ing; and my Tongue a fountain of tears, for only that inſtrument of weeping is al- "lowed me now: that I might weep day and night, not for him that is gone; for he "is gone where he always was, and where he would be: but for my ſelf, but for "you, but for the Country. It is not my ambition, but my ſorrow, that I claim the "firſt place, and to be firſt ſerved in this heavy dole of lamentation. For I have loſt, I "cannot tell you what: My Noble Patron, my beſt Friend, my Father, my -------- my "Self. I ſhould loſe, if I ſhould but begin to tell what he was to me. Why ſhould I "ſpeak more? For ſhould I ſpeak my ſelf away, I could never ſpeak enough. Oh! my "Father, my Father, the Chariot of *Iſrael*, and the Horſeman thereof; How thy love "to me was wonderful, paſſing the love of Women! *And is it nothing to you, O ye that ſit "by? Behold and ſee, if there be any ſorrow like unto my ſorrow, which is done unto me, "wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger.* He it was, that firſt "laid the foundation of my poor Studies, and always watered them with his diſcourſe, "and encouragement: and now the Lord hath taken my Maſter from my head. He it "was under whoſe branches I ſheltred, when any ſtorm was up; and now my Tree of "defence is cut down. He it was, that was my Oracle, both for things of this life, and "of a better: and now my Prophet is not any more. He it was, that was all things to "me, that man could be; but now can be nothing to me, but ſorrow. And is this no- "thing to you, O all ye that ſit by? Yes, the Cup is gone among you alſo, and a great "Man is fallen in your *Iſrael.* Hath not the Magiſtracy, hath not the Gentry, hath not "the Country, loſt ſuch a Man, as was -------- But you muſt ſpeak out the reſt: for his "Command ſtops my mouth. You of the Magiſtracy know how he had Wiſdom in an "high degree, as was his calling, and withal care and conſcience anſwerable to his Wiſ- "dom, to diſcharge his calling. And you may commend this rarity in him, I dare not. "You of the Gentry know, that he was a prime Flower in your Garland, that he ſpake a "true Gentleman in all his actions, in his comportment, in his attendance, in his talk, "once for all, in his hoſpitality, even to admiration: and you may commend him, I "dare not, *&c.* A ſenſible ſtrain of Rhetorick! which paſſion and inward ſorrow had as large a ſhare in dictating, as Art.

XIII.

His Relations.

HAving expatiated thus largely in our notices of this Man, that we may omit nothing that is material, we will now begin to conſider him in his more private and perſonal capacity. His Reverend Father had five Sons, whereof our *John* was the ſecond. His eldeſt was *Thomas*, the only of all his Sons bred to a ſecular employment, being a trades Man. The third *Peter*, a very ingenious Man, and practiſed Phyſick in *Uttoxeter*; and beſides his Art, he was of great uſefulneſs in that Country, and often in Commiſſions for ending of differences. He alſo had intended to have writ the Life of his Brother Dr. *John Lightfoot*, but was prevented by death. The next was *Joſiah*, who ſucceeded his Brother Dr. *Lightfoot* in his Living of *Aſhley*; the only of the Brothers now living. The youngeſt was *Samuel*, a Miniſter alſo, but long ſince deceaſed. And as it was his Honour, that he was derived of an honeſt and gentile ſtock by both Father and Mother: ſo it was a part of his Happineſs, that God bleſt him with a Poſterity. He was twice married, and both times into Families of Worſhip. His firſt Wife was *Joyce*, the Daughter of *Crompton*, of *Staffordſhire*, Eſquire, a Gentleman of a very antient Family and of a good Name, and Eſtate. Her Mother was an *Aſton* of the family of the Lord *Aſton* of *Tixal*, but before they were Papiſts. This their Daughter was the youngeſt, if I miſtake not, of nine Siſters, all the reſt that lived, having been married into worſhipful Families there. In the Church of *Stone* in that County, where the Doctor ſometime was Miniſter, there remains the Pourtraiture of them all, with three Sons, and their Father and Mother, in Braſs. She was firſt wedded to Mr. *Copwood*, a Gentleman of a good Eſtate in that County: by whom ſhe had two Sons and one Daughter. The Sons ſince died; but the Daughter is now living, and married there, and inherits the Eſtate. The Relict of this Gentleman the Doctor became acquainted withal, when he lived in Sir *R. Cottons* family, and not long after married her, himſelf being yet young. By whom he had iſſue four Sons and two Daughters. To one of which the

the Lady *Cotton* was Godmother. His eldeſt ſon was *John*, who was Chaplain to the late Right Reverend Father in God *Brian*, Lord Biſhop of *Cheſter*, the famous Undertaker of the Polyglot. By whom this Mr. *Lightfoot* was much eſteemed, but died ſoon after his Lord and Patron, and lies buried in the Cathedral Church aforeſaid. He had ſix Daughters, all now deceaſed, but two, who live at *Cheſter*. *Anaſtaſius* was his ſecond Son, who had alſo theſe additions to that name, *viz.* *Cottonus*, *Jackſonus*, in memory of Sir *Rouland Cotton*, and Sir *John Jackſon*, two dear friends of the Doctors. This was alſo a Clergy-man, Incumbent of *Thundridg* in *Hertfordſhire*; and died there; leaving one Son ſtill living. The third Son was *Athanaſius*, brought up a Trades Man in *London:* deceaſed alſo. And his fourth Son *Thomas* died young. His Daughters were, *Joyce*, now the worthy conſort of Mr. *John Duckfeild*, Rector of *Aſpeden* in *Hartfordſhire:* (whom I muſt not name but with an addition of reſpect for communicating to me moſt of the Papers and original MSS. and Letters of Dr. *Lightfoot* and others, that I have made uſe of both in theſe relations, and in the publiſhed Sermons.) And *Sarah*, now a Widdow, formerly married to one Mr. *Colclough*, a Gentleman of *Staffordſhire*, deceaſed.

This pious Matron, and diſcreet Wife the Doctor buried in the year 1656. in his Church of *Munden:* after he had lived well near thirty years with her. Afterwards he took to Wife *Anne*, the Relict of Mr. *Auſtin Brograve*, Uncle to Sir *Thomas*, before ſpoken of. By her he had no iſſue. Whom he likewiſe ſurvived. She died alſo at *Munden*, and was buried there.

His pious Father, *Thomas Lightfoot* hath a great but a true character given of him in the *Account* of the Doctors Life. I ſhall only add the Inſcription upon his Monument, as it now is in the Church of *Uttoxeter*; a Copy whereof Mr. *Michael Edge*, the preſent or late Miniſter there communicated to us: compoſed as it ſeems by his Learned Son, *Peter Lightfoot*, Phyſician, lately deceaſed.

M. S.

Huc oculos & Lacrymas, O Viator,
Qui veteri ſtudes Veritati, Pietati, Charitati,
Huc: ubi teipſum ea olim celaturus.

THOMAS LIGHTFOOTE

Verbi divini per annos 56 *fideliſſimus Miniſter,*
Eccleſiæ hujus per annos 36 *Vigilantiſſimus Paſtor,*
Vir antiquorum morum, & primævæ ſanctitatis,
Coruſcantis zeli, doctrinæ, Virtutis, exempli.
Vir verum exſcribens virum: Paſtor paſtorem.
Sudore ſemper ſqualidus, at formoſus paſtorali,
Salutem ſuam anhelans ſemper & aliorum.

Gloriam magni Paſtoris ambiendo indefeſſus,
Annis ſatur tandem, & bonis operibus,
Confectus ſtudendo, docendo, faciendo, patiendo,
Onuſtus ſpoliis de Satana triumphatis,
Idemq; improborum odiis beate oneratus,
Hic ſuaviter in Chriſto obdormit;
Abſterſis lacrymis & ſudoribus,
Et Vivaciſſimus Reſurrecturus.

Unaq; ELIZABETH, tori-conſors & pietatis,
Digno Conjuge Conjux digna.

Obiit ille Julii 21. 1653. *Ætat.* 81.
Obiit illa Januarii 24. 1636. *Ætat.* 71.

And let me add as a *Corônis*, an Epitaph, which the ſame Mr. *Thomas Lightfoot* had prepared for himſelf, and which was found in his Study after his deceaſe. Which I adjoyn, to let the World ſee ſomewhat as well of the pious and heavenly breathing mind, as the Scholarſhip of that Man, from whom our Doctor was derived.

THO-

THOMAS LIGHTFOOT

Olim ſuperſtes, nunc defunctus, alloquitur amicos ſuos, qui in Vivis ſunt.

En mea tam multis puppis quaſſata procellis,
Nunc tandem portum, fracta, quietis habet.
Nil ſcopulos ultra, bibulæ nil curat arenas,
Iſtius aut mundi quæ mare monſtra parit.
Namq; mare eſt mundus, puppis vaga corpus obumbrat,
Atq; animam ſignat navita quiſq; ſuam.
Portam quam petimus, cœlum eſt: ſed & aura ſalutis,
Quæ navim impellit, Spiritus ille Dei eſt.
Solvite felices igitur, portumq; tenete,
Poſt ærumnoſæ turbida damna maris.
Sed non ante datur portum contingere, quam ſit
Fracta per undoſum veſtra carina mare.

XIV.

His laſt Sickneſs and Death.

AND now we are arrived at the laſt ſcene of this great and good Mans life. In the later end of the year 1675. that year when *Colds* were ſo rife and ſo mortal, our Doctor going to his reſidence at *Ely*, fell into one of theſe Colds: which he complaining of was perſuaded to eat a Red Herring, and to drink two or three glaſſes of Claret. The former he eaſily did, but the later he was more difficultly drawn to, having always uſed to drink nothing but ſmall Beer or Water. This little Wine, according to the judgment of his Phyſician caſt him into a Fever, or at leaſt heightned it. The diſeaſe much affected his head, ſo that he lay dozing and ſlumbering, ſaying but little: only when any aſked him, how he did, he would devoutly ſay, *In the Hands of a good God*; which he repeated often. His behaviour all the time of his ſickneſs was with exceeding much meekneſs, patience and ſilence, ſpeaking much with God and himſelf, but little, as I ſaid, to others. When Dr. *Callamy*, then a Fellow of *Katharine* Hall, went to *Ely* to Viſit him, he found him in this condition, uſing very few words; when he aſked him if he had made his Will, and ſettled his Secular affairs, he anſwered, He had, and told him where his Will was. His Phyſicians were Dr. *Goſnald* of *Cambridge*, and Dr. *Hicks* of *Ely*. Dr. *Mapletoft*, the Reverend Dean, and Dr. *Womock*, a Prebend there, now Lord Biſhop of S. *Davids*, were his chief Viſitants, who performed the Offices of the Church with him. Thus he lay near a fortnight, and then rendred up his Pious and Virtuous Soul into the Hands of his good God, in a good old age, being ſeventy four years old within ſome few months: and yet might have lived much longer, if one may gather conjectures of the length of Mens lives by their healthfulneſs, and vivacity. But beſides his years, his Works, and the excellent ſervice he did in his generation would have beſpoke him an old Man indeed. In which regard none was freer from that which *Seneca* makes the great reproach of old age, *viz.* when there is nothing to compute age by, but years. *Nihil turpius eſt*, ſaith he, *quam grandis natu ſenex, qui nullum aliud habet argumentum, quo ſe probet diu vixiſſe, præter ætatem.* His body was brought from *Ely* to his beloved *Munden*, where he had been Miniſter near two and thirty years, and was there buried; Mr. *Gervaſe Fulwood*, formerly a Fellow of *Katharine* Hall, and who had long known him, preaching his Funeral Sermon. He was interred greatly beloved and greatly lamented by all that knew him, and eſpecially his Pariſhioners, who took their laſt leave of him with many ſighs and tears.

XV.

His Temper and Spirit, Piety and Vertues.

AND thus having gone through the moſt remarkable ſtages of his Life and labours in an hiſtorical way; let us now ſtop a little, and by way of reflection look back upon the Man, the ſubject of this long diſcourſe, and take ſome notice of his Temper, Courſe and manner of Life. He was of a comly Perſon, and a full and ſizable proportion, of a mild and ſomewhat ruddy Countenance, and a moſt ſtrong and hail conſtitution: good ſignatures of his mind. Eaſie of acceſs, grave, but yet affable and courteous in his deportment, and of a ſweet, obliging innocent and communicative converſation. And though he was plain and unaffected, yet there appeared ſomewhat of a becoming gentility in his behaviour. When he light into company of ingenious and good Men he was free and diſcourſive; but if he happened to be preſent, where rude, idle or debauched talk was, he was ſilent and moſt uneaſie, and would take his leave as ſoon as he could. He was very temperate and abſtemious in his diet, the nobleſt part of Phyſick, as Queen *Elizabeth* uſed to call it: his Food was plain, and coarſe; Wine he altogether abſtained from, and likewiſe from Beer and Ale abroad, drinking only Water; except he were at home where he had his Beer brewed for him, which was very ſmall; and that he delighted in, drinking it alſo very new. He eat ſeldom above once a day, namely, a Dinner on the week days, and a Supper on Sundays. Whereby he redeemed the more time for his Studies, and preſerved himſelf in ſuch a conſtant good plight of health. He was of a Genius more curious than ordinary, affecting an inquiry into hidden things, and to tread unbeaten ways: as may be ſufficiently judged by the Studies that he followed. He ſeemed to be inquiſitive into the nature of Spirits, and concerning the apparitions of deceaſed perſons. There was a long account of the appearance of a Spirit in *Driffield* a Town in *Yorkſhire*, which was ſent to Dr. *Burton*, when fellow of *Magdalen* College in *Cambridge* by a friend of his, formerly his Collegian, he receiving the Relation from the Woman her ſelf, to whom this Spirit often appeared. This Letter Dr. *Burton* communicated to our Doctor, who tranſcribed it with his own Hand, though it filled almoſt a ſheet of paper, as not only pleaſing his curioſity, and ſatisfying him of the Truth of apparitions, but alſo ſurprizing him by the various and ſtrange diſcourſe that that Spirit uſed: too long here to be repeated. He was of a very meek and tender ſpirit, eaſily diſcouraged, often melting into tears. I have been told, that being to give a publick Admonition to a lad of his College for being guilty of ſome high miſdemeanors; The College Bell being rung, and the Students met together in the Hall, the Maſter gave the Scholar his admonition with much gravity, and with as much compaſſion, tears being obſerved to ſtand in his Eyes while he did it. This ſoft diſpoſition made him eaſily diſcouraged. I know not to what better to attribute that paſſage, whereby the World had almoſt been deprived of his excellent Tract of the *Temple:* Which was this (as he himſelf tells it) That going that very morning that he began his Deſcription of the Temple, to ſee a piece of Land, but a mile off from his Houſe, which he had been owner of many years, but never ſaw, he choſe to take direction, and ſo to go alone by himſelf for meditation ſake. But in fine miſt his way, and loſt himſelf. Here his Heart (he ſaid) took him to taſk, and called him *fool*, ſo ſtudiouſly to ſearch into things remote, and that ſo little concerned his intereſt, and ſo neglective of what was near him in place, and that ſo particularly concerned him: and a *fool* again, to go about to deſcribe to others places and buildings, that lay ſo many hundred miles off, as from hence to *Canaan*, and under ſo many hundred years ruines; and yet not able to know or find the way to a field of his own that lay ſo near. And this ſo far prevailed upon him, that it put him upon a reſolution to lay by that work; and ſo he did for ſome time, till afterward his Bookiſh mind made him take it in hand again. So eaſily, and upon ſuch little accidents are generous Spirits ſometimes daunted. No Man was more ſenſible of favours than he, and none more apt to paſs by injuries: being of a calm, ſettled and undiſturbed Spirit.

He was alſo wary, and diſcreet in his purpoſes, duly weighing circumſtances, and peircing into the conſequences of things. This appeared in the Arguments he made uſe of againſt certain City Miniſters many years ago, more zealous, than wiſe, and ſome of them Aſſembly Men, who earneſtly adviſed to lay aſide the Celebration of *Chriſtmas* day; When beſides reaſons taken from Religion; as that the thing was in it ſelf lawful, and that our Saviour preached at the Feaſt of Dedication, which had an humane Original: he urged the inconveniences of it in point of prudence; as That it would bring an *Odium* upon the Aſſembly, That it would certainly breed a Tumult: and that it would be ſafer to let ſuch things alone to Authority, than for them to meddle in. Which beſpake him to be a well adviſed Man, as well as one not affecting novelties. And another

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thing

thing ſhewed his acuteneſs as well as his prudence. That it being moved in the Aſſembly, that when any went out of the Aſſembly before all roſe, he ſhould ſolemnly make his obeyſance (that the better notice, I ſuppoſe, ſhould be taken of ſuch as went out) this being even ready to paſs, our Doctor deſired, *that they might not leave it upon their Records to poſterity, that this Aſſembly had need to take order for common Reverence and Civility.* Upon which it was laid by, and the Order reverſed.

But his ſpiritual endowments, as he was a Miniſter and a Chriſtian, rendred him more illuſtrious, than all his natural and acquired. Theſe made him beloved of God, as the others valued and admired of Men. He took a good courſe at firſt for the better preparing himſelf for the Miniſtry. For after his departure from *Cambridge* having ſpent two or three years in the County, where he made an entrance into his *Hebrew* ſtudies, he reſolves to come up to *London* to take the opportunity of the Divinity Library there: thereby to furniſh himſelf with a good ſtock of Reading and Learning, proper to the holy Employment he had undertaken, before he engaged himſelf further in it. Here he lay for ſome years cloſe and private, and read over the Fathers, and many other Books tending to the furthering his Divinity ſtudies. He preached then indeed but ſeldom, or not at all, his buſineſs now being ſomething elſe. But when ſome, who had a mind to have themſelves eaſed by his labour, charged this upon him, as a crime of idleneſs; to clear himſelf of that imputation, he publiſhed his firſt Book, to let the World ſee he was not idle, though he preached not. He never cared to be accuſed of idleneſs: and his own conſcience cleared him of that (as he tells us before that Book) though he confeſſed, *that he was not ſo haſty, as many be, to intrude himſelf where there is no neceſſity.* But when he had taken the charge of Souls upon him, in all the parts of the Miniſterial Function, he was very diligent: A conſtant Preacher, reſorting to his Pariſh Church, which ſtood a mile diſtant, every Sunday, Winter and Summer, wet and dry, unleſs abroad, or hindred by ſickneſs. He failed not to viſit the ſick, whenſoever ſent for, compaſſionating their condition, and adminiſtring wholſom counſils and comforts to them. He was a great enemy to Schiſm and Faction, and uncharitable ſeparation from the Church; and did uſe to preſs Communion both in his Sermons and ordinary diſcourſes. And it may not be amiſs to mention the notable argument he uſed to manage in the behalf of holding Communion with the National Church: which was our Lords Example. This he often and convincingly urged in this caſe: and particularly, but ſome few months before his death, in one of his ordinary Sermons he had theſe words. *Let me ask them* (meaning the neglecters of the Publick Worſhip) *do they think that our Saviour ever let Sabbath day paſs in all his time, while here, but he was preſent at the Publick Service, either in the Temple or in the Synagogue. Look the Goſpel through, and ſee by the current of the ſtory there, whether ever he abſented himſelf from the Publick Congregation on the Sabbath day.* Read that *Luke* IV. 16. (To ſpare more) He came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up, and, as his cuſtom was, went into the Synagogue on the Sabbath day, and ſtood up for to read. *It was his cuſtom to go to the Synagogue, to the Publick Service and Congregation on the Sabbath day, and he never failed of it. And he ſtood up for to read in his own Town-Synagogue, as owning himſelf a member of that Congregation. For it is not recorded that he read in any Synagogue beſide. It was his Cuſtom to go to the Publick Congregation on the Sabbath day: it is theſe Mens cuſtom not to come there. He never abſented himſelf from the Publick Meeting, theſe Men account it Religion to abſent themſelves ever. Is our Publick Service more corrupt than theirs was then?* If it be, *let them ſhew it. If it be not, let them give a reaſon, why they go ſo directly contrary to our Saviours own practice.* Generally his Sermons were very plain, as preached to a Country Auditory, and practical, recommending above all things piety and a good life; and if he chanced to fall upon controverſial points in the courſe of his Sermons, he would ſtrive in few words to paſs over the controverſie, and while he was upon it, to render it as uſeful and ſerviceable to pious ends, as he could. His Sermons always carried a ſweet and eaſie ſtrain with them; a Rhetorick peculiar to himſelf, notably raiſing attention, and making a quick impreſſion upon the Affections. Inſomuch as he ſeldom failed of a great Auditory: having ſcarce one in his Pariſh, that abſented from his Miniſtery. And another qualification he had of a good Clergy-man, and that was his Charity: which was free and large. His Houſe was a continual Hoſpital; none went away thence unrelieved, which was ſo well known, that he had a more than common charge at his Door. For ſuch was his compaſſionate Spirit, that all ſorts of comers, pretending need, partook of his liberality: and he would frequently bring poor people within Doors to his fire, to warm them as well as feed and cloth them. Beſides he uſed in the Winter ſeaſons to find work for the poor of his Pariſh, as ſpinning, &c. Whereby at once induſtry and labour might be encouraged, and poverty ſuccored. And his ſecret charities are ſuppoſed conſiderable. For he had 300 *l. per annum*; and no charge, nor viſible expence, and yet ſpent all.

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Take him in his more private Capacity, he was a truly pious and devout Christian towards God. This was his friend Dr. *Castels* character of him. *I know no Man under Heaven, whose Voicinity would make my life more patiently tolerated, than to be near one, who hath in him so much of Heaven, as you have.* On the Lords days abroad as well as at home, he always forbore eating or drinking till the Evening Service were over, that he might be the more intent upon his Devotions and Meditations in private, and the freer from dulness and drowsiness in publick, a thing so unbecoming the Worship of God. Whensoever he returned home from a journy, it was his manner to pass through his House, to his retirements, without saluting or speaking to any body, unless they came in his way, till he had performed his private Devotions. For his food whatsoever it was, he was always very thankful to God; never complaining of any thing at his Table; but ever expressing a thankfulness for what ever was set before him, besides his usual blessing before and after meals. He was indeed πολύχων & Ἀνὴρ, an universal Good Man, which reconciled him a reverence whereseever he came: but for some particular Virtues he deserved

------ *Monstrari & dicier Hic est,*

To be taken notice of and admired. I will instance only in his profound meekness and humility: a Man so learned, of such great abilities beyond most Men, and yet so void of all conceit of himself, so mean, so little, so nothing at all in his own Eyes; that one would wonder to hear the expressions that he useth of himself. In his Epistle to *Christs* College, you have him in this strain. *Cum repeto quantum sine numero, &c. When I recollect what a number, (almost without number) of learned & eminent Men Christs College hath fostered, and brought up, I call my self Dunce and Blockhead, to come from so learned a bosom, and from among so learned a Society, so unlearned, so mean, and obscure, and still so to remain. Oh! dull creature, that I have been and am, in and after so many and so great advantages, and examples of Learning. I rejoyce and triumph, Dearest Nurse, in the multitude of thy Sons, who either have been, or now are, an honour and an ornament to thee. But I am deeply sensible, how void of Learning, how ignorant, how nothing I am: I most freely confess, and lament it*; and so he goes on in an elegant strain of Rhetorick to undervalue himself: And subscribes himself *Indignissimus Hominum, The most unworthy of Men.* Oh! how becoming was so great Learning vailed under so much modesty. And in another Epistle to the Reader (That you may see, this was not a single transient fit of humility, but his constant tenour;) he styles himself, *The least of Men and of capacities, who am nothing, and less than nothing in comparison of many thousands.* And again, *Heu! quam ego, cum Doctos cogito, in oculis meis non sordesco solum, sed & nihilesco.* And lastly in respect of his published labours, this is the sense he had of them, and of their Author: *Being most ready ever to submit to others, and to acknowledge mine own infirmities, and owning nothing in my self, but sin, weaknesses, and strong desires to serve the Publick.* As he writes in the conclusion of his Epistle before the second Part of the Harmony. And this humble Spirit, methinks, I have well reserved to the conclusion of my Discourse upon our Doctor, being the very Crown of all his other Virtues and accomplishments. And in this he had outstripped his Masters Master, I mean, Mr. *Hugh Broughton*; a Man greatly Learned, but as greatly conceited, impatient of contradiction and apt to despise others, which qualities our Doctor never knew.

XVI.

Some Apology for our Author: and the Conclusion.

HAving said all this, I know nothing else needful to be done, but to dispel some mists that may darken his Name, and to leave Dr. *Lightfoots* memory as fair and unblemisht, as may be, to posterity: and so we will gently draw the curtains about his Hearse, and take our leave of the Reader and him at once. I plainly see, there are two things that some will be apt to charge upon him. The one is certain peculiar Opinions that he espoused: and the other, that he seemed to be too much carried away with the late Evil Times. I do not pretend, wholly to excuse and justifie him in these things, but only to lessen and mollifie the charge: Consider then, that he was but a Man, and so subject to humane slips and frailties as well as others: and that even such who have enjoyed the greatest fame either for Learning or Goodness, have for the most part had some abatement in their Coat of Arms. *Nullum magnum ingenium sine mixtura.* And those great endowments that were in him, and that eminent service he did the Church and Common-wealth of Learning, may justly merit his pardon for any faults, which either his ignorance or infirmity betrayed him into.

As for his peculiar Opinions: ſuch as the utter and everlaſting Rejection of the *Jews*, his different judgment about the four Monarchies, his interpretation of ſome things in the *Revelations* and ſome others, that may be obſerved in his Writings, and in his Diſputes in the Aſſembly of Divines; there is this that may be apologized for them, that if they were not true, yet they were innocent, ſuch as made no breach either upon the Churches Peace, or the Analogy of Faith: two things, that he was ever moſt tender of, *Innocua, ut ſpero, proponens ſemper. Propounding, I hope, ſuch things as are always harmleſs.* As he ſpeaks in his Epiſtle before the *Horæ* upon S. *John*. And before another, *I hope it will not give offence upon this account, that if I am miſtaken I miſtake only in Hiſtorical matters, as moſt things are, that create difficulty here,* (*viz.* The Epiſtle to the *Corinthians:*) *where there is no fear of infringing the Analogy of Faith, or the Doctrine of the Church.* And ſo long as theſe are preſerved ſafe, it ſeems allowable, eſpecially for learned Men, offering fair probabilities, to *abound in their own ſenſe.*

He was indeed a Member of the Aſſembly of Divines, and long after that (I think) one of thoſe, who at the beginning of the Kings joyful Return were appointed to confer with the Epiſcopal Divines at the *Savoy:* whereby it appears that he bended ſometime towards *Puritaniſm.* It was indeed his unhappineſs, as well as of many other pious well meaning Men, to live in thoſe times of Temptation; whereinto if they fell, it was becauſe they were not Politicians enough to ſee the bad conſequences of thoſe ſmooth and fair pretences. I may plead for him, that it was his credulity, not his malice, or any evil deſign that made him err. He was carried away with their Diſſimulation, (and there was an Apoſtle once was ſo) and that the more eaſily, being a Man of an innocent and unſuſpicious nature, eſpecially when ſuch goodly things as Religion and Reformation were ſo much boaſted: And I make no doubt he afterwards was convinced how he had been trepanned, and ſaw his error, as appeared ſufficiently by his ready compliance with the Laws and orders of the eſtabliſhed Church upon the happy Reſtauration: and encouraging his Sons alſo to the ſame, who were both conformable men of the Clergy. He never was a Bigot, or a buſie officious Man, always rather Paſſive than Active, unleſs in the Aſſembly. And then generally thoſe matters wherein he ſtirred were ſuch points, as in which the very Locks of the *Presbyterians* ſtrength lay, which he for the moſt part oppoſed. And certainly when we conſider, how he thwarted their πρῶτα ψεύδατα, their chief principles; arguing againſt *Lay Elders*, ſtanding for general admittance to the Sacrament, for Forms of Prayers, and many ſuch like, the *Presbyterians* could never reckon him truly theirs; and I am apt to think, they wiſhed him more than once out of their Aſſembly. Indeed he was then rather a Man at large by himſelf, that followed his own Studies, than followed any party of Men, and promoted true goodneſs, as far as in him lay. In thoſe times he particularly made theſe three or four things his main Drift, *viz.* To beat down Enthuſiaſm, which he plainly ſaw tended to the enervating the Authority of the Holy Scriptures; To maintain the honour of Learning and a Regular Clergy; and to ſhew the neceſſity of keeping up publick Communion with the National Church: whereby unqueſtionably he did excellent ſervice to the Church in thoſe evil days. He had an excellent faculty in reſting out of the Hands of Shiſmaticks thoſe weapons, that they moſt confided in. For this I might ſhew his way of dealing with *Enthuſiaſts, Anabaptiſts*, &c. But I will inſtance only in thoſe that would juſtifie their ſeparation, from the word *Saints* in Scripture, ſuppoſing that thereby were meant perſons truly and inwardly Holy. The ignorance of the latitude of this word was then the cauſe of many bitter contentions, and wild opinions, nay, and of no ſmall danger to all that were not *Saints* in their account. To this purpoſe he ſpeaks in a Latine Sermon preached at *Ely*, at an Epiſcopal Viſitation held there by the Right Reverend Father in God *Benjamin*, late Lord Biſhop of *Ely: Nec periculoſius aut terribilius ſonuit olim Shibboleth Gileaditarum*, &c. *That the Shibboleth of the Gileadites antiently ſounded not more dangerouſly, than the Title of* Saints *of late.* Whereas, as he ſhews in that Sermon, and uſed to urge in the late times, That by *Saints* is meant nothing but *Chriſtians* in oppoſition to *Heathens* or Unbelievers. And that the Apoſtle in that phraſe ſpeaks with the common notion of the *Jewiſh* Nation; to which בקדושה *In Holineſs*, ſignifies no more than *Within the Profeſſion of the Jewiſh Religion*, and לא בקדושה *Not in Holineſs* ſignifies as much as *In Heatheniſm.*

But it is time to make an end: though I am ſenſible all that hath been ſaid is far ſhort of what might have been, concerning a Man of his Figure in the Learned World; and what ſhould, if further accounts of him had come to hand from ſuch his Learned friends and acquaintance, as could or would have imparted them. But what hath been written is ſufficient to give a Draught of him. Which however defective it may be, it hath this advantage, that it is a true one; theſe notices being taken partly from ſuch Perſons who well knew him, or were related to him; and partly collected out of his Printed Epiſtles, but chiefly out of abundance of other Letters, looſe Papers, Note-books, and other

M S S.

MSS. in my hands. Which courſe is now become the moſt faſhionable, as it is indeed the beſt way of writing Hiſtorical matters. *Epiſtolaris Hiſtoria eſt optima Hiſtoria*, as Cardinal *Baronius* uſed to ſay. I have had no temptation to write any thing *favore aut odio*: having no other aim in this undertaking, but to repreſent our Author fairly and truly to ſuch as ſhall be diſpoſed to read him, or know him. And I choſe to digeſt it in this method, as moſt proper for it, being a haſty Rapſody of remainders of things, worthy to be remembred concerning this excellent Man, and which were omitted in the *Account* of his Life. The method, I know, is not ſo correct and exact as it might have been, and as it ſhould, if more time and leiſure had been allowed. If any would know our Author better, let him have recourſe unto his Books: there he ſhall have Doctor *Lightfoot* ſpeaking for himſelf; and giving his own Character in every Page: there he may read and ſee Learning, Diligence, Accuracy, Candor, Humility, a love of Peace and an earneſt ſcrutiny after Truth, and a great Zeal for God and Religion, ſhining every where.

And now upon the whole, ſhall we retire from reading this long Relation without reaping any benefit thereby, further than to have heard ſome news? Then we have in effect, but loſt our time. Great Examples are great arguments to provoke to imitation. If we deſire the Eſteem he had left behind him among good Men, let us take the courſe he did, and try to arrive at his Virtue and Learning; and if we would attain to that, let uſe his tools; I mean, Induſtry, Study, Conſtancy, and eſpecially Modeſty, and a ſenſe of our own Ignorance. Without which laſt, if any one hath attained to any conſiderable degree of knowledge, thouſands have failed thereof for the want of it. This was *Seneca*'s judgment; *Puto multos potuiſſe ad Sapientiam pervenire, niſi putaſſent ſe perveniſſe: That many might have arrived to Wiſdom, had they not vainly thought that they had already done it.* Finally if we are any thing our ſelves, or have any advantages communicated to us from the gifts and endowments of others, as all is ultimately to be reſolved into the grace and goodneſs of God, ſo let us not forget to give him all the Praiſe and Glory.

J. STRYPE.

Ad Autorem.

ETſi jam triſtem glacies incarcerat annum,
Excidit & rigida penna caduca manu;
Ipſe licet ſtupeat concretus pyxidis humor,
Durus & in nigras perneget ire notas;
(Immo etiam reſoluta focis prodire tremiſcit
Pallens conſpecta lacryma nigra nive;)
Quamvis Muſarum ſtagnent in marmora fontes
Fluminis obliti, vena nec ulla fluat:
Attamen huic dextræ, veteri ne deſit amico,
Quod negat undarum vena, dabit ſilicis.
Gratulor ergo tibi, *Lightfoote*, volumine juſto
Quod libros donet poſtuma cura tuos.
(Nam quaſi præſentem nunc te compellat amice
Muſa memor, palpi ſuſpicione procul.)
Tu *Rabbinorum* percurris ſingula, ſordes
Edoctus planta tranſiliiſſe levi.
Dumq; tuas longis redimis de noctibus *Horas*,
Concinnas nobis ex Oriente diem.
Abſtulerat quondam Legis gens invida clavem, ac
In *Talmude* ſuo poſteà condiderat.
Hanc tu, ruſpando, reperiſti; hac plurima pandis,
Et referas nobis, quæ latuere diu.
Sic clavam *Alcidæ* extorques, enſemq; *Goliæ*
Cum ſpoliis *Phariis* das modo ſacra Deo.
Sic olim, *Paulus* quam ſcripſit, Epiſtola cunctas
Exhibuit nobis Gamalielis opes.

W. D.

JOHAN-

JOHANNES LIGHTFOOT S.T.P.

Agro *Staffordienſi* oriundus,
Eccleſiæ Magnæ *Mundoniæ* in agro *Hertfordienſi* Rector,
Aulæ S. *Catharinæ* apud *Cantabrigienſes* Præfectus,
Et *Elienſis* Canonicus.
Eruditione omnifaria, præſertim Orientali,
Inſtructiſſimus.

Qui Thalmudicam doctrinam miro judicii acumine tractavit,
Et Rabbinicæ literaturæ venam exhibuit
(Quod rarum) ſine ſcoriis.
S. Scripturis obſcurioribus lucem dedit, confuſis harmoniam.
In Chronologiæ δυσνοήτοις eruendis Conjector feliciſſimus.
Et Hebraicæ veritatis Vindex ſtrenuus.

Intimus Templi Hieroſolymitani Myſtes;
Qui ſecretiora adyta penetravit, ſacra ordinavit.
Atria menſus eſt
Calamo vere Angelico.

Terram *Canaaniticam*,
Injuria temporis magna parte deperditam,
Face requirens Thalmudica
Sibi ipſi, & Orbi reſtituit.

Qui bonas literas optimis ornavit moribus,
Suavitate ſingulari, candore ſummo, humilitate eximia:
Amicis maximum reliquit ſui deſiderium,
Omnibus exemplum.

Senectute vegeta
Studendo, ſcribendo, concionando lubenter impenſa,
Depoſuit tandem quicquid erat mortale.
Horis vero Hebraice & Talmudice impenſis
Nomen ſuum reliquit
Æternitati Sacrum.

Whereas

Whereas at the beginning of the Indexes of this Volume there are inſerted ſeveral Errors eſcaped in the ſame. Here follow ſome others ſince obſerved upon review thereof; what more the Judicious Reader ſhall meet with he is deſired courteouſly to correct with his Pen.

ERRATA'S.

In the Life and Appendix.

PAge IX. line 10. read *Lodice.* p. XIX. l. 1. r. *all.* p. XXII. l. 37. r. *Knorr.* p. XXVI. l. 1. r. *Turretinus.* Ibid. l. 36. r. *And as one.* p. XXIX. l. 12. r. *Maſter and Patron.* p. XXX. l. 2. r. *We now commemorate.* Ibid. l. 12. r. *My ſelf I ſhould.* p. XXXVII. l. 19. r. *Let us.*

In the firſt Volume.

PAge 21. for § 14. read 24. p. 46. for 400 *Men,* r. 600. p. 37. for *Syris,* r. *Syria.* p. 369. for *Mugdala,* r. *Magdala.* p. 453. l. 14. for *Trachonitus,* r. *Trachonitis.* l. 57. for 23. r. *c.* 33. p. 452. l. ult. for. *fonte Abila,* r. *fonte, Abila.* p. 446 & 447. in the top ſhould be *Luke Chap.* 2. p. 454. *Luke* 3. for *Matth.* p. 742. for *Cainite,* read *Canaanite.*

A Map of CANAAN According to Dr. Lightfoot.
By J. Williams.
Vol: 1st at the beginning.
North
South
West
East
THE MEDITERRANEAN or GREAT SEA.
THE PHOENICIAN SEA.
THE JONIAN SEA.
ÆGYPTIAN SEA.
THE RED SEA
The Dead Sea or Sea of Sodom
ÆGYPT.
DELTA.
Nilus
Memphis
Lake Sirbon
Tanis
Pelusium
The Bay of Gaza
Gaza
Joppa
Sidon
Tyrus
Byblus
Tripolis
Arvad I.
The Arvadites
Antaradus
Land of Cabul
CÆLOSYRIA
Heliopolis
Libanus
Lebanon
Antilibanus
Region of Daphne.
ZOBAH.
Damascus
PHOENICIA.
ASHER.
GALILEE.
ZEBULUN.
ISACHAR
MANASSEH.
SAMARIA
EPHRAIM
BENJAMIN.
JERUSALEM
Bethlehem
Hebron
JUDA.
DAN.
PALESTINE or PHILISTINE.
SIMEON
REUBEN.
GAD
MANASSE.
PERÆA.
BATANEA.
GAULONITIS.
BASAN.
AURANITIS.
ARGOB or TRACHONITIS.
AMMON.
MOAB.
ARABIA.
EDOM.
IDUMÆA
The Avites or Hazerim
Casiotis or The Country of the Amalekites
IDUMÆA THE NEW
Wilderness of Zin
WILDERNESS OF PARAN.
Wilderness of Sin.
Wilderness of Etham, or Shur.
The Black Mountaines.
Pella
Petra
Philadelphia Rabbah
Lots Cave
Almon-diblathaim
Dibongad
Zared Valley
Punon
Oboth
Memphis
Rameses
Succoth
Etham
Marah
Elim
Pihahiroth
Eziongeber
A Scale of English Miles.
Printed for R. Scot. T. Basset. R. Chiswell & I. Wright 1684.

A

Chronicle of the Times,

AND THE

ORDER OF THE TEXTS

OF THE

OLD TESTAMENT.

WHEREIN

The Books, Chapters, Pſalms, Stories, Prophecies, &c. are reduced into their proper order, and taken up in the proper places, in which the natural Method and genuine *Series* of the *Chronology* requireth them to be taken in.

WITH

Reaſon given of diſlocations where they come. And many remarkable Notes and Obſervations given all along for the better underſtanding of the Text; the difficulties of the Chronicle declared; the differences occurring in the relating of Stories reconciled; and exceeding many Scruples and Obſcurities in the Old Teſtament explained.

The Book of GENESIS.

CHAP. I.

Days of the Creation.

I. THE *ALMIGHTY TRINITY* [אלהים] having dwelt from all eternity in and with it ſelf, when it ſaw good to communicate it ſelf, did in the beginning of the being of things, create Heaven and Earth, the two parts of the World, of nothing in a moment, *Verſe* 1.

The earth newly created, lay covered all over with water, and there was darkneſs through the world in that vaſt vacuity that was between the face of that great deep which covered the earth, and the clouds or cataracts of Heaven, which were the inferior part of Heaven, and were created in the ſame inſtant with the Heavens, full of water: and the Heavens in the inſtant of their creation, were ſet a * moving by the Spirit that garniſhed them, in a conſtant and continued motion; and with their motion, the courſe of nature began, and the clock of time was ſet a going, *Verſe* 2. * רוח אלהים מרחפת.

Twelve hours was there univerſal darkneſs through all the world, and then was light created in this upper *Horizon*, and there it inlightned twelve hours more; and then flitted away, as the light of the Sun now doth to the other Hemiſphere; and thus was the meaſure and work of the firſt day, *Verſe* 3, 4, 5.

Days of the Creation.

II. The air ſpread out through that great ſpace that was betwixt the waters that covered the Earth, and the waters that were in the cataracts of Heaven; and as the light did remove the univerſal darkneſs, ſo doth this ſpreading out of the air, remove the emptineſs, and vacuity: and this was the work of the ſecond day; but of this days work, it is not ſaid, *That God ſaw it good*, as it is ſaid of the others, becauſe the partition and ſeparation of all waters is not fully perfected till the next day, *Verſ.* 6, 7, 8.

III. The waters that covered the Earth are brought into their channels, and the dry land appearing, is ſtored with trees and plants: on this days work, it is twice ſaid, That *God ſaw it good*; once for the full and intire ſeparation of the waters, and again for the fructification of the ground, *Verſ.* 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.

IV. When the light at the cloſe of the third day was departed from this *Horizon*, the Moon and Stars began to appear in the Sky; and in the morning the Sun roſe in the Eaſt, and began his courſe: and ſo this viſible hoſt of Heaven was the work of the fourth day. [The inviſible hoſt of Angels was in moſt probability created in the very ſame inſtant with the Heavens themſelves.] *Verſ.* 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19.

V. Fowle and fiſh and * *Amphibia* created, and the firſt bleſſing of generation pronounced upon them, *Verſ.* 20, 21, 22, 23.

* תנינים *Crocodiles, Hippopotames, &c.*

VI. With *Chap.* I. from *Verſ.* 24. to the end, read *Chap.* II. from *Verſ.* 4. to the end.

Beaſts created, and all manner of creeping things: of the clean ſorts of beaſts, there were ſeven created of every kind, three couple for breed, and the odd one for *Adams* ſacrifice upon his fall, which God foreſaw.

Adam created in holineſs and righteouſneſs, and high honor and happineſs; Dominion is given to him over all the creatures, which is more clearly evidenced to him, in that they are brought to him to receive their names from him; which by the great wiſdom that was in him, he giveth them even at the firſt ſight, agreeable to their natures: among them all, he ſeeth no mate meet for himſelf; but he obſerveth them all fitly mated one to another, and ſo becometh the more ſenſible of his own being mateleſs; therefore the Lord provideth a fellow meet for him, even out of his own body, having caſt *Adam* the mean while into a trance.

God marrieth them together, puts them in the garden, and gives them a command.

Now fell the Angels: for they ſeeing the honor and happineſs in which man was created and ſet, and the Lord giving the Angels themſelves a charge concerning him to keep him in his ways, and to be miniſtring ſpirits to him for his good; ſome of them ſpited this his honor and happineſs, and deſpiſed this their charge and ingagement, and ſo through pride againſt the command of God, and for envy at the felicity of man, they fell.

CHAP. III.

THeſe Angels that were now become Devils through ſpite at man, had no comfort at all left them in their fall, but this miſerable and miſchievous one, to bring man into the ſame condemnation with them. For the effecting of this they loſe no time, but attempt it by tempting him in his wife the weaker veſſel: ſhe not yet knowing that there were any Devils at all, but well knowing that God had allotted her and her husband the cuſtody of Angels, miſtook the Devil that ſpake in a Serpent, for a good Angel, and ſo was deceived by him, and ſinned, and drew her husband into the ſame tranſgreſſion with her; this was about high noon, the time of eating. And in this loſt condition into which *Adam* and *Eve* had now brought themſelves, did they lie comfortleſs till towards the cool of the day, or three a clock afternoon.

Then cometh God to cenſure them, but firſt promiſeth Chriſt to be a Redeemer to them, and a deſtroyer of *Satan*. Curſeth the earth, that they might not fix their minds on things below; doometh them to labour, miſery, and mortality, that they might look for reſt in Heaven. *Adam* layeth hold on the promiſe, and in faith therein, nameth his wife *Eve* or *Life:* God teacheth him the rite of ſacrifice, and with the skins of the ſacrificed beaſts cloatheth them, and expelleth them out of *Eden*; and ſo fell *Adam* on the day that he was created, and brought in death, and ſo the firſt thing that dyeth in the world is a ſacrifice or *Chriſt* in a figure.

CHAP. II. Ver. 1, 2, 3.

At the end of the third Chapter, in order of time and ſtory, come in the three firſt Verſes of the ſecond Chapter, and the ſtory lyeth thus.

VII Days of the Creation.

GOD having thus created all things * in ſix days, and man having thus fallen, and heard of *Chriſt*, and of death, and eternal life, and other like things on the ſixth day: the Lord ordaineth the ſeventh day for a Sabbath, or holy reſt, and *Adam* ſpendeth it in holy duties, and in meditation of holy things. The mention of the inſtitution of the *Sabbath* is laid in the beginning of the ſecond Chapter, though the very time and place of that ſtory be not till after the end of the third. 1. Becauſe the holy Ghoſt would diſpatch the whole ſtory of the firſt week, or ſeven days of the world together, without interpoſition of any other particular ſtory. 2. Becauſe he would ſhew that *Adam* ſhould have kept the *Sabbath*, though he had never ſinned. And therefore the mention of the *Sabbath* is before the mention of his ſin.

* Read ver. 2. For on the ſeventh day God had ended his work, otherwiſe there may be a doubt upon it whether God created not ſomething on the ſeventh day. This the lxx. Saw, and therefore they tranſlate it different from the Original word. And God ended his works *on the ſixth day.*

CHAP. IV.

THE exact times of the ſtories of the fourth Chapter are not to be determined, and therefore they muſt be left to be taken up by conjecture, in the times of the fifth as they are caſt into the following table: and ſo conjecturally alſo muſt we meaſure out the parallel and collateral times of the generations of *Cain* and *Seth*, that are either named here or hereafter to the floud. *Cain* and *Abel* born twins, yet the one the ſeed of the Serpent, and the other of the Woman. In *Cain* was legible the poyſon that *Satan* had breathed into fallen man, and in *Abel* the breathing of grace into the elect, and a figure of the death of *Chriſt*. God fireth *Abels* ſacrifice from heaven, but deſpiſeth *Cains*; yet readeth to him the firſt doctrine of repentance. *That if he did well he ſhould certainly be accepted, and though he did not well*, yet לפתח חטאת רובץ *a ſin-offering lieth at the door:* if he repented there was hope of pardon. Thus as God had read the firſt lecture of faith to *Adam*, in the promiſe of *Chriſt*, *Chap.* 3. 15. ſo doth he the firſt lecture of repentance to *Cain* under the doctrine of * a *ſin-offering*: But *Cain* deſpiſeth his own mercy, is unmerciful to his brother, and is denied mercy from the Lord. He beggeth for death, that he might be ſhut out of that ſad condition, to which God hath doomed him, והיה כל מצאי יהרגני, *Now therefore let it be, that any one that findeth me may kill me*; but this God denieth him, and reſerve th him to a long life, that he might reſerve him to long miſery. *Lamech* a branch of this root, bringeth into the world the abomination of Polygamie, or of having more wives at once than one; for which God ſmiteth him with horrour of conſcience, that he himſelf might be a witneſs againſt that ſin that he had introduced: and he cenſureth himſelf for a more deplorate and deſperate wretch than *Cain*. For that *Cain* had ſlain but one man, and had only deſtroyed his body, but he himſelf had deſtroyed both young and old by his curſed example, which was now ſo currently followed and entertained in the world, that ere long it was a ſpecial forwarder of its deſtruction, that if *Cain* was to be avenged ſeven-fold, *Lamech* deſerved ſeventy and ſeven-fold.

* חטאת very commonly taken for a ſin offering: and the ſacrifices were conſtantly brought to the Tabernacle door.

In this ſtock of *Cain* alſo began Idolatry, and worſhipping the creature inſtead of the Creator, bleſſed for ever; and in a mournfull feeling of this diſhonour done to God by it, *Seth* calls his Son that was born to him in thoſe times, *Enoſh*, or *ſorrowfull*; becauſe אז הוחל *then began profaneſs in calling upon the name of the Lord.* *Noah* in 2 *Pet.* 2. 5. ſeemeth to be called the *eighth*, in reference to theſe times, namely the eighth in ſucceſſion from *Enoſh*, in whoſe times the world began to be profane.

CHAP. V.

THis fifth Chapter meaſureth the time and age of the world, between the Creation and the Flood, which was 1655. years compleat: Being caſt into a Table, it will not only ſhew the currency, but the concurrency of thoſe times, or how thoſe Patriarchs whoſe times it meaſureth, lived one with another. The Reader will not need any rules for the explaining of the Table, his own *Arithmetick* will ſoon ſhew him what uſe to make of it.

The

The first Age of the World: From the Creation to the Flood: This space is called, *Early in the morning, Mat.* 2.

Hilar. in loc.

Ten Fathers before the Flood.

																						Adam hath *Cain* and *Abel*, and loseth them both, *Gen.* 4. unhappy in his children, the greatest earthly happiness, that he may think of Heaven the more.
130	130																					*Seth* born in original sin, *Gen.* 5. 2, 3. a holy man: and father of all men after the Flood, *Numb.*24.17. to shew all men born in that estate.
235	235	105																				*Enosh* born: corruption in Religion by Idolatry begun, *Gen.* 4. 25. *Enosh* therefore so named, *Sorrowful.*
325	325	195	90																			*Kainan* born: *A mourner* for the corruption of the times.
395	395	265	160	70																		*Mahalaleel* born: *A praiser of the Lord.*
460	460	330	225	135	65																	*Jared* born: when there is still *a descending* from evil to worse.
622	622	492	387	297	227	162																*Enoch* born: and *Dedicated* to God: the seventh from *Adam, Jude* 14.
687	687	557	452	362	292	227	65															*Methushelah* born: his very name foretold the Flood. The lease of the world is only for his life.
874	874	744	639	549	479	414	252	187														*Lamech* born. A man *smitten* with grief for the present corruption and future punishment.
930	930	800	695	605	535	470	308	243	56													*Adam* dieth: having lived 1000. years within 70. Now 70 years a whole age, *Psal.* 90. 10.
987		857	752	662	592	527	365	300	113	57												*Enoch* translated: next after *Adams* death: mortality taught in that, immortality in this.
1042		912	807	717	647	582		355	168	112	55											*Seth* dieth.
1056			821	731	661	596		369	182	126	69	14										*Noah* born a comforter.
1140			905	815	745	680		453	266	210	153	98	84									*Enosh* dieth.
1235				910	840	775		548	361	305	248	193	179	95								*Kainan* dieth.
1290					895	830		603	416	360	303	248	234	150	55							*Mahalaleel* dieth.
1422						962		735	548	492	435	380	366	282	187	132						*Jared* dieth.
1536								849	662	606	549	494	480	396	301	246	114					The CXX. years begin, *Gen.* 6. 3.
1556								869	682	626	569	514	500	416	321	266	134	20				*Japhet* born.
1558								871	684	628	571	516	502	418	323	268	136	22	2			*Sem* born.
1651								964	777	721	664	609	595	511	416	361	229	115	95	93		*Lamech* dieth.
1656								969		726	669	614	600	516	421	266	234	120	100	98	5	*Methushelah* dieth, and the Flood cometh.

Enoch the seventh from *Adam* in the holy line of *Seth*, prophecied against the wickedness that *Lamech* the seventh from *Adam* in the cursed line of *Cain* had brought in.

Enoch lived as many years as there be days in a year, *viz.* 365. and finished his course like a Sun on earth.

With the story of this fifth Chapter, read 1 *Chron.* 1. 1, 2, 3, 4. which are an abridgment of it.

CHAP. VI.

THE laſt Verſe of the fourth Chapter, told of profanation of Religion or Idolatry, begun in the family of *Cain* in the days of *Enoſh:* now the beginning of the ſixth Chapter telleth of corruption crept into the family of *Seth*, the very Church it ſelf; and this eſpecially by their following the curſed example of *Lamech*. *The Sons of of God*, or the members of the Church, and progeny of *Seth* marrying careleſly and promiſcuouſly, with the *daughters of men*, or brood of *Cain:* hence *they alſo became fleſhly*, like *Cains* race, they grew into a gyant-like breed as well as that; and thoſe great ones became tyrannical as well as the other: hence was the whole world over-ſpread with cruelty and rapine, and all manner of corruptions, ſo that the Lord paſſeth a decree upon it for deſtruction; but to *Noah* he giveth a promiſe of preſervation, and the plat-form of an Ark, in which he and his ſhould be preſerved.

The dimenſions of the Ark were ſuch, as that it had contained 450000. ſquare cubits within the walls of it, if it had riſen in an exact ſquare unto the top; but it ſloping in the roof, like the roof of an houſe, till it came to be but a cubit broad in the ridge of it, did abate ſome good parcel of that ſum, but how much is uncertain; ſhould we allow 50000. cubits in the abatement, yet will the ſpace be ſufficient enough of capacity, to receive all the creatures, and all their proviſion that were laid in there. The building was three ſtories high, but of the ſtairs that roſe from ſtory to ſtory, the Text is ſilent; in every ſtory were partitions, not ſo many, as to ſeclude one kind of creature from another, for that was needleſs, there being no enmity betwixt them, whilſt they were there, and it would have been the more troubleſom to *Noah* to bring their proviſions to them: but there were ſuch partitions, as to divide betwixt beaſts and their proviſions in ſtore; betwixt proviſions and proviſions, that by lying near together might receive damage. The door was in the ſide of the loweſt ſtory, and ſo it was under water all the time of the flood; but God by ſo ſpecial a providence had *ſhut them in*, that it leaked not. In what ſtory every kind of creature had its lodging and habitation, is a matter undeterminable; how their excrements were conveyed out of the Ark, and water conveyed in, the Text hath concealed. All the creatures were ſo cicurated and of a tamed condition for this time, that they lived together, and dieted together without diſſention: *The wolf dwelt with the lamb, and the leopard lay down with the kid, and the calf and the young lion together*; [as the Prophet alludeth this quietneſs in the Ark, to the tranquility and change of temper under the Goſpel,] and *Noah* or any of his family might come among lions, dragons, ſerpents, and they had forgot the wildneſs and cruelty of their nature, and did not meddle with him. This ſhews that the enmity ſet betwixt the ſerpent and woman, is chiefly to be underſtood in a ſpiritual reſpect.

Now for the time of the laſting of the Flood, it was betwixt *Noahs* going into the Ark and his coming out, a juſt and complete year of the ſun; for the better viewing and obſerving of which, it may not be amiſs to take it up in a Kalendar of the year, as it then ran.

A Kalendar of the year of the Flood, which was the year of the world, 1656.

Tiſri the firſt moneth. Part of our *September* and *October*.

THere is no particular occurrence of this Moneth mentioned in the Text: Reaſon and neceſſary collection will inform us, that the fruits of the earth being now ripe, *Noah* was very buſie all this moneth in gathering them into the Ark for proviſion for himſelf, and for all the cattel and creatures with him for the year to come.

Methuſelah is alive in this Moneth, as is apparent by the calculation of his age in the fifth Chapter. And by this, it appeareth how clearly the ſpirit of Prophecy foretold of things to come, when it directeth his father *Enoſh* almoſt a thouſand years ago to name him *Methuſelah*, which ſignifieth either, *They dye by a dart*; or, *He dieth, and then is the dart*; or, *He dieth, and then it is ſent*: And thus *Adam* and *Methuſelah* had meaſured the whole time between the Creation and the Flood, and lived above two hundred and forty years together. The long ages of theſe men near the beginning of the world [though now under ſin] do give a gueſs what a long while man ſhould have lived upon the earth before he ſhould have been tranſlated, if he had never ſinned: unleſs God ſhewed in *Enoch* what his time then ſhould have been: And prolonged the times of theſe men under the ſtate of ſin, the rather that the knowledge of God, which was decayed by the coming in of ſin, might be the more propagated.

Marheſhvan the ſecond moneth. Part of *October* and *November*.

NOAH beginneth to get the beaſts and fowles into the Ark. He is ſeven days about it, *Gen.*7.1,2,3,4. The ſame hand of divine providence that had brought all the beaſts to *Adam* at the Creation to receive their names, doth bring them now to *Noah* for preſervation of their lives.

NOAH entreth the Ark, *Gen.*7. 11, 13. and the Rain rains begin which continue forty days and Rain forty nights together: the ſeventeenth day Rain was none of the forty days, but the night Rain that followed it was one of the nights. The Rain Cataracts of Heaven are opened, and ſhowre Rain down terrible rains. Theſe were thoſe Rain clouds that were created full of water the Rain firſt day of the Creation, even in the very Rain ſame inſtant with the Heavens; and which Rain are alſo comprehended under the tearm *Heavens*, ch.1.1. The great deep is alſo let looſe from Rain below as well as thoſe rains from above, and ſo the Earth comes preſently into her firſt poſture, covered with water: as chap.1.2.

Siſleu the third moneth. Part of *November* and *December*.

Rain The violent rains, ſuch as never were be-
Rain fore nor ſince, nor ever ſhall be, do cloud
Rain the world in univerſal darkneſs, in which
Rain the wicked are cloſed before they are cloſed
Rain in utter darkneſs: ſo it was the caſe of the
Rain *Egyptians*, *Exod.*10. and of the *Jews* at
Rain the death of our Saviour, *Matth.*27. and of
Rain *Sodom*, *Gen.*19.11.
Rain When God after the Flood promiſeth
Rain that *day and night ſhall no more ceaſe*, Chap.
Rain 8. 22. it argueth that their courſe had ceaſed before. It is ordinarily ſeen in an extraordinary ſhowre or ſtorm that even night
Rain cometh upon the world at noon-day, how
Rain much more would darkneſs ſeize upon it in
Rain the times of theſe rains, which were beyond all parallel and compariſon?
Rain
Rain
Rain
Rain
Rain
Rain
Rain
Rain
Rain
Rain
Rain
Rains ceaſe this day at even.
Flood
Flood

Tebeth the fourth moneth. Part of *December* and *January*.

Flood The rains had now raiſed the waters to
Flood fifteen cubits above the mountains. For
Flood obſerve the paſſage in the Text, that the
Flood waters of the rains and of the great deep
Flood broken up, raiſed the Flood to fifteen cu-
Flood bits above the higheſt hills, and when the
Flood forty days rains and waters had brought it
Flood to that pitch, it continued at that pitch
Flood one hundred and fifty days more. So thoſe
Flood two ſums are to be reckoned diſtinct, and
Flood not the forty days included in the ſum of
Flood the hundred and fifty, but diſtinct from it,
Flood and apart by themſelves: and ſo when the
Flood one hundred and fifty days are ended,
Flood there are ſix moneths and ten days of the
Flood year of the Flood over-paſt.
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood

Shebat the fifth moneth. Part of *January* and *February*.

Flood Thoſe that conceive that the year of the
Flood flood began from *March*, ſuppoſe one mi-
Flood racle more then either Scripture or reaſon
Flood giveth us ground to think of, and that is,
Flood that the waters ſhould increaſe and lie at
Flood their height all the heat of Summer, and
Flood abate and decreaſe all the cold of Winter.
Flood Whereas the ſuppoſal, that the year of
Flood the Flood began from *Tiſri* or *September*,
Flood doth bring the rains to fall in the begin-
Flood ning of Winter, namely from about the
Flood beginning of our *November* to the middle
Flood of *December*, or to about the Winter Sol-
Flood ſtice: and from thence the Flood to lie at
Flood high water, fifteen cubits above the moun-
Flood tains, for five moneths together, *viz.* to
Flood the middle of *May*: and from thence in
Flood the heat of all the Summer to be drying
Flood up.
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood

Adar the ſixth moneth. Part of *February* and *March*.

Flood *Haſt thou marked the old way which wicked*
Flood *men have trodden? Which were cut down*
Flood *out of time, whoſe foundation was overflown*
Flood *with the Flood: Which ſaid to God, De-*
Flood *part from us, and what can the Almighty*
Flood *do for them, &c.* Job 22. 15, 16, 17. *In*
Flood *the days of Noah that were before the Flood,*
Flood *they were eating and drinking, marrying and*
Flood *giving in marriage, until the day that Noah*
Flood *entred into the Ark, and knew not until the*
Flood *Flood came and took them all away*, Matth.
Flood 24. 38, 39. *Their ſpirits are now in priſon,*
Flood *which ſometime were diſobedient, when once*
Flood *the long-ſuffering of God waited in the days*
Flood *of Noah, while the Ark was in preparing,*
Flood 1 Pet. 3. 19, 20. Thus doth Scripture
Flood give up theſe men that periſhed by the
Flood Flood to everlaſting priſon and perdition.
Flood *Peter* marking them for living in diſobedi-
Flood ence, and our Saviour noting that they
Flood died in carnal ſecurity. The Jews hold
Flood the ſame cenſure concerning them *that*
Flood *they were puniſhed with ſcalding waters and*
Flood *Gehinnom.*
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood

Niſan the ſeventh moneth. Part of *March* and *April*.

Flood They made not their prayer in a time
Flood when God was to be found, and there-
Flood fore in the Flood of great waters, when
Flood the rains and ſtreams came upon them,
Flood לא יגיעו, *they could not cauſe their pray-*
Flood *ers then to come nigh him*, Pſal. 32. 6.
Flood The fifth Chapter of *Geneſis* hath added
Flood to the ſumming of every one of the
Flood Patriarchs age, *that they died*, to ſhew
Flood not only that for all their long life, yet
Flood they died; but alſo to ſhew that they
Flood came unto their graves in peace, and
Flood were not taken away untimely with the
Flood deſtruction of the wicked. The eleventh
Flood Chapter in ſumming up the ages of the
Flood Fathers after the Flood, uſeth not that
Flood expreſſion, for a ſpecial reaſon.
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood

Ijar the eighth moneth. Part of *April* and *May*.

Flood There have been ſome that have conceit-
Flood ved that the waters uſed extraordinary
Flood violence and motion, tumbling and toſ-
Flood ſing the Ark and the people in it, as fleſh
Flood in a boiling pot, as the Jews expreſs it,
Flood and that it rent ſome Iſlands from the
Flood the main land, and made diviſion of
Flood Countries there, where there was none
Flood before: as betwixt *England* and *France*,
Flood and the like. But this is not only im-
Flood proper, but alſo unneceſſary to conceive:
Flood for when they had deſtroyed all fleſh,
Flood which was the meſſage that they were
Flood ſent upon, this violence could add no-
Flood thing but vexation, fear and trouble to
Flood *Noah* and to thoſe that were with him
Flood in the Ark, whom God had incloſed
Flood there, not to perplex but to preſerve.
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood
Flood

Sivan the ninth moneth. Part of *May* and *June*.

1 This day the Waters begin to abate.
2 Ebbing water This is called *the ſeventh moneth*,
3 Ebbing water *Verſ.*4. not from the beginning of
4 Ebbing water the year, for from thence, it was
5 Ebbing water the ninth; but from the time of
6 Ebbing water the flood, or waters: for the Holy
7 Ebbing water Ghoſt reckoneth the duration of
8 Ebbing water that, and pointeth directly at the
9 Ebbing water end of the 150. days. In *Ciſlev*
10 Ebbing water the 40 days rain ceaſed, and the
11 Ebbing water ſeventh moneth from thence, is
12 Ebbing water this in hand.
13 Ebbing water
14 Ebbing water
15 Ebbing water
16 Ebbing water
17 The Ark reſteth upon the mountains of *Ararat:*
18 Ebbing water that is, upon one of them.
19 Ebbing water
20 Ebbing water
21 Ebbing water
22 Ebbing water
23 Ebbing water
24 Ebbing water
25 Ebbing water
26 Ebbing water
27 Ebbing water
28 Ebbing water
29 Ebbing water
30 Ebbing water

Tamuz the tenth moneth. Part of *June* and *July*.

1 Ebbing water The Ark drew water eleven cubits,
2 Ebbing water as appeareth by this collection. On
3 Ebbing water the firſt day of the moneth *Ab*, the
4 Ebbing water mountain tops were firſt ſeen; as
5 Ebbing water ſhall be ſhewed there: and then
6 Ebbing water the waters had fallen fifteen cubits,
7 Ebbing water which they had been threeſcore
8 Ebbing water days in doing, namely from the
9 Ebbing water firſt day of *Sivan*, and ſo they had
10 Ebbing water abated the proportion of one cubit
11 *The raven ſent out* in four days. By this account we
12 Ebbing water find that on the ſixteenth day of
13 Ebbing water *Sivan*, they had abated but four
14 Ebbing water cubits, and yet on the next day
15 Ebbing water the Ark reſteth on a hill, when
16 Ebbing water the waters yet lay eleven cubits
17 Ebbing water above it.
18 Ebbing water
19 *The dove ſent out.*
20 Ebbing water
21 Ebbing water
22 Ebbing water
23 Ebbing water
24 Ebbing water
25 Ebbing water
26 Ebbing water
27 *The dove ſent out again:* and returneth at even, with
28 Ebbing water an olive leaf in her mouth, which ſhe
29 Ebbing water had plucked from a tree that now began to appear from under water.

Ab the eleventh moneth. Part of *July* and *Auguſt*.

1 The mountain tops appear; this is called *the tenth*
2 Ebbing water *moneth*, *Verſ.* 5. not of the year
3 Ebbing water but of the flood, for the Text ſets
4 Ebbing water it ſelf to meaſure out the time of
5 Ebbing water the waters.
6 *The dove ſent out returneth no more*; For now ſhe
7 Ebbing water hath the mountain tops dry to reſt
8 Ebbing water upon. The waters now being got
9 Ebbing water within the compaſs of the moun-
10 Ebbing water tains, do abate a deal faſter then
11 Ebbing water they did when they lay above
12 Ebbing water them; for whereas then they were
13 Ebbing water threeſcore days in abating but fif-
14 Ebbing water teen cubits, in threeſcore days
15 Ebbing water more, they abate the depth of
16 Ebbing water the higheſt mountain. For where-
17 Ebbing water as on the firſt day of the moneth
18 Ebbing water *Ab*, the mountain tops appear, on
19 Ebbing water the firſt day of *Tiſri*, which is but
20 Ebbing water two moneths after; the face of all
21 Ebbing water the earth is dry, *Verſ.* 13.
22 Ebbing water
23 Ebbing water
24 Ebbing water
25 Ebbing water
26 Ebbing water
27 Ebbing water
28 Ebbing water
29 Ebbing water
30 Ebbing water

Elul the twelfth moneth. Part of *Auguſt* and *September*.

1 Ebbing water Thus hath the heat of all the Sum-
2 Ebbing water mer helped to the drying up of the
3 Ebbing water waters, which by the end of this
4 Ebbing water moneth are clean gone. For on
5 Ebbing water the firſt day of the next moneth,
6 Ebbing water [which is the beginning of a new
7 Ebbing water year of the world] the waters are
8 Ebbing water dried up from off the earth: And
9 Ebbing water thus hath paſſed this ſad year of
10 Ebbing water the world, in which, not only all
11 Ebbing water fleſh hath periſhed, from under
12 Ebbing water Heaven, ſave what was in the Ark,
13 Ebbing water but even the very courſe of nature
14 Ebbing water hath been ſtrangely changed; for
15 Ebbing water day and night, ſummer and win-
16 Ebbing water ter have not kept their courſe. *The*
17 Ebbing water *world that then was, being overflowed*
18 Ebbing water *with waters, periſhed: but the Heaven*
19 Ebbing water *and the Earth which now are, are re-*
20 Ebbing water *ſerved unto fire, againſt the day of*
21 Ebbing water *judgment, and perdition of ungodly*
22 Ebbing water *men*, 2 Pet.3.6,7.
23 Ebbing water
24 Ebbing water
25 Ebbing water
26 Ebbing water
27 Ebbing water
28 Ebbing water
29 Ebbing water

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII. *From Verſe* 13. *to the end.*

NOW is begun a new year of the world; namely the year 1657. and on the firſt day of *Tiſri*, the waters are clean gone from off the earth, and on the 27th day of *Marheſvan*, the earth is clean dry, and *Noah* cometh that day out of the Ark. He ſtaid a moneth and ſixteen days after the waters were quite gone, that the earth which was moiſt, ſoft, and muddy, with ſo long a flood, might be hardned and dried: and thus hath he been in the Ark a juſt complete year of the ſun.

His coming out was about the beginning of *November*, when winter was already come, and no proviſion then to be had for the beaſts till the next ſpring, but what they had out of the Ark. *Noah* inſtantly after his coming out of the Ark buildeth an Altar, and offereth the odd clean beaſts, that he had taken in of every kind for that purpoſe; and the Lord accepteth him, and promiſeth never to deſtroy the world with water again: and thus as the old world, ſo alſo this new beginneth with Sacrifice.

CHAP. IX.

AS God had bleſſed *Adam* and his wife at their creation, with the bleſſing of increaſe and multiplication, and of dominion over the creatures; ſo doth he *Noah* and his ſons at their going forth of the Ark: but with this difference in the laſt, That whereas *Adam* in innocency had rule over the creatures with amity and love, ſin did now put ſuch a difference, that *Noah* muſt have it with fear and dread. And whereas he had reſtrained *Adam* from eating of fleſh, and confined his diet to the fruit of the ground; he inlargeth *Noah* to feed upon beaſts, and alloweth them for the ſuſtentation of his life, for he had been the preſerver of theirs. This was that, that his father *Lamech* had foretold by the ſpirit of prophecy, when he was born; namely, *That he ſhould comfort them concerning their labour and toil*, which they had, when they might eat nothing but the fruits of the ground, which coſt them hard labour in the tillage and culture to get them: but *Noah* ſhould be *a comfort*, in reference to this, becauſe to him, and in him to all the world, God would give liberty to eat fleſh. But with the fleſh, God permitteth him not to eat the blood; partly for avoiding of cruelty, and partly, becauſe blood was to be atonement for ſin. And this prohibition of eating blood to *Noah* now, and afterward renewed to *Iſrael*, was, becauſe of that cuſtom which God foreſaw would grow; and which in the time of *Iſrael* was grown common of eating fleſh raw: as appeareth, 1 *Sam.* 14. 32. And by the prohibition of eating the Paſchal Lamb: ſo *Exod.* 12. 9. This very law of not eating the fleſh with the blood, confuteth the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, [or the eating of the very fleſh and blood of Chriſt] to all the world.

The Rain-bow, which naturally is a ſign of rain, is ſacramentally made a ſign of no more deſtruction by it.

The drunkenneſs of *Noah* was at ſome good ſpace after the flood, but the very time uncertain: for *Canaan* who was not born of ſome years after they came out of the Ark, is then active and of capacity, and is doomed to ſlavery and ſubjection: his land bequeathed to *Sem*, and the calling of the Gentiles prophecied of.

The death of *Noah* is mentioned in the end of this Chapter, becauſe *Moſes* would totally conclude his ſtory; but as it may be ſeen in the inſuing Table, he died not till within two years of *Abrahams* birth.

CHAP. X.

SEventy heads of Nations grown from the three ſons of *Noah* by the time of confuſion of Tongues: Theſe became not ſeventy ſeveral languages then, though they were ſo many Nations, for it is undoubted that divers Nations joyned in one language: as, *Aſſur*, *Arphaxad*, and *Aram* in the Chaldee; and the moſt, if not all the ſons of *Canaan* in one Tongue. *When the moſt High divided the Nations their inheritance, when he ſeparated the ſons of Adam, he ſet the bounds of the people, according to the number of the children of Iſrael*, *Deut.* 32. 8. With this 10 of *Geneſis* read 1 *Chron.* 1. from Verſ. 5. to Verſ. 24.

CHAP. XI.

HEatheniſm beginneth at *Babel*; when the Hebrew Tongue is loſt to all the world, but only to one family: in that Tongue alone was God preached, and the doctrine of ſalvation publiſhed, and when that is loſt, Religion is loſt with it, and all the earth become ſtrangers to God, and cloſed up in blindneſs and ſuperſtition: and in this eſtate did it continue for the ſpace of 2203. years, till the gift of Tongues at *Sion* began to recure the confuſion of Tongues at *Babel:* and the Heathens thereby were ſo far brought into the true Religion, that even *Babel* it ſelf was among thoſe that knew the Lord, *Pſal.* 87. 4. and a Church there elect, as well as the Jews, 1 *Pet.* 5. 13.

The

The second Age of the World: From the Flood to the Promise given to *Abraham.*

The ten Fathers after the Flood.

Flood	World	*Noah*	*Sem*															
2	1658	602	100	*Arphaxad* born.														
37	1693	637	135	35	*Shelah* born.													
67	1723	667	165	65	30	*Eber* born.												
101	1757	701	199	99	64	34	*Peleg* born. Languages confounded about the time of his birth.											
131	1787	731	229	129	94	64	30	*Reu* born.										
163	1819	763	261	161	126	96	62	32	*Serug* born.									
193	1849	793	291	191	156	126	92	62	30	*Nahor* born.								
222	1878	822	320	220	185	155	121	91	59	29	*Terah* born.							
292	1948	892	390	290	255	225	191	161	129	99	70	*Haran* born.						
340	1996	940	438	338	303	273	239	209	177	147	118	48	*Peleg* dieth.					
341	1997	941	439	339	304	274		210	178	148	119	49	1	*Nahor* dieth.				
350	2006	950	448	348	313	283		219	187		138	58	10	9	*Noah* dieth.			
352	2008		450	350	315	285		221	189		130	60	12	11	2	*Abraham* born.		
370	2026		468	368	333	303		239	207		148		30	29	20	18	*Reu* dieth.	
393	2049		491	391	356	326			230		171			52	43	41	23	*Serug* dieth.
427	2083		525	425	390	360					205			86	77	75	57	34	*Tera* dieth, *Gen.* 11. 32. The Promise given to *Abraham*, Gen. 12. 1.

With this latter part of the eleventh of *Genesis*, read 1 *Chron.* 1. *Vers.* 24, 25, 26, 27.

Sem in the very front of the generations of the new world, ſtandeth *without mention of father or mother, beginning of days, or end of life:* as *Heb.*7.3. The age of man was ſhortned at the confuſion of *Babel*, for *Peleg* and thoſe born after him live not above half the time of thoſe born before. He dieth the firſt of all this line, to ſhew Gods diſlike of that rebellion, which befell in the year of his birth. *Nahor* dieth the next year after him, having lived a ſhorter life then he, to ſhew the like diſpleaſure againſt the Idolatry, which was begun in that line alſo. *Terah* at ſeventy years old hath his ſon *Haran*; and *Abraham* is born to him when he is *an hundred and thirty:* this appeareth by caſting *Abrams* age when he departs out of *Haran* to go for *Canaan* after his fathers death. Men frame intricacies and doubts to themſelves here, where the Text is plain, if it be not wreſted. God in *Ur of the Caldees* calleth *Abram* out of his Idolatry, and out of that Idolatrous Country where he had caught it, to leave *his Country* and *kindred*, and to go for a Land, that he would ſhew him, *Acts* 7. 2. *Abram* leaveth his Idolatry and imbraceth this call, and ſo alſo doth his father *Terah*, [and therefore the conduct of the journy is aſcribed to him for honours ſake, *Gen.*11.31.] and they depart from *Ur* and go to *Haran*, and there they dwell, and there at laſt *Terah* dieth. After his death God giveth *Abram* another call, to leave *his Countrey, kindred, and fathers houſe* too now, and to follow him whither he calls him: and ſo he did, and he was ſeventy and five years old when he departs from *Haran.* Now taking ſeventy and five out of two hundred and five years of *Terah*, at which age he died, it is apparent that *Abram* was born to *Terah* when he was a hundred and thirty years old, and therefore muſt that paſſage, *Verſe* 26. *And Terah lived ſeventy years and begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran*, be underſtood that he begat one of theſe; as the like expreſſion is, *Chap.* 5. 32. *Noah was five hundred years old, and Noah begat Sem, Ham and Japhet: Haran* was *Terahs* eldeſt ſon, though named laſt, as *Japhet* was *Noahs: Abram* is named firſt, becauſe of his dignity, and becauſe the ſtory was to fall upon him: And ſo is it with *Sem* in that place.

CHAP.

World	Sem	Arphaxad	Salah	Eber	Abram
2083	525	425	390	360	75
					76
					77
					78
					79
					80
					81
					82
					83
	534	434	399	369	84
2093	535	435	400	370	85
2094	536	436	401	371	86
					87
2096	538	438	403	373	88
					89
					90
					91

CHAP. XII. XIII. XIV. XV.

THE PROMISE given to *Abram* in *Haran*, after his fathers death: On the 15 day of the moneth *Abib* or *Nisan*, *Exod.*12.41. He journyeth that Spring into the land of *Canaan*, and at or near mount *Gerizim* and mount *Ebal*, he buildeth two Altars, and taketh possession of the land by faith. Famine driveth him into *Egypt*, where the Blackmoor Egyptians are soon aware of the beauty of *Sarai*, a white woman; and she is taken into *Pharaohs* house, but redeemed by the Lord himself, plaguing the *Egyptians*: A type of things to come upon her posterity, and upon the *Egyptians* for their sake. *Abram* returning out of *Egypt* into *Canaan* again, riches suffer not *Lot* and him to dwell together in unity: they part asunder in the valley of *Achor*, and *Lot* separateth from *Abrams* family, and chooseth residence among the Sodomites, to his own danger and detriment: when he is parted, *Abram* hath a full promise of the land, and thereupon flits his habitation to *Hebron*, a place of singular eminency in time to come.

Then *Abram* that hitherto had the land by promise, hath it now by victory: For *Kedorlaomer* of *Elam* the eldest son of *Sem*, and so heir apparent to *Canaan* in *Noahs* prophecy, being now in the fourteenth year of his reign over the Country; and being provoked by the rebellion of the five Cities in the plain of *Jordan*, he bringeth three Kings more with him, and conquereth all the Canaanites both without and within *Jordan*: as, first the *Rephaims* under *Lebanon*; the *Zuzims* in *Amon*; the *Emims* in *Moab*; the *Horims* or *Hivites*, in the caves of *Edom*; and all the *Canaanites* in *Hazezon Tamar*, at the point of the dead Sea. Then turn they into the land within *Jordan*, and as they had subdued all the Countries from North to South without; so now they do the like from South to North within: but when they were come with all their spoil to the out-going of the land, upon the North border *Abram* over-takes them; and so their victories are become his. *Sem* or *Melchisedech* observeth this dispensation of God, and his devolving the land by so special a providence upon *Abram*; and therefore he meets him in his return, with bread and wine, as a King; and with a blessing as a Priest; and passeth the possession of the land, and of the blessing upon him.

Afterwards *Abram* hath the promise of an heir out of his own loins; God maketh a covenant with him by sacrifice; passing in the appearance of fire between the parts of the slain beasts, and consuming them: four hundred years affliction, and sojourning of his seed, are foretold.

CHAP. XVI.

ABRAM marrieth *Hagar*, that he might compass the promise of having a son of his own body; he being not yet informed whither by *Sarai* or no: *Hagar* through *Sarai's* harsh dealing is forced to return towards her own Country; but by the way, seeth *the God of vision*, אל ראי, and by him is instructed concerning the condition and name of the son in her womb, and is sent back to *Sarai* again.

1	ISMAEL born; the son of the bond-woman; born in the very latter end of *Abrams* eighty sixth year.
2	ARPHAXAD dieth, 438. years old, read *Gen.* 11. 11, 13. It is now 440. years since the flood, for *Arphaxad* was born but two years after it. The *Septuagint* makes him the father of *Cainan*, which never was in
3	
4	
5	

World	Sem	Salah	Eber	Abram	Ismael	
				92	6	
				93	7	
				94	8	
				95	9	
				96	10	
				97	11	
				98	12	

in being; and yet is that followed by Saint *Luke*, Chap. 3. 36. for ſpecial reaſon. There be that ſuppoſe the *Chaſdim* or Chaldeans took their denomination from the laſt letters of *Arphaxads* name, כשד: and this hath the more probability, becauſe they are ſo called *Chaſdim*, *Gen.* 15.7. before *Cheſed*, which otherwiſe might have ſeemed to have given them their denomination, was born, *Gen.* 22.22.

CHAP. XVII. XVIII. XIX. XX.

2107	549	414	384	99	13	

IN this year theſe ſeveral occurrences came to paſs: Circumciſion was inſtituted in the moneth *Abib* or *Niſan*, and inſtituted in *Hebron*; In which very place, and at which time of the year, *John Baptiſt* is born, who brought in Baptiſm in ſtead of Circumciſion. *Abram* and *Sarai* have their names changed at the inſtitution of Circumciſion; and *Iſaac* is named before he is conceived. Some three moneths after this, the three Perſons in the Trinity dine with *Abraham*, and foretel the birth of *Iſaac* again.

The Son and the Holy Ghoſt go down to *Sodom*, but the firſt Perſon in the Trinity ſtayeth with *Abraham*, and condeſcendeth to his prayer as long as he asketh.

Sodom and *Gomorrah*, *Admah* and *Zeboim*, deſtroyed with fire and brimſtone: *Lot* eſcapeth, but loſeth two of his daughters in the flames, and his wife by lightning: his other two daughters help to undo him.

Abraham denyeth *Sarah* again; the ſon of the promiſe being now in her womb, but ſhe not yet to be diſcovered to be with child.

CHAP. XXI.

2108	550	415	385	100	14	
				101	15	1
				102	16	2
				103	17	3
				104	18	4
2113	555	420	390	105	19	5
				106	20	6
				107	21	7
				108	22	8
				109	23	9
				110	24	10
				111	25	11
				112	26	12
				113	27	13
				114	28	14
				115	29	15
				116	30	16
				117	31	17
2126	568	433	403	118	32	18
				119	33	19
				120	34	20
				121	35	21
				122	36	22
				123	37	23
				124	38	24
				125	39	25
				126	40	26
				127	41	27

ISAAC born the ſon of the promiſe: *Abraham* in the ſupernatural birth of *Iſaac*, fore-ſaw the ſupernatural birth of *Chriſt*, and rejoyced. *Iſaac* was not ſo named *Laughter*, only becauſe of *Abrahams* joy for him, but alſo for his joy in *Chriſt*, John 8. 56. *Your father Abraham rejoyced to ſee my day, and he ſaw it, and was glad.*

ISMAEL mocketh; *Hagar*, and he is caſt out of *Abrahams* family. From hence begin the 400 years mentioned *Chap.* 15.13. *Abimelech* and *Abraham* make a league, &c. God had foretold *Abraham* of the *Egyptian* affliction, and his affliction beginneth firſt by an *Egyptian*, namely by *Hagar* and her ſon. There is mention of a double ſpace of his ſeeds, ſojourning in a land not theirs; *viz.* 400 years, *Chap.* 15. 13. which was from *Iſmaels* mocking, to their delivery out of *Egypt*; and 430 years, *Exod.* 12. 40. which was from the promiſe given to *Abram*, *Gen.* 17.1. to their delivery, *Gal.* 3.17. *Abraham* conſecrateth a grove at *Beerſheba*, that he might have hallowed wood for his ſacrifices, as well as holy fire; ſee *Chap.* 21.7. he had had fire from heaven at ſome time upon his ſacrifice, and he preſerved it.

SALAH or *Shelah* dieth, being 433 years old, read *Gen.* 11.14,15.

There is a good ſpace of time paſſed over in ſilence concerning *Iſaac*; for from the time of *Iſmaels* mocking, which was at his fifth year, till the time of his offering up in a figure, which was at his thirty third, as may be conceived; there is no mention of him: for as yet the ſtory moſt eſpecially followeth the Acts of *Abraham*. Now it is very likely, that as the offering up of *Iſaac* was ſo plain and perfect a figure of the offering up of Chriſt, in other things, ſo alſo that theſe two things,

World	Sem	Eber	Abraham	Ismael	Isaac	
			128	42	28	
			129	43	29	
			130	44	30	
			131	45	31	
			132	46	32	
			133	47	33	
			134	48	34	
			135	49	35	
			136	50	36	
2145	587	422	137	51	37	
			138	52	38	
			139	53	39	
2148	590	425	140	54	40	
			141	55	41	
			142	56	42	
			143	57	43	
			144	58	44	
			145	59	45	
			146	60	46	
			147	61	47	
			148	62	48	
			149	63	49	
2158	600	435	150	64	50	
			151	65	51	
			152	66	52	
			153	67	53	
			154	68	54	
			155	69	55	
			156	70	56	
			157	71	57	
			158	72	58	
			159	73	59	
2168		445	160	74	60	
			161	75	61	1
			162	76	62	2
			163	77	63	3
			164	78	64	4
			165	79	65	5
			166	80	66	6
			167	81	67	7
			168	82	68	8
			169	83	69	9
			170	84	70	10

the Type and Antitype did agree in the time; and that *Isaac* was offered when he was two and thirty years and an half old, or three and thirty current: which was the age of our Saviour when he was crucified. And the like concurrence and circumstance of the time, may be also well conceived of *Abel* at his death; who murdred by his brother, typified the same thing that *Isaac* did, sacrificed by his father.

CHAP. XXII.

ISAAC probably offered up this year: The mount *Moriah*, Ver. 2. *the third day*, Ver. 4. His first bearing the wood, and then the wood bearing him, *Vers.* 6, 9. His being bound hand and foot, *Vers.* 9. do call us to remember such circumstances in the death of *Christ*.

CHAP. XXIII.

SARAH dieth, being 127 years old; the only woman whose age is recorded in Scripture: A burial place is the first land that *Abraham* hath in *Canaan*.

CHAP. XXIV. & XXV. *to Verse* 7. *and* 1 CHRON. 1. *Vers.* 32, 33.

ISAAC is married to *Rebeccah*: *Abraham* after *Sarahs* death marrieth *Keturah*, and hath divers children by her; those children when they come to age, he sendeth away into those countries beyond *Jordan*, and in *Arabia*, which *Kedarlaomer* and the Kings with him had conquered; and by the conquest of them, they descended to *Abraham*. There these sons of his grow into Nations, and become continual enemies to the seed of *Israel*. Though *Abraham* were very old at *Sarahs* death, being 137 years old then; yet is he not past the strength of generation, through the strength of that promise, *I will multiply thee, &c.* The greatest wonder of *Isaacs* birth was, that he was born of an old barren woman.

SEM dieth; being 600 years old, read *Gen.* 11. 11. the same was *Melchisedech*; the only man in the world greater then *Abraham*: For though *Eber* and *Arphaxad*, and the other Patriarchs, had this dignity above *Abraham*, that they were his fathers; yet he was dignified above them all in this, that he had the singular and glorious Promise made to him, which was not made to any of them but only *Sem*: *Sem* saw the two great miseries of the world, the Flood and the confusion of Tongues; but he saw comfort in *Abraham* and *Isaac*. He lived as many years after *Abraham* came into the land of *Canaan*, as *Abraham* was old when he came thither; namely, 75 years.

CHAP. XXV. Ver. 11. *and from* Ver. 19. *to the end.*

JACOB and *Esau* born; first he that was natural, and then he that was spiritual: These children strove in the womb, and *Rebeccah* inquired after the cause, and the Lord by an oracle, it is like by *Abrahams* oracle at *Beersheba*, resolves her of the difference of the children, and of the Nations that should descend of them. *Esau* is born all hairy over like a kid, a strange birth; and he is therefore named *Esau*, that is, *Made*: for he had his beard and his *pubes* now even from the birth, as if he had been a mature man. The story is now to fall upon the acts of *Isaac* and *Jacob*, and therefore

World	Eber	Abrah.	Ismael	Isaac	Jacob	
		171	85	71	11	
		172	86	72	12	
		173	87	73	13	
		174	88	74	14	
2183	460	175	89	75	15	
			90	76	16	
			91	77	17	
			92	78	18	
2187	464		93	79	19	
			94	80	20	
			95	81	21	
			96	82	22	
			97	83	23	
			98	84	24	
			99	85	25	
			100	86	26	
			101	87	27	
			102	88	28	
			103	89	29	
			104	90	30	
			105	91	31	
			106	92	32	
			107	93	33	
			108	94	34	
			109	95	35	
			110	96	36	
			111	97	37	
			112	98	38	
			113	99	39	
			114	100	40	
2208			115	101	41	
			116	102	42	
			117	103	43	
			118	104	44	
			119	105	45	
			120	106	46	
			121	107	47	
			122	108	48	
			123	109	49	
			124	110	50	
			125	111	51	
			126	112	52	
			127	113	53	
			128	114	54	
			129	115	55	
			130	116	56	
			131	117	57	
			132	118	58	
			133	119	59	
			134	120	60	
			135	121	61	
			136	122	62	

fore in this Chapter it concludes the ſtory of *Abraham* and *Iſmael*, reckoneth up the tearm of their lives, and mentioneth their deaths by anticipation: the Reader will readily reduce the Texts that mention theſe, to their proper time; it is moſt uſual in Scripture thus to do, in reckoning up mens ages: as, *Geneſis* 5. and 11. &c.

ABRAHAM dieth; here read *Gen.* 25. verſ. 7, 8, 9, 10. *Iſaac* is of the very ſame age when *Abraham* dieth, that *Abraham* was when the Promiſe came to him, *viz.* ſeventy five years old. The Promiſe now is come upon *Iſaac*.

EBER dieth; read *Gen.* 11. 17. He was the longeſt liver born ſince the Flood; the father of the *Hebrews*, and denominator of the *Hebrew* Tongue: Religion ſtaid in his family, when all the world loſt it beſide; and he liveth to ſee it gloriouſly ſetled in the families of *Abraham* and *Iſaac*.

CHAP. XXVI.

THE time that *Eſau* ſold his birth-right, and that *Iſaac* went to *Gerar*, are both undated, but it ſeemeth by the Text that they were near together; and that the famine that cauſed *Eſau* to part with his birth-right, cauſed *Iſaac* to depart out of his own reſidence, to go elſewhere to ſeek for ſuſtenance. It appeareth that there was great ſcarcity of victuals, when *Jacob* is brought to his lentil pottage, and when *Eſau*, if he got not ſome of theſe pottage, is like to famiſh. Many precious things were wrapped up in the birth-right: as, the Priority, the Promiſe, the Prieſt-hood, and excellent priviledges; and *Eſau* for a meſs of pottage deſpiſeth them all. Compare this with *Adams* loſing his own and his poſterities happineſs, for a morſel of meat. *Iſaac* as his father had done, denyeth his wife: A Philiſtim King ſheweth here more conſcience then he; he proſpereth exceedingly in the land of the Philiſtims, to the envy of the inhabitants there.

ESAU marrieth *Canaanitiſh* wives; a vexation to his holy parents; for this his impious Polygamy he is called a *fornicator*, *Heb.* 12. 16. for Polygamy is called *fornication* or *whoredom*, *Hoſ.* 4. 11. and upon this it ſeemeth that the Holy Ghoſt giveth one of his wives the name of *Adah*, the wife of the firſt Polygamiſt in the world: ſee *Gen.* 36. 2. and *Gen.* 4. 19. *Eſau* here lay under a double offence, namely for Polygamy, and for marrying in the ſtock of curſed *Canaan*; Polygamy in the men of the holy generation: as, *Jacob*, *David* and *Solomon*, &c. was of a more tolerable nature, and of more diſpenſableneſs; becauſe they ſought to multiply the holy ſeed, which *Eſau* was out of capacity to do.

Was not Eſau Jacobs brother, ſaith the Lord? Yet I loved Jacob, and hated Eſau, Mal. 1. ver. 2, 3. *What ſhall we ſay then? Is there unrighteouſneſs with God? God forbid. For he ſaith to Moſes, I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compaſſion on whom I will have compaſſion*, Rom. 9. 14, 15. Both the Prophet and the Apoſtle do rather take their example for election and reprobation in *Jacob* and *Eſau*, then in *Cain* and *Abel*, at the beginning of the old world, or in *Sem* and *Ham* in the beginning of the new; partly becauſe the free acting and diſpoſing of God is the better ſhewed, in the contrary diſpoſal of theſe two that were known to be born at one birth; and partly, becauſe in *Jacob* there began to be a diſtinguiſhed people from all the world, and the foundation of a diſtinct viſible Church laid: and partly ſince both were born of parents under the Promiſe, that the ſpiritual and temporal vertue of the Promiſe might be differenced.

World	*Ismael*	*Isaac*	*Jacob*
2231	137	123	63
		124	64
		125	65
		126	66
		127	67
		128	68
		129	69
		130	70
		131	71
		132	72
		133	73
		134	74
		135	75
		136	76

ISMAEL dieth; 137 years old: here read *Gen.* 25. from *verſe* 12. to *verſe* 19. and 1 *Chron.* 1. *verſe* 28, 29, 30, 31. There may be ſome argument that he was ſaved, though once he perſecuted and mocked, and was expelled *Abrahams* houſe: as *Abrahams* prayer for him, and Gods promiſe towards him, *Gen.* 17. 18, 20. the reckoning of his age, and uſing the very ſame expreſſion of his death, as are uſed of *Abrahams*; *Eſau* going to marry in his ſtock, when his Canaanitiſh matches diſpleaſed his parents, &c. But howſoever it was with *Iſmael* himſelf in matter of piety, it is certain his poſterity grew impious, and were conſtant enemies to *Iſrael:* they and the reſt of the ſeed of *Abraham* by *Keturah*, lived together in *Arabiah*, and were brethren in evil. The *Turks* are held by ſome to be of the ſeed of *Iſmael*, and their uſing Circumciſion is uſed as an argument to confirm it: but that may ſpeak them as well, if not rather, the off-ſpring of the Jews captivated into the Northern parts of the world, by *Aſſyria* and *Babylon*, and now increaſed into theſe vaſt multitudes; and poured out toward the weſtern parts.

CHAP. XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX.

2245		137	77

ISAAC is now come to that age at which his brother *Iſmael* died 14 years ago, namely 137 and it is not improbable that the thought of his death at that age, puts *Iſaac* in mind of his own end; and he accordingly diſpoſeth towards it by conveying of the bleſſing, and ſetling it upon one of his ſons: his ſending *Eſau* to hunt for veniſon, that he might eat of his ſavoury meat, and his ſoul might bleſs him, was not becauſe meat or drink would conduce for that ſpiritual purpoſe; but he puts him to this, that he might know whether he ſhould bleſs him or no; for his miſſing of veniſon before had occaſioned the loſs of his birth-right, and if he miſſed of it now, it would be a ſign to *Iſaac*, that God would have him alſo to loſe the bleſſing. And this *Rebeccah* eaſily knew to be *Iſaacs* mind, in ſending *Eſau* upon that imployment, and ſhe accordingly makes uſe of it, for the advantage of her beloved ſon *Jacob*; and *Iſaac* likewiſe paſſeth ſome bleſſing upon *Eſau* when he ſeeth him to have ſped of a prey, becauſe he ſaw that God would have him to have ſome bleſſing, according to the ſign that *Iſaac* had propoſed to himſelf, *Jacob* in his eldeſt brothers garments obtains the bleſſing, the garments of the Prieſt-hood which belonged to the firſt born, and ſo were now kept by *Rebeccah* in *Jacobs* right.

Jacob upon fear of *Eſaus* diſpleaſure, fleeth to *Haran*; before he goeth he hath the bleſſing which he had ſtollen from his father, now confirmed upon him by his father knowingly and purpoſely.

At *Bethel* in his way he hath a viſion of a ladder, a type of Chriſt incarnate, that brings Heaven and Earth together, in his two natures, and in his reconciliation; he anoints the pillar and conſecrates the place where he had lain, and voweth his tythes. The mention of *Eſaus* going to *Iſmael*, [that is, to *Iſmaels* family, for *Iſmael* was dead] and taking his daughter to wife, is ſet before the mention of the viſion at *Bethel*, and the actions at *Haran* well, though it were not ſo very ſoon; becauſe the Holy Ghoſt would take up *Jacobs* ſtory intire and uninterrupted, therefore he ſetteth that ſtory before.

Jacob at *Haran* well, ſheweth himſelf ſtronger then three men, and rolleth away a ſtone from the wells mouth, which three ſhepherds could not; he meeteth with *Rachel* and *Laban*, and indenteth for ſeven years ſervice. A man of threeſcore and ſeventeen years old is bound apprentice for a wife. That this was the year of theſe occurrences, namely the ſeventy ſeventh of *Jacobs* age, is to be collected backward from the ſtory following, thus; *Joſeph* the ſon of *Jacob* was thirty years old when he ſtood before *Pharaoh*, *Gen.*41.46. then came ſeven years plenty, *ver.* 47, 53. which made *Joſeph* thirty and ſeven years old; then paſſed two years famine ere *Jacob* came into *Egypt*, *Chap.* 45. 6. and now was *Joſeph* thirty and nine years of age; when *Jacob* came at the end of the two years famine, he himſelf

himſelf was an hundred and thirty years old, *Chap.* 47. 9. Now take the thirty and nine years of *Joſeph* out of the hundred and thirty years of the age of *Jacob*, and it appeareth, that *Jacob* begat *Joſeph* at the ninety firſt year of his age. Now *Joſeph* was born in the laſt year of the ſecond ſeven, or in the fourteenth year of *Jacobs* ſervice with *Laban*, in the very concluſion of that year, *Chap.* 30. 25, 26. take therefore fourteen years out of *Jacobs* ninety one, when *Joſeph* was born, and the remainder ſeventy ſeven, was the age of *Jacob* when he entred upon thoſe fourteen years ſervice.

World	*Iſaac*	*Jacob*	
2246	138	78	*Jacob* beginneth his ſeven years apprentiſhip; *Leah* and *Rachel* are
	139	79	figures of the two Churches; the Church of the Jews under the Law,
	140	80	and the Church of the Gentiles under the Goſpel: the younger the more
	141	81	beautiful, and more in the thoughts of *Chriſt*, when he came in the
	142	82	form of a ſervant: but the other like *Leah*, firſt imbraced and taken
	143	83	to wife.
2252	144	84	At the end of this year, *Jacobs* apprentiſhip for *Rachel* is out, but *Laban* deceiveth him with *Leah*; and ſo is *Jacob* paid in kind for deceiving his father. He had deceived his father with a ſuborned perſon, taking on him to be *Eſau* when he was *Jacob*; and he is deceived by his father-in-law with a ſuborned perſon, and ſo imbraceth *Leah* thinking he had imbraced *Rachel:* his thoughts were upon a child by *Rachel* whilſt he had *Leah* in his arms, and ſo the birth-right by his thoughts and intention ſhould be *Rachels* firſt-born; and ſo it was in time.
			He being thus deceived, indenteth yet ſeven years ſervice longer for *Rachel*, and ſerveth a week in earneſt, that he will ſerve yet other ſeven years, and at the weeks end he marrieth *Rachel.*
2253	145	85	REUBEN born: and the reſt of *Jacobs* ſons probably in this order.
	146	86	SIMEON born.
	147	87	LEVI and DAN born.
	148	88	JUDAH and NAPHTHALI born.
	149	89	GAD born.
	150	90	ASHER and ISSACAR born.
2259	151	91	JOSEPH born, and ZEBULON born not long before him.
	152	92	1 *Rachel* prophecieth; *Dinah* not born in theſe ſeven years, unleſs ſhe
	153	93	2 were a twin with *Zebulon.*
	154	94	3 Upon a new bargain with *Laban*, *Jacob* by Gods bleſſing and di-
	155	95	4 rection groweth exceeding rich, to the envy of *Laban* and his ſons:
	156	96	5 *Laban* dealeth deceitfully with him about his cattel, as he had done about his daughters, but the Lord ſuffered him not to hurt him.

CHAP. XXXI.

2265	157	97	6	JACOB departeth ſecretly from *Laban*, but at laſt is perſued by him: *Rachel* ſtole *Labans Teraphim*, which were the pictures or ſtatutes of ſome of her anceſtors, and taken by her for the preſervation of their memory with her, now ſhe is never to ſee her country and fathers houſe again. *Laban* had abuſed them to Idolatry. He and *Jacob* make a covenant.

CHAP. XXXII. and XXXIII. to *ver.*17.

	158	98	7	*Jacob* afraid of *Eſau*, is ſhaken in his faith at his approach, though he have the viſible attendance of Angels; for which diſtruſt, *the Angel of the Covenant Chriſt* meets him by the way, wreſtles with him, and ſeeks to kill him: but he weepeth and maketh ſupplication, and is only maimed, but eſcapeth with life. He is called *Iſrael*, to aſſure him that he ſhould prevail with *Eſau*, who had thus prevailed with God; and now with the firſt naming of *Iſrael*, is a ceremony taken upt o diſtinguiſh *Iſrael* from other people; namely the foregoing to eat the ſinew that ſhrank.
				Eſau and *Jacob* meet friendly, and ſo they part; *When a mans ways pleaſe the Lord, he makes even his enemies to be at peace with him.*

CHAP.

World	Isaac	Jacob	Joseph	
				that time, are not to be referred to the next words going before in the preceding Chapter, concerning *Josephs* ſale to *Potiphar*, but are of a more large extent as that Phraſe, and the Phraſe, *In thoſe days*, are oft in Scripture: It linketh *Josephs* ſelling and *Judahs* miſcarriages very well together, that it might be ſhewed how he was puniſhed in his children, that had been ſo unnatural to a brother; and *Josephs* not ſinning with his Miſtreſs, and *Judahs* ſinning with his daughter-in-law, do help to ſet off one another towards ſuch an obſervation. The four eldeſt ſons of *Jacob* fell under foul guilt; and ſo repentance and mercy are taught and ſhewed in their converſion.

CHAP. XL.

2287	179	119	28	JOSEPH expoundeth his two fellow priſoners dreams, and like the two theeves with *Chriſt*, the one is ſaved, and the other condemned. One of theſe when *Joſeph* ſaid to him, *Remember me when it ſhall be well with thee*; forgat him: but one of thoſe when he ſaid to Chriſt, *Remember me when thou comeſt into thy kingdom*; was not forgotten. Thus as the telling of two dreams had brought *Joſeph* into miſery; ſo this expounding of two dreams will prove in time a forwarder of his delivery: as yet the Butler fills and drinks wine in bowles, but is not grieved for the affliction of *Joſeph*: as *Am.* 6.6.
2288	180	120	29	ISAAC dieth; and *Jacob* and *Eſau* are friends, and bury him: read Chap. 35. ver. 28,29. and ruminate upon how *Eſau* is changed from what he ſaid, Chap. 27.41.

CHAP. XLI.

		121	30	JOSEPH expoundeth *Pharaohs* dream; compare *Dan.*2. Seven years famine begin; *Joſeph* treaſureth up corn; hath *Manaſſeh* and *Ephraim* born to him within theſe years, of an Egyptian Lady. How looks his wretched Miſtreſs upon him now if ſhe be alive? Towards the latter end of the ſeven years famine, or thereabout, *Pharez* hath HEZRON born to him.
		122	31	
		123	32	
		124	33	
		125	34	
		126	35	
		127	36	
		128	37	

CHAP. XLII.

2289		129	38	THE firſt year of famine; *Joſephs* brethren bow to him for corn, as their ſheaves of corn had done to him in his dream.

CHAP. XLIII. XLIV, XLV, XLVI, & XLVII. to *Verſ.* 13.

2290		130	39	THE ſecond year of famine; *Benjamin* is brought by his brethren into *Egypt*; he is now the father of ten children. The feaſting of *Joſephs* brethren was the better to pretend the ſtealing of a ſilver bowle; נחש ונחש בי, Chap.44.5. for which *Joſeph would make a very narrow ſearch*; נחש ינחש כמוני איש אשר: for ſuch a man as he that was in ſo high a place, *could make a very ſtrict inquiry*, ver. 15.
2291				*Jacob* goeth down into *Egypt* with ſeventy ſouls; himſelf and *Joſeph*, and his two ſons, being counted in the number. The Septuagint have added five more, *viz. Machir, Gilead, Shutelah, Tahan, Eden:* from 1 *Chron.* 7. 14, 20. &c. Followed by Saint *Luke*, *Acts* 7. 14.
				Jacob and *Joſeph* after thirteen years diſtance met: *Jacob* preſented before *Pharaoh*, and the King asks no other queſtion then about his age. It was news in *Egypt* to ſee ſo old a man; *Jacob* is now 130 years old, and now juſt the half of the 430 between the Promiſe and delivery out of *Egypt* are paſſed: ſee *Exod.* 12. 40. *Gal.* 3. 17. They had been taken up in theſe parcels five and twenty years after *Abrahams* coming into the land, before the birth of *Iſaac*; ſixty years of *Iſaacs* age until the birth of *Jacob*; and now *Jacob* is an hundred and thirty; the ſum of all 215. And now to the coming out of *Egypt* we muſt count 215 more; and that count muſt lead us on thither.

CHAP

World	Jacob	Joseph	Year of the Promise.
2299	131	40	216
	132	41	217
	133	42	218
	134	43	219
	135	44	220
	136	45	221
	137	46	222
	138	47	223
	139	48	224
	140	49	225
	141	50	226
	142	51	227
	143	52	228
	144	53	229
	145	54	230
	146	55	231
2315	147	56	232
		57	233
		58	234
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		94	270
		95	271
		96	272
		97	273
		98	274
		99	275
		100	276
		101	277
		102	278

CHAP. XLVII. from ver. 13. to the end; and CHAP. XLVIII.

THE third year of famine.
The fourth year of famine.
The fifth year of famine.
The sixth year of famine.
The seventh year of famine.

Joseph buyeth all the land of *Egypt* for *Pharaoh*. He feedeth his father and family seventeen years before his fathers death, as his father had nourished him seventeen years before his sale. The children of *Israel* grow numerous and into multitudes, even before *Jacobs* death; he adopted *Josephs* two sons for tribes; he bestoweth the portion of land upon *Joseph* that he had first bought of the *Shechemites*, Chap. 33. and was after put to recover it out of the hand of the *Amorite* with his sword and bow; who had usurped it, and seized upon it, in his absence after his departure thence to *Bethel* and *Hebron*: He sweareth *Joseph* to bury him in the land of *Canaan*, with his fathers *Abraham* and *Isaac*. Thus is the birth-right clearly passed upon *Joseph*, when his two sons are taken by *Jacob*, as *Simeon* and *Levi*, and when the land is bestowed on him for inheritance.

CHAP. XLIX. L.

JACOB dieth, having first blessed all his sons; even every one of them. A blessing is to be found in his passages to *Reuben*, *Simeon*, and *Levi*, of whom he speaketh the bittrest things. His words throughout concern the future events and occurrences of the tribes, most especially, for he professeth to tell them, *what shall befall them in the last days.*

That *Reuben* should have *Jether secth vejether gnaz:* a *remnant of dignity, and a remnant of strength:* for he was to lead the field in the wars of *Canaan*, and was to be victorious against the *Hagarens*; see *Jos.* 4. 12. and 1 *Chron.* 5. 10. He was *unstable as water*, in affecting the Priest-hood, and refusing the land, *Numb.* 16. 1,2. and 32. 1. but his father adviseth him אל תותר, *Al tother*, let not unstability remain in him.

That the scattering of *Simeon* and *Levi* among the rest of the tribes, should be for the benefit of themselves, and of others.

That *Judah* should be Prince, and should be victorious; that *Shiloh* should descend of him; and that either the Scepter or Law-giver should continue in that tribe till his coming. That *Judahs* habitation should be a country of vines, so as to tie asses or colts to them, and not to be nice of spoiling them, they should be so abundant; that he should sowse his garments in wine with treading the wine-presses, &c.

That *Zebulon* should trade at Sea on both hands, in the *Ocean*, and the Sea of *Galilee*.

That *Issachar* should be burdned with two Kingdoms of *Phenicia* and *Samaria*, on either hand him; yet love of ease should make him bear and become tributary.

That *Dan* in *Samson* shall bite the heels of the Philistims house, and overthrow so many thousand riders; and that makes *Jacob* to look at the delivery by Christ in the like manner, who should destroy *Samson*-like by dying.

That *Gad* should be hard set with the *Hagarites*, but he and his friends should overcom them at last.

That *Asher* should abound in corn and provision; and *Naphtali* in venison, and in him should begin the Gospel.

That *Josephs* sons should grow by *Jacobs* well unto a Kingdom, and that his daughters should go עלי שור, *even to the enemy:* to repair the hostile tribe of *Benjamin*; which otherwise had decayed for want of wives: as *Judg.* 21.

That *Benjamin* should be ravenous and devour the prey to themselves, in the morning of their estate in the great slaughter of *Gibeah*,

World	Joseph	Years of the Promise	
	103	279	*beah*, and in ſtealing them wives; but ſhould divide the ſpoil for the
	104	280	good of the other tribes, in the evening of their firſt eſtate by *Mordecai*;
	105	281	and in the evening of their ſecond eſtate by *Paul*.
	106	282	The Apoſtle in *Heb.* 11.21. mentioneth only *Jacobs* bleſſing the two
	107	283	ſons of *Joſeph*; becauſe born out of his family in a forain land, yet
	108	284	by faith adopted by *Jacob* for his own children: the Apoſtle there
	109	285	follows the LXX. that in their unprickt Bibles, read *Matteh*, *a rod*, for *Mittah*, *a bed*.
2369	110	286	JOSEPH dieth 110 years old having lived to ſee *Ephrams* children
		287	to the third generation; that is, to the third generation from *Ephraim*, or fourth from *Joſeph:* and to this, the great ▭ in the שלשים, Chap. 50. ver.23. ſeemeth to point, to teach us to conſtrue this to the greateſt extent, namely to the third from *Ephraim*; as the like is expreſſed of *Manaſſeh*.

1 CHRON. VII. *ver.* 21, 22, 23.

	288	EPHRAIM at *Joſephs* death could not be leſs then threeſcore and
	289	fiteen years old, and therefore that paſſage concerning his ſons be-
	290	ing ſlain by the men of *Gath*, ſeemeth to have been not very long af-
	291	ter *Joſephs* death, if not before; unleſs we will conceive *Ephraim* to
	292	have begotten children after that, at a very great age. *Zabad* his ſon,
	293	and *Shutelah*, and *Ezer*, and *Elead*, his grandchildren, [probably enough
	294	that third generation of *Ephraim*, meant *Gen.*50.25.] were the men ſo
	295	unhappily ſlain *by the men of Gath that were born in the land:* that is,
	296	men born in *Egypt*, but now reſident in *Gath*, and who came down to
	297	take away theſe *Ephraimites* cattel, and ſlew them as they ſtood in de-
	298	fence and retention of them; for ſo ſhould I rather tranſlate the verſe,
	299	[*and men of Gath who were born in the land ſlew them, for they came down*
	300	*to take away their cattel.*] ſo as to make the men of *Gath* the plunderers,
	301	rather then the ſons of *Ephraim: Ephraim* their father upon the ſad oc-
	302	currence mourneth many days, but afterward goeth in to his wife, and
	303	giveth him that name, becauſe it went ill at that time with his houſe.
	304	*Iſrael* by this time is grown to a vaſt multitude in *Egypt*.
	305	
	306	
	307	

The Book of EXODUS.

CHAP. I.

2391	308	ABout this time *Levi* dieth, having lived 137 years; *Exod.*6.16.
	309	It is like that he lived longeſt of all the tribes; and that be-
	310	cauſe only his age, and the age of *Joſeph* are mentioned of all
	311	the reſt: it ſeemeth that the one died the ſooneſt, and the
	312	other lived longeſt of all the twelve. The children of *Iſrael* after the
	313	death of the twelve Patriarchs, do by degrees fall into all manner of
	314	abomination: They commit Idolatry, *Joſh.*24.14. *Ezek.*20.8. They for-
	315	get and forgo Circumciſion, the Covenant of their God; and this was
	316	the reproach of *Egypt*, *Joſh.*5.9. &c. They joyned in marriage with the
	317	Egyptians, *Lev.* 24. 10. *Exod.* 12. 38. and walked according to ſuch
	318	wretched principles as theſe: therefore the Lord caſteth them into a fur-
	319	nace of affliction; and now, as in *Abrahams* viſion, *Gen.* 15. 12. when
	320	the Sun of Religion is gone down among them, an horrid darkneſs of
	321	impiety and miſery comes upon them. Yet doth the ſtrength of the
	322	Promiſe ſhew it ſelf wonderful in both the ſexes; in the men, that they
	323	are ſtrong to beget children, though overpreſſed with intolerable labour;
	324	and in the women, that they bare their children with leſs pain and tedi-
	325	ouſneſs of travel, then other women did; being lively and quick in their
	326	delivery; and were delivered before the midwives came at them. *Pha-*
	327	*raoh*, when over-labouring of the men will not prevent their increaſing
	328	in children, giveth charge to the midwives for the deſtroying of the chil-
	329	dren when they ſhould be born: but *Shiphrah* and *Puah* two of the mid-
	330	wives,
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wives, obſerving Gods wonderful hand in the womens delivery, diſobeyed the Kings command; and by a glorious confeſſion of Gods hand which they ſaw, will rather venture the Kings diſpleaſure then fight againſt God: for which their piety, God marrieth them to *Iſraelites*, [for they were *Egyptian* women] and builded up *Iſraelitiſh* families by them; *ver.* 25. *Becauſe the midwives feared God he made them houſes.*

PSAL. LXXXVIII. & LXXIX.

IN theſe times of bitterneſs and miſery, lived the two ſons of *Zerah*, or the Ezrahites, *Heman* and *Ethan*, 1 *Chron.*2.6. who had the ſpirit of the Lord upon them in the midſt of all this affliction; and they penned the eighty eight, and eighty ninth *Pſalms:* the former ſadly mourning for the preſent diſtreſs; and the latter cheerfully ſinging the mercies of God in the midſt of this diſtreſs, and prophecying of deliverance. And here is the proper place and order of theſe *Pſalms.*

The Book of JOB.

IN theſe times when it went thus ſadly with *Iſrael* in *Egypt*; there ſhone forth the glorious piety and patience of *Job* in the land of *Uz:* and here in order of time doth his book and ſtory come in. It is not poſſible to fix the time of his great trial and affliction to its proper date; but there are two or three conſiderations which do argue that it was about theſe bitter times of *Iſraels* ſinfulneſs and miſery.

As 1. to conſider how ſuitable it is to the providence of God, and agreeable to his diſpenſation at other times, [as in the matter of *Elias* and the widow of *Sarepta*, for one inſtance] that when Religion was utterly loſt and gone in the Church of *Iſrael*, where it ſhould have been; to find it in the family of *Job*, in a place where it might have been little ſuppoſed to have been found. 2. How *Job* is preferred for his piety before any man alive, and that before his patience had given it ſuch a luſtre. 3. If *Eliphaz* be called a *Temanite*, as being the immediate ſon of *Teman*, it helpeth to ſcantling the time exceeding much; for then was he the fourth from *Eſau*, as *Amram* was from *Jacob*, and ſo their times might very well be coincident.

The Book of *Job* ſeemeth to have been penned by *Elihu* one of the ſpeakers in it, as may appear by theſe two things. 1. Becauſe in Chap. 2. when *Jobs* friends that came to lament with him, and to comfort him, are reckoned and mentioned by name, *Elihu* is not named in the number; arguing, as it may well be conceived, theſe two things, 1. That he came not to *Job* from a place far diſtant, as the other three did, but neighboured upon him. And 2. that he himſelf was the Hiſtorian and Pen-man that made the relation; and therefore he named not himſelf when he named others. 2. Becauſe in *Chap.* 32. he ſpeaketh of himſelf as of the Hiſtorian, *ver.* 15, 16, 17. *They were amazed, they anſwer no more, they left off ſpeaking. When I had waited, for they ſpake not, but ſtood ſtill and anſwered no more; I ſaid I will anſwer alſo, I alſo will ſhew my opinion.*

Job was a ſon of *Nahor*, *Abrahams* brother, deſcended from him by his ſon *Uz*, *Gen.*22.21. and ſo *Elihu* and he came to live ſo near together; the one being of *Uz* the eldeſt ſon of *Nahor*, and the other of *Buz* the ſecond.

The order of the Book is facile and direct; the Penman in the two firſt Chapters ſheweth how *Job* fell into his miſery, who before was one of the richeſt and moſt proſperous men in thoſe parts. *On a Sabbath day when the ſons of God preſented themſelves before the Lord*, that is, when the profeſſors of the true Religion were met together in the publike aſſembly; *Satan* was inviſibly there among them, but the Lord ſeeth him, and upon ſome conference about *Job*, the Lord letteth *Satan* looſe upon him, in reference to his eſtate; and another *Sabbath* upon the like occaſion and conference, he letteth him looſe upon him in reference to his body: ſo *Satan* deſtroyeth all that he hath, and all his children. [Read *ver.* 5. of *Chap.* 1. not, *when the days of their feaſting were gone about*; but, *as the days of their feaſting went about:*]

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and ſmiteth him with an intolerable itch, that his nails will not ſerve his turn to ſcratch, but he is glad to get a potſheard to ſcrub himſelf. Then come his three friends to him from a far diſtance, and *Elihu* his couſen that lived near to him, and theſe in ſeveral ſpeeches to him do but aggravate his miſery, and prove miſerable comforters.

The dialogues or diſputation between him and his three friends do hold this courſe; that he anſwereth, and they reply upon him in the courſe of their age and ſeniority. Their greateſt drift is to prove him extraordinary ſinful, becauſe he was extraordinarily puniſhed; which incharitable errour when he cannot convince them of, becauſe of their prejudice, he ſtoppeth all their mouths by a confident imprecation or execration upon himſelf, if he be ſo faulty as they would make him, *Chap.*31. Then *Elihu* the Pen-man undertakes to moderate, but inclining to the ſame miſpriſion with the others; the Lord himſelf convinceth them all of the uprightneſs of *Job*, which no arguments of *Job* could do; and this not only by an oracle from Heaven, but alſo by *Jobs* revived proſperity, wherein every thing that he had loſt was reſtored double to him, but only his children; which though they died yet were not loſt. His years were doubled, for he lived an hundred and forty years after his trouble, and ſo was ſeventy years old when his trouble came and died two hundred and ten years old: the longeſt liver born ſince *Terah*.

CHAP. II. *to Ver.*11.

341 342 343 344 345 346 347 ISRAELS afflictions increaſe upon them; the cruel King of *Egypt* commanding all the Male children to be ſlain. *Miriam* was born not far from this time, ſhe was able to ſtand and watch *Moſes* when he was caſt into the river; her name ſignifieth *Bitterneſs* and *Rebellion* both: and it is not to be doubted but holy *Amram* when he gave her name, had regard to that ſad cauſe and effect, of which they had ſo great cauſe to be ſenſible. *Miriam* was a Propheteſs, *Exod.*15.20. *Micah* 6.4.

2431 348 349 350 AARON born; *a Saint of the Lord, Pſal.* 106.16. His name ſoundeth both of *ſorrow and joy:* as the tenor of *Pſal.*88.89. made in theſe afflictions, doth.

2433 351 1 MOSES born ſupernaturally, his mother being exceeding old at his
352 2 birth; ſhe was his fathers own Aunt, the daughter of *Levi:* ſo is *Moſes*
353 3 a Levite both by father and mother. He is preſerved in an ark like a
354 4 ſecond *Noah*; his mother is paid for nurſing her own child: he is adopted
355 5 by *Pharaohs* daughter for her own ſon, and ſo the King is his nurſing Fa-
356 6 ther, and the Queen his nurſing Mother. And in this doth *Moſes* ty-
357 7 pifie Chriſt, that his true Father is unknown to the Egyptians, and he
358 8 reputed the ſon of *Pharaoh*; as the true Father of Chriſt unknown to
359 9 the Jews, and he reputed the ſon of *Joſeph*.
360 10 *Moſes* was educated and learned in all the wiſdom of the *Egyptians*,
361 11 *Acts* 7.22. *Stephen* ſpeaketh this from neceſſary conſequence, not having
362 12 expreſs Text for it; for it could no otherwiſe be conceived of the adopt-
363 13 ed ſon of a King, and of a King of *Egypt*; which Nation was exceeding-
364 14 ly given to learning and ſtudy. JOB is yet alive, and probably out-
365 15 liveth *Moſes*; In the reading of his Book it may be advantagious to the
366 16 Reader to obſerve how in very many places it toucheth upon the hiſtory
367 17 that is contained in the Book of *Geneſis*, though that Book was not then
368 18 written. The creation is handled, *Chap.*38. The firſt *Adam* mentioned,
369 19 *Chap.*15.7. The fall of Angels and Man, *Chap.* 4. 20. & 5.2. The miſera-
370 20 ble caſe of *Cain*, that was hedged in that he could not die, *Chap.* 3.21.
371 21 The old world and the flood, *Chap.*22.6. The builders of *Babel*, *Chap.*3.
372 22 15. & 5.13. The fire of *Sodom*, *Chap.* 20. 23, 26. and divers ſuch refe-
373 23 rences may be obſerved which are cloſely touched in the Book, which
374 24 they came to know, partly by tradition, partly by living ſo near the He-
375 25 brews, and the places where theſe things were done, and partly by reve-
376 26 lation; as *Chap.*4.12. & 38.1,
377 27 The Pen-man of the Book before and after the ſpeeches of *Job* and his
378 28 friends, often uſeth the name *Jehovah*; but in all the ſpeeches never but
379 29 once, and that is in *Chap.*12.10. ſpeaking there of Gods giving the Crea-
380 30 ture his being.
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CHAP. II. *from Ver.* 11. *to the end.*

Moſes by faith at forty years old, *Acts* 7. 23. refuſeth the Court; viſiteth his brethren; ſlayeth an Egyptian; fleeth into *Midian*. *Heb.* 11. 24, 25, 26. *By faith Moſes refuſeth to be called the ſon of Pharaohs daughter: chuſing rather to ſuffer affliction with the people of God, then to enjoy the pleaſures of ſin for a ſeaſon. Eſteeming the reproach of Chriſt greater riches then the treaſures of Egypt, for he had reſpect unto the recompence of the reward.* In *Midian* he marrieth *Zipporah*, and hath a ſon by her whom he calleth *Gerſhom*, which ſignifieth *a deſolate ſtranger*, becauſe of his remote reſidence from his own people in a forain land.

Iſrael is not yet throughly humbled under their affliction, and therefore it is but juſt they ſhould continue under it; they refuſed the deliverer when he offered himſelf unto them, with, *Who made thee a Prince and a Ruler over us?* And therefore they are but anſwered according to their own dealing when their deliverance is deferred: this deferring was for forty years; and ſo when being upon the borders of *Canaan*, they refuſed that good land, their entrance into it is deferred forty years alſo.

Moſes paſſeth through ſhepherdy and tribulation to the government; and ſo doth *David* after him: A figure of the great ſhepherd of the ſheep, &c. *Jether* [or in Arabick pronuntiation *Jethro*] a ſon of *Abraham*, but an alien to *Abrahams* God, is happy in his ſon-in-law; a ſon of *Abraham*, and of *Abrahams* faith: by him he is inſtructed and taught in the way and knowledge of the true God. [In *Arabia* where ſojourned this firſt Prophet and Law-giver *Moſes*, there aroſe the falſe Prophet and deceiver *Mahomet*.] *Moſes* is now exceedingly changed in *Midian* from his ſtate and ſtudies, which he had whilſt he was in *Egypt*; there he was a high courtier, here a poor ſhepherd; there a ſtudent in Philoſophy and Egyptian wiſdom, here a ſtudent of Divinity, and of God himſelf. In this Country and deſert where he now liveth, and retireth in ſo private a condition, he muſt ere long do glorious things, and before he die deſtroy *Midian:* That Country had been firſt planted by *Cuſh* the ſon of *Cham*, therefore *Aaron* and *Miriam* call *Moſes* wife a *Cuſhite*, *Numb.* 12, 1. and *Zerah* the *Arabian* is ſo called, 2 *Chron.* 14. But *Abraham* by the conqueſt of *Chedorlaomer*, and the other Kings with him, had obtained that land for his own, and thither he ſent the concubines ſons.

CHAP. III. IV.

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Moſes feeding his ſheep and ſtudying upon God, hath a viſion of Chriſt in a buſh, appearing in fire, as he had done when he made the Promiſe, *Gen.* 15. 17, 18. He giveth *Moſes* commiſſion for *Iſraels* deliverance; and the power of miracles for their ſakes that believed not. *Moſes* himſelf fell under this predicament of unbelief, and ſhifteth all he can to avoid the imployment, as doubting and diſtruſting the iſſue; and when he muſts needs go upon it, he dare not leave his wife and children behind him, for fear he ſhould never return to them again: but taketh his wife with him, though ſhe were but newly delivered of a child, and her infant with her, though it were not ſo much as eight days old. For this his diſtruſt, the Lord meets him by the way, and ſeeks to kill him; which danger *Zipporah* his wife miſconceiving to have been, becauſe her infant was not circumciſed: [it having by this time paſſed the eighth day] ſhe circumciſeth it: but *Moſes* conſcious of the proper cauſe, recovereth his faith, and in evidence of his faith, calleth the child *Eliazer*, in aſſurance of Gods help to him, and ſo the danger departeth. *Moſes* and *Aaron* meet in the wilderneſs; go together into *Egypt*; aſſemble the elders of *Iſrael*; relate their commiſſion, and are believed.

CHAP.

World Moſes

CHAP. V.

Moſes beginneth to execute his commiſſion: obſerve that he was with *Iſrael* in the wilderneſs forty years compleat; that he was eighty years old when he began to deal with *Pharaoh*, *Exod.*7.7. that he was a good while before he got *Iſrael* releaſed, and it teacheth how to date and lay the occurrences of his eightieth year.

CHAP. VI.

GOD proclaimeth himſelf JEHOVAH, *The faithful one of his Promiſe:* he had revealed himſelf to *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, by the name of *El-ſhaddai*, *The God almighty*; and they relied upon his *all-ſufficiency*, being fully perſwaded that what he had promiſed, he was *able* to perform: as *Rom.* 4.21. And now he cometh to glorifie another attribute of his, namely *his truth* and *faithfulneſs*, in making good what he had promiſed.

Moſes goeth about, as if he would reckon the heads of all *Iſrael*, but he only nameth three tribes; and that not only becauſe in the third, namely in the tribe of *Levi*, his ſtory fixed upon *Moſes* and *Aaron*, the men that he looked after; but alſo, becauſe he would only name the moſt ſcandalous of all the twelve: *Reuben* the inceſtuous with his Fathers wife, and *Simeon* and *Levi* the murderers of *Shechem*; that he might ſhew their intire converſion, and magnifie Gods mercy in their pardon; and lay this in the very entry of the now building Church, for a comfortable copy for penitents to look after: as the four women are mentioned in the beginning of the Goſpel in *Mat.*1. for ſuch another purpoſe.

CHAP. VII. VIII. IX. X. *to Ver.*21.

Moſes beginneth to work miracles, and to bring plagues upon *Egypt*; his rod is turned into a Crocodile: the waters in which the childrens blood had been ſhed, is turned into blood. Their great deity *Nilus* is plagued firſt. The plague of Frogs; they go up even over all the land, and raven upon the very bodies of men: As *Moſes* brought real Frogs upon *Egypt*, ſo the Inchanters bring magical Frogs upon *Goſhen*. The plague of lice, at which the Magicians are at a *non-plus*; and blaſpheme horridly againſt *Jehovah*, when they ſay, *This is the finger of God*, [*but not of Jehovah.*] The plague of noyſom beaſts; Flies, Waſps, Snaks, &c. Now God ſeparateth betwixt *Iſrael* and *Egypt*; betwixt whom there had been no difference in the preceding plagues. The plague of Murrain upon Beaſts, Boils upon Men, and Hail upon the Land, and Locuſts.

CHAP. XII. *to Ver.*21.

THE beginning of the year is changed; the Paſsover is inſtituted and commanded: although the ſtory of its inſtitution be ſet after the plague of darkneſs, yet was it commanded before the plague of Darkneſs came, and it may be, before the plague of Hail or Locuſts came; for aſſoon as ever the Darkneſs is over, and any Egyptian can ſtir, *Pharaoh* ſendeth for *Moſes*, *Chap.* 10.24. and after ſome ſmart ſpeeches betwixt them, *Moſes* telleth him of the Slaughter of the firſt-born, that it ſhould be the very next night, *Chap.*11.4,8. ſo that the Darkneſs did but end on the very morning of Paſsover day; and it had been upon the Egyptians, the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth days of the month, and the Paſsover was on the fourteenth. Now the command for the Paſsover was given to *Moſes* before the tenth day of the month at leaſt, *Chap.*12.3. if not on the very firſt day of the month, as is more probable. The reaſon therefore why the ſtory of the inſtitution of it is laid after this plague, is becauſe the Holy Ghoſt would handle that matter of the Paſsover all at once; and though the command for it, and the obſervation of it fell at ſome days diſtance, yet hath he brought both together, and handled the ſtory of its inſtitution, at that time when fell out the ſtory of its obſervation, namely on the fourteenth day.

CHAP.

World | *Moſes*

CHAP. X. *from Verſ.* 21. *to the end. And* XI. *all. And* XII. *from Verſ.* 21. *to the end.*

THE plague of Darkneſs for three days: In it the Egyptians ſaw the apparition of Devils and evil Spirits; and in the time of this Darkneſs, the Iſraelites are circumciſed. *Moſes* on the Paſover day morning, giveth warning to *Pharaoh* of the death of the firſt-born; on the fourteenth day in the morning, he giveth charge for preparation of the Paſover againſt even: which is accordingly done, and the Paſover kept. At midnight all the firſt-born of *Egypt* are ſlain; and *Iſrael* even driven out by the Egyptians.

Redemption from Egypt.

CHAP. XIII. XIV. XV. XVI. XVII.

2514 | 81 | 1 THE command for obſerving the Paſover renewed, and a command for dedicating the firſt-born given. The cloud of glory is their conductor; their march was meaſured by theſe times: On the fifteenth day of *Niſan*, even while it was yet night, they began their march, and go out in the ſight of all *Egypt*, while they are burying their dead: this day they go from *Rameſes* to *Succoth*. The ſixteenth day they come to the edge of the wilderneſs of *Etham*; the Red-ſea pointeth ſo into this wilderneſs, that before they paſs through the Red-ſea, they are in the wilderneſs of *Etham*, and when they are paſſed through, they are in it again. The wilderneſs of *Etham* and *Shur*, are one and the ſame; ſee *Numb.* 33. 7,8. and compare *Exod.* 15. 22. On the ſeventeenth day they come to *Hiroth*. On the eighteenth day it is told *Pharaoh* that the people fled; for till their third days march, they went right for *Horeb*, according as they had deſired to go three days journey to ſacrifice; but when they turned out of that way toward the Red-ſea, then *Pharaoh* hath intelligence, that they intended to go ſome whither elſe, then whither they asked to go: thereupon, he and *Egypt* prepair to purſue them, for their Jewels and their Servants. On the nineteenth day they purſue: On the twentieth day towards even they overtake them, and *Iſrael* entereth the Sea, and by break of day are all marched through, and the Egyptians drowned.

On the one and twentieth day of the moneth in the morning betime they came out of the Sea; this was the laſt holy day of the Paſover week: they ſung for their delivery, and after three days march they come to *Marah*; and from thence to *Elim*, and there they pitch divers days.

On the fifteenth day of the month *Ijar*, they come to the wilderneſs of *Zin*, murmur for bread as they had done at *Marah* for water; and they have Quails ſent them and Manna. The Sabbath now firſt mentioned, but not now firſt commanded; in *Egypt* they had neglected the Sabbath; ſince their coming thence, they had marched on it; now a rule is given for its conſtant obſervation. The people murmur a fourth time, and it is for water, which they obtain out of the rock, but are ſcourged by *Amalek* for their repining: *Amalek* conquered by *Moſes* his prayer.

CHAP. XIX.

THE eighteenth Chapter that containeth the ſtory of *Jethro* is anticipated, and is to be taken in at the tenth of *Numbers*, betwixt the tenth and eleventh Verſes; and the reaſon of this diſlocation, and proof of the order, ſhall be ſhewed there. On the firſt day of *Sivan*, *Iſrael* cometh to *Sinai*.

On the ſecond day, *Moſes* called by the Lord, goeth up into the Mount, talketh with God, and when he cometh down, relateth the words of the Lord unto the people.

On the third day he goeth up, and relateth the peoples anſwer unto God.

On the fourth and fifth day he ſanctifieth the people, and boundeth the mountain.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XX. XXI. XXII. XXIII. XXIV.

ON the ſixth day of the moneth *Sivan* in the morning, the Ten Commandments are given by *Chriſt*, with ſuch terror, that the people are not able to abide it, but deſire *Moſes* to be a Mediator: he drawing near to God in the thick darkneſs, receiveth ſeven and fifty Precepts, Ceremonial and Judicial; which when he cometh down from the Mount he telleth the people of, and writeth in a book.

On the next day, which was the ſeventh day of the month *Sivan*, in the morning, he buildeth an altar to repreſent *Chriſt*; and ſetteth up twelve pillars, to repreſent the twelve Tribes; and with blood beſprinkled upon both, he bringeth the people into covenant with God: after the making of which covenant, the elders of *Iſrael* that before might not come near the Lord, now ſee him, and eat and drink before him, and he layeth not his avenging hand on them: And from among them he calleth *Moſes* up into the Mount to himſelf; and he goeth up, and from hence he beginneth his forty days faſt, which upon occaſions he doubleth, yea trebleth, and concludeth his third or laſt faſt on that day which was from thence forward ordained the day of expiation.

CHAP. XXV. XXVI. XXVII. XXVIII. XXIX. XXX. XXXI.

WHile *Moſes* is in the Mount with God, he ſheweth him a Tabernacle pitched with all the utenſils of it, and a Prieſt arrayed in all his habiliments, and giveth him charge and inſtructions to make another according to that pattern, and appointeth *Bezaleel* and *Aholiab* for chief work-men.

CHAP. XXXII. XXXIII. XXXIV.

Moſes on the ſeventeenth day of the month *Tammuz*, cometh down from the Mount, and findeth a golden Calf, breaketh it, and breaketh the two Tables; for whereas God had given him the two Tables, written at the end of his firſt forty days faſt, *Moſes* brake thoſe Tables at the ſight of the golden Calf; to ſhew that *Iſrael* had made themſelves unworthy of ſo great a Jewel, and whereas the Lord had given him a pattern, and a command for the making and ſetting up of a Tabernacle, and the ſervice of it: that benefit is alſo forfeited by their calviſh Idolatry, and neither Tables reſtored, nor Tabernacle to be made, till *Moſes* by long and earneſt prayer had made *Iſraels* peace.

Moſes having deſtroyed the golden calf and ſlain the Idolaters, returns the next day to God by prayer; but is returned back the ſame day with a ſad meſſage, whereupon *Iſrael* is humbled; the tent of *Moſes* which hitherto had been in ſtead of a Tabernacle, is removed out of the unclean camp, and then the cloud of glory which had been taken away becauſe of Idolatry, is reſtored. The next day *Moſes* goeth up to the Mount again, and falleth into a ſecond forty days faſt; and as in his firſt forty days faſt he had ſeen the figure and pattern of a glorious Tabernacle, ſo now in this ſecond forty days faſt, he deſireth to have a ſight of the glory of God. On the thirtieth day of the month *Ab*, he goeth up again with the two Tables, and beginneth another forty days faſt; and ſeeth the Lord, and heareth him proclaim himſelf by moſt glorious attributes, and receiveth ſome commands from him. On the tenth day of the month *Tiſri*, he cometh down with the glad tydings, that all is well betwixt God and *Iſrael*, with the renewed Tables in his hand, and with commiſſion to ſet about making the Tabernacle.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XXXV. XXXVI. XXXVII. XXXVIII. XXXIX. XL.

AND ſo do *Iſrael* fall about that work, which by the firſt day of the month *Abib*, the firſt month of the next year is finiſhed, and it begun to be erected; when it is ſet up the cloud of glory filleth it, and God taketh up his ſeat upon the Ark, in figure of his dwelling amongſt men in Chriſt.

The Book of LEVITICUS.

OUT of the Tabernacle newly erected, God giveth ordinances for it; and firſt concerning Sacrifice, to repreſent *Chriſts* death, as the Tabernacle it ſelf did repreſent his body. The whole time of the ſtory of *Leviticus* is but one moneth, namely the firſt month of the ſecond year of their deliverance; and not altogether ſo much neither, for the very firſt beginning of the month was taken up in the erecting of the Tabernacle; of which the ſtory is in *Exod.* 40.

CHAP. I. II. III. IV. V. VI. VII.

RUles given for all manner of ſacrifices. This is the firſt Oracle given from off the Mercy-ſeat. There is the letter א in the very firſt word of the Book, ויקרא written leſs then all his fellows, and it ſeemeth by ſuch a writing to hint and intimate, that though this were a glorious Oracle, yet was it ſmall in compariſon of what was to come, when God would ſpeak to his people by his own Son, whom the Ark, Mercy-ſeat, and Oracle did repreſent. א ויקרא

CHAP. VIII. IX.

THE ſeven days of the conſecration of *Aaron* and his ſons, follow after the time of the ſetting up of the Tabernacle, and were not coincident or concurrent with that time, as the Jews very generally; but very groundleſly do apprehend: [as, *Seder Olam*; *Tanchum ex R. Joſephi*: *Baal Turim*: *Ab: Ezra*: *R. Sol:* and others,] For 1. this command for their conſecration is given out of the Tabernacle now erected; as well as the rules for ſacrifice were. And 2. they abide the ſeven days in the Tabernacle, *Chap.*8.33. and the very firſt day of the ſeven, the congregation were gathered to the door, *verſ.* 3, 4. which undeniably ſhew, that it was finiſhed and ſet up when theſe ſeven days of conſecration began.

CHAP. X.

THE death of *Nadab* and *Abihu* was on the very firſt day that the ſervice of the Altar began; namely, on that eighth day after the ſeven of the conſecration, when *Aaron* and his ſons offered ſacrifices for themſelves and the people. This appeareth plainly by comparing the third and fifteenth Verſes of the ninth Chapter with the ſixteenth Verſe of this tenth Chapter: and thus the ſervice of the Sanctuary by an accident began with Death and Judgment.

NUMBERS IX. *to Ver.* 15.

AFter the end of the tenth Chapter of *Leviticus*, in the proper order of ſtory, are the firſt fourteen Verſes of the ninth Chapter of *Numbers* to be taken in, which treat concerning the Paſsover. For the Tabernacle being reared on the very firſt day of the ſecond year of their coming out of Egypt, namely, on the firſt day of *Niſan*; theſe orders and rules concerning Sacrifices and the Prieſts conſecration were given, and the eight days of Prieſts conſecration and Sacrifices, were accompliſhed before the fourteenth day of that month came, when the Paſsover was to be kept by an old command, given the laſt year in *Egypt*, and by a ſecond command now given in the wilderneſs, ſo that this order and method is clear.

Now the reaſon why this ſtory of this ſecond Paſsover is not only not laid in its proper place in this Book of *Leviticus*, but alſo out of its proper place, in the Book of *Numbers*; [for the Book beginneth its ſtory with the beginning of the ſecond month, but this ſtory of the Paſsover belongeth to the firſt month:] The reaſon I ſay of this diſlocation is, becauſe *Moſes* his chief aim in that place, is to ſhew and relate the new diſpenſation, or command for a Paſsover in the ſecond month, which was a matter of very great moment. For the tranſlation of that feaſt a month beyond its proper time, did the rather inforce the ſignificancy of things future then of things paſt; as rather recording the death of *Chriſt* to come, then their delivery from *Egypt*, when it hit not on that very night.

This ſtory therefore of the Paſsover transferred to the ſecond month upon ſome occaſions, being the matter that *Moſes* chiefly aimed at, and reſpected in that relation, and hiſtory; he hath ſet it in his proper place, for ſo is that where it lies in the Book of *Numbers*: and intending and aiming at the mention of that, he hath alſo brought in the mention of the right Paſsover, or that of the firſt month, as it was neceſſary he ſhould, to ſhew the occaſion of the other.

LEVITICUS XI. XII. XIII. XIV. XV.

AFter the rules for things clean and fit for ſacrifice, the Lord cometh to give rules for things clean and fit to eat, and clean and fit to touch; for this was the tripartite diſtinction of clean or unclean in the Law. Every thing that was unclean to touch, was unclean to eat; but every thing that was unclean to eat, was not unclean to touch: every thing that was unclean to eat, was unclean to ſacrifice; but every thing that was unclean to ſacrifice, was not unclean to eat: for many things might be eaten, which might not be ſacrificed, and many things might be touched, which might not be eaten. And under the Law, about clean and unclean, there is exceeding much of the doctrine of ſin, and renovation touched; conſiderable in very many particulars:

1. *By the Law of Moſes nothing was unclean to be touched while it was alive, but only man.* A man in Leproſie unclean to be touched, *Lev.* 13. and a woman in her ſeparation, *Lev.* 12. but Dogs, Swine, Worms, &c. not unclean to be touched till they be dead, *Lev.* 11.31.

2. *By the Law of Moſes uncleanneſs had ſeveral degrees, and Leproſie was the greateſt.* There was uncleanneſs for a day, as by touching a dead beaſt: for a week, as by touching a dead man; for a month, as a woman after Child-birth; and for a year or more, as Leproſie.

3. *Every Prieſt had equal priviledge and calling to judge of the Leproſie, as well as the the high Prieſt.*

4. *The Prieſts that were judges of Leproſie could not be tainted with it*; ſee the notes at *Numb.* 12.

5. *The Prieſts could not make any man clean, but only pronounce him clean.*

6. *He that was Leprous all over, and no place free, was to be pronounced clean*; for it appeared that all the poyſon was come forth, and the danger of infecting others was paſt; *but he that had any part that was not ſcabby over, he was unclean:* he that appears before God in any of his own righteouſneſs, like the proud Phariſee, he hath his anſwer in that Parable; but that humble confeſſion of a poor ſinner that ſhews him Leprous all over, like that of the Publican, obtains the beſt anſwer.

7. *The Leper that was cleanſed had not his diſeaſe healed*; but the danger of the infection being over, he was reſtored to the ſociety of men again: *ſo that he was not ſo much clean unto himſelf, as unto the Congregation.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

THE ſolemn and myſterious Feaſt of Reconciliation, inſtituted to be on the tenth day of the month *Tiſri*, the day that *Moſes* had come down from the Mount; with tydings of reconciliation betwixt God and the People, as was ſaid before. And as the ſolemnity and carriage of the work of this day was a figure of good things to come in Chriſt, ſo the very time it ſelf, had ſome reſpect that way; for if Chriſt were not born and came into the World a Reconciler on that very day, yet was he born and baptized [nine and twenty years after] in that very month.

CHAP. XVII. XVIII. XIX. XX. XXI. XXII. XXIII. XXIV. XXV.

DIvers Laws are given, concerning Offerings, Marriages, Feſtivals, the Prieſts and other things, and the main end of them all, Piety, Sanctity, Charity, and in them a diſtinction of *Iſrael* from other people.

CHAP. XXVI. XXVII.

SAD denunciation of judgment upon diſobedience, and the valuation of perſons, in reference to redemption of vows. *Hoſea* ſpeaketh in alluſion to the rates and values mentioned here, when he ſaith, *I bought her to me for fifteen ſhekels of ſilver, and for an homer of barly, and half an homer of barly*, Hoſ. 3.2.

The fifteen ſhekels was the value of a man above ſixty years old, *Lev.*27.7. The homer of barly which valued fifty ſhekels, *ver.* 16. was the value of a man from twenty years old to ſixty, *ver.*3. And half an homer which valued five and twenty ſhekels, was for one from five years old to twenty, twenty ſhekels, *ver.* 5. And from a month old to five years, five ſhekels, *ver.*6.

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The Book of NUMBERS.

CHAP. I.

ON the firſt day of the ſecond month, the Lord provided for the pitching of their camp, as on the firſt day of the firſt month, they had begun to erect the Tabernacle. Firſt the people are numbred from twenty years old and upwards, and their ſum amounteth to 603550. men; of all which number, only two men enter the land. The *Levites* are not reckoned in this ſum, nor with this reckoning; and accordingly they fall not under the ſame curſe with the others, of not entring into his reſt. Not a man impotent through old age in *Iſrael.*

CHAP. II.

THeir Camp is pitched, and the Sanctuary ſet juſt in the middle of it; for Religion is the heart of a State. The *Levites* pitch next unto it in a quadrangular body round about it, at a certain diſtance. The whole body of the army pitcheth at an other diſtance about them, in the ſame form, and 2000 cubits diſtance from the Tabernacle: every ſide of the ſquare carried its ſeveral colours; *Judah, a Lion*; *Ephraim, a Bullock*; *Reuben, a Man*; *Dan, an Eagle.* Compare the deſcription of *Chriſt* dwelling in the middeſt of the Chriſtian Church, *Rev.* 4.4. The Ark, *the ſtrength of the Lord*, Pitcheth *before Ephraim* and *Benjamin*, and *Manaſſeh*, Pſal.80.2.

CHAP. III. IV.

THE *Levites* taken for the firſt-born of *Iſrael*, and ſo intereſſed in every family among them. The firſt-born had been Prieſts till the conſecration of the *Levites*, now that function muſt be confined to that Tribe. The *Levites* ingaged to their ſervice from nine and twenty years old compleat, or thirty currant till fifty. Our Saviours age at his entrance into his Miniſtry, *Luke* 3.23. anſwereth to this type.

CHAP. V. VI.

A Law concerning uncleanneſs and offences, that the Camp might continue in purity, and unity, chaſtity and unchaſtity tried miraculouſly. The Law concerning *Nazarites, the only votaries of the people.* The Congregation to be bleſſed by the Prieſts, *in the name of the Trinity.*

CHAP. VII. VIII.

THE Princes offer to the Sanctuary, and more ordinances are given about it. That they offered not till they were ordered into their ſtandards, is plain by the order and method of their offering. The *Levites to be five years probationers* at the Sanctuary before they take their office, *Chap.*8.24. compared with *Chap.*4. 23.

CHAP. IX. *from Ver.*15. *to the end. And* CHAP. X. *to Ver.*11.

BEfore the reading of the fifteenth Verſe, the Reader is to ſuppoſe a Paſover to be kept the fourteenth day of this ſecond month, although the keeping of it be not expreſly mentioned, but only hinted; for on the fourteenth day of the firſt month, which was the proper day for the Paſover, ſome men becauſe they were unclean could not obſerve it, and upon their acquainting *Moſes* with their caſe, he preſently gives them a warrant, to keep it the fourteenth day of the next month, which they did no doubt accordingly, although it be not in plain terms related.

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related. For the occurrences mentioned in the Book hitherto, came to paſs in the firſt thirteen days of the month, [ſave only the offering of the Princes, which indeed began before the fourteenth day, but continued beyond it; notwithſtanding the Holy Ghoſt would conclude the ſtory of their offering all together,] and on the fourteenth day, thoſe that had been unclean at the proper time of the Paſsover, kept the Paſsover by a new ordinance, ſo that the order of the ſtory of this new Paſsover, is moſt genuine and proper here; but *Moſes* could not relate the thing, but he muſt relate the occaſion, namely becauſe ſome could not keep it at the right time, therefore he giveth the ſtory of the right time here, which as we ſhewed before, lieth properly between the tenth and eleventh Chapters of *Levitichs*.

From the fifteenth Verſe of this Chapter to the eleventh Verſe of the tenth Chapter, there is mention of two ſpecial things; namely the dwelling of the cloud upon the Tabernacle, and the making of the ſilver Trumpets; which however they were indeed ſomewhat afore this time, [for the Cloud deſcended, and the Trumpets were made before the fourteenth day of this month,] yet are they brought in here as relating to the removal of the Army, which is mentioned in *Chap.* 10. *verſ.* 11. for then the Cloud was taken up, and the Trumpets were ſounded.

EXODUS XVIII.

BEtween the tenth and eleventh Verſes of the tenth of *Numbers*, as in its proper place and order, cometh in the ſtory of *Jethro*, contained in the eighteenth of *Exodus*, as may be evidenced by theſe obſervations.

Firſt, That that ſtory lieth not in its proper place in the Book of *Exodus*, may be concluded upon theſe two or three reaſons; firſt, becauſe there it is ſaid, *Jethro took burnt-offerings and ſacrifices for God*, *ver.* 12. Now as the ſtory lieth there, the Law for burnt-offerings and ſacrifices was not yet given. 2. It is ſaid, that *Moſes ſate to judge the people, and made them know the Statutes of God, and his Laws*, *verſ.* 13, 16. Now as the ſtory lieth there, the Statutes and Laws are not as yet given to *Moſes*, and he himſelf knoweth them not. 3. The chuſing of Judges and Elders, which was upon *Jethro's* counſel, was not till their departing from *Sinai*, *Deut.* 1. 7, 8. And now as the ſtory of *Jethro* lieth in the book of *Exodus*, they are not as yet come to *Sinai*; therefore that that ſtory is miſplaced as it lieth there, there is evidence ſufficient. There remaineth only to ſee why it is laid there out of its proper place and where is the proper place to lay it; the former may be reſolved upon, by looking back upon the curſe that God denounceth upon *Amalek*, in the 17 Chapter: *I will put out the remembrance of Amalek from under Heaven: And the Lord hath ſworn, that the Lord will have war with Amalek from generation to generation*, ver. 14, 16. Now that the Holy Ghoſt might ſhew that *Jethro* who dwelt among the *Amalekites*, 1 *Sam.* 15. 16. did not fall under this curſe, he bringeth in the ſtory of his coming into *Iſrael*, in the very next place after that curſe is related; not thereby to conclude ſtrictly that his coming was at that very time aſſoon as the curſe was denounced; but to ſhew that he once came, and ſo avoideth and eſcapeth that curſe.

Now that the proper place of that ſtory is this that we have mentioned, may be evidenced by theſe particulars: Firſt, that *Moſes* himſelf telleth, *Deut.* 1. 7. that their choice of Judges, which was by *Jethro's* counſel, inſtantly upon his coming, was ſo near their departure from *Sinai*, which is metioned *Num.* 10. *ver.* 11. that the warning of their departure was given him before. 2. That the murmuring of *Aaron* and *Miriam* againſt *Zipporah Moſes* wife, [which in all probability was upon her firſt coming among them, and their converſe with her or inſtantly after,] is ſet after their departure from *Sinai*. 3. That the departure of *Hobab* or *Jethro* from them at *Sinai*, is joyned ſo near to the place where we ſuppoſe this ſtory of his coming is to be laid, as that but a few Verſes come between; and compair that ſtory with the latter end of *Exodus* 18. and it will help to confirm this place to be the proper place of its order.

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CHAP. X. *from Verſ.* 11. *to the end.*

THE Cloud is taken up on the twentieth day of the ſecond month, and the Camp removeth from *Sinai* to the wilderneſs of *Paran*; three days journy. In the 35 Verſe of this Chapter, the letter *Nun* is written the wrong way in the word בנסע, *when the Ark ſet forward*, and ſo is it alſo in the firſt Verſe of the next Chapter in the word בתאננים, *they became as murtherers*. In the former is hinted, as the Jews obſerve, Gods gracious turning back towards the people; in the latter the peoples ungracious turning away from God.

CHAP. XI.

AT their firſt incamping after *Jethro's* departure, *Moſes* findeth an occaſion to chuſe Judges and Elders, to help to bear the burden with him; and therefore the 24, 25, 26. Verſes of *Exodus* 18. are to be reputed coincident with this time. The *Sanhedrin* choſen by *Moſes* and indued with the Spirit by God; ſix of a Tribe made up the number, and two over, and theſe two were *Eldad* and *Medad*, who were written for Elders, but the lot caſt them out, that there might be but ſeventy: yet did the Lord honour them with the Spirit of Prophecy.

CHAP. XII.

ZIpporah *Moſes wife* called a *Cuſhite*, for *Arabia* was the land of *Cuſh*, for her ſake *Aaron* and *Miriam* begin to rebel againſt *Moſes* authority; for which *Miriam* is ſtruck with Leproſie, but *Aaron* is not, becauſe he was the Judge of Leproſie, and could not be tainted with it. Their ſin cauſeth the Cloud of glory to depart, as the ſin of the golden Calf had done before; there *Aaron* had a hand in the ſin alſo; *Moſes* vindicated by God himſelf; It is ſaid, *They removed from Hazeroth, and pitched in the wilderneſs of Paran, ver.*16. that is, they marched and pitched in that wilderneſs: ſee *Chap.* 10.12.

CHAP. XIII.

THEY are now come not very far from the South-point of the land of *Canaan*, [compare *Ver.*26. and *Deut.*1.2,19.] and *Moſes* at the deſire of the people, *Deut.* 1.22. ſendeth twelve men to ſpy the land: *Sethur* the man for the Tribe of *Aſher*, *ver.*13. his name is in number 666. and in ſignification hidden or *myſtical*; it is toward the end of the year *Stilo veteri*, when they ſearch the land; for grapes and figs are then ripe, *verſ.* 20.

סתור: 666.

CHAP. XIV.

THE decree and oath in Gods anger, that they ſhould not enter into his reſt, cometh forth, and beginneth to ſeize upon ſome of them; for the ten men that cauſed the people to murmur died by the plague: as they were forty days in ſearching the land, ſo the people muſt wander forty years ere they came to enjoy it; that is, eight and thirty years and an half to make up the year and half that had paſſed ſince their coming out of Egypt to be forty: and in that time muſt all the men that were numbred at *Sinai*, [the *Levites* excepted] be conſumed in the wilderneſs; and here is mans age cut ſhort again, as it had been at the Flood and building of *Babel*.

PSAL. XC.

UPON this ſad decree of God againſt the people, and upon his cutting ſhort mans age, *Moſes* maketh the nintieth *Pſalm*, [whoſe proper order is coincident with this ſtory,] and there ſadly ſheweth how they were conſumed by Gods anger for their impieties: that now mans age

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			age is come to ſeventy or eighty years, from thoſe hundreds that men lived before, &c.

CHAP. XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII. XIX.

2516	83	3	THE place where the people murmured upon the return of the ſpies, was *Kadeſh Barnea*, *Numb.*13.26. & 32.8. *Deut.*1.19. This place was called *Rithmah* before, *Numb.* 33.18. compared with *Numb.*12. 16. & 13.26. and it may be it was ſo called from the Juniper-trees that grew there: as 1 *Kings* 19. 4. but now named *Kadeſh*, becauſe the Lord was there ſanctified upon the people, as *Chap.* 20.13. and *Barnea*, or *the wandering ſon*, becauſe here was the decree made of their long wandering in the wilderneſs. Here at *Kadeſh* they continued a good ſpace before they removed; for ſo *Moſes* ſaith, *Ye abode in Kadeſh many days:* ימים אשר ישבתם, *according to the days that ye had made abode*, namely at *Sinai*, as *ver.* 6. and ſo they ſpent one whole year there, for ſo they had done at *Sinai:* and whereas God bids them upon their murmuring to turn back to the Red-ſea, *Deut.*1.40. his meaning was, that at their next march whenſoever it was, they ſhould not go forward towards *Canaan*, but clean back again towards the Red-ſea from whence they came.
	84	4	And ſo they do, and ſo they wander by many ſtations and marches
	85	5	from *Kadeſh Barnea* now, till they come to *Kadeſh Barnea* again, ſome ſeven
	86	6	or eight and thirty years hence. Their marches mentioned in *Numb.* 33.
	87	7	were theſe; from *Kadeſh* or *Rithmah* to *Rimmon Parez*, to *Libnah*, to
	88	8	*Riſſah*, to *Kehelathah*, to Mount *Shapher*, to *Haradah*, to *Makheloth*, to
	89	9	*Tahath*, to *Tarah*, to *Mithcah*, to *Haſhmonah*, to *Moſeroth*, to *Horhagid-*
	90	10	*gad*, to *Jotbathah*, to *Ebronah*, to *Ezion Gaber*, to *Kadeſh* again in the
	91	11	fortieth year. And thus whereas it was but *eleven days journey from Ho-*
	92	12	*reb by the way of Mount Seir to Kadeſh Barnea*, *Deut.* 1.2. they have now
	93	13	made it above three times eleven years journy. The occurrences of all
	94	14	this time were but few, and thoſe undated either to time or place; ſome
	95	15	Laws are given, *Chap.* 15. *Korah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram* rebel, *Chap.* 16.
	96	16	*Korah* for the Prieſt-hood from *Aaron*, as being one of the Tribe of *Le-*
	97	17	*vi*; and *Dathan* and *Abiram* for the principality from *Moſes*, as being of
	98	18	*Reuben* the firſt-born. An earth-quake devoureth them, and all theirs,
	99	19	and a fire devoured the 250 men that conſpired with them; only *Korahs*
	100	20	*ſons eſcape*, *Chap.* 26. 11. and of them came *Samuel*, and divers famous
	101	21	ſingers in the Temple, 1 *Chron.* 6. 22. &c. *Aarons* Prieſt-hood that was
	102	22	ſo oppoſed is confirmed by the budding of his withered rod, and upon
	103	23	this approval, divers ſervices for the Prieſts are appointed, *Chap.*17. & 18.
	104	24	& 19. and ſo we have no more occurrences mentioned till the firſt day of
	105	25	their fortieth year. They went under four or five continual miracles;
	106	26	as the appearing of the Cloud of glory, the raining of *Manna*, the fol-
	107	27	lowing of the Rock or the waters of *Horeb*, the continual newneſs of
	108	28	their cloaths, and the untiredneſs of their feet; yet did they forget, and
	109	29	were continually repining againſt him that did all theſe wonders for them.
	110	30	They repined when they came out of *Egypt*, that they muſt come out of
	111	31	*Egypt*, *Exod.*14.12. They repined when they came near *Canaan*, that
	112	32	they muſt go into *Canaan*, *Numb.*14. and ſo they repined all the way be-
	113	33	tween. Do ye thus requite the Lord, O fooliſh people and unwiſe? Is
	114	34	not he thy Father that hath bought thee, &c. *Deut.*32.6.
	115	35	
	116	36	
	117	37	
	118	38	
	119	39	

CHAP. XX.

2553	120	40	ISRAEL is now come to *Kadeſh Barnea* again; an unhappy place; for there they had been eight and thirty years ago, and received the doom of not entring into the land: and the ſame doom falleth upon *Moſes* and *Aaron* there now, It is ſaid, *They came into the deſert of Zin to Kadeſh in the firſt moneth*, but nameth not the year; for it referreth to the decree made in that very place of forty years wandering, and this is the firſt month of the fortieth year, and ſo *Numb.*33.8. and *Deut.*2.7,14. make it undoubted. *Miriam* dieth at *Kadeſh*, and is buried there, being a great deal above 120 years old.
			The people murmur here now for water, as they had done here before about the land; and the Holy Ghoſt by a moſt ſtrange word מעלימונו, moſt

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moſt ſweetly ſheweth their confuſedneſs. They had lain here a whole twelve-month at their being here before, but then no want of water, for the rock or the waters of *Horeb* had followed them hither, but how that was now departed is not expreſſed.

Moſes and *Aaron* are excluded *Canaan* for not believing the Lord, and not ſanctifying him before the people; their particular fault is diverſly gueſſed at, it ſeemeth to me that it was this; *What* ſay they, *ye rebels, muſt we bring water out of this rock, as we did out of Horeb? Is all our hopes and expectation of getting out of the wilderneſs come to this? We never fetched you water out of a rock but once, and that was becauſe ye were to ſtay a long time in the wilderneſs, and that was to ſerve you all the while, as we have ſeen it did by experience. Now that water is gone, and muſt we now fetch you water out of another rock? O ye rebels, have you brought it to this by your murmuring, that we muſt have a new ſtay in the wilderneſs, and a new rock opened to yield you water for your long ſtay as Horeb did? Are we to begin our abode in the wilderneſs anew now when we hoped that our travel had been ended; and ſo we ſhall never get out?* And ſo he ſmote the rock twice in a fume and anger. And thus they believed not the promiſe of entring the land after forty years; and thus they ſanctified not the Lord in the ſight of the people to incourage them in the Promiſe, but damped them in it; and thus they ſpake unadviſedly in their lips, and ſo they were excluded *Canaan*. It was a ſign that the Promiſe aimed at better things then the earthly *Canaan*, when the holieſt perſons in all *Iſrael* are debarred from coming thither from *Kadeſh Barnea*, they turn back toward the Red-ſea again, as they had done before, *Deut.* 1.40. becauſe *Edom* would not now give them paſſage.

Aaron dieth in *Horhagidgad* the firſt day of the fifth month, and is lamented all that month.

CHAP. XXI.

SOme Canaanites are overcome; here appeareth ſome glimpſe of the performance of Gods promiſe, but the people turning clean back again, they begin to murmur. Here the ſtrange word העליחונו *ver.* 5. and the ſcornful word הקלקל, uſed for *Manna*, ſheweth their ſcornfulneſs and fuming: *Seraphim*, *Nehaſhim*, fiery Serpents, or Serpents of a flame colour ſting the murmurers; and the brazen Serpent lifted up and looked at cureth them: a figure of better things to come, *Joh.* 3. 14. This brazen Serpent ſeemeth to have named the place *Zalmonah*, *Num.* 33. 42. that is, *the place of the image*; and the coming up of the Serpents upon the people, ſeemeth alſo to have named the place there about *Maaleh Akrabbim*, *The coming up of the Scorpions*: See *Joſh.* 15.3.

From *Zalmonah* they remove to *Pimon*, to *Oboth*, to *Ije Aharim* by the border of *Moab*; they are forbidden to invade *Moab*, *Deut.* 2.9. They paſs the valley *Zared*; and here all the generation numbred at *Sinai* is clean gone, *Deut.* 2.14. They coaſt along *Moab* and *Ammon*, and ſo to the other ſide *Arnon*, *Deut.* 2.13,18,24.

In *Numb.* 21. *ver.* 14. there is this Geographical quotation taken out of *the book of the wars of the Lord* which deſcribeth that part of the Country thus, *Vaheb in Suphah, and the brooks of Arnon, and the ſtream of the brooks that goeth down to the dwelling of Ar, and lieth upon the border of Moab. This Book of the war of the Lord*, ſeemeth to have been ſome Book of remembrances and directions written by *Moſes* for *Joſhua's* private inſtructions in the managing of the wars after him; ſee *Exod.* 17. 14, 16. It may be this Book was alſo called *Sepher Iaſher*, *liber rectus*, or a directory for *Joſhua* from *Moſes*, what to do and what to expect in his wars; and in it *Moſes* directs the ſetting up of Archery, 2 *Sam.* 1. 18. and warrants him to command the Sun, and to expect its obedience, *Joſh.* 10.13.

From thence they come to *Beer*, where the ſeventy Elders of the *Sanhedrin* by *Moſes* appointment, do bring forth waters by the ſtroke of their ſtaves, as he had done with the ſtroke of his Rod; this great work and wonder, and this great priviledge beſtowed upon ſo many of them, maketh all the people to ſing for joy.

Sihon

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Sihon and *Og* conquered; It is now ſix and twenty generations from the Creation, or from *Adam* to *Moſes*, and accordingly doth *Pſal.* 136. rehearſe the durableneſs of Gods mercy ſix and twenty times over, beginning the ſtory with the Creation, and ending it in the conqueſt of *Sihon* and *Og*: The numerals of the name *Jehovah*, amount to the ſum of ſix and twenty.

CHAP. XXII. XXIII. XXIV. XXV.

BAlaam cannot curſe *Iſrael*, but curſeth *Amalek* their firſt, and *Rome* their laſt enemy: He foretelleth that *Iſrael* ſhall be ſo proſperous and happy, that he wiſheth that his end might be like theirs. *He returns to his own place*, *Chap.*24.25. that is, ſaith *Baal Turim*, *He went to hell*, as *Acts* 1.25. He went not home to *Syris* his own Country, but he went homeward, and by the way falls in with *Midian*, and giveth them the curſed counſel to intangle *Iſrael* with their Daughters and Idolatry. *Iſrael* is yoked יצמד to *Baal Peor*, not only to the Idol, but to the women; the old generation of wicked *Iſrael* is utterly gone, and this new generation that muſt enter *Canaan*, begins after their fathers with ſuch courſes as theſe: there died for this ſin 24000 men: *viz.* 23000 by the plague, 1 *Cor.*10.8. and 1000 by the hand of Juſtice.

CHAP. XXVI. XXVII. XXVIII. XXIX. XXX.

THE people are numbred that muſt go into *Canaan*, as thoſe had been that came out of *Egypt*: One family of *Simeon* that had gone into *Egypt* is extinct, namely that of *Ohad*; a Prince of *Simeon* had been chief actor in the matter of *Peor*, *Chap.*25.14. It may be that utterly rooted out his ſtock. Divers Laws given.

CHAP. XXXI. XXXII.

MIdian deſtroyed, though *Abrahams* children; *Reuben*, *Gad*, and half *Manaſſeh*, have thereby the quieter ſetling beyond *Jordan*, when they ſay, *We will build us Sheepfolds and Cities*, *Chap.* 32. 6. and when the Text ſaith they did ſo *ver.*34. it is to be underſtood that they took courſe for ſuch buildings, for they themſelves went over *Jordan*, and were in *Canaan* wars ſeven years.

CHAP. XXXIII. XXXIV. XXXV. XXXVI.

ISraels two and forty ſtations from *Egypt* to *Jordan*; the borders of the Land; the Cities of the *Levites*; the diſpoſal of *Zelophohads* daughters.

The Book of DEUTERONOMY.

THE ſum of the Book of *Deuteronomy*, is a rehearſal and explanation made to the children, of the Law given to their fathers; the time of the Book is but two months, namely the two laſt months of their fortieth year, divided into the time of *Moſes* his repeating the Law, and dying, and *Iſraels* mourning thirty days for him. There can be little diſlocation of ſtories expected where there are ſo few ſtories at all, and therefore it will be the leſs needful to inſiſt much upon the Book, when that which we chiefly aim at in this undertaking, is already done; namely the laying of the ſtory in its proper method and order: only ſome few things it may not be impertinent nor unprofitable to obſerve.

1. Whereas *Moſes* is ſaid to be מול סוף, when he explains this Law, *Chap.*1.1. it is to be underſtood that he was over againſt *Suph* in *Moab*, and not near the Red-ſea; ſee *Numb.*21.14. *Vaheb in Suphah.*

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2. Speaking of the excluſion of the people out of *Canaan* for their murmuring at *Kadeſh Barnea*, upon the return of the Spies, *Numb.* 14. he brings in the ſtory of his own excluſion, as if it had been at the ſame time, *Chap.* 1. 35, 36, 37. whereas it was not till eight and thirty years after: but thus cloſe and conciſely doth the Scripture ſometime uſe to ſpeak in rehearſing known ſtories; ſee *Acts* 7. 7.

3. He ſpeaketh to the generation then preſent, as if they had been the generation that was already periſhed and conſumed in the wilderneſs; ſee *Chap.* 1. *ver.* 26. 27, 34, 35, &c. for he puts the murmuring at *Kadeſh*, and the decree againſt entering into the Land upon theſe men preſent, as if they had been the men, whereas thoſe men that were properly concerned in that buſineſs, were already dead and gone. But he uſeth this manner of ſtile, 1. Becauſe they were abundance of them capable of murmuring then as well as their fathers, they being many thouſands of them indeed under twenty years, and yet not ſo much under but that they could be and could ſhew themſelves as untowardly and unlucky as they that were above twenty years of age: And by this manner of expreſſion, *Moſes* would bring them to be humbled, ſome for their fathers guilt, ſome for their own, and ſome for both, and to acknowledge that their being alive till now, and their liberty to enter into the Land, was a free and a great mercy; for their own and their fathers faults, might juſtly have cauſed it to have been otherwiſe with them. 2. They had imitated their fathers rebellion to the utmoſt, in their murmuring at *Kadeſh*, at their laſt coming up thither, and in the matter of *Baal Peor*; and therefore he might very well perſonate them by their fathers, when their fathers faults were ſo legible and eaſie to be ſeen in them.

4. He reckoneth not their ſecond journy to *Kadeſh* by name, but ſlips by it, *Chap.* 2. 1, 4. Nor mentions their long wanderings for ſeven and thirty years together between *Kadeſh* and *Kadeſh*; but only under this expreſſion, *We compaſſed mount Seir many days*, *Chap.* 2. 1. becauſe in that rehearſal he mainly inſiſteth but upon theſe two heads, Gods decree againſt them, that had firſt murmured at *Kadeſh*, and how that was made good upon them; and Gods promiſe of bringing their children into the land, and how that was made good upon them; therefore when he hath largely related both the decree and the promiſe, he haſtens to ſhew the accompliſhment of both.

5. In rehearſing the Ten Commandments; he propoſeth a reaſon of the *Sabbaths* ordaining, differing from that in *Exodus*: there it was, *becauſe God reſted on the ſeventh day*; here it is, *becauſe of their delivery out of Egypt*; and ſo here it reſpecteth *the Jewiſh Sabbath* more properly, there *the Sabbath in its pure, morality and perpetuity.* And here is a figure of what is now come to paſs in our *Sabbath*, celebrated in memorial of Redemption, as well as of Creation.

In the fifth Commandment, in this his rehearſal, there is an addition or two more then there is in it in *Exod.* 20. and the letter *Teth* is brought in twice, which in the twentieth of *Exodus* was only wanting of all the letters.

6. In *Chap.* 10. *ver.* 6. 7, 8. there is a ſtrange and remarkable tranſpoſition, and a matter that affordeth a double ſcruple. 1. In that, after the mention of the golden Calf in *Chap.* 9. and of the renewing of the Tables, *Chap.* 10. which occurred in the firſt year after their coming out of *Egypt*, he bringeth in *their departing from Beeroth to Moſera where Aaron died*, which was in the fortieth year after: now the reaſon of this is, becauſe he would ſhew Gods reconciliation to *Aaron*, and his reconciliation to the people; to *Aaron*, in that though he had deſerved death ſuddenly with the reſt of the people that died for the ſin of the golden Calf, yet the Lord had mercy on him and ſpared him, and he died not till forty years after: and to the people, becauſe, that for all that tranſgreſſion, yet the Lord brought them through that wilderneſs to a land of rivers of waters. But 2. there is yet a greater doubt lies in theſe words then this, for in *Numb.* 33. the peoples march is ſet down to be from *Moſeroth to Bene Jahaan*, *ver.* 31. and here it is ſaid to be from *Beeroth of Bene Jaahan*, *to Moſeroth*; there it is ſaid, *Aaron died at mount Hor*, but here it is ſaid, *He died at Moſeroth:* now there were

ſeve

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ſeven ſeveral incampings between *Moſeroth* and mount *Hor*, *Numb.* 33. 31, 32, &c. Now the anſwer to this muſt ariſe from this conſideration, that in thoſe ſtations mentioned *Numb.* 33. *From Moſeroth to Bene Jaahan, to Horhagidgad*, &c. they were marching towards *Kadeſh* before their fortieth year, and ſo they went from *Moſeroth to Bene Jaahan*. But in theſe ſtations, *Deut.* 10.6. they are marching *from Kadiſh* in their fortieth year, by ſome of that way that they came thither, and ſo they muſt now go *from Bene Jaahan to Moſeroth*. And 2. how *Moſeroth*, and mount *Hor*, *Gudgodah*, and *Horhagidgad*, were but the * ſame place and Country, and how though *Iſrael* were now going back from *Kadiſh*, yet hit in the very ſame journies that they went in, when they were coming thither; as to *Gudgodah*, or *Horhagidgad*, to *Jotbathah* or *Jotbath*, requires a diſcourſe Geographical by it ſelf; which is the next thing that was promiſed in the Preface to the firſt part of the Harmony of the Evangeliſts; and with ſome part of that work by Gods permiſſion and his good hand upon the Work-man, ſhall come forth.

* As *Horeb* and *Sinai* were, though they be counted two ſeveral incampings of *Iſrael*, *Exod.* 17.1,6. and 19.1. compared.

7. It cannot paſs the Eye of him that readeth the Text in the Original, but he muſt obſerve it, how in *Chap.* 29. *ver.* 29. the Holy Ghoſt hath pointed one clauſe, לָנוּ וּלְבָנֵינוּ *To us and to our Children belong the revealed things:* after an extraordinary and unparalleld manner; to give warning againſt curioſity in prying into Gods ſecrets; and that we ſhould content our ſelves with his revealed will.

8. *Moſes* in bleſſing of the Tribes, *Chap.* 33. nameth them not according to their ſeniority, but in another order. *Reuben* is ſet firſt though he had loſt the birth-right, to ſhew his repentance, and that he died not * the ſecond death. *Simeon* is omitted becauſe of his cruelty to *Sichem* and *Joſeph*; and therefore he the fitteſt to be left out when there were twelve Tribes beſide. *Judah* is placed before *Levi*, for the Kingdoms dignity above the Prieſt-hood, *Chriſt* being promiſed a King of that Tribe. *Benjamin* is ſet before *Joſeph*, for the dignity of *Jeruſalem* above *Samaria*, &c.

* So the *Chaldee* renders, *ver.* 6. *Let Reuben live and not die the ſecond death.*

9. The laſt Chapter of the Book was written by ſome other then *Moſes*; for it relateth his death, and how he was buried by the Lord, that is by *Michael*, *Jude* 9. or *Chriſt*, who was to bury *Moſes* Ceremonies.

The Book of JOSHUA.

THIS Book containeth a hiſtory of the ſeventeen years of the rule of *Joſhua*, which though they be not expreſly named by this ſum in clear words, yet are they to be collected to be ſo many, from that groſs ſum of four hundred and eighty years from the delivery out of *Egypt*, to the laying of the foundation of *Solomons* Temple, mentioned 1 *Kings* 6. 1. for the Scripture hath parcelled out that ſum into theſe particulars; forty years of the people in the wilderneſs; two hundred ninety and nine years of the *Judges*; forty years of *Eli*; forty of *Samuel* and *Saul*; forty of *David*; and four of *Solomon* to the Temples founding; in all, four hundred ſixty three; and therefore the ſeventeen years that muſt make up the ſum four hundred and eighty, muſt needs be concluded to have been the time of the rule of *Joſhua*.

World | *Joshua*

CHAP. I.

2554 | 1 JOSHUA of *Joseph* succeedeth *Moses*, the seventh from *Ephraim*, 1 *Chron.* 7.25. and in him first appeared *Josephs* birth-right, 1 *Chron.* 5. 1. and *Ephraims* dignity, *Gen.* 48. 10, He is called *Jesus* by the LXX. and bythe New Testament, *Acts* 7.45. *Heb.*4.8. a type of him that bringeth his people into eternal rest. He is installed into the authority of *Moses*, both to command the people and to work miracles; and the Book of the Law put into his hand by *Eleazer*, as the manner was at Coronations, 2 *Chron.* 23. 11. He foreseeth the dividing of *Jordan*, and gives charge to provide to march through it.

CHAP. II.

RAhab an hostess of *Jericho* hath more faith then 600000 men of *Israel*, that had seen the wonders in *Egypt*, and the wilderness. Two Spies that were sent out the sixth day of *Nisan* come out of *Jericho* again that night; the seventh day they lie in the mountains, and the eighth day they return to the Camp: here are the three days just so counted as the three days of our Saviours burial.

CHAP. III. IV.

ON the ninth day, the people march along upon *Jordans* banks till they come over against *Jericho*. The Ark leads the van, for the Cloud of Glory which had been their conductor hitherto, was taken away at *Moses* his death. On the tenth day the Ark divided *Jordan*; there are 4000 cubits dry land in the midst of *Jordan*, between the two bodies of the armies that marched on either side of the Ark as it stood in the middest of the river: the Ark pitcheth besides *Adam*, *Chap.*3.16. אהל שכן באדם, *Psal.*78.60.

CHAP. V.

THERE is a general circumcision now of the people, as there had been at their coming out of *Egypt*; and as God then closed the *Egyptians* in three days darkness that they could not stir, so now he striketh the *Canaanites* with terrour that they dare not stir to hurt the people while they were sore. Circumcision sealed the lease of the land of *Canaan*, and therefore as soon as they set foot on it, they must be circumcised; the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth days of *Abib* or *Nisan* are spent about this business, and on the fourteenth day they kept the Passover, and so are sensible of both their Sacraments at once. It is now forty years to a day since they came out of *Egypt*; *Christ* appeareth weaponed, and is Lord General in the wars of *Canaan*.

CHAP. VI.

JEricho strangely besieged; incompassed seven days, according to the seven generations since the land was promised, counting from *Abraham* by *Levi* and *Moses*.

Israel marcheth on the Sabbath day by a special dispensation. The walls of *Jericho* brought down by trumpets and a shout, in figure of the subduing of the strong holds of *Satan* among the heathens by the power of the Gospel: the spoil of the Town dedicated to the Lord, as the first fruits of *Canaan*, *Rahab* received as the first fruits of the Heathen; she afterward marrieth *Salmon* a Prince of *Judah*, *Matth.* 1. 5. *Joshua* adjureth *Rahabs* kindred for ever building *Jericho* again.

CHAP.

World | Joshua

CHAP. VII.

2554 | 1 | *Achan* by one fact maketh all *Israel* abominable; the like thing not to be paralleld again: *The valley of Achor* is now the dore of diſcomfiture and diſcontent; in time to come it muſt be *the dore of hope*, *Hoſ.* 2. 15. fulfilled to the very letter, *Joh.* 4.

CHAP. VIII.

Ai taken, and the ſpoil given to the ſouldiers; and here they have the firſt ſeiſure and poſſeſſion of the Land, (for in the ſpoil of *Jericho* they had no part) And then *Joſhua* builded an Altar, *verſ.* 30. and writeth the Law upon it, and the bleſſings and the curſes are pronounced; and now it was full time, for now had the Lord by the ſweet of the ſpoil of *Ai*, given the people a taſte of his performance of his promiſe, to give them that land, and now it was ſeaſonable on their part to engage themſelves to him, and to the keeping of the Law.

CHAP. IX. X. XI. XII. XIII. XIV.

2 | A Great deluſion of the Church by the colour of Antiquity; the *Gibeonites* made *Nechenims* for the inferiour offices about the Sanctuary: the
3 | Sun and Moon do obeiſance to a ſon of *Joſeph*, as *Gen.* 37. 9. thereupon there
4 | is a miraculous day of three days long. In ſeven years is the land conquered;
5 | as *Jericho* had been ſeven days beſieged; that this was the date of *Joſhua's*
6 | battles, appeareth from the words of *Caleb*, *Chap.* 14. 7, 10. he was ſent one of
7 | the Spies of the land in the ſecond year of their coming out of *Egypt*, and had lived five and forty years ſince, *viz.* eight and thirty years in the wilderneſs, and ſeven in *Canaan*.

CHAP. XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII. XIX. XX. XXI. XXII. XXIII. XXIV.

8 | *Judah* the royal Tribe firſt ſeated; the taking of *Hebron* and *Kiriath Se-*
9 | *pher*, are mentioned here by anticipation, (for theſe occurrences came
10 | not to paſs till after *Joſhua's* death) becauſe the Holy Ghoſt in deſcribing of
11 | the inheritance of *Judah*, would take ſpecial notice of the portion of *Caleb*
12 | who had adhered to the Lord. Then *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh* ſeated; the
13 | birth-right of *Joſeph* is ſerved next after the royalty of *Judah*. The Ta-
14 | bernacle ſet up in a Town of the lot of *Ephraim*, and the Town named *Shi-*
15 | *loh*, becauſe of the *peaceableneſs* of the land at this time. The Temple
16 | was afterward built at *Salem*, which ſignifieth *Peaceable* alſo; that in the lot of *Benjamin*, this in the lot of *Joſeph*, both the ſons of beloved *Rachel*.

The reſt of the land divided; *Simeon* though he were of the ſame ſtandard with *Reuben* and *Gad*, yet conſenteth not with them to reſide beyond *Jordan*, but is mixed in his inheritance with the Tribe of *Judah*, as *Gen.* 49. 7. The reſt of the Tribes ſeated agreeable to the prediction of *Jacob* and *Moſes*. The taking of *Laiſh* or *Leſhem* by the *Danites*, is related here by anticipation, (for it was not done till after *Joſhua's* death, *Judg.* 18. 29.) becauſe the Text would give account of their whole inheritance together, now it is ſpeaking of it. From this mention of an occurrence that befel after *Joſhua's* death, and the like about *Hebron* and *Kiriath Sepher*, it may be concluded that *Joſhua* wrote not this Book, but *Phineas* rather. *Joſhua* himſelf is inheritanced laſt. Three Cities of refuge appointed within *Jordan*, one in *Judea*, another in *Samaria*, and the third in *Galilee*: and three without *Jordan* in the three Tribes there.

Eight and forty Cities appointed for the Prieſts and Levites; as ſo many Univerſities wherein they ſtudied the Law.

World | *Joſhua*

It is not worth the labour to examine, becauſe it is paſt the ability to determine, whether the two Tribes and an half returned to their own homes aſſoon as ever the land had reſt from the wars, which was in the ſeventh year; or whether they ſtayed till the land was divided, and the people ſettled, which took up a long time more: howſoever it was, the two and twentieth Chapter that containeth that ſtory, is laid very properly where it lieth, becauſe it was fit that the whole ſtory which concerned the conqueſt and the poſſeſſion of the land, ſhould be handled all together, before any other particulars and emergencies ſhould interpoſe and interrupt it.

2570 | 17 JOSHUA dieth, one hundred and ten years old; the age of his old father *Joſeph*, *Gen.* 50. 26. He had divided *Jordan*, ſhouted down *Jericho* walls, ſtopt the Sun, conquered *Canaan*, ſet up the Tabernacle, ſettled the people, buried the bones of the Patriarchs at *Sichem*, the head City of the land; ingaged the people to Religion, and done gloriouſly in his generation: A type of Chriſt in the moſt of theſe things.

With thoſe Chapters of *Joſhua* that do treat concerning the diviſion of the land, and ſetling of the Tribes in their ſeveral poſſeſſions, it may not be unproper nor unprofitable to read thoſe Chapters in the firſt Book of *Chronicles* that do mention the Fathers and chief men in every Tribe, and who were planters and raiſers of families in theſe ſeveral poſſeſſions: as with *Joſh.* 13. that relateth the inheritance of the two Tribes and half, to read 1 *Chron.* 5. With *Joſh.* 15. that deſcribeth the poſſeſſion of *Judah*, to read 1 *Chron.* 2, 3, 4. to *verſe* 24. With *Joſh.* 16, 17. that handleth the lot of *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh*, to read 1 *Chronicles* 7. from *verſe* 14. to *verſe* 30. With *Joſhua* 18. from *verſe* 11. to the end, about the poſſeſſion of *Benjamin*, to read 1 *Chron.* 7. from *verſe* 6. to *verſe* 13. and 8. all. With *Joſh.* 19. to *verſe* 10. read 1 *Chron.* 4. from *verſe* 24. to the end. With *Joſh.* 19. from *verſe* 19. to *verſe* 24. read 1 *Chron.* 7. to *verſe* 6. With *Joſh.* 19. from *verſe* 24. to *verſe* 31. read 1 *Chron.* 7. from *verſe* 30. to the end. With *Joſh.* 19. *verſe* 32. &c. 1 *Chron.* 7. *verſe* 13. With *Joſh.* 21. read 1 *Chron.* 6.

And with theſe Chapters of *Joſhua* as an expoſition of ſome of them, read 1 *Chronicles* 9. But as for the caſting the ſeveral Texts and parcels of theſe Chapters in the Book of *Chronicles* into their proper times, and to take in every man named there, and his ſtory into the Chronicle in the age where he lived, would not only be difficult if poſſible, but would be confuſed in this Work we have in hand. A cloſe Commentary upon the *firſt Book of Chronicles*, would be a matter of ſingular value, and might be conducible for this and for other very material purpoſes.

The Book of JUDGES.

THE Book of *Judges* containeth an hiſtory of two hundred ninety and nine years from the death of *Joſhua* to the death of *Samſon*, taken up in theſe ſums and parcels.

Othniel of Judah, 40 years, Judg. 3. 11.
Ehud of Benjamin, 80 years, Judg. 3. 15, 20.
Shamgar.
Barak of Naphtali, 40 years, Judg. 4. 6. 5. 31.
Gideon of Manaſſeh, 40 years, Judg. 6. 15. & 8. 28.
Abimelech Gideons ſon, 3 years, Judg. 9. 22.
Tola of Iſſachar, 23 years, Judg. 10. 1, 2.
Jair of Manaſſeh, 22 years, Judg. 10. 3.
Jephtah of Manaſſeh, 6 years, Judg. 11. 1. & 12. 7.
Ibſan of Judah, 7 years, Judg. 12. 8, 9.
Elon of Zebulon, 10 years, Judg. 12. 11, 12.
Abdon of Ephraim, 8 years, Judg. 12. 13, 14.
Samſon of Dan, 20 years, Judg. 13. 2. & 15. 20. & 16. 31.
The total Sum, 299.

Now beſides theſe years under theſe Rulers, there is alſo mention of one hundred and eleven under oppreſſours: as under

Cuſhan Riſhathaim, 8 years, Judg. 3. 8.
Eglon of Moab, 18 years, Judg. 3. 14.
Jabin of Canaan, 20 years, Judg. 4. 3.
Midian, 7 years, Judg. 6. 1.
Ammon, 18 years, Judg. 10. 8.
Philiſtims, 40 years, Judg. 13. 1.
The total Sum, 111.

But theſe years of the oppreſſors, are to be included in the years of the Judges, and not to be reckoned as ſo many years apart by themſelves; as whereas it is ſaid, *Chap. 3. Cuſhan Riſhathaim* oppreſſed eight years, *verſ.* 8. *And the land had reſt forty years, and Othniel died, ver.* 11. thoſe eight years of *Cuſhans* oppreſſion are to be included in *Othniels* forty, and we are not to reckon them forty eight. And the eighteen of *Eglon* are to be included in *Ehuds* eighty, and ſo of the reſt. *Paul* indeed reckoneth the years of the Judges ſo, as that he counteth the years of the oppreſſions in a diſtinct ſum from them, *Acts* 13. 20. where he ſpeaketh of Judges for the ſpace of 450 years until *Samuel*; but he uttereth it with an *as after a manner*, or in ſome kind of reckoning, but not in exact propriety. Again whereas it is ſaid, *The land had reſt forty years in the times of Othniel*, Chap. 3. 11. *And the land had reſt eighty years in the times of Ehud*, Chap. 3. 30. It is not to be ſo underſtood, as if there were forty years or eighty years peace in the land uninterrupted; for in *Othniels* time *Iſrael* was buſling with the *Canaanites*, as *Chap.* 1. and among themſelves, as *Chap.* 20. and in *Ehuds* time they were diſquieted by *Moab*, *Chap.* 3. 14. but it is thus to be underſtood, that upon the delivery by *Othniel*, the land had reſt till forty years were up from the death of *Joſhua*. And upon the delivery by *Ehud*, the land had reſt till eighty years were up from the death of *Othniel*: and ſo of the reſt that carry that phraſe. And in the ſame ſenſe and tenour is that phraſe taken in *Numb.* 14. 33. *Your children ſhall wander in the wilderneſs forty years*, and *ver.* 34. *After the number of the days, in which ye ſearched the land, even forty days,* [*each day for a year*] *ſhall you bear your iniquities, even forty years.* Not that they were to wander in the wilderneſs full forty years from the time that this is ſpoken, but to make up full forty years from the time of their coming out of *Egypt*: and divers others of the ſame tenour may be obſerved in the Scripture. The firſt forty years that followed after the year of *Joſhua's* death, are aſcribed to the rule of *Othniel*, *Judg.* 3. 11. not that *Othniel* was ſole Ruler or Monarch in the land; for the *Sanhedrin* or great councel bare the rule in their places, and inferiour Magiſtrates in theirs: but that *Othniel* was a valiant and fortunate commander in the wars, and wrought ſpecial deliverance for the people.

The many occurrences that befel in his time, are not pointed out to their exact and fixed years, and therefore cannot Chronically be ſet down every thing in its very time, more then by conjecture and probability; but it will be enough for the right carrying of the Chronicle on, if we reduce what was done in his forty years to thoſe forty years in general, though we cannot particularly give every occurrence to its very year.

CHAP.

World Othniel

CHAP. I.

2571 1 ISrael being assured by *Joshua* before his death, that the *Canaanites* that were
2 yet left in the land should and must be subdued, *Josh.*23.5. they inquire by
3 *Urim and Thummim* who should first begin that expedition; the success of
4 which beginning would have much influence to daunt or incourage the enemy
5 according as it should prove. *Judah* the royal Tribe is chosen for that purpose,
6 and *Caleb* the son of *Jephunneh* is general for that Tribe, till his age and *Othniels*
7 prowess caused the command to devolve upon *Othniel*. *Simeon* joyneth with
8 *Judah* in the expedition, who was mingled with him in possession; as *Josh.*19.1.
9 Civil wars among the Canaanites have made the way the easier for *Israels* victo-
10 ries: for *Judah* conquereth seventy Kings in the conquest of *Adonibesek*; they bring this Tyrant before *Jerusalem* for the greater terrour of the *Jebusites*, and there kill him, and then they sack and burn that City. This story of the taking of *Jerusalem* lieth in its proper place here, for though the King of it had been slain in the field, *Josh.*10. yet was not the City taken, nor it nor any other City fired in *Joshua's* time, but only *Jericho*, *Ai*, and *Hazor*, *Josh.*6. 24. & 8. 26. & 11. 3. and therefore the eight Verse should be read, *And the children of Judah warred against Jerusalem, and took it, and smote it*, &c. and not as if it had been done before, *Now the children of Israel had warred.*

Hebron and *Debir* taken by *Caleb*, and by *Othniel Calebs* uncle, but younger then he, and so are those words אחי כלב הקטן ממנו to be understood, *And Othniel the son of Kenaz, a kinsman of Calebs, younger then he took it.* For *Othniel* and *Jephunneh Calebs* father, were brethren, both sons of *Kenaz*, see *Numb.* 32. 12. and 1 *Chron.*4.13,14.

Hebron and *Debir* had been taken by *Joshua* in the first or second year of his wars, *Josh.* 10. 36,37,38,39. and about the seventh year of his wars, he sweeps those places again of the *Canaanites* and *Anakims* that had swarmed thither again in the space between, *Josh.*11.20. And when the land begins to be divided, he allotteth *Hebron* unto *Caleb:* as *Josh.*14. Now ten or twelve years passed since that allotment, and the publick service had been acting all this while for the dividing of the land, and bringing every Tribe into its possession; so that *Caleb* hitherto had had little leasure because of the publick, or if he had leasure, yet left to his own strength and forces, which he can make a part and distinct from the publick; he is too weak to work his own settlement, and the *Canaanites* are still growing upon him, till now that the whole Tribe of *Judah* and *Simeon* ingage for him, and he their General, and then he takes *Hebron* and *Debir*, and destroyes the *Anakims* and *Canaanites* clear out, that they grow no more there.

Othniel marrieth his nephews daughtet, or his own great neece, and hath an inheritance of land with her, though she had three brethren, 1 *Chron.* 4. 15.

Jethro's family [called *Kenites*, because they dwelt in the Country called *Kain*, *Numb.*24.22.] had come up with *Joshua* and *Israel* into the land of *Canaan*, and resided about *Jericho*, *the City of Palm-trees*, among the Tribe of *Judah* till now; and now that *Judah* hath cleared his portion and begins to spread into plantations they go along and plant with them in the South, upon the coasts of the *Amalekites:* and so in *Sauls* time are mingled among them, 1 *Sam.*15.6. These *Kenites* were the root of the *Rechabites*, *Jerem.*35. 1 *Chron.*3.55.

Judah conquereth *Horma* for *Simeon*, and *Azza*, *Askelon*, *Ekron* for himself; but the *Philistims* soon recover these three last Towns again, *Chap.* 3. 1, 2. The several Tribes are working themselves into settlement in their several possessions, but are not careful to root out the Canaanites, but suffer them to live amongst them, and so hazzard themselves to be corrupted by them; and forget the command of God which had ingaged them utterly to destroy and not to spare them.

World Othniel

CHAP. II. *to Ver.* 11.

11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 FOR this, *Chriſt* himſelf cometh up from *Judahs* camp at *Gilgal* to the people aſſembled at ſome ſolemnity at *Shiloh* or *Bethel*, and telleth them plainly that he will no more conquer for them; he had offered himſelf to *Joſhua* to lead the field in all the wars, and ſo had done, *Joſh.*5.14. He had been with *Judah* and made him victorious till he alſo ſpares the *Canaanites*, and either for fear or neglect, lets the inhabitants of the vale inhabite there ſtill [כי לא הורישׁ: *ver.*19. it is left to conſtrue indifferently, either *he would not*, or *could not*, or *durſt not drive them out.* And then the Captain of the Lords hoaſt, the Angel of the Covenant, that had brought them from *Egypt* thitherto, departs from them, for which all the people have good cauſe to weep; and they call the place *Bochim*; the dimiſſion of the people by *Joſhua*, and his age, and death, and the death of that generation are mentioned here, that the foundation of the future ſtory may be the better laid, and the time of the peoples beginning to degenerate may be marked out.

CHAP. XVII. XVIII. XIX. XX. XXI.

25 AFter the tenth Verſe of the ſecond Chapter, is the proper place and order of theſe Chapters, for though they be laid at the end of the Book, yet were the things mentioned in them acted even in the beginning of their wickedneſs, after *Joſhua's* and the Elders death; for the better evidencing of which it will be pertinent to conſider, firſt the connexion of the paſſages there mentioned one to another, and then the reaſon of the diſlocation of them all.

CHAP. XVII.

IDolatry is begun in *Iſrael* by a woman, and in *Ephraim*, where afterwards *Jeroboam* eſtabliſhed it by Law: *Micahs* mother devoteth eleven hundred ſhekels to the making of an Idol, and nine hundred of them go for materials, and two hundred for workmanſhip: *Micah* ſetteth it up in his own houſe for his own uſe, and the uſe of the neighbour-hood round about him. The Text in the Original calleth him *Micaiahu*, with a part of the name *Jehovah* affixed to his name, till he have ſet up his image, and from thence forward, *viz.* from *ver.*5. it calleth him *Micah*.

CHAP. XVIII.

26 THE *Danites* take *Micah's* Idol from him, and ſet it up publickly in their own Tribe; there *Jeroboam* ſetteth up one of his calves afterward alſo. For this firſt publick Idolatry begun in the Tribe of *Dan*, that Tribe is not named among the ſealed of the Lord, *Rev.*7. A great grandchild of *Moſes* is the firſt Idolatrous Prieſt, but *Moſes* his name is written מנשה, *Manaſſeh* with the letter נ above the word; partly for the honour of *Moſes* in the duſt, and partly becauſe this his grandchilds actions were like *Manaſſes* his actions the King of *Judah*.

CHAP. XIX.

27 *Iſrael* tolerateth this Idolatry, and never ſtirreth either againſt *Micah* or the *Danites*; which toleration breedeth all iniquity, ſo that *Gibeah* a City of *Iſrael* becometh as abominable as *Sodom*. A whoriſh woman is kill'd with whoredom.

CHAP. XX.

ALL *Iſrael* goeth againſt *Gibeah*, and that by Gods expreſs commiſſion and command, and yet 40000 of them are ſlain by that wicked and wretched Town, and by the Tribe that took part with it. Thus did God avenge his own cauſe againſt *Iſrael*, becauſe *Iſrael* would not avenge Gods cauſe againſt Idolatry; they were ſo ſenſible of an injury done to a whore in *Gibeah*, but were not at all ſenſible of an injury done to God by *Dan's* Idolatry; when

Othniel. World. God hath thus uſed *Benjamin* to execute his juſtice againſt *Iſrael* for not puniſhing Idolatry, he then uſeth *Iſrael* to puniſh *Benjamin* for not delivering *Gibeah* up to juſtice; *Othniel* it is like was chief commander in this ſervice, and *Phineas* was zealous in this caſe, as he had been in one of a not much different nature, *Numb.*25. *Benjamin* is now *Benoni*, a ſon of ſorrow, and *Rachel* hath cauſe to weep for her chidren.

CHAP. XXI.

HAdad Rimmon, *Zech.*12.11. or *the ſad ſhout of Rimmon*, the Prophet alludeth to the two great and general Lamentations of *Iſrael*, the one about the rock *Rimmon*, where a whole Tribe was now come to 400 men, and whereupon even the very conquerors become mourners. The other in the valley of *Megiddo*, for the death of *Joſiah*. The one in the beginning of their eſtate, the other in the latter end. *Jabeſh Gilead* is deſtroyed for affection to *Benjamin*, they were both of *Joſeph*, and both had pitched under one ſtandard. *Benjamin* raveneth like a wolf for wives, *Joſephs* daughters עלי שור בנות צערה, *Gen.* 49. 22. go *to the enemy and repair* the decaied Tribe, when the daughters of *Shiloh* in *Ephraim*, and of *Jabeſh* in *Manaſſeh*, ſupply *Benjamin* an hoſtile Tribe with wives, or elſe it had periſhed; and thus is the ſtory of theſe Chapters knit to it ſelf.

Now that the beginning of the Book of *Judges* is the proper time and place of theſe ſtories, may be concluded upon theſe reaſons.

1. The *Danites* were unſetled when the ſtories of the ſeventeenth and eighteenth Chapters came to paſs, and therefore this could not be long after *Joſhua's* death.

2. *Phinehas* was alive at the battle at *Gibeah*, *Chap.*20.28.

3. The wickedneſs of *Gibeah* is reckoned for their firſt villany, *Hoſ.*10 9.

4. *Deborah* ſpeaketh of the 40000 of *Iſrael* that periſhed by *Benjamin*, as if neither ſword nor ſpear had been among them, *Chap.*5.8.

5. *Mahaneh Dan* which was ſo named upon the march of the *Danites*, when they ſet up their Idolatry, *Chap.* 18.12. is mentioned in the ſtory of *Samſon*, though that ſtory be ſet before the ſtory of their march, *Chap.*15.25.

6. *Dan* is omitted among the ſealed of the Lord, *Rev.*7. becauſe idolatry firſt began in his Tribe, as is ſaid before.

7. *Ehud* may very well be ſuppoſed to have been one of the left-handed *Benjamites*, and one of them that eſcaped at the rock *Rimmon*, *Chap.*20.16. & 21.

Now the reaſon why the Holy Ghoſt hath laid theſe ſtories which came to paſs ſo ſoon, in ſo late a place, may be ſuppoſed to be this.

1. That the Reader obſerving how their ſtate-policy failed in the death of *Samſon*, which was a *Danite*, might preſently be ſhewed Gods juſtice in it, becauſe their Religion had firſt failed among the *Danites*.

2. That when he obſerves that eleven hundred pieces of ſilver were given by every *Philiſtim* Prince for the ruin of *Samſon*, *Chap.*16.5. he might preſently obſerve the eleven hundred pieces of ſilver that were given by *Micahs* mother for the making of an Idol, which ruined Religion in *Samſons* Tribe.

3. That the ſtory of *Micah* of the hill Country of *Ephraim*, the firſt deſtroyer of Religion; and the ſtory of *Samuel* of the hill Country of *Ephraim*, the firſt reformer of Religion, might be laid together ſomewhat near.

CHAP. II. *Ver.*11. *to the end.* *And* CHAP. III. *to Ver.* 11.

28 WHEN theſe ſtories are read, the ſtory returns to *Chap.* 2.11. and relateth the ſpreading of Idolatry over all the Tribes, as it had done over
29 that of *Dan*, and how mixt marriages with curſed Canaanites undo *Iſrael*; their
30 firſt afflicter is *Cuſhan Riſhathaim a Meſopotamian:* he oppreſſed them eight
31 years: it is like he broke in upon the Tribes that lay on the other ſide *Jordan*,
32 as thoſe that lay neareſt to his own Country, and there got poſſeſſion for ſo
33 many years together, and incroached upon them within *Jordan* by degrees, as
34 he found ſtrength and opportunity: but *Othniel* of *Judah* maketh good the
35 Prophecy of *Judahs being a Lions whelp*, &c. *and ſo the tents of Cuſhan come in-*
36 *to affliction*, &c. *Hab.*3.7. The conſideration and obſerving that the firſt forain
37 oppreſſor of all others that troubled *Iſrael* in their own land, was a man of
38 *Aram Naharaim*, or a *Meſopotamian*; it cannot but call to mind the dealing of
39 *Laban* with *Jacob* in that place: and it is a matter of queſtion and ſome ſtrange-

neſs,

World	*Othniel*	*Ehud*	
			neſs, how and why a man of that Country of all others ſhould thus oppreſs theirs.

CHAP. III. *Verſ.* 11.

2610	40		*Othniel* dieth.

CHAP. III. *Verſe* 12. *to the end.*

2611		1	*Ehuds* eighty years begin; not that he ruled ſo long without intermiſſion, or ſo long in any ſenſe at all, for eighty years was even a mans whole life: but that there were fourſcore years from the death of *Othniel*, and that after *Ehud* delivered them from *Eglon*, he was Judge and a Ruler over them whileſt he lived; not as a Monarch, for the *Sanhedrin* bare the ſway, but as a chief commander, and one ready to undertake for them if any enemies ſhould ariſe, and one ready to teach and lead them in the ways of God, as was ſaid before of *Othniel*. It is ſaid of *Othniels* time, *that the land had reſt forty years, and Othniel died*, by which it is apparent that the forty years are reckoned till *Othniels* death: ſo in *Chap.* 22. *Ibſan judged ſeven years and died: Elon judged ten years and died: Abdon judged eight years and died*, &c. *Samſon* judged twenty years, and theſe twenty years ended in his death, and ſo are we to conceive of theſe fourſcore of *Ehud*, that they ended with his death alſo; and therefore it is improper to conceive that the eight years of *Cuſhans* afflicting, were the laſt eight years of *Othniels* forty, or the eighteen years of *Eglons* afflicting were the laſt eighteen years of *Ehuds* eighty: for by this means *Othniel* and *Ehud* are made to ſtart up in the very end of theſe ſums of years, and get a victory and no more news of them; whereas it is apparent, not only by the years of the men lately cited, and by *Chap.* 2.19. but alſo by other paſſages, that the Judge was not only their deliverer in one fought battle or the like, but that he was their inſtructer, and helped and ſtrove to keep them to the fear of the Lord, *Chap.* 2.17. and when any of the Judges did not ſo, they are noted for it, as *Gideon* about his *Ephod*, *Abimeleck* about his brethren, and *Samſon* about his women: ſo that in what time of theſe fourſcore years of *Ehud*, to place the eighteen of *Eglons* afflicting, it is not certain, nor is it very much material, ſeeing it is certain that they fell out ſometime within thoſe fourſcore years. A good ſpace of time may we allot for *Iſraels* falling to Idolatry after *Othniels* death, and for Gods giving them up to their enemies power, upon their Idolatry; but whenſoever that affliction comes, it comes ſo home that a King of *Moab* is King of *Iſrael*, and hath his very Court and Palace in the Land of *Canaan*, in the City of *Jericho*. That City was inhabited by Iſraelites before *Eglon*, and his *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Amalekites*, drove them out, and yet had not *Joſhua's* curſe ſeized on them; for that had reference only to *Rahabs* kindred and family, to prohibite them for ever going about to fortifie and build it for a *Canaanitiſh* Town again: and *Hiel* that went about that work in *Ahabs* time, was of that ſtock, and that light upon him accordingly, as will be touched there. The oppreſſours of *Iſrael* at this time, were the very ſame Nation that came againſt *Jehoſhaphat*, 2 *Chron.* 20. Namely, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Meunims*, or *Amalekites*, and *Edomites* that dwelt promiſcuouſly among *Ammon*, as ſee the Notes when we came there: and thoſe that are here ſpoken of, are generally fat men, *ver.* 29. as was *Eglon* himſelf extraordinarily. *Ehud* was a man of *Benjamin*, and probably of *Gibeah*, for he was of the ſame family in *Benjamin*, that King *Saul* was of afterwards; and thus the honour of *Benjamin* was ſomewhat reſtored in him, and as *Judah* in *Othniel* hath the firſt honour of Judge-ſhip, ſo *Benjamin* in *Ehud* had the ſecond. *Eglon* is deſtroyed with a two edged ſword, compare *Rev.* 1.16. About the latter end of *Ehuds* life, we may indeed ſuppoſe ſome of the paſſages of the Book of *Ruth* to have come to paſs, for that Book containeth the ſtory of a very long time, but the exact place in the Book of *Judges*, where, and the exact time in Chronicle when to lay any particular of thoſe occurrences, is not to be found nor determined.
2690		80	EHUD dieth.

World Deborah

The Book of RUTH.

TOwards the aiming and concluding upon the time of the ſtory of the Book of *Ruth*, theſe things may not unprofitably be taken into conſideration.

1. That *Salmon* who came with *Joſhua* into the land married *Rahab*, and of her begat *Boaz*, who married *Ruth*, *Matth.* 1.5.

2. That from *Salmons* coming into the land to the birth of *David*, were 366 years; namely, 17 of *Joſhua*, 299 of Judges, 40 of *Eli*, and 10 of *Samuel:* and yet was this long ſpace of time taken up by four men, *viz. Salmon* before he begat *Boaz* of *Rahab*; and *Boaz* before he begat *Obed* of *Ruth*; and *Obed*, before he begat *Jeſſe*; and *Jeſſe* before he begat *David:* ſo that you muſt allow to every one of them near upon a hundred years, before he begat his ſon.

3. That from their coming into *Canaan* to *Ehuds* death, were 137 years.

4. Now grant that *Rahab* lived ſixty years in *Iſrael* before ſhe had *Boaz* by *Salmon*; and that *Boaz* lived an hundred years before he was married to *Ruth*, both which are fair allowances, yet will this his marriage with *Ruth* fall but three years after *Ehuds* death. So that this Book of *Ruth* may be taken in between the third and fourth Chapters of the Book of *Judges*.

The Book of *Ruth* ſetteth out the great providence of God in bringing light out of darkneſs; *Ruth* a mother of *Chriſt* out of the inceſt of *Lot:* a ſpecial mark over ובקומה in the ſtory of *Lots* eldeſt daughter, lying with her father, *Gen.*19.34. and a ſpecial mark in a great letter in the word לינו, in the ſtory of *Ruth* going to *Boaz* his bed, *Ruth* 4.13. ſeem to relate one to the other, and both together to point at this providence: *Boaz* born of a Heathen woman, and married to a Heathen woman, but both theſe become Iſraelites and holy. After the reading of the Book of *Ruth*, the Reader and ſtory return to the fourth of *Judges*.

JUDGES. CHAP. IV. V.

2691 DEBORAH and BARAKS forty years begin: *Iſraél* after the death of *Ehud* fall to their old Idolatry again, and for that ere long, fall under oppreſſion. *Shamgar* got one wonderful victory for them, but wrought not a perfect deliverance: *Deborah* a woman of *Ephraim* ariſeth after him, and judgeth the people ſhe being a Propheteſs, and by the ſpirit of Prophecy ſtirreth up *Barak* of *Nephtali* to fight with *Siſera* whom he overcometh by an army of *Galileans:* but *Siſera* himſelf falleth by the hand of a Proſelyteſs woman; *Then Deborah and Barak ſang:* Here the man of *Nephtali* giveth goodly words: They tell the ſad caſe of *Iſrael* in *Shamgars* and *Jaels* times, before the victory was gotten over *Siſera*; that men durſt not go in the common ways, nor dwell in villages and unwalled Towns for fear of the enemy. The rich and gallant men that uſed to ride on white Aſſes, durſt not ride in thoſe times, and the rulers durſt not ſit in Judgment for fear of being ſurpriſed; and people durſt not go to the Town wells to draw water for fear of the enemies archers; but now all theſe may ſpeak of the actings of God towards the forſaken villages, and towards the forlorn places of Judicature in the gates, for they are all reſtored to their proper uſe again; That now the Lord had given the remnant of his people dominion over the great ones that ruled them before; *Joſhua* of *Ephraim* had been a root of ſuch victories againſt *Amalek*, *Exod.* 17. and *Ehud* lately againſt *Amalek*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, and now the Lord had ſo ſtirred up the hearts of the people to fight the Lords battles, that even the men of the beſt rank, and of the moſt unmartial profeſſion were yet very ready to jeopard themſelves in ſuch a quarrel; that the Lawyers of *Machir* or half *Gilead* came, though they lay beyond *Jordan*, and the Scribes of *Zebulon* and Princes of *Iſſachar*. But *Reuben* and the other half of *Gilead* on the other ſide *Jordan*, and *Dan*, not very far from the place of the battle, ſtaid at home, and preferred their private imployments before the publick. That the Lord was ſeen in the battle, and by ſtorms and tempeſts from Heaven, as if the Stars themſelves fought againſt them; he forwardeth their deſtruction, as he had done for *Joſhua* and

World Gedeon

and *Iſrael* in the valley of *Gibeon*: that *Kiſhon a river of their antiquities* נחל קדומים, a water of much Idolatry among them in ancient time, had now proved their deſtroyer, and ſwept away them that vainly, impiouſly, and fooliſhly had adored it, &c. *Meroz* a Town of *Galilee* that lay very near the place of the battle, yet came not in to help, but played the baſe neuter, is bitterly curſed, but *Jael* bleſſed exceedingly: they of *Meroz* did *Iſrael* no good, though they were of *Iſrael*; ſhe a *Kenite* did *Iſrael* ſo much good, though ſhe were of another Nation.

CHAP. VI. VII. VIII.

2731 GEDEONS forty years begin; they are mentioned *Chap.*8.28. *Iſrael* are again ſpoiled by peace, and after the death of *Deborah* become Idolatrous; whereupon the Lord in time ſelleth them into the hands of the *Midianites* for a woful apprentiſhip of ſeven years: theſe deal more bitterly and cruelly with them, then any enemies they had felt before; old revenge that had lain boiling in the breaſt of that Nation againſt *Iſrael* for the great ſlaughter that had been made among them in *Moſes* times, *Num.* 31. now breaks out; and having power to execute it, grows mercileſs. *Iſrael* addreſſing themſelves to God, have a bitter meſſage from him by a Prophet, yet the Lord forſakes them not; *Gedeon* as he is threſhing wheat, is appointed to threſh *Midian*; he ſeeth an Angel and a miracle, and thereby is incouraged to deſtroy his fathers Idolatry: ſo un-reformed is *Iſrael* under their affliction, that they retain their Idols ſtill. A bullock of ſeven years fatting for *Baal* is mentioned, to ſhew that even through their ſeven years calamity under *Midian*, yet their mind and preparations were ſtill upon, and for their Idols. *Gedeon* ſacrificeth this bullock to God, a ſacrifice of ſtrange and various diſpenſations: it was offered by night, in a common place, by a private perſon, with the wood of an Idolatrous grove, and intended for an Idol it ſelf; yet an offering of faith, and ſo accepted. *Gedeon* by the deſtruction of *Baal*, obtaineth the name of *Jerubbaal*; he hath another ſign ſhewed him by the wet and dry fleece, a proper repreſentation of *Iſrael*, wet with the dews of divine doctrine, when all the world beſides was dry, and now dry, when all the world beſides is wet: by three hundred men that *drank of the brook by the way, lifting up their head*; as *Pſal.* 110. and *carrying lights in earthen veſſels*, he conquers *Midian*, as *Jericho* was conquered, only by a noiſe and by an amazement. They carried candles in jug-pots, or ſuch kind of earthen veſſels, ſo that no light was to be ſeen till they had ſet themſelves on all ſides of the army, and then they ſuddenly ſhout, break their pitchers, and make their candles appear; ſo that what with their ſudden noiſe, and what with the ſudden lights, the heart of *Midian* trembles, as the curtains of their tents had done in the mans dream of the barly cake: ſee *Hab.*3.7. *Oreb* and *Zeb* taken and ſlain, and 120000 men; and *Zeba* and *Zalmunna* purſued, taken, and their body of 15000 ſcattered. *Gedeon* of the jewels of the ſpoil maketh an *Ephod*, and ſetteth it in his own City, which cauſeth Idolatry in *Iſrael*; and the name of *Jerubboſheth* to himſelf, 2 *Sam.* 11.21.

Abimelech

CHAP. IX.

2771 ABIMELECH uſurpeth the Kingdom, having ſlain his ſeventy brethren: *Jotham* on the hill *Gerizim*, the hill of bleſſing, denounceth a curſe upon him, and *Shechem*, which accordingly came to paſs; for *Abimelech* deſtroyeth *Shechem*, and is himſelf ſlain with a ſword and a ſtone, as he had ſlain his ſeventy brethren with a ſword upon a ſtone. *Shechem* is again a miſerable ſtage of blood-ſhed as it had been before, *Gen.*34.

CHAP. X. *Verſ.* 1,2.

2774 TOLA of *Iſſachar* judgeth twenty three years; he beareth the name of the firſt-born of *Iſſachar*, *Gen.*46.13. He is ſaid to *dwell in Shamir, in the hill Country of Ephraim*, which may very well be ſuppoſed to be *Samaria*; and ſo he lived near the place where the late *ſtrages* and deſtruction had been made by *Abimelech*: *Shechem* from the time of *Joſhua* was deſigned for the head Town of *Iſrael*, till *Jeruſalem* in *Davids* time obtained that priviledge: For *Joſeph* being reputed the firſt-born, and this the chief Town of *Joſeph*, it came into that dignity and preheminence; but here it

World | *Jair*

is laid in the duſt by *Abimelech.* Obſerve in 1 *King.*12. that the Tribes come to *Shechem* to make *Rhehoboam* King, for now they begin to ſtand upon *Joſephs* priviledge and birth-right again, which *Judah* had carried all the time of *David* and *Solomon*; when *Shechem* was thus deſtroyed by *Abimelech*, *Samaria* ariſeth by *Tola*, a man of *Iſſachar*, but now a ſojourner here. It is probable that the diſtracted and low eſtate of *Shechem* and *Ephraim* through the late civil wars, did give him the better riſe; he himſelf either taking now advantage for his own promotion from their helpleſneſs, or the Lord raiſing him a neighbour of another Tribe for their relief when they could not relieve themſelves: *Iſſachar* is ſluggiſh and unactive at home, as *Gen.*49.14. yet thus active abroad; in *Tola* now, and in *Baaſha* in after times, 1 *King.*15.27. and both in and about the ſame place *Shechem* and *Samaria.*

CHAP. X. *Ver.*3,4,5.

2797 | *Jair*

JAIR, or *Jairus* a Gileadite judgeth two and twenty years; he was a man of great honour, having thirty ſons that were lords of thirty Cities, and that rode upon thirty Aſſes of ſtate, like Judges or men of honour, as *Chap.* 5.10. This is not that *Jair* that is mentioned by *Moſes*, [as if he had ſpoken of this man and theſe Towns prophetically,] but this is one of the ſame family, and of the ſame name, as *Tola* that went before him is of the ſame name with the firſt-born of *Iſſachar*, *Gen.* 46. 13. And whereas it is ſaid by *Moſes*, *that Jair the ſon of Manaſſeh went and took the ſmall Towns of Gilead, and called them Havoth Jair*, *Numb.*32.41. *Deut.*3. And whereas it is ſaid here that *Jairs thirty ſons had thirty Cities which were called Havoth Jair*; it is to be underſtood, that thirty of thoſe threeſcore Villages that old *Jair* had conquered and poſſeſſed in the time of the firſt plantation of the land; theſe ſons of this *Jair* being of this line, had repaired and brought into the form of Cities and dwelt in them; and yet they retained their old name of *Havoth Jair* for the honour of him that firſt wan and planted them. That old *Jair* was the ſon of *Segub*, the ſon of Prince *Heſron* by *Machirs* daughter, 1 *Chron.*2.22. and ſo by his father ſide of *Judah*, and by his mothers of *Manaſſeh.*

ELY born in the ſixteenth of *Jair.*]

CHAP. X. *from Verſ. 6. to the end.*

JEphtah a Gileadite ariſeth a Judge after *Jair*; but there is ſome ſcruple firſt to be reſolved and removed concerning his time, and the oppreſſion that he was raiſed to remove. It is ſaid, *verſ.*6,7,8. *that Jair died and the children of Iſrael did evil again in the ſight of the Lord, and he ſold them into the hands of the Philiſtims, and that year they oppreſſed the children of Iſrael eighteen years.* Now the queſtion is when theſe eighteen years began, and whether they are to be taken for a ſum of years apart from the years of the Judges, or to be reckoned with them; and what is meant by that expreſſion, *and that year they vexed Iſrael. Anſwer*, Theſe eighteen years are to be reckoned together with the laſt eighteen years of *Jair*; and they began with his fifth year: for though he be ſaid to have judged two and twenty years, yet it is not ſo to be ſo underſtood, as if no enemy peeped up in all that time, for we ſhall ſee the contrary cleared by the Judgeſhip of *Samſon:* but the meaning is, that the Lord at the firſt ſtirred him up for a deliverer, and wrought ſome great deliverance by him in the beginning of his time; and afterward he continued a Judge, and one that ſought the reformation of his people, but he could neither work that to keep them from Idolatry, nor work their total deliverance to keep their enemies under: but in his fifth year Idolatry broke out in *Iſrael*, and continued to a horrid increaſe; ſo in *that very year* that this Idolatry broke out, their oppreſſours broke in upon them, and kept them under for eighteen years, and *Jair* could not help it, but it continued ſo till his death: ſo that the beginning of *Verſ.* 6. is thus to be rendered in Chronical conſtruction. *Now the children of Iſrael had done evil again*, &c. This long oppreſſion at laſt forceth *Iſrael* to ſeek the Lord, and to forſake their Idolatry, and the Lord findeth out *Jephtah* for a deliverer.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI. & XII. *to Ver.* 8.

World | *Jephtah*

2819 | 1 JEPHTAH judgeth six years; subdueth the *Ammonites*, sacrificeth his own
2 daughter; and destroyeth 42000 Ephraimites. He was the son of *Gilead*
3 by a concubine; this was not that *Gilead* that was *Machirs* immediate son but
4 one that bare the name of that old *Gilead*, and so we observed of *Tola* and
5 *Jair* before: *Jair* was the chief man in one half of *Gilead*, and *Gilead* in ano-
6 ther.

Jephtah being expelled out of his fathers family for bastardy, betaketh him to arms in the land of *Tob* in *Syria*, and prospereth, and thereupon his prowess being heard of, he is called home again and made commander in chief in *Gilead*. In his transactions with the King of *Ammon*, he mentioneth three hundred years of *Israels* dwelling in *Heshbon* and *Aroer*, &c. in which sum, five and thirty of the forty years in the wilderness are included; in which they were hovering upon those parts, although they dwelt not in them: it was now three hundred and five years since their coming out of *Egypt*.

His vow concerning his daughter may be scanned in these particulars: 1. That his vow in general was of persons, for 1. he voweth that whatsoever should come forth of the doors of his house. 2. Whatsoever should come to meet him; now it is not likely nor proper to understand this of Sheep and Bullock; for who can think of their coming out of his house, much less of their coming to meet him. 3. How poor a business was it to vow to sacrifice a Bullock or Sheep for such a victory? Therefore his vow relateth to persons, and so might it be translated, *Whosoever* cometh forth. 2. What would he do with his vowed person? Make him a Nazarite? He might vow the thing, but the performance lay upon the persons own hand. Dedicate him to the Sanctuary? Why he might not serve there as not being a Levite. Sequester him from the world? He might indeed imprison him, but otherwise the sequestring from the world lay upon the persons own hand still. Suppose one of his married maid-servants or man-servants or his own wife had met him first, what would he have done with any of them? Therefore I am inforced by the weighing of these and other circumstances in the Text, to hold with them, that hold he sacrificed his daughter indeed, though I have been once of another mind. And it seemeth that this was a part of the corruption of those times, and was but *mutato nomine*, a sacrifice to *Molech*, the God of the *Ammonites*, against whom he was now to go to fight when he maketh this vow. The *Sanhedrin* undoubtedly was now sitting, and there was the Priest-hood attending upon the Ark at *Shiloh*, and yet is *Israel* now so little acquainted with the Law, that neither the *Sanhedrin*, nor the Priests can resolve *Jephtah* that his vow might have been redeemed, *Levit.* 27. But they suffer her thus to be massacred, and only salve it with making a statute for her yearly lamentation. In some time of the *Judges*, the High-priesthood is translated from the line of *Eleazer* to the line of *Ithamar*, as appeareth in *Eli* in the beginning of the Book of *Samuel*. Now in all the story of the *Judges*, we find not any one thing so likely to be the cause of rooting out of that house from the Priest-hood, as about this matter of *Jephtah*, they not instructing him better, but suffering such a butchery for a sacrifice.

Jephtah hath a new quarrel with the *Ephraimites*, and slayeth 42000 of them, discovering them by the mis-pronouncing of a letter: he might have offered many words that had *Sh* double in them; as *Shemesh*, *the Sun*; *Shelosha*, *three*; *Shalsheleh*, a *chain*; but the word proposed is *Shiboleh*, because of the present occasion: It signifieth a *stream*; and the *Ephraimites* are put to call the stream that they desired to pass over, by the right name, and they could not name it.

CHAP. XII. *Vers.* 8. 9, 10.

2825 | 1 IBSAN judgeth seven years: He was a man of *Bethlehem*, and thereupon
2 imagined by the Jews to be *Boaz* without any ground or reason: for since
3 *Rahab* the mother of *Boaz* was taken into the Congregation of *Israel* were 270
5 years; and then guess whether *Boaz* be likely to be active now? *Ibsan* is re-
6 nowned for the number and equality of the number of his sons and daughters.
7

CHAP.

World | *Elon*

CHAP. XIII. *And* CHAP. XII. *Verſ.* 11, 12.

2832 | 1 ELON judgeth ten years: He was a *Galilean* of *Zebulon*. In the tenth
2 year of *Ibſan*, the Philiſtims forty years of oppreſſing begin mentioned
3 *Chap.* 13. *verſe* 1. *Samſon* is born about this year if not in it, for when the
4 Angel telleth of his conception, the *Philiſtims* were lords over *Iſrael*; ſee
5 *verſe* 5. The ſtory of his birth is joyned to the ſtory of his life, that there
6 might be no interruption in the ſtory of the *Judges* before him, and that the
7 whole hiſtory of his life and birth might lie together; but in Chronical *Series*
8 it lieth about the beginning of the rule of *Elon*.
9
10 JESSE the father of DAVID born by this time, if not before.

CHAP. XII. *Verſ.* 13, 14, 15.

2842 | 1 ABDON judgeth eight years: He is exceedingly renowned for his
2 children, having as many young Nobles and Gallants to his ſons and
3 granchildren, as would make a whole *Sanhedrin*; namely ſeventy, and him-
4 ſelf the Head. He was an *Ephraimite* of *Pirathon*; and ſo *Joſephs* glory
5 ſhineth again in *Ephraim*, as it had done in *Joſhua* before the time of the
6 Judges; and had done in *Manaſſeh* in the Judges times, in *Gedeon*, *Jair*,
7 and *Jephtah*. *Ephraims* low eſtate in the matter of *Abimelech* and *Shechem*, is
8 now ſomewhat recovered in *Abdon*.

CHAP. XIV. XV. XVI.

2850 | 1 SAMSON judgeth twenty years: A man of *Dan*, [and ſo as *Ephraim*
2 and *Dan* had bred the firſt Idolatry, they yield the laſt Judges;] he
3 was born ſupernaturally of a barren woman, and becomes the firſt *Nazarite*
4 we have upon record. He killeth a lion without any weapons, findeth ho-
5 ney in the carkaſs, propoſeth a parable to thirty *Philiſtim* gallants, which
6 in three days they cannot unriddle: and *on the ſeventh day*, ſaith the Text,
7 *they ſaid unto his wife, Perſwade thy husband, Chap.* 14. *verſ.* 15. That is,
8 on the *Sabbath* day; their irreligiouſneſs not minding that day, and now
9 finding the fitteſt opportunity of talking with his wife alone, *Samſon* being
10 imployed about the *Sabbath* duties. He pays them with their own Country-
11 mens ſpoil: Fires the *Philiſtims* corn with three hundred Foxes; is deſtroy-
12 ing them all his life, but deſtroys more at his death: A type of *Chriſt*.
13 It is obſervable that the *Philiſtims* are ſaid to bear rule and oppreſs *Iſrael*
14 all *Samſons* days, *Chap.*13.1. *The Lord delivered Iſrael into the hands of the*
15 *Philiſtims forty year*, and Chap. 15. 20. *And Samſon judged Iſrael in the days*
16 *of the Philiſtims twenty years*. This helpeth clearly to underſtand that the
17 years of the oppreſſours are included in the years of the Judge; and ſo
18 endeth the Chronicle of the Book of *Judges* in the death of *Samſon*, though
19 the poſture of the Book it ſelf do end in another ſtory. No Judge of all
20 the twelve had fallen into the enemies hand, and under their abuſe but only
Samſon; but he ſlayeth more at his death then while he was living.

World | Eli

The first Book of SAMUEL.

THIS Book containeth an History of 80 years, *viz.* from the death of *Samson*, who died by his own hand gloriously, to the death of *Saul*, who died by his own hand wretchedly. This time was divided into two equal portions, namely, 40 years to *Eli*, 1 *Sam.*4.18. and 40 years to *Samuel* and *Saul*, *Acts* 13.21.

CHAP. I. II. III.

2870 | 1 | *ELI* judgeth 40 years: He was of *Ithamar*; For *Eleazers* line had lost the
2 | High Priest-hood in the times of the Judges. It had been in that family
3 | seven generations; *viz. Eleazar*, *Phineas*, *Abishua*, *Bukki*, *Uzzi*, *Zerahiah*, *Me-*
4 | *raioth*, 1 *Chron.*6.4,5,6. and there it failed, till the seventh generation after;
5 | namely, through the times of *Amaziah*, *Ahitub*, *Zadok*, *Ahimaaz*, *Azaria*, *Jo-*
6 | *hanan*; and then comes *Azariah*, and he executes this Office in the Temple
7 | that *Solomon* built, 1 *Chron.* 6.7, 8, 9, 10. observe these six that failed of the
8 | high Priest-hood left out of the Genealogy, *Ezra* 7.3,4. *Eli* was the first of
9 | the other line that obtained it, and it run through these descents, *Eli*, *Phineas*,
10 | *Ahitub*, *Ahimelech*, *Abiathar*, 1 *Sam.*14.3. & 22.20. & 1 *King.*2.26. SAMUEL
11 | the son of his mothers prayers, tears, and vows, was born in * *Aramathea*, the
12 | twentieth from *Levi*, of the off-spring of *Korah*, who was swallowed up of
13 | the ground, 1 *Chron.*6. and *Numb.* 26.11. He had murmured at the Priest-
14 | hood and Magistracy, and now one of his line is raised up to repair both when
15 | they are decaied. *Samuel* was a vowed *Nazarite*, and dedicated at the Sanctu-
16 | ary with a Sacrifice and a Song. The year of his birth is not determinable,
17 | no not so much as whether it were in the Judgeship of *Eli*, though it be un-
18 | doubted that it was in his Priest-hood. *Eli's* sons commit theft and adultery in
19 | the very Sanctuary; they ravin from the men that came to sacrifice, and they
20 | ravish the women that * waited on the Sanctuary, and so they cause the Ordi-
21 | nances of the Lord to be abhorred. Under such example is *Samuel* educated,
22 | yet falleth not under that taint. A Prophet sharply reproveth *Eli*, for not re-
23 | proving his sons. This Prophet the Jews held to be *Elkanah* himself, and say
24 | that he was one *of the eight and forty Prophets that prophesied to Israel.* In Chap.
25 | 2. Vers.11. it is said, that *Elkanah returned to Ramoth to his own house:* and yet
26 | verse 20. it is said, that *Eli blessed Elkanah*; which is to be understood, that
27 | he had done so from *Samuels* first dedication, and so did as oft as he came to
28 | *Shiloh*. *Samuel* himself becomes a Prophet, first against *Elies* house, and then
29 | afterward to all *Israel*, Chap.3.1. Impiety had exceedingly banished Prophesie
30 | in these times amongst them, but now the Lord begins to restore it for pre-
31 | diction of ruine, and then for direction of reformation. *Urim and Thum-*
32 | *mim* were ere long to be lost from the Priests, with the loss of the Ark;
33 | and God pours the Spirit of Prophesie upon a Levite to supply that
34 | want.

* הרמחים צופים מהר אפרים 1 Sam.1.1. that is, *of one of the two Ramahs, to wit, that of the Zophites of the hill country of Ephraim* רמתים to be construed as שתים in 1 Sam.18.2. *one of two:* and הר אפרים to be construed as בהר יהורה Josh. 21.11. ἐρεινῆ Ἰουδαίας Luk.1.39, 5. Not *the hill of Ephraim*, but *the hill country.*

* חנשים הצבאות Chap.2.22. Women that had some office and attendance at the Tabernacle. As *Num.*4.14. בא לצבא is to do the Sanctuary service. *Anna* was such a woman, *Luke* 2.37.

CHAP. IV.

2909 | 40 | THE Ark first touched and taken with the hands of uncircumcised ones.
The two sons of *Eli* come to fatal ends at this last service of the Ark,
as the two sons of *Aaron*, *Nadab* and *Abihu* did at the first: *Eli* himself dieth
the very death of an unredeemed Ass; *Exod.*13.13. *Shiloh* laid waste, *Jer.*7.14.
and the birthright lost from *Joseph* and *Ephraim*, *Psal.*78.60. &c. The Taber-
nacle had been at *Shiloh* 340 years, and somewhat more. The Idol of *Dan*
hath now out-lived it, *Judg.*18.31. *Ah poor Israel!*

2910 | 1 | Here begin the forty years of *Samuel* and *Saul*, mentioned *Act.*13.20,21. *He*
gave them Judges after a manner, four hundred and fifty years [that is, the years
of the oppressors also reckoned in: the *Judges*, 299. the oppressors 111. and
Eli 40.] *until Samuel the Prophet.* And *afterward they desired a King, and God*
gave them Saul by the space of forty years: that is, to the expiration of forty
years from *Elies* death, the last of the Judges.

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CHAP. V. VI.

THE Ark is all the spring and summer of this year in the land of the *Philistims*. For its sake the Lord smiteth *Dagon* the god of their Corn, and destroyeth the harvest of their Corn as it grew on the ground with an army of Mice: He striketh the people with Emerods *in their hinder parts*, *Psal.*78.66.and bringeth a shameful soreness on them in a contrary part, and in a contrary nature, to the honourable soreness of Circumcision: They restore the Ark again with strange presents, with abundance of golden Mice, *Et cum quinque anis vel podicibus aureis quasi* ἀιμορροῦσι. Two Kine knew their owner, as *Esa.*1.3. *Hophni* and *Phineas* knew him not. The *Bethshemites* though Priests, yet slain by the Lord for too much boldness with the Ark.

CHAP. VII.

Vers. 1. *And the first half of the second.*

2 THE Ark setled in *Kirjath-jearim*, the City of the woods: to this the
3 Psalmist speaketh, *Psal.*132.6. *We heard of it at Ephratah*, or at *Shiloh*
4 in *Ephraim*: *we found it in the fields of the wood*; or at *Kirjath-jearim*: there an
5 *Eleazar* looketh to it, when both the line of *Eleazar* and *Ithamar* are out of
6 that service: *And it came to pass while the Ark abode in Kirjath-jearim the time*
7 *was long, for it was twenty years*: This is not to be understood for the whole
8 time that it was there, for it was above six and forty years there before *David*
9 *David* born in the tenth year of *Samuel*. 10 fetched it up, 2 *Sam.*6. namely, thirty nine years of *Samuel* and *Saul*, and seven
11 years of *Davids* reign in *Hebron*; but it is to be thus understood and construed,
12 that the Ark was twenty years in *Kirjath-jearim*, before the people of *Israel*
13 minded it or looked after it, but they followed and adhered to their former
14 Idolatries and corruptions, and therefore it is said by *Samuel* afterward, *vers.*3.
15 *If you do return unto the Lord, put away the strange gods Ashteroth from among*
16 *you, &c.* Their Idolatry and prophaneness was so deep rooted, having been so
17 long and so customary with them, that neither the loss of the Ark, nor the
18 slaughter of *Israel* had wrought upon them; but that twenty years together
19 they are lost to the Ark, though the Ark were not then lost to them.
20

CHAP. VII.

* The word וַיִּסְפְּדוּ to be translated not *And*, but *Then*, they lamented.

Vers. 2. The latter half of it: * *Then all the house of Israel lamented after the Lord*: and so to the end of the 7 Chapter, and Chapter 8. all.

2930 21 A Spirit of repentance and conversion cometh generally upon all the people; a matter and a time as remarkable as almost any we read of in Scripture: one only parallel to it, and that is in *Acts* 2. and 3. at the great conversion there. There were to that time these sums of years, four hundred ninety years from hence to the beginning of the Captivity, seventy years of the Captivity, and four hundred ninety years from the end of the Captivity thither: The seventy of the Captivity are *the midst of years*, *Hab.* 3. 2. And *Samuel* according to this chain is the first of the Prophets, *Acts* 4.24.

They drew water, and poured it before the Lord, Chap.7.6 To be understood of their washing themselves from their idols, as Gen. 35 2. Exod.19.14.

22 *Israel* is baptized from their Idols: *Samuel*, though no Priest, yet by special
23 warrant sacrificeth; by Prayer destroyeth the *Philistims* with thunder, *Chap.*2.
24 20. *Psal.*99.6. they were subdued in that very place where they had subdued
25 *Israel*, and taken the Ark, one and twenty years before. *Samuel* rideth in cir-
26 cuit and *judgeth Israel*. *Judah* recovereth *Gath* and *Ekron*; which they once
27 had, *Josh.*15.45,46. but lost *Judg.* 3.3. Peace made with *Amorites*; for the
28 third and fourth Generation of those haters of the Lord had had the sins of their
29 fathers visited upon them. *Samuels* two Sons cause the people to abhor the
30 Government, as *Elies* two Sons had caused them to abhor Religion. Then de-
31 generation is still coming on.

CHAP. IX. X. XI. XII.

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SAUL seeking Asses, findeth a Kingdom: He is anointed at *Ramah*, which was not far from his own Town of *Gibeah*. *Gibeah*, once so abominable and abominably destroyed, *Judg.* 20. affordeth their first King: He prophecieth at *Kirjath-jearim* among a company of Prophets that attended the Ark ומי אביהם *Chap.* 10. 12. And he becomes *one that is their Father*, or chief Prophet amongst them. At *Mizpeh*, where the *Sanhedrin* sate, he is proclaimed King by *Lot* and by the people. He befriendeth *Jabesh* against *Ammon*; for *Jabesh* had been a friend to *Gibeah*, and suffered for it, *Judg.* 21. At *Gilgal* he is annointed again, and God in thunder and lightning telleth the people of his displeasure, for their asking a King. Their occasion of so doing was *Nahash* the Ammonite, his coming against *Jabesh* at first to besiege it *Chap.* 12. 12. The siege was long, and when it begun to capitulate for surrender, *Nahash* demands every right eye in the Town, &c.

Is Saul also among the Prophets? And one of the same place answered and said, Yes, one that is their Father. Not *Et quis*, but *Et qui pater eorum.*

CHAP. XIII. XIV. XV.

Sam. 1

33 2
34 3 SAUL *reigned one year: And he reigned two years over Israel:* That is, he had now been King one year from his first anointing by *Samuel* at *Ramah*, to his second anointing by him at *Gibeah*: And he reigned after this, two years more, before the Lord cast him off, and anointed *David*: And the time he ruled after that, was not a Rule, but a Tyranny and Persecution. In these two years he beateth the *Philistims*, *Syrians*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, that invade the Land; and invadeth *Amalek*, and destroyeth it; but undoes himself by sparing *Agag*. Here the Lord casts him off.

CHAP. XVI.

2944 35 DAVID anointed in *Bethlehem*: And from henceforward the Spirit of the Lord resteth upon him; by the power of which he killeth a Lion and Bear; And by the direction of which he becometh musical, and penneth Psalms. This is that that makes musick by *Davids* hand, able to hush and master *Sauls* Devil.

CHAP. XVII.

36 DAVID killeth *Goliah*. A type of Christs victory over *Satan*, the chief Captain of the uncircumcised. He bringeth the Giants head to *Saul*, and *Saul* questioned, *Whose Son art thou?* Not that either *Saul* or *Abner* were ignorant who *David* was; for he went but from harping to *Saul*, when *Saul* went to this War, *ver.* 15. but they wonder what kind of man it was that had such Sons, as *Jesse* had now in the Army: And his question is not so much *Filius cujus*, as *Filius qualis viri*; or not of *Davids* Person, but of his Parentage. The 55 and 56 verses in their proper order should lie after verse 40. but they are put off to the place where they lie, that *Sauls* question which was before the Battel, and the resolution of it, which was not till after, might be laid together: and so the Story of verse 54. of *Davids* laying up the Giants head at *Jerusalem*, is laid before its time, as they were laid after; for he laid not that there till some space of time after, and what time, uncertain: But the relation of it is mentioned in this place, because he would dispatch the Story of *Goliah* at once.

PSALM IX.

UPON this Victory over *Goliah*, *David* penned the ninth Psalm, על מות לבן *upon the death of the Champion*; for *Goliah* is called *Ish Benajim*, 1 *Sam.* 17. 4. And so the Chaldee Paraphrast interprets it על מיתותא דגברא די נפק מביני משריתא: *upon the death of the man that came out between the two Armies.* That Psalm is to be taken in at this place.

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CHAP. XVIII.

UPON *Davids* discourse with *Saul*, and upon former acquaintance with *Davids* behaviour, *Jonathan* affects him; *Saul* that day retains him for a Courtier; and *Jonathan* puts him into a Souldiers and Courtiers garbe: And so they march from the Camp to *Gibeah*, where *Saul* dwelt. By the way the women came out, and sing so as they displease *Saul*; and from thenceforward he spites *David*, casts Spears at him to kill him; but seeing him escape, he puts him into command in the Army, that he may fall there. Thus lieth the Story to *vers.*16. and therefore the fifth *verse*, which speaks of his going in and out before the people, is set there as a general head, which was to be explained afterward: when *David* is thus set at large from *Saul*, to go in and out at his pleasure, then it is like he bringeth *Goliahs* Armor to *Bethlehem*, and his head to *Jerusalem*, laying up these trophies of his valor, victory, and success among his own Tribe, that when occasion should be, and he should need men to stand to him, he being already anointed King, these very things might have made a good party for him against that time.

CHAP. XIX.

37 ANother war with the Philistims. Another Spear thrown at *David*: His house watched that he might be slain.

PSAL. LIX.

HERE cometh in the fifty ninth Psalm, made upon this watching of his house, as the title telleth: and it is to be laid between the 12 and 13 verses of this 19 Chapter.

Samuel, and *Saul*, and *David* are met altogether, *Chap.*19. 22. 24. and *Saul* Prophecying naked for 24 hours, whereas it is said in *Chap.*15.35. that *Samuel came no more to see Saul until the day of his death:* It is to be understood as by way of homage, for he seeth him now at *Ramah* by *Sauls* coming to him, but he never after *Sauls* transgression in sparing *Amalek*, went to him to present himself or service to him, for then did the Lord cast him off, and he would own him no more as King.

CHAP. XX.

Sauls coming to *Ramah* putteth *David* to fly to *Gibeah* to confer with *Jonathan*: *Sauls* bloody intention being discovered, *David* is now forced to a perpetual exile: It beginneth now.

CHAP. XXI.

David cometh to *Nob* to *Ahimelech*, or *Ahijah*, *1 Sam.*14.3. *In the days of Abiathar*, *Mar.*2.26. our Saviour nameth him rather then *Ahimelech*, because he was not only one of the Priests there now, *Chap.*22.20. but he alone escaped of all *Ahimelechs* house from *Sauls* fury: and he was of special note afterward.

From *Nob*, *David* is forced to flee to *Gath*, the very Town of *Goliah*, and *Goliahs* sword now about him: There is he discovered who he is, and hears the very Song repeated that was sung to him when he returned from the slaughter of *Goliah*; being now in the middest of the Giants friends, and so in an unevitable danger, he findeth no other shift but to fain himself a natural fool, and mope, and keepeth himself speechless and dumb.

PSAL. LVI.

UPON this occurrence and occasion he composeth the fifty sixth Psalm, and titles it על יונת אלם רחוקים *Gnal*, *Jonath*, *Elem*, *Rechokim*, *concerning the oppression of the dumb one among men far off, when the Philistims took him in Gath:* and seemeth in *vers.*10. to refer to his present speechlesness, when he saith ביהוה אהלל דבר *Through the Lord I shall praise with speech*, or words: so *vers.* 4. he professeth, *Through the Lord I will praise his Word*;

of

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of promise which he had made to him: so that the order of this Psalm falleth in about the twelfth verse of this one and twentieth Chapter.

PSAL. XXXIV.

AT the end of that Chapter is the proper place and order of the 34 Psalm, made by *David when he changed his behaviour before Abimelech:* And it is appliable to both the stories contained in this Chapter, both to *Davids* dissembling behaviour before *Abimelech* [for some time *Abimelech* and *Abimelech* was but one and the same name, as compare 2 *Sam.* 8. 17. with 1 *Chron.* 18. 16.] and to *Davids* changing his behaviour before *Achish* the Philistims King, for those Kings were commonly called by the name *Abimelech*, *Gen.* 20. and 26.

This Psalm is a most accurate Acrostick, of a most choice and exact composure, after his pretended mopishness and distraction.

CHAP. XXII. *Vers.* 1. first part.

DAvid departeth from Gath, and escaped to the Cave of Adullam.

PSAL. CXLII.

THERE he maketh the 142 Psalm, as appeareth by the title: And in his Prayer in it, he complains how low he was now brought: that there was none that would know him, nor any one to take care for him, that he was in this Cave as in a Prison: And if the Lord would deliver him out of this case, then would the righteous resort unto him.

CHAP. XXII. The latter part of the first *verse*, and *vers.* 2. and 1 CHRON. XII. from *ver.* 8. to *ver.* 19.

THE Lord hears his prayer, and sends his friends and kinred about him to be his Comfort, and divers others to be his Guard: Among the rest were some *Gadites* that came from beyond *Jordan*, and the Prophet *Gad* among them: And so hath *David* a Regiment of six hundred men, and a Prophet their Chaplain.

Here falls in that Story in 2 *Sam.* 23. *vers.* 13, 14, 15, 16, 17. and 1 *Chron.* 11. *vers.* 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. of *Davids* longing for the water of *Bethlehem*, &c. but reserved to its place in the reckoning up of *Davids* Worthies, for here is more especially intended to relate *Davids* acts, and not his Worthies.

CHAP. XXII. from *Verse* 3. *to the end of the Chapter.*

83 *DAvids* Father and Mother are yet alive, and seated by him in *Moab.* He removeth into the Forrest of *Hareth*, *Saul* slayeth 85. Priests, and destroyeth *Nob:* and thus is *Elies* house quite cut off within one man. That was *Abiathar*, who escapes and comes to *David*, and now he hath a High Priest in his Army as well as a Prophet.

PSAL. LII.

AT the end of this Chapter is the proper order and place of the fifty second *Psalm*, made as the title telleth, *When Doeg came and told Saul, and said, David came to the house of Abimelech.*

בא דויך
David came, not *David* is come.

CHAP. XXXIII.

DAvid beateth the Philistims, and saveth *Keilah.* The beginning of the first *verse* is to be read thus; *Now they had told David, saying, &c.* For *Abiathars* coming to *David*, which is related in the conclusion of the former Chapter, was not till *David* was at *Keilah* already, as appeareth by the sixth verse of this. The *Ziphites* discover *David* to *Saul.*

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PSAL. LIV.

THereupon he maketh the fifty fourth *Pſalm*, as the title telleth the occaſion, and the occaſion in that title readily refers it to this place, to be taken in after the three and twentieth verſe of this Chapter.

PSAL. LXIII.

AT the end of this three and twentieth Chapter, with the Story of *Davids* remaining in the ſtrong holds of *En-gedi*, the ſixty third *Pſalm* falleth in, being made as the title telleth, *in the wilderneſs of Judah*, which about *En-gedi* was moſt deſart of all other places, that being upon the borders of the dead Sea.

CHAP. XXIV.

DAvid and *Saul* are together in a Cave.

PSAL. LVII.

THERE *David* poureth out his Prayer of *Pſal.* 57. and titles it, *Al taſhchith*, *Deſtroy not*; for though he were moved by his Souldiers to deſtroy *Saul*, yet he would not.

CHAP. XXV.

39 SAMUEL dieth ſome two years before *Sauls* death: He lived to ſee the time that *Saul* confeſſed *David* to be King, as *Chap.* 24.20. according to his Prediction: *Nabal* a drunkard, a fool, and clown dieth wretchedly.

PSAL. LVIII.

AFTER the 35 *Verſe* of this Chapter, ſeemeth to be the proper place and order of *Pſal.* 58. titled, *Al taſhchith*, *Deſtroy not*: as referring to *Davids* not *deſtroying Nabal* when he had ſo threatned, and yet at laſt rejoyced that he deſtroyed him not. He blameth in this *Pſalm* the venemouſneſs of *Nabals* Tongue, that had reviled him, and the deafneſs of his ears, that would not hearken to the voyce of his Meſſengers, ſay they their errand never ſo wiſely. He propheſieth that God would ſuddenly take him away as with a ſtorm, before the Pots, ſet on the fire for his Feaſts, ſhould feel any warmneſs from the thorns put under them to boyl them, and כמו חי כמו הרון * *According as he was lively* and jovial, *ſo ſhould the wrath be* proportioned to him when it came, *ver.* 9. for ſo might the latter end of that verſe be moſt properly rendred. *As he lively, ſo the wrath*, חי *Chai*, is the Epithet that *David* gives him when he ſends his Meſſengers to him: Thus ſhall you ſay, לחי *Lechai* to *him that is lively*: which our Engliſh hath well expreſſed, *To him that liveth in proſperity*: So *David* ſaith to *Saul*, ומי חיי משפחת אבי *Or what is my livelihood in the family of my Father*, 1 Sam. 18.18.

* כמו and כמו bear the ſame ſence as כ and כ in כמוכי כמוכך כעמי כעמך כעם כבהן and the like.

CHAP. XXVI.

DAVID hath *Saul* in his power again, and deſtroys him not: *Saul* again confeſſeth *Davids* Kingdom. *David* and he never ſee one another more.

In ſome time of the days of *Saul*, but the year uncertain; *Reuben* and *Gad* deſtroy the *Hagarites*, and dwell in their ſtead, for this read 1 *Chron.* 5. *ver.* 9, 10. and from *ver.* 18. to *ver.* 23.

CHAP. XXVII.

DAvid betaketh himſelf again to *Gath*, where not very long ago he was put to fain himſelf mad. *Achiſh* then his fear is now his friend: he was then a ſole ſingle man, and now he hath 600 men with him, a Guard to himſelf, and an help to *Achiſh* againſt *Saul*.

David

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David dwelleth at *Ziklag*, and invades the Countries thereabouts, &c.

I CHRON. XII. *from beginning to Verse* 8.

THither divers of *Sauls* own Tribe and kinred resort unto him; and these are named in this Chapter before, the men of *Gad* that had fallen to him before, because these mens coming to him was most remarkable, as being of *Sauls* own kinred.

CHAP. XXVIII.

SAULS end is now approaching: He consulteth a witch: He had neither Priest nor Prophet to inquire after; he had despised and persecuted both: He seeth a Devil in *Samuels* likeness, and heareth of his own ruine.

CHAP. XXIX.

THE *Philistims* dare not trust *David* in battel. And thus the Lord provideth for him that he might neither prove perfidious to *Achish*, nor fight against his own people.

I CHRON. XII. *Vers.* 19, 20, 21, 22.

AS he went forth with the *Philistims* towards the battel, and as he came back again from them, divers fell to him of *Manasseh*.

CHAP. XXX. XXXI. & I CHRON. X.

DAVID returning home, findeth no home at all: *Ziklag* fired; A Band of *Amalekites* slain; and as it were sacrificed to *Sauls* Funeral. *Saul* himself slain by his own hand and by an *Amalekite*. He had never prospered since he had spared that Generation.

The second Book of SAMUEL.

CHAP. I.

DAVID heareth of the death of *Saul*, and lamenteth him: And chargeth the young men of *Judah* to learn the use of the Bow, that they might match the Philistims in Archery, and so be avenged on them for *Sauls* death; for by Archery they had slain him. The Story of the *Amalekite* to *David*, was not a lye to curry favour, or to obtain a reward, but it was a very and a real truth: *Saul* had fallen upon his own sword indeed [as was related in the preceding Chapter] but his Coat of mail had hindred that he had not given himself a wound so speedily deadly, but that the *Philistims* might come and catch him alive, and abuse him; and so he stands bleeding at that and at his other wounds leaning on his Spear, till this *Amalekite* came by: His Armour Bearer was dead already; and these words, *When his Armour Bearer saw that Saul was dead, he fell on his sword, and died also*, are to be understood in this sense, That when he saw *Saul* had given himself so deadly a wound, he did the like, and died indeed. But *Sauls* wound was not so quick of dispatch, therefore he desireth the *Amalekite* to kill him out; For says he אחוני שבץ *My Coat of Mail hath withheld me so that my life is all this while in me.* And thus *Saul* that had been so cruel to *David*, is now cruel to himself; and he that had spared the *Amalekites*, is now slain by one of that Nation.

CHAP.

World David

CHAP. II.

2950 1 DAVID anointed King of *Judah* in *Hebron*, being 30 years old. Com-
2 pair *Gen.*41.46. *Numb.*4.3. *Luke* 3.23. In *Hebron*, *Abraham* had had his
3 first Land and much residence: Here lay the Patriarks *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Ja-*
4 *cob*, and their wives buried; and here was *John Baptist* born, and our Saviour
5 conceived. There is long busling between the House of *David* and the house of
6 *Saul*; *Abner* still striving to make a party strong enough to settle one of *Sauls*
7 Sons in the Kingdom. Thereupon is *Ishbosheth* anointed in *Sauls* stead: He is called *Ishbaal*, 1 *Chron.*8.33. for *Baal* was commonly called *Bosheth* or *Shame*, as *Jerubbaal* is called *Jerubbosheth*, 2 *Sam.* 11. 21. and *Mephibosheth*, 2 *Sam.*9.12. called *Meribaal*, 1 *Chron.*8.34. see also *Jer.*11.13.

Abners vapouring causeth a desperate duell of twelve and twelve men; and so layeth the foundation of a continual War in an equal bloodshed. לולא דברת vers.27. *If thou hadst not said* (saith *Joab*) *what thou didst say in the morning, let the young men rise and play before us, surely the people had gone away every man from his brother, even in the morning, and there had been never a blow struck; but thou didst provoke it.*

CHAP. III.

DAVIDS six Sons born to him in *Hebron*, in his seven years and six Months reign there, are here reckoned together, that that Story and matter may be dispatcht at once.

Abner upon discontent at *Ishbosheth* turneth to *David*, and confesseth that Kingdom, which hitherto he had willingly and wittingly opposed. But God will not suffer such a man, and upon such grounds, to be a promoter of *Davids* throne; he is slain by *Joab*, even in a place of Judicature, and with a wound parallel to that that he had given *Asahel*.

CHAP. IV.

ISHBOSHETH slain by two *Benjamites*, brethren in evil: They came into the midst of the house, *as if they would fetch wheat*, *vers.*6. that is, with a sack in their hands, to put his head in, &c. Instantly before the Text falls upon the Story of *Ishbosheth*, it relateth the Story of *Mephibosheth*, because he was now all the stock left of *Sauls* house, but only *Rizpahs* children a Concubine, and *Morahs* a daughter.

CHAP. V. *from beginning to Ver.* 11. *And* 1 CHRON. XI. *all.*

2957 8 DAVID anointed King over all *Israel* at *Hebron*, and from thence brought by all *Israel* to *Jerusalem*, to settle him there, and to make that the Royal City. He reigned in all 40 years; in *Hebron* seven years and an half, and at *Jerusalem* 32 years and an half: And this latter was exactly the time of our Saviours life upon earth.

Joab after *Davids* curse upon him for *Abners* murder, is yet made Commander in chief for his taking of *Jerusalem*.

The prosperity of *David* at *Jerusalem*, and his building of it, is presently set down after the Story of the taking of the City; as beginning from that time, and continuing, and going along with the times of the following Stories, and so to be carried in mind.

Then doth the Book of *Chronicles* give account of *Davids* Worthies: Which Catalogue is also mentioned by this Book of *Samuel*, but with this difference of place, that in the *Chronicles* it is set in the beginning of *Davids* Reign, and in *Samuel* in the latter end: And both very properly and much like to the placing of our Saviours Genealogy in *Matthew* and *Luke*, the one giving it at his Birth, and the other at his Baptism, and both upon singular reason. And so here the Book of *Chronicles* reckons up these men as those that helped *David* to his settlement in the Kingdom, and therefore it mentions them in the beginning of his reign, and the Book of *Samuel* reckons them up at the latter end of his reign, as those that had stuck to him all the time of his reign, and helped to keep him in that settlement.

In

David World

In both the Books there is firſt reckoned a *Triumvirate*, or three gallant men that were of a rank by themſelves, and none were equal with them, or like unto them: And theſe were

1. *Joab*, whoſe chief Captain-ſhip is related preſently before, upon the ſacking of *Jeruſalem*.

2. *Adino* the *Eznite* by name, called alſo *Jaſhobeam* by Office, that is, *one that ſat on the ſeat among the people as Judge*: the immediate Son of *Zabdiel*, 1 *Chron.* 27.2. but called a *Hachmonite* or the Son of *Hachmoni* for his former anceſtry. *He lift up his ſpear againſt eight hundred men at one time, and ſlew three hundred of them.* His name differs but one letter from *Jeroboams*, the one promoted *Davids* Kingdom, and the other oppoſed it. ישבעם ירבעם

3. *Eliazar* the Son of *Dodo* the *Ahohite*, 1 *Chron.* 27.4. of *Bethlehem*.

After theſe firſt three brave men, both the Books reckon a ſecond *Triumvirate* or three gallant men more, of an inferiour rank to the former three, but of a ſuperiour to all others. Theſe were

1. *Abiſhai* the brother of *Joab*, and nephew of *David*: he was the chief of this *Triumvirate*, but his ſtory is handled in the ſecond place, becauſe of the likeneſs of the ſtories of *Eleazar* and *Shamma*, the one defending a field of Barley, and the other a field of Lentiles; and for this likeneſs their ſtories are laid together.

2. *Shammah*, The Book of *Chronicles* neither uttereth his name, nor mentioneth his defending a field of Lentiles againſt the Philiſtims: but it includeth that ſtory in the ſtory of the three mens breaking through the quarters of the Philiſtims to the Well of *Bethlehem*: for he was one of the three, and this act of his in defending the Lentiles was in that expedition, and therefore the Book of *Samuel* hath given a note that that expedition was in harveſt: and the act was done *in the valley of Rephaim*.

3. *Benaiah* a Prieſt, 1 *Chron.* 27.5.

After theſe two brave ranks of three and three, there were thirty gallant Captains and Comanders more, but yet that attained not to the dignity of either of theſe ranks.

The Book of *Chronicles* reckons many more names then the Book of *Samuel*, for it reckoneth ſome other valiant Commanders that helped forward *Davids* ſettlement, but were not of the higheſt and eminenteſt places after.

1 CHRON. XII. from *ver.* 23. *to the end.*

A Catalogue of Commanders that came to *David* for his anointing King over *Iſrael*, the *Galileans* afford the greateſt number.

And now there lieth a matter of ſome difficulty before us, becauſe of a difference of order in the ſtories that are laid next in theſe two Books. The Book of *Samuel* bringeth next the ſtory of *Hirams* kindneſs and reſpect to *David*, of *Davids* Children, of two battels with the *Philiſtims*, and then it relateth the fetching up of the Ark. But the Book of *Chronicles* firſt relateth the fetching up of the Ark, and then thoſe ſtories of *Hirams* kindneſs, *Davids* Children, and the *Philiſtims* Battels: For the methodizing therefore of theſe ſtories into their proper time and order, they are to be taken up thus.

1 CHRON. XIII. *Ver.* 1,2,3,4.

DAVID conſulteth with the Captains of thouſands that had come to him to *Hebron*, and had gone with him to *Jeruſalem* about the fetching up of the Ark. This was but a conſultation and an agreement about the matter, but the thing is not yet done: for all *Iſrael* is firſt to be ſent to about it, and a time appointed when they ſhall come in. Hereupon the Companies now preſent depart to their own homes till the time appointed for that purpoſe come.

CHAP. V. *From Ver.* 11. *to the end.* 1 CHRON. XIV. *All.*

WHEN *Iſrael* was departed every one home, *Hiram* King of *Tyre* hearing of *Davids* Coronation, and of the ſolemnity of it, and of the taking *Jeruſalem*, he ſends betimes to him to enter amity with him, and preſents him with Cedar and workmen to build him an houſe: *Davids* Marriages and Children reckoned up, which though born in ſeveral years, yet all mentioned here together, when the Text is relating *Davids* ſettlement and proſperity.

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In this ſpace between the peoples departing from *Davids* Coronation, and their meeting again to fetch up the Ark, *David* being now left of thoſe multitudes, and *Jeruſalem* not yet fully fortified, the Philiſtims come once and again to the valley of *Rephaim*, which lieth under *Jeruſalem*, to catch *David*, but he beats them ſore both times.

CHAP. VI. *From beginning to ver.* 12. I CHRON. XIII. *From verſ.* 5. *to the end.*

9 THE people meet for the fetching up of the Ark [belike at ſome of the three Feſtivals] in a vaſt number, namely, 30000 of the Nobles, Magiſtrates, and chief men, and all *Iſrael* beſide for the generality. *David* imitates the Philiſtims carrying up of the Ark on a cart, which the Lord is diſpleaſed at, ſeeing there were Prieſts to have carried it on their ſhoulders.

PSAL. LXVIII.

WITH the third Verſe of 1 *Sam.*6. read *Pſal.* 68. which though in the title it tell not the occaſion whereupon it was made, yet do the very firſt words of it ſhew that it was made upon the removal of the Ark: For thoſe words, *Let God ariſe, and let his enemies be ſcattered*, were the words which were conſtantly uſed when the Ark removed, *Numb.* 10. 35. and the contents of the Pſalm do ſpeak to the very ſame tenor.

I CHRON. XV. *From beginning to Verſe* 15.

THREE months was the Ark in the Houſe of *Obed Edom*, and by the end of that time had *David* provided ſome houſes for himſelf and ſervants, ſince *Hiram* ſent him work-men, and he had made ready a place for the Ark: with the firſt verſe of this Chapter read that part of 1 *Sam.* 6. 12. *And it was told David, ſaying, God hath bleſſed Obed Edom, and all that he hath, becauſe of the Ark of God.*

PSAL. CXXXII.

UPON this removal of the Ark this Pſalm ſeemeth to have been penned by *David:* wherein amongſt other things he prayeth, that the Lord will fit and ſanctifie the Prieſts for the preſent and future ſervice of the Ark, and that he will accept of the face of his anointed, ſo as that there may be no more breach amongſt them, as there was in *Perez Uzza.*

CHAP. VI. *Latter part of verſ.* 12. *to verſ.* 20. I CHRON. XV. *Verſ.* 15. *to end, and* 16. *all.*

DAVID removes the Ark, ſeats it in it's place that he had prepared for it, and appointeth ſome Pſalms for the Sanctuary.

PSAL. CV. & XCVI. & CVI.

THESE are the Pſalms that he then appointed, *viz. Pſal.* 105. & 96. & 106. ordinarily and well known and read in the Book of *Pſalms*, when *Ezra* penned the Book of *Chronicles*, and therefore he giveth them ſo very ſhort in that Book.

CHAP. VI. *From verſ.* 20. *to the end.*

MICHAL mocketh *David* upon his return home, &c.

CHAP. VII. VIII. *all.* I CHRON. XVII. XVIII. *all.*

THESE Stories following are of an uncertain date, but it is certain they
10 came to paſs in theſe years. *David* intending to build Gods Houſe, God
11 promiſeth to build his. He crowns his Throne with the promiſe of *Chriſt*; and
12 from henceforth nothing can ſtand before it, and to rebel againſt it, is to rebel againſt *Chriſt*, *Pſal.*2.6,7. *&c.* Now the Kings command was to be kept, becauſe of

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of the Oath of God made to him, *Eccles.*8.2. *David* subdueth *Gath*, and her Towns called *Metheg Ammah*, or the bridle of *Ammah*, because there was a continual Garrison of the *Philistims* in the Hill *Ammah*, 2 *Sam.* 2. 25. which the
13 *Philistims* of *Gath* used as a bridle to curb those parts. He killeth *Moab* to a
14 third part, laying them on the ground, and measuring them with a cord, who
15 should be slain, and who should live: This he calleth, *The measuring of the Valley*
16 *of Succoth*, *Psal.*60.10. He subdueth *Hadadezer*, and taketh from him 20000
17 men, and 1000 Chariots, and 7000 Horsemen that attended them, seven men
18 to a Chariot: He spoils them all but 100 Chariots, and reserves 700 Horsemen
19 for them. Of *Syria Damascus* he destroies 22000 men.
20

PSAL. LX.

AFTER the 12 verse of 2 *Sam.* 8. the sixtieth *Psalm* is to be taken in; whose Title telleth that it was made by *David*, *when he strove with Aram Naharaim, and with Aram Zobah*, [that is with *Hadadezer* King of *Zobah*, when he went to fortifie himself with *Aram Naharaim*, as 2 *Sam.* 8. 3. *when Joab returned and smote of Edom in the valley of salt twelve thousand.*] Now this was a different victory from that which is mentioned in the very next verse, of *Abishai slaying of Edom in the valley of salt eighteen thousand.* For there is not only a visible difference between the persons *Joab* and *Abishai*, and between the numbers 12000 and 18000. But the Text relateth expresly, that before that victory of *Abishai* over *Edom*, *David* had taken spoil from *Edom*, and from *Amalek*, which were of *Edom*.

PSAL. CVIII.

AFTER the thirteenth verse of 1 *Sam.*8. is *Psal.*108. to be taken in being the very same in substance with the sixtieth: And as that doth tell in the Title that it was made upon *Joabs* Victory of 12000 *Edomites*; so may it be well conceived, that this was made upon *Abishai's* victory of 18000.

I KING. XI. *ver.*15. *to ver.* 21.

HERE cometh in this Story of *Hadad*, &c. the reading of *vers.*15. it helpeth to illustrate the matters mentioned next before.

CHAP. IX.

21 IT was about this time that *David* requites *Jonathans* kindness to his Son
22 *Mephibosheth*: *Mephibosheth* was five years old when his father died, 2 *Sam.*
23 4.4. and so he was 25 years old in the twentieth of *Davids* reign; he hath a
24 son when *David* begins to own him, which is committed to *Ziba*, to be looked to and attended.

CHAP. X. I CHRON. XIX.

25 HANUN basely abuseth *Davids* Messengers. They came to mourn with him, and comfort him; and he instead of rent Garments, which was the garb of mourners, cuts off their Garments to their buttocks, and cutteth off half their beards; whereas it was abomination to them to have any cutting of their hair for the dead at all, *Levit.*19.27. *Deut.*14.1.

Hanun hireth שנים ושלשים אלף רכב 1 *Chron.*19.7. *Thirty two thousand men with Chariots*; for so should it be rendred, since it is apparent by 2 *Sam.* 10.6. that 20000 of this number were Footmen.

After the foiling of this Army, *David* again foileth *Hadadezer*, and slayeth of his שבעת אלפים רכב 1 *Chron.*19.18. *Seven thousand men with Chariots*; that is, 700 Chariots, 2 *Sam.* 10.18. with ten men attending every Chariot. He slayeth also 40000 Horse-men, 2 *Sam.* 10. 18. which in the Book of *Chronicles* is expressed 40000 footmen; that is, so many men, Horse and Foot, which fought not in Chariots, or with them, but without.

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CHAP. XI. all. I CHRON. XX. *ver.* 1. to this Clause, *And Joab smote Rabbah, &c.*

26 DAVID adulterateth *Uriahs* wife; maketh him drunk, and slayeth him: *Uriah* was a proselited *Canaanite*, some remnant of the sons of *Heth* about *Hebron*, see *Gen.*23.2,3. *Bathsheba* was the daughter of *Eliam*, 2 *Sam.*11. 7. or *Ammiel*, 1 *Chron.*3.5. of *Lodebar* beyond *Jordan*, 2 *Sam.*9.5.& 17,27.

CHAP. XII. To *Vers.* 15. and the first Clause of that verse; *And Nathan went to his own house.*

NATHAN the Prophet that had been sent to tell *David* of good things to his house, is now sent to tell him some bad. By an exquisite parable he bringeth him to condemn himself; and by a terrible threatning to confess his sin, &c.

PSAL. LI.

DEsire of pardon of sin is the fruit of pardon of sin. *David* had been just now told that his sin was forgiven; and now he doth earnestly apply himself to beg the forgiveness of it. The Title of the Psalm doth plainly speak for the time and place of it: *David* nameth one of his sons by *Bathsheba*, *Nathan*, after the name of the Prophet, 1 *Chron.*3.5. *Zach.* 12. 12. And this was that son, of whom Christ descended, *Luke* 3.31. and thus *David* both shewed his belief of the promise that *Nathan* had told him of, when he brought him good tidings, and his repentance for that sin that *Nathan* checkt him for, when he brought him bad.

CHAP. XII. From *vers.*15. *And the Lord strake the child, &c.* to *vers.*24.

27 THE child begotten in adultery dieth uncircumcised: *David* had been certainly told by *Nathan* that he should die. Yet he beggeth for his life.

CHAP. XII. from *vers.*28. to the end. I CHRON. XX. *vers.* 1. *And Joab smote Rabbah, and destroyed it*, and vers.2,3.

JOAB taketh part of *Rabbah*, namely, that part where the Court lay: and *David* comes and takes the rest, and puts the *Ammonites* to exquisite tortures.

CHAP. XIII. all.

28 AMNON defloureth *Tamar* his own sister. Compare this incest of *Davids* eldest son, with that of *Reuben*, *Jacobs* eldest son, *Gen.*35.22. And this rape of *Tamar*, with the rape of *Dinah*, *Gen.* 34. And this *Tamar* incestuated by her own brother, with *Tamar* incestuated by her own father in Law, *Gen.*38.

Absalom calleth *Amnon*: *Aminon* scornfully, *ver.*20. אמינון אחיך *Hath Aminon thy brother been with thee?*

29 *Absalom* murdereth *Amnon*. Here observe the hand and proceeding of justice: As *David* had committed adultery, made *Uriah* drunk, and then murdered him; so *Amnon* committeth incest, is made drunk, and then murdered. And as *Amnon* had committed his villany at his meat, so at his meat he is met with punishment. *Absalom* upon the fact fled to *Geshur* to *Talmai*, who was his Grandfather. See 2 *Sam.*3.3.

CHAP. XII. *vers.* 24,25.

30 SALOMON born, and called *Jedidiah*, *the Lords beloved*. The Story of his birth is joyned to the Story of the child that died; that Gods reconciliation to *David* might be shewed instantly after the relation of his anger against him. His anger was shewed in taking away that child that was conceived in adultery: His reconciliation is shewed in the Lords delighting in a child born in wedlock of the same woman. His birth is mentioned before the taking of *Rabbah*, though it were long after, because the Text having *Bathsheba's* story
31 in hand, it would conclude it altogether. *Absalom* in this year in exile at *Geshur*. *Absalom* still at *Geshur*.

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CHAP. XIV. &c.

32 ABSALOM ſtill at *Geſhur*; but this year begged home again by *Joab*, and by a ſuborned woman. Her ſpeech to *David* is very obſcure and intricate, if not very well looked into and conſidered. She firſt propoſeth a ſtory parable wiſe, of one of her ſons murdering another, as *Abſalom* had done *Amnon*, and the danger of the ſlayer for the fact, if the King ſhould not remedy it. To this the King anſwers her, *Go to thine houſe, and I will give charge concerning thee*, ver.8. *And the woman ſaid unto the King, The iniquity be on me, and on my fathers houſe, and the King and his throne be guiltleſs*, verſ.9. Her meaning in plain terms was this, Well, thou giveſt me ſuch an anſwer and diſpatch as may poſſibly bring the blood upon thine own head, and upon thy Throne; for thou ſaiſt thou wilt give charge concerning me, to prevent the miſchief which may chance be done before thou prevent it. *And the King ſaid, Whoſoever ſaith ought unto thee, bring him to me, and he ſhall not touch thee any more*, ver.10. She replies to this, *Let the King remember the Lord thy God*, מהרבת גואל הדם *becauſe of the multitude of avengers of blood to deſtroy, and let them not deſtroy my Son.* That is, Let the King for the Lords ſake, conſider how many avengers of blood there are; and whileſt I am bringing one to thee, another may chance kill him in the mean ſeaſon. Then the King ſwears her ſon ſhall not die. And then ſhe comes cloſe up to her errand. *And why*, ſaith ſhe, *haſt thou ſuch thoughts towards the people of thy Kingdom, and thinkeſt not the like towards the people of thine own family, ſo as to bring thine own baniſhed back? For we muſt indeed once die, and when we are dead there is no recalling of us any more, no more then ſpilt water can be gathered again off the ground: But whileſt the Lord doth not take away the life, he hath contrived ways and thoughts, that a baniſhed man ſhall not be baniſhed for ever from him, &c.*

33 *Abſalom* is at *Jeruſalem*, but ſeeth not the Kings face. He takes upon him to be a *Nazarite* for the preſent, and under a vow, that he may the better pretend the paying of a vow at *Hebron*; yet is he forced to cut his hair before his vow
34 be paid; becauſe it was a burden to him. He brings *Joab* to him, as God uſeth to bring men to him by affliction, he fires his field; and then comes *Joab*, and brings him to the King.

CHAP. XV.

35 ABSALOM rebels at the end of forty years after *David* was firſt anointed by *Samuel* at *Bethlehem*, and puts *David* to flee for his life.

PSAL. III.

WITH the thirty ſecond verſe of this chapter, even with theſe words of it, *And when David came to the top of the Mount where he worſhipped God*, read the third Pſalm, made, as the title telleth, *by David when he fled from his ſon Abſalom*, and poured out, as may well be ſuppoſed in this Prayer that he made on the top of Mount *Olivet*, where he worſhipped God: He complaineth ſadly in it of the multitude of his enemies that were againſt him, and of the multitude of his falſe friends, that durſt not be for him; but yet aſſures himſelf of deliverance, and of his enemies deſtruction; and propheſieth of the very manner of the end of *Abſalom*, and *Achitophel*, if you will take theſe words in the very letter, *Thou haſt ſmitten mine enemies on the cheek bone*, *Achitophel* with the knot of the rope, and *Abſalom* with the bough of the Oak: unleſs he allude to *Samſons* Victory with the jaw bone, and foreſee that by ſmall means, as that was, the Lord will bring him a great deliverance: Compare *Chriſts* going up to mount *Olivet*, and there praying in the day of his bitterneſs with this type of *David*.

CHAP. XVI.

DAVID gives away and diſpoſeth of *Mephiboſheths* Land, when he hath not power to diſpoſe of his own, *Shimei* flings curſes and ſtones at *David*, and barks like a living Dog, though *Abiſhai* call him a dead one. The only unjuſt act that ever *David* had done againſt the houſe of *Saul*, he had but newly done, that was, giving away *Mephiboſheths* Land, and here a man of the houſe of *Saul* is ſoon upon him.

PSAL.

Would David

PSAL. VII.

BEtwixt the thirteenth and fourteenth Verſes of this Chapter cometh in the ſeventh Pſalm, made by *David* upon theſe words of *Shimei*, and ſung by him even in this extremity: He calleth him *Cuſh* by way of deriſion, as alluding to *Kiſh* the father of *Sauls* family [for *Shimei* was of the Family of *Saul*] but turning it into *Cuſh* upon *Shimei* an accurſed name, *Gen.* 10. and a Black-moor Nation, and of ſuch a colour were *Shimeis* conditions.

CHAP. XVII.

Ahitophels curſed ſpleen againſt *David*; yet he as it is probable was *Bathſhebaes* Grand-father: *Huſhai* foileth his counſel.

PSAL. XLII. XLIII.

DAVID in his flight from *Abſalom* ſtays not till he come cloſe to *Jordan*, and there he reſts; that if there be any neceſſity or danger he is ready to get over the water and be gone: and ſo is that to be underſtood in 2 *Sam.* 16. 14. *And the King and all the people that were with him came weary, and refreſhed themſelves there:* that is, a little beyond *Bahurim*, which was cloſe by *Jordan*, and they had not ſtaid nor refreſhed themſelves till they came there. As *David* lies thus upon *Jordan* banks, he makes the forty ſecond Pſalm, and *from the land of Jordan remembers* the Lord, *ver.6.* and by the obſerving of the waters of *Jordan* he remembers his own miſery. There he obſerveth the waves rolling one in the neck of another, and the deep making a noiſe here and there in its channels, and in its falls: *And ſo*, ſaith he, *all thy billows and all waves tumble over me one after another*, verſ. 7. &c. The forty third Pſalm ſeemeth alſo to have been made by him about the ſame time, compare the laſt Verſes of the two Pſalms together.

PSAL. LV.

BEtwixt the one and twenty and two and twenty Verſes of this 17 Chapter of the ſecond of *Samuel*, upon the relation how tidings came to *David* of *Ahitophels* counſel againſt him, take in the five and fiftieth Pſalm, in which *David* deploreth his miſery, cauſed by one of his guides, and acquaintance, and Counſellors, *ver.* 13,14. and prayeth bitterly againſt him: His prayer took effect inſtantly in *Ahitophels* death.

CHAP. XVIII. XIX.

ABSALOM hanged by the neck in the forked bough of an Oak: His high head is now in its proper exaltation, and his proud heart is darted through: *David* mourneth ſadly for him, becauſe of the deſperate condition in which he died: *Shimei* is pardoned. He came down *firſt of all the houſe of Joſeph* to meet the King, *chap.*19. *verſ.*20. Here *the houſe of Joſeph* is uſed for all *Iſrael* except *Judah*, and ſet in oppoſition to *Judah*: *Joſeph* had been the prime family while the Ark was in *Shiloh*, and all *Iſrael* were named after it, as *Pſal.* 80. 1. but then God refuſed *Joſeph*, and choſe *Judah* for the chief, *Pſal.* 78. 68, 69. And there began and continued the difference and diſtinction betwixt *Iſrael* and *Judah*, *Joſeph* and *Judah*, *Ephraim* and *Judah*; for by all theſe names are the reſt of the Tribes ſtiled in oppoſition to the Tribe of *Judah*.

CHAP. XX.

SHEBA the Son of *Bichri* rebelleth: a man of *Benjamin* by deſcent, *ver.*1. but of the hill country of *Ephraim* by reſidence, *ver.*21.

PSAL. XXX.

WITH the third Verſe of this Chapter read the 30 Pſalm, which ſeemeth to be made by *David*, when upon his return to *Jeruſalem* after his flight, he purgeth and halloweth his own houſe which had been made a Stews by *Abſalom*.

PSAL.

David *World*

PSAL. IV.

WITH this Chapter also read the fourth Psalm, made as the stile of it argueth upon this rebellion of *Sheba*, as the third Psalm was made upon the rebellion of *Absalom*. He checketh the people for despising his Kingdom, and hearkning after a Kingdom that was but vanity, as first *Absaloms*, and now *Shebas*, ver.2. He adviseth *Israel* and *Judah*, not to sin in their anger, 2 *Sam.*19.43. רגזו ואל תחטאו: *Be angry, but sin not*, ver. 4. He professeth in *ver.*7. that since the time, *that corn, and wine, and other provision increased to him from Barzillai, Shobi, and Nahash*, 2 *Sam.*17.27. &c. that his heart had received comfortable confidence and assurance of his restoring again, and therefore he would still trust and depend upon that goodness and providence that had delivered him out of the other trouble and wrought those good beginnings towards him.

CHAP. XXI. to *Vers.* 15.

36 37 38 THree years famine lye upon the Land for the offence of *Saul:* He in a zeal to *Israel* and *Judah* would expel the *Amorites* and destroy them [and with them all Wizards and Witches] and with them he also falls upon the *Gibeonites* and destroyeth them, though *Joshua* had made a Covenant with them: That these three years famine began the next year after the year of *Absaloms* rebellion the Text seemeth to hint in the phrase שנה אחרי שנה in *vers.* 1. *The year after that year:* for in all the Scripture wherein mention of famine is made, it only saith, *There were seven years famine*, or *ten years famine*, *&c.* and that is enough, and is used constantly, to denote that there was famine so many years together, and it never telleth that there was famine so many years *year after year*. And therefore this expression here seemeth rather to joyn the three years of famine to the story before, then to one another: However, we shall find a passage in the story of *Davids* numbring the people, that directs us very well about the time of these years.

CHAP. XXI. *Vers.* 15. to end. I CHRON. XX. *Vers.*4. to end.

THose Battels are of an uncertain date, and therefore since there is no direction where to place them, it is the safest way to take them in the order where they lye, especially since both the Books of *Samuel* and the *Chronicles* have laid them in this place. The Book of *Samuel* reckons four Battels, and the *Chronicles* but three: for that wherein *David* was in danger, and could not come off with honour and safety is omitted. The Book of *Chronicles* conceales sometimes the dishonour of the Saints of God, as it mentioneth not the fact of *David* with *Uriah* and his wife, nor the Idolatry of *Salomon*, &c.

The Book of *Samuel* calleth *Elhanan* the *Son of Jaare Oregim a Bethlehemite*, and the Book of *Chronicles* calleth him the Son of *Jair:* Now there is mention of *Elhanan a Bethlehemite the Son of Dodo*, 1 *Chron.*12.26. and whether these were two men, or only one and the same may well be questioned. He is said to have slain *Goliah*, 2 *Sam.*21.19. that is, *Lahmi Goliaths* brother, as the Book of *Chronicles* expounds it, as by *Michal* is meant *Michals Sister*, in the same Chapter of *Samuel*, ver.8.

CHAP. XXII. & PSAL. XVIII.

THere are two things that may seem to argue this not to be the proper place of this Psalm and Chapter, 1. Because it was most especially composed upon *Davids* delivery from the hand of *Saul*, as the title sheweth: In the day that the Lord had delivered him out of the hand of all his enemies, *and out of the hand of Saul*, that is, *especially out of the hand of Saul*, as *Josh.*2.1. *Go view the land and Jericho*, that is, *Jericho chiefly*. 2. Because the next Chapter in *Samuel* beginning thus: *And these are the latter words of David:* shewing, that these of Chap.22. were uttered a good while before them: But howsoever this Song of deliverance might be penned by *David* many years a go, upon his clear deliverance from all trouble by *Saul* and his Family, yet is it most properly laid here, and repeated by *David* at this time, when now all his enemies had spit their venom, and he was delivered from them all: and now we hear of no more

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more enemies of his ſtirring, but himſelf an enemy to himſelf in numbring the people. If any one will be ſo curious, he may read *Pſal.* 18. at the end of 2 *Sam.*4.when *David* is quit from the trouble of *Sauls* houſe: and he may read this, 2 *Sam.*22. which is the ſame thing again here.

CHAP. XXIII.

HEre are ſome words of *David* of a latter date: דברים אחרונים may be rendred *Verba poſteriora* as well as *Poſtrema:* The reaſon of the recital of his Worthies in this place was obſerved before.

CHAP. XXIV. & I CHRON. XXI.

39 DAVID numbreth the people, *by the provoking of Satan*, 1 *Chron.* 21.1. and *by the provoking of God*, 1 *Sam.* 24.1. the former tending to a ſin in *David*, the latter tending to a puniſhment of *Iſrael*: the Lord was diſpleaſed at them for ſo little regarding *Davids* Kingdom, as he had been at *David* for the matter of *Uriah*, and as he had been at *Sauls* houſe for the ſlaughter of the *Gibeonites*, and therefore he giveth up *David* to a covetous thought, to number the people, that he might lay a tax upon every Poll. *Joab* hath here more piety, at the leaſt more policy then *David*, and declines the buſineſs till maſter'd by *Davids* importunity: He is nine moneths and twenty days upon his counting, much near the counting-time of a woman with child, and at laſt he bringeth in the number; but here the account in the Book of *Samuel* doth differ exceedingly from the account in the Book of the *Chronicles*, the *Chronicles* ſaith, *All Iſrael were eleven hundred thouſand men:* and the Book of *Samuel* ſaith, they were only *eight hundred thouſand men*, here are three hundred thouſand difference: and the Book of *Samuel* ſaith, that the men of *Judah* were *five hundred thouſand*, but the Book of *Chronicles* ſaith, they were only *four hundred and ſeventy thouſand.* Here is thirty thouſand difference. Now for the reconciling of this great and double diverſity, it is to be obſerved, That there were four and twenty thouſand Souldiers and Officers that attended *David* monthly, ſo many every month, theſe make in all two hundred eighty eight thouſand, 1 *Chron.*27. Theſe were as it were a ſtanding Guard about the King every Month; and ready for any ſudden expedition: There were beſides theſe the Rulers of the Tribes, and Officers under them, and the Overſeers and Rulers of the Kings imployments, and Officers under them; but the number of theſe was not put into the account of the Chronicles of *David*, verſ. 24. ſo that here is the reſolution of the ſcruple, the whole number of men able to bear Arms in *Iſrael*, were eleven hundred thouſand, and five hundred thouſand in *Judah*, but of theſe there were three hundred thouſand of *Iſrael*, and thirty thouſand of *Judah* that were already liſted, and in the conſtant ſervice and imployment of the King; and theſe *Joab* gave not in the account becauſe their number and liſt had been known long, and becauſe the King would not lay Taxes on his own ſervants. Amongſt all this number *Levi* and *Benjamin* were not reckoned.

For before *Joab* came home to ſum them (for he began furtheſt off firſt) a plague began among the people; and now the Lord began to cut off them that *David* had begun to make his pride, and intended to make his profit: The Lord propoſeth to *David* three things; among the reſt whether three years famine ſhould come upon the Land, 2 *Chron.*21.12. which the Book of *Samuel* expreſſeth, *Shall ſeven years famine come?* verſ.13. that is, Shall three years famine come to make up thoſe that have been already to be ſeven? There had been already three years famine for the *Gibeonites*, and this year of numbering the people was almoſt out, and ſhall three years famine more come to make up ſeven? And ſo we have a very good direction and guide about the order and times of the Stories that went laſt before, concerning the three years famine, and this joyned to it; and this helpeth ſtill to confirm that Series, in which we have laid them, or indeed rather in which they lye of themſelves: Where *Abraham* had his knife unſheathed to ſlay his Son, but was ſtayed by command from Heaven: In the very ſame place had the deſtroying Angel his ſword drawn to ſlay *Jeruſalem*, but was reſtrained by the Lord; the place was a threſhing floor on Mount *Moriah*, that belonged to *Ornan* or *Araunah* or *Auranah*, for it is twice ſo written in the Text: And by theſe ſeveral names, one near another, was he called: A man that was deſcended of the Royal blood of the *Jebuſites*, and

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and that now lived with, and was the chief among other *Jebusites* that injoyed estates in and about *Jerusalem* under a Tribute. This place *David* purchaseth in two several parcels, and for two several sums. The very floor, and the Oxen and materials for sacrifice, he bought for 50 shekels of silver, 2 *Sam.* 24. 24. But the whole place of the Mount of the house, which was a very large compass, cost him six hundred shekels of gold, 1 *Chron.* 21.25. There *David* builds an Altar, and sacrificeth, and the Lord answereth him by fire from Heaven, and from Heaven doth by this token point out the place where the Temple should be built.

1 CHRON. XXII. *Vers.* 1. 2, 3, 4, 5.

2989 40 DAVID prepareth for the building of the Temple: He setteth Proselites, or converted Gentiles a work to get stones for it. This was a Type of the spiritual Temple, to be built up by Gentiles under the Gospel.

The first Book of KINGS.

CHAP. I. all.

DAVID in his old age is struck with a cold dead palsie, that no clothes can keep him warm, whereupon his Phisicians perswade him to marry a young fresh Damzel, which proveth to be *Abishag* of *Shunem*, in the County of *Issachar*. *Adonijah* upon the Kings age and decrepitness, stands up for the Kingdom; the Kings darling, and like *Elies* Sons, spoiled by his father for want of reproof; his next child to *Absalom*, by another woman, and like *Absalom* in beauty and rebellion. His aspiring to the Kingdom causeth *David* to anoint *Solomon*, to put the matter out of question. But here is a matter of some question about the time of *Solomons* anointing, and about the order of this Chapter.

We find three times mention of *Solomons* being made King, namely, twice in the Book of *Chronicles*, and once here; see 1 *Chron.* 23. 1. & 29. 22. Now the doubt lieth in this, whether he were three times made King indeed, and so all the three Texts that speak of it to be taken severally; or whether only twice, as 1 *Chron.* 29.22. seemeth to settle, and then this Story to be concurrent with one of those relations in the *Chronicles*.

That that must give light in this obscurity, is this, That this anointing of *Solomon* mentioned in this 1 *King.* 1. upon this aspiring of *Adonijah*, was the first time that ever *David* shewed, who should raign after him, see *ver.* 20, 27. and therefore it must needs be held concurrent or the same with that making *Solomon* King in 1 *Chron.* 23. 1. and the current of the Story will make it plain.

Only that scruple that lies yet in the way [that being supposed] is this: That *David* at this first unction of *Solomon*, should be in his chamber, and upon his bed, and exceedingly decrepit: And yet at his second anointing should be in the midst of his Princes and Commanders, and standing upon his feet, 1 *Chron.* 28.2. But this also will be removed, if it be but considered, that *Davids* present infirmity was not sickness, but coldness and benummedness, and old age; he was heart whole, and head whole; but he was old and palsick, and therefore though his most common and most commodious posture and composure was to be in his chamber, and upon his couch; yet upon such an occasion as to Crown *Solomon* again before all *Israel*, he can come forth, and stand upon his feet, and make Orations, and give advice for things to come.

1 CHRON. XXII. from *vers.* 6. *to the end.* And XXIII. *vers.* 1.

THE juncture of the Story here lieth plain and easie; *David* having caused *Solomon* to be anointed, because of the ambition of *Adonijah*, and that conspiracy being broken, he first giveth him in charge, the building of the House of the Lord, as the first thing to be looked after; *And thus when David was old and full of days, he made Solomon King*, as is related in 1 *King.* 1. and so the first verse of 1 *Chron.* 23. and that Story doth speak but one and the same thing.

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I CHRON. XXIII. *from Verſe* 2. *to end.* And XXIV. XXV.

2989 40 DAVID having that emergent occaſion by *Adonijahs* Conſpiracy, to anoint *Salomon* haſtily and privately: When he hath ſo done it, he intendeth a more ſolemn and publick Coronation of him, and therefore he calleth together all the Heads and Rulers of the people about it. And as at the firſt platforming of the people of *Iſrael* into a Commonwealth in the Wilderneſs, they are numbred; the Levites appointed for Divine Service, and the Sanctuary framed; much like doth *David* here: The *Levites* are numbred, and diſtributed into their ſeveral offices and ſervices, and the Prieſts into their courſes, &c.

The Book of PSALMS.

BEſides thoſe Pſalms that we have already mentioned, and ranked as we have come along, there are about 120 more that are of an uncertain date, or of uncertain Authors, or both, and therefore not certainly to be applied to any fixed time or occaſion, and yet may not unfitly nor impertinently be taken in here at the end of the five and twentieth Chapter of the firſt of *Chronicles:* For when the Reader hath there ſeen how *David* diſpoſeth of *Aſaph*, *Heman*, and *Jeduthun* to be chief Singers in the Temple, and their Sons under their hand, he may very properly turn his thoughts to thoſe Pſalms that were committed to theſe men to ſing, or that were made by them to be ſung.

He will find twelve that bear the name of *Aſaph*, viz. *Pſal.* 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83. whether all or any of theſe were made by *Aſaph*, or committed to him being made by ſome other I will not diſpute: be it the one or the other, it is very ſeaſonable and very Chronical to take theſe *Pſalms* to thought, when the Text before you in the Book of *Chronicles* is telling you of *Aſaph* ſet up a chief ſinger, and his ſons under him.

There is but one Pſalm in the Book that bears the name of *Heman* in the front of it, and that is, *Pſal.* 88. But that *Heman* that made that Pſalm, and this *Heman* that was appointed by *David* to be a chief ſinger, were two different men, of two ſeveral Tribes, and of far diſtant times: For *Heman* that made the 88 *Pſalm* was of the Tribe of *Judah*, the immediate ſon of *Zera*, and lived in *Ægypt* in the time of *Iſraels* affliction there: ſee 1 *Chron.* 2. 6. but this *Heman* the ſinger was a Levite, living in the time of *David*, and was the Grand-child of *Shemuel*, 1 *Chron.* 6. 33: therefore there is not one Pſalm at all that bears the name of this *Heman* that we have in hand, and yet there are divers that have reference to him, and to his ſons though under another title; for this *Heman* was of the ſtock and line of *Korah*, 1 *Chron.* 6. 33. 37. and all thoſe Pſalms that bear the name of the ſons of *Korah* in their front and title refer to him and his ſons, as *Pſalm* 42. 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49. 84, 85, 87.

Jeduthun is named only in the title of three Pſalms, *viz.* 39. 62. & 77. Now beſides all theſe that have been named, both now as referring to theſe three men, and before as owning *David* for their Author, and holding out the occaſion whereupon they were made; there are very many Pſalms that have no title at all, and own neither Author nor occaſion, by whom and upon which they were made: and there are very many again that own *David* for their Author, but own not the occaſion of their making; ſince therefore it is not poſſible to reduce and fix theſe to their proper time and place in the Hiſtory and Chronology, this may be as fit a place to take them in as any other, namely, now in the concluſion of *Davids* Story. The Septuagint that we have, if we would take their direction, would help us both to find the Authors of many Pſalms, and the occaſion of many others, when neither the one nor the other is mentioned in the title of the Pſalm it ſelf. As *Pſal.* 33. 43, 91. 95. 96, 98. 99. 104. they aſcribe to *David*, *Pſalm* 137. to *Jeremy*. *Pſalm* 145, 146, 147, 148. to *Haggai* and *Zachary*. *Pſal.* 71. to *the Sons of Jonadab and the people of the firſt Captivity.* And ſo for occaſions, *Pſal.* 66. They title, *A Pſalm of the Reſurrection.* Pſal. 76. *A Song*

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A Song to the Assyrian. Psal. 48. *For the second day of the week.* Psal.94. *For the fourth day of the week.* Psal.93. *For the day before the Sabbath when the earth was inhabited.* Psal. 24. *For the first day of the week.* Psal. 38. *Concerning the Sabbath.* Psal.27. *Before David was anointed.* Psal. 29. *At the going out of the Tabernacle,* Psal.143. *When his son persecuted him.* Psal.144. *To Goliah,* &c. But these things I only name, I dare not recommend them to the Reader for his direction: I know the occasions of the most if not of all the Psalms, that name it not themselves, is guessed at and conjectured by various Authors, and variously, and so might I have done likewise, and fixed all these Psalms to one place or other of the Story as it hath been drawn along; but this I had rather the Reader should do himself, then I to do it to his hands, and then he to dislike it: I have conjectured at two or three Psalms before in this kind, and let that suffice.

1 CHRON. XXVI. XXVII. XXVIII. & XXIX. *to vers.* 26.

MOre Officers disposed of about the Temple, the chief heads of the people Commanders of the Army and Officers of the King are numbred and setled. And thus the chief Agents both in Church and State being fixed and determined, and now altogether they anoint *Solomon* a second time, &c.

1 KING. II. to *ver.* 12. and with *ver.* 10, 11. Read 1 CHRON. XXIX. *ver.* 26. 27, 28, 29, 30.

DAVID dying leaveth charge with *Solomon* about *Joab*, *Shimei*, &c. He dieth seventy years old, see *Psal.* 90. 10. and *Esay* 23.15. A very glorious Type of *Christ*, in his birth in *Bethlehem*, in his Shepheardry, in his victory over *Goliah*, in his power over *Sauls* Devil. In his persecutions in his Kingdom, in his victoriousnes over his Enemies, in his setling of Religion, and the service of God, &c.

The time of his reign is certainly fixed and determined in a gross sum of *forty years*, but for particular passages to own them particular years there is very little certainty; or if there be certainty, it is very obscure: I want not ground for the times according to which I have laid them, though to avoid prolixity, I have avoided to express and to dispute them, I shall only here name one or two things that have swayed with me, to suppose of the particular times of *Davids* reign, as I have laid them.

I was once of opinion, and I went not alone in it, but had abundance both of Jews and Christians that were of the same mind, that *Saul* reigned but three years in all, 1 *Sam.*13.1. and that the forty years mentioned at the breaking out of *Absaloms* rebellion, 2 *Sam.*15.7. were to be reckoned from the time of *Sauls* first anointing, or of *Israels* asking a King, and so that that rebellion fell out in the seven and thirtieth year of the reign of *David.* But now having a second time as seriously as I can viewed the times, and finding so many things occurring betwixt the first anointing of *Saul* and the days of his death, as are not imaginable to have been acted in three years, especially it being said, that *David was one whole year and four months in the country of the Philistims, after all his persecutions, and before Sauls death,* 1 *Sam.*27.7. and it appearing also most probable according to the order, as the Chapters themselves lye, that the three years famine for the *Gibeonites* were after *Davids* restoring to his Kingdom again after *Absaloms* rebellion; I cannot but upon these second thoughts retract my first, and conceive of these times according as I have laid them now, with these conceptions concerning them.

1. That *Davids* numbring and setling the Officers of State, and the Priests and Levites, was in his fortieth year, 1 *Chron.*26.31.

2. That this was begun presently upon the Lords designing the place of the Temple by fire from Heaven, 1 *Chron.*22.1,2. which was in *Davids* thirty ninth, 2 *Sam.*24.8.

3. That the year that *David* sinfully numbred the people, was the very next year after the three years famine, 2 *Sam.*24.13.

4. That the first of these three years famine was the year that next followed the year of *Absaloms* rebellion.

5. That the year of that rebellion was forty years after *Davids* first anointing in *Bethlehem.*

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6. That *Saul* reigned but three years before that anointing of *David*. And though he lived five years after, yet are not thoſe years reputed of his reign, for now the Lord had caſt him off, and he acted not now the part of a King but a Perſecutor.

1 KING. II. from *ver.* 12. to *ver.* 39.

2990 1 SOLOMON reigned: *Adonijah* ſlain for deſiring his fathers wife: *Abiathar* of the line of *Ithamar*, put from the High Prieſthood. *Joabs* blood ſhed at the Altar: *Benaiah* a Prieſt the Executioner, and made General of the Army: *Shimei* is confirmed. This year *Solomon* begetteth *Rehoboam* of a Lady of *Ammon*, ſee 1 *King.*14.21. &c.

2 CHRON. I. to *verſ.*14. 1 KING. 3. from *ver.*3. to the end.

THE Story of the death of *Shimei* is anticipated and joyned to the Story of his confinement, though it were three years after, that the Relation might have done with *Shimei* at once. So alſo is the Story of *Solomons* marrying *Pharaohs* daughter, laid ſooner then its Chronical time; for it was not before *Solomons* going to *Gibeon*, and there begging wiſdom, but it was after. But the reaſon of the placing of it before, is given by the Jews to be becauſe he married not *Pharaohs* daughter before he had ſlain *Shimei*; and therefore the Stories of them are ſo laid together: But upon viewing well the ſcope of the Stories preceeding, about the death of *Joab*, and the excluſion of *Abiſhai* from the Prieſthood, &c. the reaſon of joyning *Solomons* marriage with *Pharaohs* daughter will eaſily appear; namely, becauſe the Text would lay the politick ways of *Solomon* for the eſtabliſhing of his Kingdom cloſe together; and thoſe were theſe two, The taking away thoſe that might diſquiet it at home; and by making league and affinity with powerful Princes abroad: And then it cometh to tell the ſure and divine way how to make it ſure; and that it alſo expreſſeth to be two, namely, loving the Lord, and begging wiſdom of him.

At *Gibeon* was the greateſt Synagogue in the Land, for there ſtood the Tabernacle, and the brazen Altar that *Moſes* had made; being brought thither as to the chief reſidence of the ſons of *Ithamar*, who waited on the Sanctuary when *Shiloh* fell. There *Solomon* asketh wiſdom of the Lord, and obtaineth it: And coming to *Jeruſalem*, he ſheweth it in determining the doubtful caſe between the two Harlots. He was now but twelve years old.

1 KING. XI. *ver.* 21, 22.

THE very reading of *ver.* 21. doth plainly ſhew, that it is proper to take in this Story of *Hadads* returning to his own Country here.

CHAP. IV, V. 2 CHRON. I. *verſ.* 14, 15, 16, 17. And II. all.

2 THE matter of the fourth Chapter of *Kings*, and the concluſion of
3 1 *Chron.*1. is not of a fixed and determinate date, tied to any one year, but it runneth through the ſtory of many years; for it ſheweth the growth and continuance of *Solomons* ſtrength, eſtabliſhment, and proſperity in his Kingdom, and the evidencing of his wiſdom, all his time till his declining to Idolatry: And therefore as for the method and place of it, it might be laid even any where in the Story of all that time, this conſtruction being made of it whereſoever it is laid. But the Holy Ghoſt hath laid it in the beginning of his Hiſtory, that that general matter concerning his power and proſperity, might be concluded before the relation come to ſpeak of particular actions. It is no doubt but the tranſaction of buſineſs betwixt *Solomon* and *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, was very early in *Solomons* reign, becauſe he would not looſe time towards the building of the Temple. But the Text would diſpatch the other before, as a general thing, that particular Stories might be fallen upon, and receive no interruption.

Hiram or *Hirom* or *Huram*, King of *Tyre*, [for all theſe ways his name is written] confeſſeth *God the Creator*, 2 *Chron.*2.12. maketh a Covenant with *Solomon*; ſupplieth him with neceſſaries for his building, and ſendeth him a choice workman, *Hiram*. This *Hirams* father was of the Tribe of *Naphtali*,

1 *King.*

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1 *King.* 7. 14. but said to be a *Tyrian* because he dwelt there, [as *Obed-Edom* a *Levite* is said to be a *Gittite*] his mother was of the Tribe of *Dan*, 2 *Chron.* 2. 14. the place of Idolatry.

Solomon setteth one hundred fifty three thousand six hundred Proselites to frame materials for the Temple, seventy thousand to bear burdens, eighty thousand to be hewers in the mountains,and three thousand six hundred overseers, 2 *Chron.* 2.18. that is, three thousand three hundred overseers of the one hundred and fifty thousand Workmen, 1 *King.*5.16. and three hundred overseers of them and all.

The Princes of *Solomon* at home, and his chief Officers for his houshold provision reckoned, 1 *King.*4. *Azariah* the Son of *Zadok*, *ver.*2. that is, the Son of *Ahimaaz* the Son of *Zadok*, 1 *Chron.*6.8,9. is chief of the *Sanhedrin*. *Zadok* and *Abiathar*, are Priests ver.4. though *Abiathar* was expelled by *Solomon* from the High Priesthood, *Chap.*2.26. Yet might he exercise the Function of a Priest at *Gibeon*, till the Temple was built. There were twelve Officers for the twelve Months ונציב אחד אשר בארץ *vers.*19. which the *Rabbins* interpret, *And one Officer which was in the Land for the Leap-year*, or for the thirteenth Month which befel every third year. *Solomon* had four thousand Stables of Horses and Chariots, 2 *Chron.* 9. 25. that is forty thousand Stalls of Horses for his Chariots, 1 *King.* 4. 2. one Horse in every Stall, and ten Horses to a Chariot, and in a Stable. So *seven hundred* Chariots, 2 *Sam.* 10. 18. is rendred *seven thousand*, 1 *Chron.*19.18. that is, seven thousand men with seven hundred Chariots, ten to a Chariot. *Solomon* is said to be *wiser then Heman, and Ethan, and Chalcol, and Darda*, that is, in humane learning; for these men lived in *Egypt* in the time of *Israels* affliction there, and it seemeth were singularly skilled in all the wisdom of the Egyptians: Yet *Solomon* went beyond them in *Philosophy*.

CHAP. II. from *vers.* 39. to the end. And CHAP. III. *vers.* 1, 2.

ABout the latter end of *Solomons* third year, or beginning of his fourth, *Shimei* compasseth his own death, by breaking the bonds and bounds of his confinement. And as the Jews held; *Solomon* after that marrieth *Pharaohs* daughter. The time is uncertain, and the determination of it not much material. *Solomon* preferreth her before the rest of his wives, for they were of Nations that were his Subjects, but she the daughter of an intire King, and by this match he allieth that potent King to him, and secureth himself the better abroad; especially from *Hadad* his Enemy, who had married a Lady from the same Court, 1 *King.*11.19.

CHAP. VI. all. And VII. from *vers.* 13. to the end. 2 CHRON. III, IV.

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THE foundation of the Temple laid on Mount *Moriah*, where *Isaac* had been offered: It is said, That *the foundation of the house of the Lord was laid in Solomons fourth year, in the month Zif, or the second month, and in the eleventh year in the month Bul (which is the eighth month) it was finished, and so was he seven years in building it.* It was exactly seven years and six months in building, but the odd six months are omitted for roundness of the sum, as the six odd months are of *Davids* reigning in *Hebron*. Compare 1 *King.* 2. 11 with 2 *Sam.*5.5.

Now the beginning of the seventh Chapter of 1 *Kings* relateth the Story of *Solomons* building his own house, before it come to mention the furniture of the Temple: because the Holy Ghost would mention all *Solomons* fabricks together: or the piles of his buildings before it come to speak of the furniture of any.

CHAP.

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		CHAP. VIII. all. 2 CHRON. V. & VI. & VII. to *ver.* 11.
3000	11	THE *Temple finished in the three thousand year of the world:* and dedicated by *Solomon* with Sacrifice and Prayer: and by the Lord with fire from Heaven, and the cloud of glory. This dedication of the Temple was in the month *Tisri*, or *Ethanim*, the seventh month answering to part of our *September*, at which time of the year our Saviour, whom this Temple typified, *Joh.*2.19. was born, and 29 years after Baptized.
		And thus have we an account of three thousand years of the world, beginning with the Creation, and ending with the finishing of Solomons Temple.
		CHAP. VII. From *vers.* 1. to *vers.* 13.
3001	12	SOLOMON after the building of the house of the Lord buildeth his
	13	own house in *Jerusalem*, and buildeth a summer house in *Lebanon*, and an
	14	house for *Pharaohs* Daughter and his own Throne, so sumptuous as there was
	15	not the like: And thus doth he take up twenty years in this kind of work in
	16	building the house of the Lord, and his own houses. His wisdom, power,
	17	peace, and magnificence exceeding all Kings upon earth, did make him not on-
	18	ly renowned among all people, but also in these he became a type of Christ.
	19	Thus high in all eminencies and perfections that earth could afford did the
	20	Lord exalt him, and yet afterward suffered him so fouly to fall, that he like
	21	*Adam* in happiness might exemplifie, that no earthly felicity can be durable, and
	22	that here is nothing to be trusted to, but all things vanity, but the Kingdom
	23	that is not of this world.
	24	
		CHAP. IX. From beginning to *Vers.* 10. 2 CHRON. VII. From *Vers.* 11. to the end.
		SOLOMON hath an answer to his prayer, made in the Temple thirteen years ago: Then the Lord made a return to it, by fire and a cloud, and here he doth the like again by an apparition: this is the second time that the Lord appeareth to him. The first was when he was even entring and beginning upon his Kingdom, and this is, now he is come to the height of settlement, and prosperity in it.
		CHAP. IX. From *Vers.* 10. to the end. 2 CHRON. VIII. all.
	25	SOLOMON buildeth Cities up and down the Country, conquereth
	26	*Hamath Zobah*, setleth *Pharaohs* Daughter in the house he had built for
	27	her, setteth out a Fleet at *Ezion-Geber* for *Ophir*, is growing still more and
	28	more potent, rich and magnificent. Is constant still and forward in Religion,
	29	and offereth a constant rate of Sacrifices every day, and extraordinary ones at
	30	the solemn festivities.

The Book of the PROVERBS.

AMong the Stories of *Solomons* renown in other things, may be inserted alſo and conceived his uttering of his *Proverbs*, three thouſand in number, as is related, 1 *King.*4.32. and the making of his Songs, one thouſand and five as is ſtoried in the ſame place. Now it is no doubt but the moſt of theſe are loſt, as alſo are his Books of Philoſophy: But theſe that are now extant in the Book of the *Proverbs*, and the *Song of Songs*, we may very properly conceive to have been penned by him in ſome of thoſe times that have been mentioned: The very exact time is uncertain, and therefore not curiouſly to be enquired after; but the time at large betwixt his Sons growing to capacity, whom he inſtructeth, and his own fall by the inticement of his Idolatrous Wives.

The Book of the Proverbs falleth under ſeveral diviſions: As

1. *From the beginning of the firſt Chapter to the end of the ninth:* which whole piece ſeemeth to have been compiled by him, more eſpecially for the inſtruction of his Son.

2. *From the beginning of the tenth Chapter, to the latter end of the four and twentieth:* wherein are leſſons framed for the inſtruction of others.

3. *From the beginning of the five and twentieth Chapter to the end of the twenty ninth*, are *Proverbs of Solomon*, found in ſome Copy of his in the time of *Ezechiah*, as *Moſes* his Copy of the Law was found in the days of *Joſiah.*

4. The thirtieth Chapter is a ſcript of *Agur* the Son of *Jakeh*, a man not to be certainly pointed out either who he was or when he lived, and therefore that Chapter muſt neceſſarily be taken up where it lies, becauſe it is not poſſible to find out where elſe to lay it.

5. The laſt Chapter is ſome part of it, *Batſhebaes* words to *Solomon*, and ſome part of it *Solomons* words in her commendation, and in commendation of all women like her: And the former part which are her words might very well be laid in her Story, and in *Solomons* minority, namely, after *verſ.* 25. of 2 *Sam.* 12. but yet it is very properly laid here where it is, becauſe the words of *Solomon* in commendation of ſuch women as ſhe, were delivered when he delivered his other Doctrines and Proverbs, and ſo the occaſion that drew out thoſe words, is fitly joyned to the time of the words themſelves.

Solomon is called *Lemuel* by his Mother, as alluding or tuning to *Shemuel*, or *Samuel*, a Son of his mothers vows, as *Solomon* is here averred by his mother to be of hers. She giveth him many excellent Leſſons in his tender years toward the making him a good man, and a good King: for which when he comes to mature years, he highly commends and extols a good woman, ſuch a one as his mother was in an *Acroſtick*, or *Alphabetical* Oration.

World | Solomon

The Song of SOLOMON, or, *The* CANTICLES.

AFTER the building of the Summer Houſe in the Forreſt of *Lebanon*, *Solomon* pens the Book of the *Canticles*, as appeareth by theſe paſſages in it, Chap.4.8. *Come with me from Lebanon my Spouſe, with me from Lebanon.* And Chap. 7. 4. *Thy noſe is as the tower of Lebanon*, &c.

Upon his bringing up *Pharaohs* Daughter to the houſe that he had prepared for her, 1 *King.* 9.24. he ſeemeth to have made this Song. For though the beſt and the moſt proper aim of it was at higher matters then an earthly marriage, yet doth he make his marriage with *Pharaohs* Daughter, a type of that ſublime and ſpiritual marriage betwixt Chriſt and his Church. *Pharaohs* Daughter was a Heathen, and a ſtranger natively to the Church of *Iſrael*: and withal ſhe was a Black-moor, as being an *African*, as *Cant.* 1. 4, 5. alludeth to it: and ſo ſhe was the kindlier type of what *Solomon* intended in all particulars.

CHAP. X. 2 CHRON. IX. From beginning to *verſ.*29.

31 THE Queen of *Sheba* cometh to hear the wiſdom of *Solomon*, and ſo
32 condemneth the Generation of the Jews that deſpiſed *the wiſdom of the*
33 *Father*, *Matth.*12.42. *Solomon* as is probable is yet flouriſhing in State, Power,
34 and Religion: And is a Prince of admirable Peace at *Salem*: a figure of *the*
35 *King of Righteouſneſs, and the King of Peace.*

CHAP. XI. From beginning to *verſ.* 41.

36 IN his old age *Solomon* is drawn away by his Idolatrous Wives to forget
37 God: The wiſeſt and the happieſt man like *Adam* undone by women.
38 Hereupon his proſperity and his happineſs began to change.

The Book of ECCLESIASTES.

AFTER his great fall *Solomon* recovereth again by repentance, and writeth this Book of *Eccleſiaſtes*, as his penitential dirge for that his folly. He calleth himſelf in it *Koheleth*, or the *Gathering-Soul*, either *recollecting it ſelf*, or *by admonition gathering others* that go aſtray after vanity. He ſheweth in it that all things on this ſide Heaven are but vanity, and he had found it ſo by ſad experience: and ſo the Kingdom promiſed to *David*, which was to be everlaſting, muſt not be expected to be of this world: as *Joh.*18.36.

1 KING. XI. *Verſ.* 41, 42, 43. And 2 CHRON. IX. *Verſ.* 29, 30, 31.

THE Book of *Chronicles* omitteth to mention the fall of *Solomon*, as he had omitted the fall of *David*.

3029 39 *Solomon* dieth, having reigned forty years as his father *David* had done, and
40 having had a great fall in his time as his father *David* had had: yet like him is recovered, pardoned and ſaved.

Kingdom

World

Kingdom of JUDAH.

1 KINGS XII. from beginning to *Verſ.* 25.

3030 1 REHOBOAM through his folly and tyranny looſeth the people by threatning them with a heavy yoke, Chriſt ſeeketh to regain them by promiſſing a light one, *Matth.* 11. 29, 30. *Shechem* once the ſtage of blood, *Gen.*34. is now the ſcene of this unhappy diviſion. *Rehoboam* was now one and forty years old, 2 *Chron.* 12. 13. yet ורך נער לבב *childiſh and ſimple*, 2 *Chron.* 13. 7. but of an haughty and oppreſſive ſpirit, and ſo proveth himſelf a very fool, *Eccleſ.* 2. 19. though he were the ſon of ſo wiſe a Father.

Kingdom of ISRAEL.

Diviſion. 1

2 CHRON. X. all. And XI. to *Verſe* 5.

1 JEROBOAM of *Ephraim* draweth ten Tribes from the houſe of *David*, from the Temple that ſtood near it, and from the promiſe of Chriſt that was affixed to it. And this ſuddain rent of *Solomons* Kingdom, did plainly teach, that the King and Kingdom promiſed to *David* was not of this world, but of another: which King and Kingdom the revolting Tribes have now forſaken, and by forſaking have loſt Chriſt, have loſt Religion, and have loſt themſelves: And here is a kind of an *Antichriſtian* faction now riſen in the world before Chriſts appearing. The very foundation of this revolt of the Tribes was laid in the blood of *Adoram*: *Rehoboam* ſeeketh to reduce the people with a ſtrong hand, whom with a gentle he would not retain.

PSAL. II.

WITH the Story of the Apoſtacy of the ten Tribes, read the *ſecond Pſalm*, which was prophetically made by *David*, *Act.* 4. 25. upon this revolt and rebellion; and this is the firſt aim and intent of it, though in a ſecond and more full it hits upon the greater rebellion which this but typified, and that is *Judahs* deſpiſing and crucifying the Lord of life, being indeed exhibited, as *Iſrael* deſpiſeth him here, being promiſed. And as the Pſalmiſt had touched in the firſt Pſalm, upon the fall of *Adam*, who miſcarried by walking in the counſel of the ungodly, the Serpent and the ſeduced woman; and had ſhewed a way how to withſtand and eſcape ſuch counſellings, namely, by meditation and delight in the Law of the Lord. So doth he in this Pſalm touch upon the fall of the ten Tribes, and how they miſcarried by caſting away the cords of obligation, which God had tied them in to the throne of *David*, and he giveth admonition to them to be wiſer, and adviſeth both them and the generation that put the Lord to death, and all ages to come, *To kiſs* the *Son* by a loving and ſubmiſſive obedience, as 1 *Sam.*10.1. and ſo to eſcape the wrath to come, *Matth.*3. when the Lords anger ſhould be kindled, and deſtroy the people that had been his deſtroyers.

Rehoboam. 2 3

2 CHRON. XI. *From ver.* 5. *to the end of the Chapter.*

REhoboam fortifieth divers Cities in *Judah* and *Benjamin*, and Garriſoneth them; He entertaineth the Prieſts and Levites that out-ran Idolatry: for *Jeroboam* had expelled them מכהן להיות from having their liberty to go up to *Jeruſalem* in the courſes, and from exerciſing their functions in the ſeveral Cities of their abode, *ver.*14. Three years do *Rehoboam* and his people of *Judah* well and uprightly, and

Jeroboam. 2 3

1 KING. XII. *From verſ.* 25. *to the end of the Chapter.*

JErobpam in a helliſh policy ſetteth up Idols in *Bethel*, and *Dan*, to keep *Iſrael* from *Jeruſalem*, leaſt they ſhould revolt to the houſe of *David*: And he ordaineth a feaſt of Tabernacles in the eighth month, like that at *Jeruſalem* in the ſeventh וילכו לפני האחד עד דן And the people went after one of his calves to *Dan*, *v.*30. for ere long *Abijah* the King of *Judah* had recovered *Bethel*, 2 *Chron.*13.19.

Diviſion. 2 3

walk in the ways of *David* and *Solomon*, verſ.17. Obſerve, the ways of *Solomon*, to be paralleld with the ways of *David*, and the ways of *David* and *Solomon* commended as patterns of holy *walking*; and this very place and paſſage may reſolve, that *Solomon* was no more finally caſt away for his Idolatry, then *David* was finally caſt away for his Adultery and Murder.

Rehoboams Marriages are reckoned here, where the text is ſpeaking of his eſtabliſhment and proſperity, and ſo it would conclude all the particulars of that before it fall to the ſtory of his declining; but the moſt of his Marriages were made before he came to the Kingdom, even in the life-time of his father *Solomon*, and he followed the humour of his father very much in deſiring many wives. His ſon *Abijam* reigned but three years after his ſeventeen, and yet is he the father of eight and thirty Children, which makes it more then probable that he was born before his father was King, 2 *Chron.* 13. 21. One of *Rehoboams* wives is ſaid to be *Maholah* בן *Jeremoth the ſon of David*, written בן but read בת: poſſibly *Tamar* the Daughter of *Abſalom*, ſhe called בן becauſe ſhe was left his only Child, his three Sons being dead, 2 *Sam.*14.27. & 18.18. and he called *Jeremoth*, partly to intimate his lifting up in pride when he rebelled againſt his father, and his lifting up in the Oak where he took his end, and partly to diſtinguiſh him from another *Abſalom*, whoſe daughter alſo *Rehoboam* married, which was called *Maachah*.

World | *Rehoboam.*

2 CHRON. XII. *All the Chapter.*

REHOBOAM and *Judah* become wicked, *Shiſhak* plundereth *Jeruſalem*: It may be his quarrel was in reference to *Pharaohs* Daughter, *Solomons* wife: She belike was either his Daughter or Siſter, and if ſhe had a Son it is wonder he reigned not. *Rehoboams* mother was *Naamah an Ammoniteſſe*; it may be ſhe was a young Lady that *David* brought away when he took *Rabbah*. For golden Shields, *Rehoboam* maketh ſhields of braſs.

Rehoboam dieth.

World	*Rehoboam.*
3033	4
3034	5
	6
	7
	8
	9
	10
	11
	12
	13
	14
	15
	16
3046	17

Jeroboam. | 1 KINGS XIII. *all. And* XIV. *all.* | *Diviſion.*

A Double miracle wrought at *Bethel*, the Altar rent, and the Idol Shepheards arm clean dried up, as *Zech.* 11. 17. yet his eyes darkned that he will ſee nothing. A falſe Prophet to uphold the Idolatry, findeth a trick to undo the true Prophet that had ſpoken againſt it: God giveth up the true Phrophet to a Lion for diſgracing his meſſage: And maketh the falſe Prophet propheſie truly of the ruine of thoſe Idolaters. *Jeroboam* looſeth his beſt Son *Abijah*, yet none of theſe ſtrange and fearful occurrences avail with him to reduce or reverſe him from his Idolatry, the time of the renting of the Altar at *Bethel* is uncertain: but it was not preſently after the building of it, for there were now divers high places ſet up in *Samaria*, as well as in *Bethel*, 1 *King.* 13.32. Nor is the time of *Abijahs* death determinable: If *Shechem* and *Tirzah* were not one and the ſame Town, it appeareth that *Jeroboam* had removed his Court when his ſon dieth, from where it was when he firſt erected his Idols. Compare 1 *King.*12.25. with *Chap.*14.17. and ſo it may argue that there was ſome ſpace between.

Jeroboam.	*Diviſion.*
4	4
5	5
6	6
7	7
8	8
9	9
10	10
11	11
12	12
13	13
14	14
15	15
16	16
17	17

There are continual and bitter wars between *Rehoboam* and *Jeroboam* all their time, though *Shemaiah* had parted them at the firſt offer of a battel after the diviſion.

Abijah.

1 KING. XV. *From beginning to ver. 9.*

ABIJAH reigneth wickedly three years, he fighteth with *Jeroboam*, and ſlayeth 500000 men, the greateſt ſlaughter that ever was at one field in any Story. *Abijah* is alſo called *Abijam*, and his Mother is called both *Maachah* and *Michah*, and his Grandfather by his Mothers ſide is called *Abſalom*, and *Uriel*. Such changes of names are frequent in Scripture, and ſometime ſo altered by the Holy Ghoſt, purpoſely to hint ſomething to us concerning the Perſon, and ſometimes ſo altered by the

World	*Abijah.*
3047	1
	2

Jeroboam. | 2 CHRON. XIII. *all.* | *Diviſion.*

JEROBOAM warreth with *Abijah* continually: he bringeth 800000 men into the field to fight for Idolatry, but half ſo many of *Judah* ſlay 500000 of them.

Jeroboam.	*Diviſion.*
18	18
19	19

World | *Abijah* | the people among whom such persons lived, they giving them some common name answerable to some qualification, or action that they saw in them, or in reference to their family, or some person of their family from which they descended. The Book of *Chronicles* layeth no wickedness to the charge of this King that we have in hand, and therefore sticketh not to joyn *Jah* the name of God to his name: but the Book of *Kings*, that chargeth him with the wickedness of his Fathers ways, doth him not that honour in his name, but hath changed *Jah* into *Jam*. His mother that was named *Micah* or *Michaiah*, when she cometh to be Queen may be conceived to have her name changed, and she is named after the first Mother of a renowned family in that Tribe from whence she descended, 1 *Chron.* 8.29. She was of *Gibeah*, the City of *Saul*, and it is very probable of the kinred of *Saul*, and therefore her Father, who was properly called *Absolom*, is called *Uriel*, which hath very near affinity in signification with *Ner*, and *Eshbaal*, men of the stock and family of *Saul*.

Although *Abijah* and *Judah* were very wicked, yet God in this quarrel owneth them for the Kingdom of *Davids* sake, which he had setled, and for Religions sake, which was extant and in practice at *Jerusalem*, though much corruption mingled with it. *Abijah* recovereth *Bethel* of *Jeroboam*, 2 *Chron.*13.19. but destroyed not the Idolatry there, for which it may be God shortned his reign and days.

Asa. | 1 KING. XV. *ver.*9. to *ver.*16. 1 CHRON. XIV. *ver.*1,2. | *Jeroboam.* | 1 KING. XV. *verse* 25. to 32. | Division.

3049 | 3 | 1 | ASA reigneth in the twentieth of *Jeroboam*, and by this it is apparent that the three years of the reign of *Abijah* are counted only current. | 20 | JEROBOAM is rid of his scourge *Abijah*: He liveth and dieth in his Idolatry, and so do all the Kings of *Israel* after him. And herein are they and the Kingdom of the ten Tribes like the Papacy, revolters from, and opposers of the true Religion. | 20

Asa.

3050 | 2 | ASA doth uprightly in the sight of the Lord, though he were educated and brought up by his Idolatrous grandmother *Maacah*, and therefore she said to be *his mother*, 1 *King.* 15. *ver.*10. | *Jeroboam.* 21 | *Nadab.* 1 | NADAB reigneth in the second year of *Asa*, even while his Father *Jeroboam* is alive, 1 *King.* 15.25. for God smote *Jeroboam* with some sad diseases, that he could not rule the Kingdom, 2 *Chron.*13.20. | 21

3051 | 3 | BAASHA who began to reign this year, proved a desperate enemy to *Asa*; but seven years *Asa* was quiet from him; for *Baasha* coming to the Kingdom by a Conspiracy against the King, must needs have some time and pains to settle and confirm himself in it: and so his imployment at home about this business giveth *Asa* rest and respite a long time, *The land was quiet in his days ten years*, 2 *Chron.*14.1. that is, the three years of the beginning of his own Reign, before *Baasha* was King, and seven years of the Reign of *Baasha*. | 22 | 2 | *Baasha.* 1 | BAASHA slayeth *Nadab*, and reigneth in the third of *Asa*, 1 *King.*15.28. He destroyeth *Jeroboams* House: *Jeroboam* himself is alive this year, and if he escaped the sword of *Baasha*, yet died he not long before that Sword destroyed his family. | 22

Jeroboam was so broken by *Abijah* when he lost his five hundred thousand men, that neither he nor *Nadab* could recover it, to disturb *Asa* in the beginning of his raign; nor could *Baasha* do it for his imployments at home in the beginning of his.

2 CHRON. XIV. *vers.*3. to the end. And XV. all. | *Baasha.* | 1 KING. XV. *ver.* 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34.

4 | ASA in his years of peace | 2 | BAASHA the son of *Abijah*, | 23
5 | reformeth, and buildeth, | 3 | performeth against the | 24
6 | and fortifieth, and listeth an | 4 | house of *Jeroboam* what the Pro- | 25
7 | Army out of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, | 5 | phet *Ahijah* had denounced | 26

World | *Asa.* | *B.* | *D.*

of five hundred thousand and eighty thousand men; and groweth strong and prospereth; for he and the people sought the Lord.

3059 11 12 13 *Asa* and *Baasha* fall to wars after ten years quiet; and these wars continue while they two live together, 1 *King.* 15.16,32.

3062 14 *Asa* destroyeth a million of *Cushites.*

3063 15 At *Pentecost* this fifteenth of *Asa*, 2 *Chron.* 15.10. he maketh a thorow Reformation upon the Council of *Azariah* a Prophet; and the people enter into a Covenant, and an Oath, to destroy those that would not leave their Idols to seek God. This Oath un-Queens the Kings Grandmother for her Idolatry past; she must dye if she do the like again. In the Story of the Reformation wrought by *Asa*, it is said that העביר הקדשים 1 *Kings* 15.12. *He took away the Sodomites*; or the men that prostituted themselves to *Sodomy*, and the women that kept brothel houses, against a plain and express Law, *Deut.* 23.17. These *Sodomites* seem to have been some remnant of the *Canaanites* that were left in the Land, and that followed the Canaanitish filthiness; not any remnant of the City *Sodome*, but called *Sodomites* because they followed the abomination that City. In 2 *King.* 23.7. there is mention of *Sodomites houses that were by the House of the Lord.* Probably houses of *Jebusites* that stood near to the Mount of the House of the Lord; for that Mount was purchased from *Ornan* the King of the *Jebusites*, King there when *David* conquered *Jerusalem.*

against it; yet forsaketh he not that Idolatry of *Jeroboam*, for which he himself had been raised an instrument to destroy that House.

10 11 *Baasha* now setled in his Kingdom beginneth to bussle, and to disturb *Asa*, with inroads upon his Country.

12 13 He seeth the special assistance of God to *Asa* against the *Cushites*; yet will he still be an Enemy to him.

Asa | *Baasha.* | *Division.*

1 KING. XV. *ver.* 16. to *ver.* 23.

3065 16 17 ASA bringeth dedicate things into the Temple. This seventeenth year of *Asaes* reign is called the *six and thirtieth year of his Kingdom*, 2 *Chron.* 15.19. *And there was no war more unto the five and thirtieth year of Asaes Kingdom.* And 2 *Chron.* 16.1. *In the six and thirtieth year of Asaes Kingdom, Baasha King of Israel came up:* The Hebrew word מלכות is not to be understood of the time of *Asaes* reign, but the Kingdom of *Asa*, distinct from the Kingdom of *Israel:* That it cannot be understood of the time of *Asaes* reign appears by this, because *Baasha* was dead many years before the six and thirtieth year of *Asaes* reign came: For if *Baasha* began to reign in the third year of *Asa*, and reigned but four and twenty years, as 1 *King.* 15. 33. asserteth, then was *Baasha* dead nine full years before the six and thirtieth year of *Asa* came, and therefore he could not then possibly come up against *Judah*, for he was rotten in his grave: But it is thus to be understood, that *in the six and thirtieth year of Asaes Kingdom*, that is, *of the Kingdom of Judah since the revolt of the ten tribes, Baasha* came up against that Kingdom and warred against it, the Kingdom that God would not have to be fought against. Now as *Jeroboam* had made the division, which had now continued six and thirty years, *viz.* 17 of *Rehoboam*, 3 of *Abijah* and 16 of *Asa*, so doth *Baasha* go about now to confirm that division, for he setteth on to build and Garrison *Ramah*, that he might stop all entercourse betwixt *Israel* and *Judah*, and therefore the Holy Ghost reckoneth the time of this act of *Baasha* by a computation from the first division. And he calls it the Kingdom of *Asa*, the rather also, because he had lately confirmed and established it to himself, as far as it was possible for him to do, namely, by a Reformation and a Covenant: But now doth *Asa* exceeding ill, for he relieth upon an arm of flesh, the King of *Syria*, he hireth him with dedicate things which himself had dedicated but a year or two before: he bringeth

2 CHRON. XVI. *ver.* 1. to *ver.* 7.

14 15 BENHADAD son of *Tabrimmon* now King of *Syria*, *Baasha* cometh up against *Judah*, and beginneth to build and to fortifie *Ramah*, which was a frontier upon the very skirt of *Ephraim* towards *Benjamin* and *Judah.*

a forraign

World | *Aſa* | *Diviſion*

a forraign enemy in to the Land of *Iſrael*, and impriſoned the Prophet that reproved him for it. Here is the firſt Captivity of any *Iſraelites*, and *Dan* the place of the golden Calf falleth under the ſword. *Becauſe Aſa leaned upon the King of Syria, therefore was the King of Syria eſcaped out of his hand*, 2 *Chron.* 16. 7. for the *Syrian* was in league with *Baaſha*, and had *Aſa* let him alone he had ſided with *Baaſha*, and *Aſa*, if he had relied on God, had conquered *Iſrael* and the *Syrian* both, but now he had loſt that victory over *Syria*, by ſeeking thereunto for help.

2 CHRON. XVI. *verſ.* 7. to *verſ.* 11.

18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 ASA upon this reliance upon *Syria* declineth exceedingly from his former goodneſs; for he grows not only harſh to the Prophet *Hanani* that reproved him, but he alſo began to uſe harſhneſs, and to tyrannize over his Subjects; and for this his alteration he is in continual wars and troubles.

3074 26 *Aſa* ſeeth an end of his great Enemy.

3075 27 *Baaſha*, and the ruine of that family, as he had ſeen the ruine of the family of *Jeroboam*.

Baaſha 1 KINGS XVI. *verſ.* 1. to *verſ.* 23.

16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 AS *Hanani* the Seer reproved *Aſa* for his reliance upon *Syria*, ſo *Jehu* the ſon of *Hanani* reproveth *Baaſha* for his Idolatry, and threatneth deſtruction to him and to his family, and the ſame fate is denounced to his houſe that had befallen the houſe of *Jeroboam*. 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44

1 26 ELAH reigneth in the of *Aſa*, 1 *King.* 16.8. 45

2 1 OMRI reigneth, having ſlaign *Zimri*, who had ſlain *Elah*. This is a year of great turbulency in the State of *Iſrael*. *Elah* a drunkard of *Ephraim* is ſlain by *Zimri*; and *Baaſha's* houſe is utterly deſtroyed with him: *Zimri* reigneth at *Tirzah*, but *Omri* is made King in the Camp at *Gibbethon*. In that very place had *Baaſha* gotten the Kingdom by the ſlaughter of *Nadah* five and twenty years ago, 1 *King.* 15.27. a ſiege being there then as it is now. *Omri* beſiegeth *Zimri* in *Tirzah*, and *Zimri* deſtroyeth himſelf and the Kings Pallace together. Then there is another competition and war betwixt *Omri* and *Tibni*, which continueth till the thirty firſt year of *Aſa*, 1 *King.* 16. 23. And then *Tibni* is overthrown, and *Omri* becometh ſole and intire King. Howbeit in the account that the Scripture giveth of *Omri's* raign, ſaying, *That he raigned twelve years*. The beginning of theſe years is to be taken from the death of *Zimri*, which was in the ſeven and twentieth of *Aſa*, 1 *King.* 16.15. Therefore whereas it is ſaid in *verſ.* 23. *That in the one and thirtieth year of Aſa King of Judah, began Omri to raign over Iſrael twelve years*; it is to be underſtood, that his whole raign from the death of *Zimri* was twelve years, which expired in the eight and thirtieth of *Aſa*, *ver.* 29. but that the firſt year of his ſole and ſingle Government, was *Aſa's* thirty firſt. 46

2 CHRON. XVI. *ver.* 11, 12, 13, 14.

3076 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 ASA ſeeth now a third change in the Kingdom of *Iſrael*; firſt the family of *Jeroboam*, then of *Baaſha*, now of *Omri*. Thus ſpeedily doth Idolatry root Families out, and thus little ſtability is there with thoſe that forſake God. *Athaliah*, a ſpawn of this laſt family ſetteth hard in time to bring in the like ruine and confuſion into the royal ſtock of *Judah*, that is now in *Iſrael*, when ſhe goeth about to deſtroy the Kings Seed.

Omri 1 KINGS XVI. *verſ.* 23. to the end.

2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 FROM this ſecond of *Omri* 42 years are reckoned to *Ahaziah*, 2 *Chron.* 22.2. of which when we come there. 47 48 49 50

In the one and thirtieth year of Aſa Tibni is conquered, and *Omri* is ſole King: He reigneth ſix years in *Tirzah*, and then removeth to *Samaria*, which he had built; for *Zimri* had fired the Kings Palace at *Tirza*. *Omri* is more wicked then any that went before him; he maketh curſed Statutes, *Mich.* 6.16. 51 52 53 54 55 56

ASA

World | *Asa* | ASA falleth diſeaſed of the Gout and ſeeketh too much to the Phyſitians, 2 *Chron.* 16. 12.
3086 | 39 | His name רפא ſignifieth a *Phyſitian* in the *Chaldee* Tongue.
3087 | 40 | *Aſa* ſtill diſeaſed in his feet.

1 KING. XXII. *Verſ.* 41, 42, 43.

3089 | 41 | 1 | JEHOSHAPHAT reigneth upon his fathers death, in the fourth year of
2 | *Ahab*, 2 *King.*22.41,42, &c. and walketh uprightly before the Lord and proſpereth.

2 CHRON. XVII. all.

3091 | 3 | JEHOSHAPHAT in
4 | the third year ſendeth
5 | Prieſts, Princes, and Levites
6 | to teach the Law. He hath
7 | great tribute from the Phi-
8 | liſtims, and Arabians, hath
9 | eleven hundred thouſand and
10 | ſixty thouſand fighting men,
11 | and is a terror to all that were round about him. But hath already made affinity with *Ahab*, and married his*

Division

1 | AHAB reigneth in the 38
2 | year of *Aſa*, 1 *King.*16.29. and doth more wickedly then his father *Omri* had done: He bringeth in the *Sidonian Idoll Baal* into requeſt in *Iſrael*, and addeth that Idolatry to the Idolatry with the golden Calves: He had married a *Sidonian* woman *Jezabell* an Idolatreſs, a Murdreſs,
4 | a Witch, and an Whore; and it is no wonder if *Ahab* grew to a height of wickedneſs indeed,
5 | when he had ſuch a father as *Omri* to bring him up, and ſuch a wife as *Jezabell* to lye in his boſom.

Ahab. 1 KING. XVI. *ver.*30. *to the end.*

6 | AHAB doth abominably,
7 | buildeth a Chappel and
8 | an Altar to *Baal* in *Samaria*. In
9 | his days *Hiel* a man of the fami-
10 | ly of *Rahab*, living now in *Be-*
11 | *thel*, ſeeing Canaanitiſh Idolatry,
12 | and Canaanitiſh manners come
13 | on ſo faſt, he is imboldned to ſet
14 | on to build *Jericho* again, to make it a Canaanitiſh City, but his eldeſt Son is ſlain in laying the foundation, and his youngeſt ſon in ſetting up the Gates, according to the curſe of *Joſhua* denounced upon ſuch an undertaking, above five hundred and thirty years before, 1 *King.*17,18,19. In the degenerate and moſt wicked times of *Ahab* appeared the glorious piety and Prophetick ſpirit of *Elias*, a ſeaſonable reformer when times were come to the very worſt: He was of *Jabeſh Gilead*, he ſhutteth up Heaven that there is no rain for three years and ſix months, till *Baalites* be deſtroyed, and then there is rain enough: He is fed by birds of prey; he feedeth the *Sareptane widow*, and becometh *the firſt Prophet of the Gentiles*: He raiſeth her dead Child, deſtroyeth hundreds of falſe Prophets, bringeth fire from Heaven, and rain ere long after it: Faſteth forty days and forty nights, ſeeth the Lord where *Moſes* had ſeen him, accuſeth *Iſrael* to him. Is appointed to anoint *Hazael* King of *Syria*, who ſhould plague *Iſrael* for their Idolatry, and to anoint *Jehu* King of *Iſrael*, who ſhould deſtroy the houſe of incorrigible *Ahab*, and to anoint *Eliſha* a Prophet in his ſtead, to go on with the reformation that he had begun. *John Baptiſt* was a ſecond *Elias*, a man in a hairy garment, and leather girdle, 2 *King.* 1. 8. *Matth.* 3.4. of a powerful and operative Miniſtry, and a great reformer in corrupt times.

Ahab 1 KING. XX, XXI, & XXII. *verſ.* 51, 52, 53.

12 | * Son JORAM to *Atha-*
13 | *liah Ahabs* Daughter, ſee
14 | 2 *Kings* 8. 18. and 11. 1.
15 | for *Ahazia* Son to *Joram*
16 | and *Athaliah* was born in the eighth year of *Jehoſaphats* reign. See 2 *Kings* 8. 26. 1 *King.*22. ver. 44. to 50.
3105 | 17 | 1. JORAM the ſon of *Jehoſhaphat* reigneth: Obſerve

15 | AHAB two years together
16 | hath two great Victories
17 | over the *Syrians*, but letting
18 | *Benhadad* go he undoeth himſelf:
19 | compare the caſe of *Saul* about *Agag* King of *Amalek*, 1 *Sam.* 15. *Ahab* murdereth *Naboth* for his Vineyard.
20 | 1 | AHAZIAH the Son of *Ahab* reigneth.

theſe

World | Ahab | these Texts, 1 *King.* 22. 51. *Ahaziah the Son of Ahab began to raign over Israel in Samaria in the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat King of Judah, and reigneth two years.* And 2 *King.* 1. 17. *And Ahaziah died according to the word of the Lord which Elijah had spoken, and Jehoram reigned in his stead, in the second year of Jehoram son of Jehoshaphat King of Judah.* And 2 *King.* 3. 1. *Now Jehoram the son of Ahab began to reign over Israel in Samaria, the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat King of Judah.* By these Scriptures it is most plain, that both *Joram* the son of *Jehoshaphat*, and *Ahaziah* the son of *Ahab* began to reign in the seventeenth of *Jehoshaphat*, I shall not need to make the collection, it is so conspicuous in the Text: for who seeth not in them, that *Jehoshaphats* eighteenth, when *Joram* the son of *Ahab* beginneth to reign, is called, *The second year of Joram the son of Jehoshaphat:* Now *Jehoshaphats* reign was not yet expired by eight or nine years, for this was in his seventeenth year, and he reigned five and twenty, 1 *King.*22.42. Nor was *Ahabs* reign expired by two or three years, for this was in his twentieth year, and he reigned two and twenty, 1 *King.* 16.29. But the reason that both their sons came into their thrones thus in their life time, and both in this same year, was because the fathers *Jehoshaphat* and *Ahab*, were both ingaged in the war against the *Syrians* about *Ramoth Gilead*, and while they were providing for it and carrying it on, they made their sons Viceroyes, and set them to reign in their stead, while they were absent or imployed about that expedition: we shall have occasion to observe the like of *Joram* the son of *Jehoshaphat* again afterward. | Dixon.

1 KING. XXII. *to Verse* 50. *and* 2 CHRON. XVIII. *all.*

Ahab. *Ahaziah.* *Jehoram.*

2 KING. I. *all.*

3106 | 18 | JEHOSHAPHAT and *Ahab* are now together in the expedition against the *Syrians* about *Ramoth Gilead:* this was one of the Cities of refuge, *Josh.*20.8. and that consideration might ingage *Jehoshaphat* in this business the rather, because that was a concernment of his Kingdom as well as of the Kingdom of *Israel.* | 21 | 2 | 1 | AHAZIAH falling through a grate as he was walking on his leads, catcheth his death, and *Jehoram* his Brother succeedeth him twelve year, 2 *Kings* 3. 1. | 77

3107 | 19 | | 22 | | 2 | AHAB slain at *Ramoth Gilead:* and now as *Saul* sparing the *Amalakites* was slain by an *Amalakite*, so *Ahab* sparing the *Syrians* is slain by them. *Perdere quos vult Deus, dementat*; otherwise might *Ahab* have taken cautions enough for meddling in this war: he had not only the warning of *Micaiah the son of Imlah*, when he is setting forward, 1 *King.*22.28. nor only the guilt of *Naboths* blood and his own Idolatry, nor only the terrible threatnings of *Eliah* denounced against him, but he might read how hainously he had sinned in sparing *Benhadad* and the *Syrians* [and accordingly might expect vengeance by the *Syrians*, as the Prophet had told him] by what the Lord had demonstrated about that matter: He had called the Syrian King the man of his curse. איש חרמי 1 *King.*20.42. he had therefore given *Ahab* two great victories over him, he had not only cast down the wall of *Aphek*, *Jerecho* like to make the City undefensible of the Syrians that were fled thither, but had slain 27000 with the fall of it; he had slain a man with a Lion, as 1 *King.*13.24. which refused to forward, and to help to set on an admonition to him, yet seeing all these things he would not see; for as he had sold himself to sin, so had the Lord sold him to destruction. It is somewhat observable that this murderer of *Naboth*, and sparer of *Benhadad*, is slain at a City of refuge, by *Benhadads* Army, and by a shot made at random. Compare *Deut.* 19. 4. His son *Ahaziah* dyes before him by a fatal fall, inquires at the Devil when he is sick, as *Saul* at a Witch, loseth one hundred men by fire from Heaven, and dieth childless: Here begins vengeance on *Ahabs* house. Compare *Jeroboams* twenty two years, and his son *Nadabs* two years, and their reigning together, with *Ahabs* twenty | 78

World | *Jehoshaphat.* | ty two, and *Ahaziahs* two: These last times of *Ahab* the Text gives us account to reckon thus: Three years he is about the business of *Ramoth*, viz. his 20, 21, 22. three years before he is without war with *Syria*, 1 *King.* 22. 1. viz. his 19, 18, 17. In this space of time he murders *Naboth*: the year before them, viz. his 16. He hath great victory over *Syria*, slayeth 100000 men, and taketh *Benhadad*. And the year before that he hath another victory over them, *viz.* in his fifteenth. | *Division.*

2 CHRON. XIX, XX.

20 JEHOSHAPHAT reformeth his Kingdom and setteth up Judges throughout the Land.

3109 | 21 *Jehoshaphat* hath a miraculous victory against *Moab*, *Ammon* ועמהם מהעמונים and the inhabitants of Mount *Seir* that lay upon *Ammon* borders, for the rest of *Edom* rebelled not yet. See 2 *King.* 8.20. These people are elsewhere called מעונים *Maonites*, *Judg.* 10.12. or *Mehunims*, 2 *Chron.* 26. 7. and so should they be expressed in 1 *Chron.* 4.41. *And these written by name came in the days of Hezekiah King of Judah, and smote their Tents, and the Maonites that were found there:* The LXX renders it well there, Υἱοὶ Μαὰβ καὶ υἱοὶ Ἀμμῶν, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐκ Τῶν Μουναίων: And they are called עמונים here, and 2 *Chron.* 26. 8. either by inversion of the word מעונים into עמונים, which kind of thing is very common in Scripture [as *Heres* and *Serah*, *Josh.* 24.30. compared with *Judg.* 2.9. *Beta*, and *Tibath*. Compare 2 *Sam.* 8.8. with 1 *Chron.* 18.8. *Eliam* and *Ammiel*, 2 *Sam.* 11.3. compared with 1 *Chron.* 3.5. and abundance more that might be alleadged] or because of their mixture with the *Ammonites* in their habitation, as *Midianites*, and *Ishmaelites* are all one, *Gen.* 37. And observe how roundly the Text comes off with this inversion, and how clearly it argues this cohabitation, 2 *Chron.* 26. 7, 8. *And God helped Uzziah against the* מעונים *Mahunims*, *and the* והמעונים *Ammonites gave gifts to Uzziah.* This company that came against *Jehoshaphat*, is said to come *from beyond the Sea from Syria*, *ver.* 2. now this Sea was the dead Sea, as it appeareth by the words immediately following, *and behold, they be in Hazazan-Tamar which is Engedi*, which lay upon the Southern point of the dead Sea: Now neither that place, nor these mens Country were in *Syria*, but that in *Canaan*, and their Country in *Arabia*; and therefore when it said they came from *Syria*, it is to be understood they came in the King of *Syrias* quarrel, and upon his war, which he now raised upon *Jehoshaphat*, to be avenged on him for taking part with *Ahab* at *Ramoth Gilead*.

2 KING. III. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

3 JEHORAM destroyed *Baal* out of *Samaria*, but continueth *Jeroboams* golden Calves. *Moab* rebelleth, and so he loseth 79

4 a great Tribute. It is like that *Ahab* conquered *Moab* when he conquered *Benhadad* and the two and thirty Kings with him, and that the King of *Moab* was one of those Kings. 80

2 CHRON. XXI. *ver.* 1, 2, 3, 4.

3110 | 22 | 1 JEHORAM, or *Joram* the Son of *Jehoshaphat* made Viceroy again, for so it is plain, 2 *King.* 8. 16. *In the fift year of Joram son of Ahab King of Israel, Jehoshaphat being then King of Judah, Jehoram the Son of Jehoshaphat King of Judah began his reign, and reigned eight years in Jerusalem.* Now this was upon *Jehoshaphats* going with *Joram* King of *Israel* to war against *Moab*, 2 *King.* 3. 7. 9. For as *Jehoshaphat* when he went with *Ahab* to *Ramoth Gilead*, made *Joram* then King in his stead till he came again, as was observed before; so doth he now when he goeth with *Joram*, *Ahabs* son against *Moab*: but *Jehoshaphat* doth never sit in the throne again, for observe 1. that whereas it is said, *Joram* reigned eight years in *Jerusalem*, they are reckoned from this beginning, as it appeareth by 2 *King.* 8. 25. where they are ended in the twelfth of *Joram* the son of *Ahab*.

2 KING. II. & III. *ver.* 6. *to end.*

5 ELIAS wrapt up into Heaven, *Joram* the King of *Israel* goeth against *Moab*, &c. *Elisha* multiplieth the widdows Oyl, promiseth the Shunamite a Son, &c. 81

2. That

World | *Jehoshaphat* | *Division.*

2. That *Jehoshaphat* is called *The King of Israel*, 2 *Chron.* 21.2. for his affinity and society which *Ahab* and *Joram* the Kings of *Israel* had undone him; and when he would not take warning upon his first miscarriage in that kind, 2 *Chron.*19.2. he is sorely punished upon a second, for he loseth his sons, and he loseth his Kingdom; and therefore is he fitly called *The King of Israel*, for he hath taken more care of that Kingdom then his own, and lost his own by it.

3. That *Joram* slew his brethren, and the Princes of *Judah*, presently after his father had left him in the Throne, and was gone away for *Moab*. This is to be collected from these particulars: 1. It is said, 2 *Chron.* 21. 12, 13, &c. *There came a writing from Elijah the Prophet unto Jehoram, saying, Thus saith the Lord, Because thou hast not walked in the ways of Jehoshaphat, &c. but hast slain thy brethren of thy fathers house, Behold with a great stroke will the Lord smite thy people, &c.* Now it is ridiculous to hold as the Jews do, that *Elijah* sent this letter out of Heaven after he was rapt up thither: But it is without all doubt that he wrote it whilest he was here on earth, before he was taken up.

Now before *Jehoshaphat* the King of *Judah*, and *Joram* the King of *Israel*, and the King of *Edom* come to the Battel against *Moab*, *Elijah* is taken up, and *Elisha* is with them: for so it is plain, 2 *King.* 3.11. And *Jehoshaphat* said, *Is there not here a Prophet of the Lord? And one of the King of Israels servants answered and said, Here is Elisha the son of Shaphat, which poured water on the hands of Elijah.* Therefore the passage of the whole Story is to be cast into this order, *Moab* rebelling against the King of *Israel*, *Jehoram* the then King desireth *Jehoshaphats* assistance to help to subdue them: *Jehoshaphat* consents, raises his forces, sets his son *Joram* in the throne to rule the Kingdom at home, and so sets forth upon that expedition. *Joram* when his father was now out of the Land, riseth up against his Brethren and the nobles of *Judah*, and slayeth them, and resolveth to keep the Kingdom. *Elijah* being yet alive heareth of this, and though he had nothing yet to do with any of the Kings of *Judah*, yet seeing here *Jezabels* spirit in this act of *Joram*, he writes him a terrible letter, leaves it to be conveyed to him, and ere long is conveyed himself in a whirlwind to Heaven: *Elisha* after his Masters departure returns through divided *Jordan* to *Jericho*, to *Bethel*, to *Carmel*, to *Samaria*, and from thence goes down to the Camp in *Moab*: so that the Story of *Elijahs* rapture lieth in its proper place, in 2 *King.*2. only the beginning of the third Chapter, that mentioneth the beginning of *Jorams* reign, which was before *Elijahs* translation, is a repetition of what was said before in its proper place. *Chap.* 1. 17. that the full Story of this *Joram* may be taken up together.

Elisha when he would prophecy, he requireth some Musick to play, and some songs of praises to be sung, and then the Spirit of the Lord cometh upon him, he foretelleth of a great deliverance, and bringeth water miraculously into ditches, as *Elijah* had done fire. *Moab* is now become *a wash-pot*, full of strange water, and these waters do seem to *Moab* to be nothing but blood: The King of *Moab* besieged in *Kirharaseth*, with seven hundred men would break thorow the King of *Edoms* squadron, but cannot: Howbeit he taketh *the Prince of Edom*, the Kings eldest son, prisoner, brings him into *Kirharaseth* again, and there offers him up on the wall for a burnt offering, &c. *So burns the bones of this young King of Edom into lime*, *Amos* 2.1. *And there was great indignation against Israel*, both from *Edom* and other Nations about it: for *Edom* revolted and rebelled against *Israel*, 2 *King.*8.20. And the *Philistims* and *Tyrians* caught up Israelites as they could lay hold upon them, and delivered them up to *Edom*: גלות שלמה *a peaceable Captivity*, *Amos* 1. 6.9. not taken by war, but by sleight and deceit: or a perfect Captivity, not to be recovered again.

World	Jehoſhaphat	Jehoram	2 CHRON. XXI. *Ver.* Unto the end. 1 KING. XXII. *Ver.* 50.	Jehoram	2 KINGS IV. V. VI. VII. VIII. to ver. 25.	Diviſion
	23	2	JEHORAM grew more and more abominable, for	6	ELISHA the Prophet is	82
				7	now famous, and doth	83
	24	3	*Athaliah Ahabs* daughter was his wife.	8	many wonderful and miraculous things, multiplyeth Oyl,	84
3113	25	4	*Jehoſhaphat* dieth. *Edom* rebelling is invaded	9	healeth deadly Pottage, feedeth a multitude miraculouſly,	85
		5	by *Jehoram*. *Libnah* in *Judah*	10	cureth leprous *Naaman*, raiſeth	86
		6	revolts.	11	the *Shunamites* dead child, &c.	87
3116		7	*Joram* diſeaſed in his bowels.			

Betwixt the firſt and laſt years of *Jehoram* the ſon of *Jehoſhaphat* there are very many occurrences mentioned, which are not referred nor fixed to their proper year, and therefore they muſt be calculated in a groſs ſum, namely, conſidered as coming to paſs in ſome time of theſe years. They are the Stories contained in the fourth, fifth, ſixth and ſeventh Chapters of the ſecond Book of *Kings*, and in 2 *Chron.* 21. from *Ver.* 6. to *Ver.* 19. their proper order and time we may conjecture thus: In the firſt year of *Joram Eliſha* returning out of *Moab* into the Land of *Iſrael*, multiplieth the Widows Oyl, as he had produced the Armies water: he is lodged in *Shunem* and aſſureth the Miſtris of the houſe of a child. The ſeven years famine was then begun, and he giveth the *Shunamite* warning of the continuance of it. The ſecond year ſhe beareth her child in the Land of the *Philiſtims*, 2 *Kings* 8. 2. And *Eliſha* reſideth among the children of the Prophets at *Gilgal*, and healeth the deadly Pottage, and feedeth an hundred men with twenty Cakes and ſome few ears of Corn: this was in Barley Harveſt-time, in the beginning of the year. That Summer he cureth *Naaman* of his Leproſie [the only cure of Leproſie done till the greateſt Prophet came] and proſyliteth him, ſo that he beggeth two Mules load of *Iſraelitiſh* earth to make him an Altar of when he ſhould come home, and craveth pardon for his former Idolatry, *Chap.* 5. *ver.* 18. *For this thing the Lord pardon thy ſervant, for that when my maſter hath gone into the houſe of Rimmon to worſhip there, and he hath leaned upon mine hand, that I alſo have bowed my ſelf in the houſe of Rimmon, for my worſhipping in the houſe of Rimmon, the Lord pardon thy ſervant for this thing:* for ſo ſhould the words be rendred, as craving pardon for Idolatry paſt, and not begging leave to be Idolatrous for the time to come. *Gehazies* covetouſneſs brings upon him *Naamans* Leproſie: the Text hath divinely omitted a letter in one word, that it might the more brand him with a blot for this his villany, *I will run after Naaman*, ſaith he, and will take of him מומה a *blot:* inſtead of מאומה *ſomewhat*, ver. 20.

The third year *Eliſha* maketh Iron to ſwim, preventeth the *Syrians* ambuſhments, and ſtriketh thoſe with blindneſs that were ſent to catch him, and bringeth them into the middeſt of *Samaria*, and there feaſteth them, ולא יספו עוד Chap. 6. 23. So *the bands of Syria came no more as yet into the land of Iſrael:* for ſo the very next verſe teacheth that it ſhould be tranſlated, for it relateth, that after this *Benhadad* gathered all his Hoſt and beſieged *Samaria:* So is the like paſſage to be rendred, 2 *King.* 24. 7. ולא הוסיף עוד *And the King of Ægypt came no more as yet*, or at that time *out of his Land*, for in *Jer.* 37. 5. The King of *Ægypt* is a foot with his Army, and abroad again.

The fourth year *Jehoſhaphat* dieth, *Edom* rebelleth, and ſhaketh off *Judahs* yoke which *David* had laid upon them. Till *Jorams* time there was no King in *Edom* of abſolute power and rule, but a Deputy under the Kings of *Judah* was King, 1 *King.* 22. 47. but now *Edom* revolteth from under the hand of *Judah*, and made a King over themſelves, 2 *King.* 8. 20. Then *Libnah* revolteth alſo. *Joram* goeth againſt them, and by night ſmiteth their Squadrons, which were pitched about him to give him battel the next morning.

The fifth year *Samaria* is beſieged by *Benhadad*, and the famine becomes ſo great in the City that women eat their own Children, as *Deut.* 28. 53, 56.

World | *Jehoram* | Diviſion

28.53.56. and men, women, and children eat Doves dung: All the fault is laid upon *Eliſha*, and he muſt be beheaded, but he foretelleth a ſuddain and wonderful delivery, and a ſtrange and miraculous plenty, which accordingly came to paſs. An unbelieving Prince is trod to death.

The ſixth year Philiſtims and Arabians oppreſs *Joram* King of *Judah*, and captive his wives and children, leaving him only one ſon behind: Here he is met with for the murder of his own Brethren.

The ſeventh year *Joram* is fallen into the ſad diſeaſe of his bowels, 2 *Chron.*21.19. *And it came to paſs after the end of two years his bowels fell out by reaſon of his ſickneſs*, for he ſhewed no bowels to his brethren. This year the famine endeth at Harveſt; and at that Harveſt the *Shunamites* child dieth, and is recovered by *Eliſha* [his death and reviving is related inſtantly after the Story of his birth, though when he died he was able to follow the reapers, becauſe his Story might be related together] and not long after his Mother goeth to the King to beg and petition to be ſetled in her eſtate again, and there ſhe finds leprous *Gehazi* with him: The firſt verſe of Chapter 8. ſhould chronically be tranſlated as of the time paſt: *Now Eliſha had ſpoken to the woman*, &c. ver.2. *And the woman had riſen and done after the ſaying of the man of God*, &c. This year *Eliſha* is at *Damaſcus*, *Benhadad* ſick, *Hazael* ſtifles him with a wet cloth, and reigns in his ſtead.

2 CHRON. XXII. to *ver.*10.
2 KING. VIII. 25. *to the end.*

3117 | 8 | *Jehoram* 12 | 88

AHAZIAH the ſon of *Joram* reigneth, and dieth this year by the ſword of *Jehu*, 2 *King.*8.26. *In the twelfth year of Joram the ſon of Ahab, King of Iſrael, did Ahaziah the ſon of Jehoram King of Judah begin to reign. Two and twenty years old was Ahaziah when he began to reign, and he reigned one year in Jeruſalem, and his mothers name was Athaliah, the daughter of Omri King of Iſrael.* And 2 King.9.29. *In the eleventh year of Joram the ſon of Ahab, began Ahaziah to raign over Judah.* 2 Chron. 22.2. *Forty and two years old was Ahaziah when he began to reign, &c.* Here the Reader ſeeth two plain and viſible differences, the one about the age of *Ahaziah*, and the other about the time when he began to reign. The ſame Book of *Kings* ſaith he began to raign *in the eleventh year of Joram the ſon of Ahab*, and he began to raign *in the twelfth year of Joram the ſon of Ahab.* Now the reconciling of this difference is eaſie, when it is obſerved, that *Joram* the ſon of *Ahab* reigned one whole year in the life time of his father, and eleven years afterward. And ſo one Text calleth his laſt year his *twelfth*, that is, of his whole raign; and another Text calleth it his *eleventh*, that is, of his ſole reign after his fathers death. But the other difference is both the more viſible and the more difficult; for the Book of *Kings* ſaith *Ahaziah was but two and twenty years old* when he began to raign; and the Book of *Chronicles* ſaith he was *two and forty*; and ſo this latter reckoning maketh him two years older then his father; for his father began to raign when he was two and thirty years old, and and reigned eight years, and ſo died, being forty, 2 *King.* 8.17. Now for the reconciling of this ſcruple, the Original helpeth us, which in our tranſlation is not viſible. The Original meaneth thus, *Ahaziah was the ſon of the two and forty years*, namely, of the houſe of *Omri*, of whoſe ſeed he was by the mothers ſide; and he walked in the ways of that houſe, and came to ruine at the ſame time with it. This the Text directed us to look after, when it calleth his mother *the daughter of Omri*, which was indeed *the daughter of Ahab.* Now theſe forty two years are eaſily reckoned by any that will count back in the Chronicle to the ſecond of *Omri.* Such another reckoning there is about *Jechoniah* or *Jehojachin*, 2 King. 24.8. *Jehojachin was eighteen years old when he began to reign:* But 2 Chron. 36.9. *Jehojachin was the ſon of the eight years:* That is, his beginning of

JORAM King of *Iſrael* fighteth at *Ramoth Gilead*, is wounded, comes to be healed of his wounds at *Jezreel*, and is there ſlain by *Jehu*. *Ahaziah* had been with *Joram* at *Ramoth*, and is ſlain with *Joram* at *Jezreel.*

reign fell in the eighth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and of *Judahs* firſt captivity, as ſhall be ſhewed there.

World | *Athaliah* | *Jehu* | Diviſion

2 CHRON. XXII. *verſ.* 10, 11, 12. *and* 2 KING. XI. *ver.* 1, 2, 3.

2 KINGS IX. *to verſ.* 30.

3118 | 1 | 1 | 89
2 | 2 | 90
3 | 3 | 91
4 | 4 | 92
5 | 5 | 93
6 | 6 | 94

ATHALIAH deſtroyeth the reſt of the Seed Royal that were left, beſides the forty two ſlain by *Jehu*: ſhe her ſelf reigned ſix years: ſhe had ſons of her own by ſome other man whom ſhe deſireth to promote, 2 *Chron.*24.7.

JEHU the ſon of *Jehoſhaphat*, anointed for the deſtruction of *Ahabs* houſe, reigneth twenty eight years: He is anointed by *Eliſha's* ſervant at *Eliſha's* appointment, read *Chap.* 9. *ver.* 4. that *So the young man, even the ſervant of the Prophet went, &c.* He is anointed at *Ramoth Gilead*, where *Ahab* had received his death, and *Jehoram* his ſon lately ſome wounds: He ſlayeth *Jehoram* with his own hand, and cauſeth the death of *Ahaziah* King of *Judah* alſo: This man is ſometime called *Jeho-achaz*, with part of the name *Jehovah* ſet before his name, as 2 *Chron.* 21.17. & 25.17. ſometime *Achaz-jahu*, with part of that name *Jehovah* ſet after, as 2 *Chron.*22.2. and ſometime *Azariah*, 2 *Chron.*22.6. The relation of the manner of his death in the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* is exceeding different, and accordingly the underſtanding of it exceeding difficult, 2 *King.* 9. 27. it is ſaid, that *when Ahaziah ſaw the death of Jehoram King of Iſrael, he fled by the way of the garden, and Jehu followed after him, and ſaid, Smite him alſo in the Chariot, in the going up to Gur, which is beſide Ibleam, and he fled to Megiddo and died there.* But in 2 *Chron.* 22. 8, 9. it is ſaid, *That when Jehu was executing Judgment upon the houſe of Ahab, and found the Princes of Judah, even the ſons of the brethren of Ahaziah that miniſtred to Ahaziah, he ſlew them. And he ſought Ahaziah, and they caught him* [*for he was hid in Samaria*] *and brought him to Jehu and ſlew him.* Now the current of the Story at large is thus: *Jehu* ſlayeth *Joram* in the field of *Jezreel*, as *Ahaziah* and *Joram* were together: *Ahaziah* ſeeing this, flees, and gets into *Samariah* and hides himſelf there. *Jehu* marcheth to *Jezreel*, and maketh *Jezabel* Dogs meat: From thence he ſendeth to *Samaria* for the heads of *Ahabs* children and poſterity, which are brought him by night, and ſhewed by him to the people in the morning: Then he marcheth to *Samaria*, and by the way ſlayeth *Ahaziahs* kinſmen, forty two men; findeth *Jehonadab* the father of the *Rechabites*: Coming into *Samaria*, he maketh ſearch for *Ahaziah*, they find him hid, bring him to *Jehu*, he commands to carry him up towards *Gur by Ibleam*, and there to ſlay him; it may be his father *Joram* had ſlain his brethren there, as *Ahab* had done *Naboth* in *Jezreel*; they do ſo, ſmite him there in his Chariot, and his Charioter driveth away to *Megiddo* before he dies. The Story in the Book of *Kings* is taken up ſhort, and laid with the Story of the death of *Jehoram*, that the end of both the Kings may be taken up together; but the Book of *Chronicles* ſhews the order.

World	Joaſh	*Kingdom of* Judah.	Jehu	*Kingdom of* Iſrael.	Diviſion.
		2 KING. XI. *from verſ.* 4. *to end*, and 12. 1, 2, 3. 2 CHRON. XXIII, XXIV. *to ver.* 4.		2 KING. X. from *verſ.* 30. *to end.*	
3124	1	JOASH anointed by his	7	JEHU followed the Idolatry	95
	2	Uncle *Jehojada*, and reign-	8	of *Jeroboam*, the golden	96
	3	eth forty years: Good *Jehoja-*	9	Calves, though he had deſtroy-	97
	4	*da* bringeth him to the Crown,	10	ed *Baal* the Idol of *Ahab*. *Ha-*	98
	5	and the people into Covenant,	11	*zael* cuts *Iſrael* ſhort beyond	99
	6	&c. The Prieſts and Levites	12	*Jordan*, and deſtroyeth the *Reu-*	100
	7	had the chief hand in the Co-	13	*benites*, *Gadites*, and *Manaſſites*	101
	8	ronation; They are thus diſtin-	14	there. *Eliſha* with tears had	102
	9	guiſhed, 2 *King.* 11. 4. שרי	15	told what miſchief and miſery	103
	10	המאות for ſo it is written *Mea-*	16	he ſhould work to *Iſrael*, which	104
	11	*joth*, *Captains of hundreds*, כרי	17	he now beginneth to act, and	105
	12	and רצים *Prieſts and Levites.*	18	goeth on to perfect in the days	106
	13	The Prieſts called כרי [for כרים	19	of *Jehoahaz* the ſon of *Jehu*.	107
		as the Hebrews give it] becauſe		*Jehu* hath a promiſe of his ſons	
		they were the chief, or of the		ſitting on his throne even to the	
		higher rank; and the Levites		fourth generation בני רבעים	
		called רצים or men of the		*i. e.* בנים.	
	14	guard, becauſe they were the	20	*Omries* houſe had ſtood four	108
	15	Warders in the Temple. *Joaſh*	21	ſucceſſions, *Omri*, *Ahab*, *Aha-*	109
	16	hath two wives of *Jehojada's*	22	*ziah*, and *Joram*: The four	110
	17	providing for him: *Jezabel* the	23	ſucceſſions of *Jehues* ſons were	111
	18	wife of *Ahab*, and *Athaliah* the	24	*Jehoahaz*, *Jehoaſh*, *Jeroboam*, and	112
	19	wife of *Joram* had cauſed all	25	*Zachariah*. But between the	113
	20	this miſchief in *Iſrael* and *Judah*,	26	reign of *Jeroboam* and *Zachariah*,	114
	21	and therefore the good High	27	there was a long *interregnum* or	115
		Prieſt provideth that this King		ſpace between, as we ſhall ob-	
		miſcarry not by ſuch a match.		ſerve when we come there.	
3145	22		28	*Jehu* dieth.	116
		2 KING. XII. *from verſ.* 4. *to end.* *And* 2 CHRON. XXIV. *from verſ.* 4. *to end.* *And* 2 KING. XIV. 1, 2.		2 KING. XIII. *all.*	
3146	23	JOASH taketh courſe for the	1	JEHOAHAZ the ſon of	117
	24	repairing of the Temple:	2	*Jehu* reigned 17 years, and	118
	25	and he keepeth cloſe to Religi-	3	doth wickedly, following *Jero-*	119
	26	on all the time that *Jehojada*	4	*boams* Calves. *Hazael* oppreſ-	120
	27	lived: but when he was dead,	5	ſeth *Iſrael*; and continueth that	121
	28	he forgetteth God, and forſa-	6	miſery that he had begun in the	122
	29	keth his Temple, and he and	7	time of *Jehu*: He had invaded	123
	30	*Judah* betake themſelves to	8	and deſtroyed *Iſrael* beyond	124
	31	open Idolatry, for which wrath	9	*Jordan*, *And threſhed Gilead with*	125
	32	cometh upon them: And to	10	*threſhing inſtruments of iron*, as	126
	33	make their meaſure full, they	11	*Amos* 1. 3. and now he cometh	127
		ſlay *Zachariah* a Prieſt, and Pro-		on this ſide *Jordan*, and falleth	
		phet between the Temple and		upon *Iſrael* there: and taketh	
		the Altar.		*Gath* of the *Philiſtims*, and ſet-	
	34	*Zachariah* ſtoned in the Tem-	12	teth himſelf againſt *Jeruſalem*:	128
	35	ple, *Hazael* invadeth *Judah*.	13	He is hired by King *Joaſh* with	129
	36		14	the dedicate things of the Tem-	130
	37		15	ple to depart, but yet he doth	131
				Joaſh no ſmall miſchief.	
	38	1 *Amaziah* reigneth twenty	16	1 *Jehoaſh* reigneth 16 years,	132
	39	2 nine years, 2 *King.* 14. 1, 2.	17	2 2 *King.* 13. 10. and proveth a	133
3163	40	3 *Joaſh* ſlain by his ſervants.		3 deliverer and Saviour againſt	134
				4 *Syria*: for this is he that is	
				ſpoken of in 2 *King.* 13. 5.	

Here

World | *Amaziah* | Here it is apparent that *Amaziah* reigned three years before his fathers death, and the reaſon was becauſe of his fathers ſore diſeaſedneſs, which made him unable to manage the Kingdom; 2 *Chron.* 24. 25. *Jehoaſh* alſo reigned three years before his fathers death, for he grew valiant and victorious againſt the *Syrians*, and thereupon he is made Viceroy in his fathers life time. | *Jehoaſh* | Diviſion

2 KING. XIV. *from ver.*3. *to ver.*19. 2 CHRON. XXV. *to ver.*27.

4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 — *AMAZIAH* ſlayeth the murderers of his father, hireth 100000 of *Iſrael* againſt *Edom:* they diſmiſſed plunder *Judah*, and ſlay 3000 men, 2 *Chron.* 25. 13. *Amaziah* conquereth *Edom*, but is overcome by their Idols: He is miſerably beaten by *Jehoaſh* King of *Iſrael*, and *Jeruſalem* plundered, and a great deal of the wall of it broken down, namely, on that ſide of the City that looked towards *Samaria.*

5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 — IN the time of *Jehoaſh* his reign *Eliſha* dieth, and his dead bones raiſe a dead man. *Hazael* the King of *Syria* dieth alſo in the time of *Jehoaſh*, and *Benhadad* his Son reigneth in his ſtead: Him *Jehoaſh* beateth three times, and reſtoreth Cities to *Iſrael* which he had taken from them in the time of *Jehoachaz*, when he had ſorely conquered both without and within *Jordan.*

135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146

Jerob. 1

2 KING. XIV. *ver.*23,24, 25,26,27.

3176 — 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 — *AMAZIAH* liveth fifteen years current after *Jehoaſh* his death 2 *Chron.* 25. 25. ומעת אשר סר מאחרי יהוה 2 *Chron.* 25. 27. *And from the time that he departed from the Lord*, the hearts of his Subjects departed from him, and they began to conſpire againſt him, and the conſpiracy grew ſo ſtrong that they forced him at laſt to flee from *Jeruſalem to Lachiſh* for his ſafety: this was but a little before his death, for it ſeemeth

2 KING. XIV. *ver.* 19, 20. 2 *Chron.* 25. 27,28.

2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 — JEROBOAM reigneth 41 years, and walketh in the Idolatry of *Jeroboam* in the firſt: yet is he victorious exceedingly, and proſecutes his father *Joaſh* his wars and victories with very good ſucceſs: For the Lord pittied *Iſrael*, and would not yet deſtroy them. *Jeroboam* reſtoreth all the land of the two Tribes, and half Tribe beyond *Jordan*, which *Hazael* had taken in the time of

147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157

2 KING. 14. *ver.* 23. *to* 29.

3189 — 27 28 29 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 — by the Text that they ſent preſently after him thither to ſlay him. *Amaziah* is ſlain at *Lachiſh*, At his death his ſon and heir apparent *Uzziah*, or *Azariah* is but four years old: for he is but ſixteen in *Jeroboams* twenty ſeventh, 2 *King.* 15. 1, 2. therefore the throne is empty eleven years, and the rule is managed by ſome as Potectors, whilſt *Uzziah* is in his minority.

13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 — *Jehu*, even from the entring in of *Hamath* on the North, to the Sea of the plain, or the dead Sea South. He alſo reſtoreth *Hamath* it ſelf, and *Damaſcus*, ליהודה to *Judah* in *Iſrael*, 2 *King.* 14. 28. *David* had conquered them, and they being now revolted, he recovers them to *Iſrael* in *Judahs* title, as fitter to be ſubject to the Seed of *Iſrael* then to *Syria.* *Judah* was not able to recover his own right, for they had

158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171

lately

World | *Uzziah* | lately been ſubject to *Jeroboams* father, and he had ſacked *Jeruſalem*, and done with it what pleaſed; and now *Jeroboam* his ſon being a far more potent King, and *Judah* continuing ſtill in its wickedneſs, as having never recovered ſtrength ſince *Jehoaſh* conquered *Amaziah*, and pulled down *Jeruſalem* wall, and withal there being now no King on the throne of *Judah*, this *Jeroboam*, when he had recovered the two Tribes and half beyond *Jordan* from *Syria*, in the right of the Kingdom of *Samaria*; he alſo recovers *Hamath* and *Damaſcus* to himſelf and *Iſrael*, in the right and title of *Judah*, *Judah* being now exceeding much in his power, ſince his father had ſo miſerably brought them under. | Diviſion

Of theſe Victories over the *Syrians*, *Jonah* the Prophet propheſied, who lived in theſe times, but his journey to *Niniveh* was not as yet, but ſome ſpace hereafter as ſhall be obſerved anon.

2 KINGS XIV. *ver.* 21, 22, & 15. *ver.* 1, 2, 3, 4.

3201 1 UZZIAH crowned: he
2 is alſo called *Azariah*,
3 both the names ſounding to
4 the ſame ſence; the one, *The*
5 *Lord is my ſtrength*, the other,
6 *The Lord is my help*, as 2 *Chron.*
7 26. 7.
8 Hereabout was the time that
9 *Hoſea* and *Joel* began to pro-
10 pheſie, and preſently after *Amos*
11 alſo beginneth.
12 There had been Prophets be-
13 fore this time continually, but
14 none left their Propheſies be-
hind in writing, but now ari-
3215 15 ſeth a company of Prophets
that do.

Jeroboam 2 CHRON. XXVI. *ver.* 1, 2, 3, 4. 2 KING. XIV. *ver.* 29.

27 IN the twenty and ſeventh 172
28 year of *Jeroboam* began 173
29 *Azariah* to reign two and fifty 174
30 years. He built *Elath* or *Eloth* 175
31 in the Country of *Edom*, *Deut.* 176
32 2. 8. 2 *Chron.* 17. *And reſtored* 177
33 *it to Judah after that the King* 178
34 *Amaziah ſlept with his fathers*, 179
35 that is even in thoſe eleven 180
36 years before his Coronation 181
37 whilſt he was yet in his mino- 182
38 rity. 183
39 A fearful Earthquake hap- 184
40 pens before the death of *Jero-* 185
boam, and *Amos* fore-tells it two
years before it comes, and fore-
41 tells of *Jeroboams* death by the 186
ſword, *Amos* 7.

The order and time of theſe former PROPHETS.

THE Murder of *Zacharias* the ſon of *Barachias*, or *Jehoiada* was the firſt ruine of *Judah*, and the beginning of their firſt rejection. For when they ſlew that Prophet and Prieſt of the Lord in the Court of the Temple, and beſides the Altar, they plainly ſhewed how they deſpiſed and rejected the Lord and his Temple, Prieſt-hood and Propheſie. From that time did their ſtate decay, and was mouldring towards ruine, and that from thence forward fell into ſad diſeaſes as well as King *Joaſh* did, that commanded the Murder. This *Hoſea* toucheth upon as the very *Apex* of their wickedneſs, when they ſo brake out, as that *blood toucked blood*, *Hoſ* 4.2. the blood of the Sacrificer was mingled with the blood of the Sacrifice, as *Luke* 13. 1.

And the very *Apex* of their incorrigibleneſs, in that they proved a *people that ſtrove with the Prieſt*, *Hoſ.*4.4. And this wicked act of theirs our Saviour makes as the very period and *Cataſtrophe* of their State and Kingdom, *Matth.* 23. 35. How they declined from that time, both in Religion, [*Joaſh* and *Amaziah*, and the people with them becoming open Idolaters] and in the State, by the oppreſſion of *Syria* and of *Joaſh*, is ſo apparent in the Story that he that runneth may read, and he that readeth not the cauſe with theſe effects, readeth not all that may be read. But more eſpecially in theſe times that we have in hand, in the

latter

latter times of *Jeroboam*, the Lord ſpake indignation from Heaven in more ſenſible and more ſingular and terrible manner, in three dreadful judgments, the like to which neither they nor their fathers had ſeen nor heard, and the ſight and feeling of which, when it did not avail with them for their converſion and bettering, the Lord hath a company of Prophets that are continually telling them of worſe judgments, namely, of final ſubverſion to come upon them.

The firſt of theſe fearful judgments was an earthquake ſo terrible that it brought them to their wits ends, and put them to flee for their lives, but they knew not whether. *Ye ſhall flee as they fled before the earthquake in the days of Uzziah*, Zech. 14. 5. This was as the beginning of their deſolation, and the ſhaking of the earth was as a ſign unto them, that their State and Kingdom ſhould ere long be ſhaken. *Amos* prophecied of this two years before it came, *Amos* 1. 1. and that the *Lord would roar from Zion, and utter his voice from Jeruſalem*, as did *Joel* alſo ſome time before, *Joel* 2. to 11. This earthquake was in the days of *Jeroboam*, as well as in the days of *Uzziah*, for ſo *Amos* ſheweth clearly; and therefore it was neither when *Uzziah* was made leprous, nor in the year when he died, as the Jews conjecture; but it was before.

After this came a Plague of more miſery, but of leſſer terrour, and that was of fearful and horrid Locuſts, Caterpillars, and Cankerworms, whoſe like the oldeſt men alive had never ſeen, *Joel* 1, 2, 3, &c. Theſe came towards harveſt time, in the beginning of the growth after mowing, *Amos* 7. 1. And then were the fields and trees laden with corn and fruit, but theſe laid the vines waſte, and barked the fig-trees, *Joel* 1. 7. And cauſeth the *harveſt of the field to periſh, and the trees to wither*, ſo that *there was not corn and wine ſufficient for a meat Offering and drink Offering in the Houſe of the Lord*, *ver.* 10, 11, 12. then *did the Cattel groan*, ver. 18. *and the beaſt of the field did languiſh*, Hoſ. 4. 3.

This heavy Plague of Locuſts was at laſt removed by prayer, but the ſins of the people called for another. Therefore *the Lord called to contend by fire*, *Amos* 7. 4. namely, by an extreme drought, with which were mingled fearful flaſhes of fire which fell from Heaven, as in *Egypt*, *Eccl.* 9. 23. and *devoured all the paſtures of the wilderneſs, and the flame burnt up all the trees of the field*, *Joel* 1. 19. and ſome Cities were conſumed by fire from Heaven as was *Sodome*, *Amos* 4. 11. *Eſay* 1. 9. And the rivers of water were dryed up, *Joel* 1. 2. yea even the great deep was devoured by the heat, and part of it eaten up, *Amos* 7. 4. and the fiſhes deſtroyed, *Hoſ.* 4. 3.

After all theſe judgments when they prevailed not, but the people were ſtill the ſame, God ſet a line upon his people, and decreed that the high places of *Iſaac* ſhould be deſolate, and the Sanctuaries of *Iſrael* ſhould be laid waſte, *Amos* 7. 9. yet did not the Lord leave himſelf without witneſs, but againſt and in theſe times of Judgment, and ſucceſſively, and continually did the Lord raiſe up a race of Prophets among them, both in *Iſrael* and *Judah*, that gave them warning, threatning, inſtruction, and exhortation, from time to time, and did not this only by word of mouth, but alſo committed the ſame to writing, and to poſterity, that all generations to come might ſee the abomination and ingratitude of that people, written as it were with a pen of Iron, and a point of a Diamond, and might read and fear, and not do the like.

The Propheſie of HOSEA.

CHAP. I, II, III, IV.

THE firſt Prophet of this race was *Hoſea*; and ſo he teſtifieth of himſelf *chap.* 1. *verſ.* 2. : תחלת דבר *The Lord ſpake firſt by Hoſea:* And thus as under an *Hoſea*, *Iſrael* did enter into the Land of *Canaan*, *Numb.*13.16. and under an *Hoſea* were captived out, 2 *King.* 17. So did the Lord raiſe up an *Hoſea* the firſt of theſe Prophets, to tax their unthankfulneſs for the one, and to foretel the fearfulneſs of the other. His Propheſie is common both to *Iſrael* and *Judah*, even as was his adulterous wife, a mate as unfit for ſo holy a Prophet, as her actions were fit to reſemble ſuch a wicked people. The date of his Propheſie tells us, that he began in the days of *Uzziah*, and continued till the days of *Ezekiah*, and ſo was a Preacher at the leaſt ſeventy years, and ſo ſaw the truth of his Propheſie fulfilled upon captived *Iſrael*. Of all the Sermons that he made, and threatnings, and admonitions, that he gave in ſo long a time, only this ſmall parcel is reſerved, which is contained in his little Book, the Lord reſerving only what his divine Wiſdom ſaw to be moſt pertinent for thoſe preſent times, and moſt profitable for the time to come. That being to be accounted canonical Scripture; not what every Prophet delivered in his whole time, but what the Lord ſaw good to commit to writing for poſterity.

To fit every Propheſie of this Book, whether Chapter or part of Chapter to its proper year when it was delivered, is ſo far impoſſible, as that it is not poſſible to fit them certainly to the Kings reign, and therefore the Reader can but conceive of their time in groſs, as they were delivered by him in the time of his Preaching, which was exceeding long: only theſe two or three conſiderations and conjectures may not be unprofitable towards the caſting up of ſome of the times, and towards the better underſtanding of his Propheſie in ſome particular.

1. He began to Propheſie in the days of *Uzziah*, and began firſt of any that were Prophets in his reign, as were *Joel*, *Amos*, and *Eſaiah:* [*Jonah* was a Prophet in theſe times, but there is no Propheſie of his left againſt *Iſrael* or *Judah*] the ſecond Verſe of the firſt Chapter cited even now, cannot be underſtood ſo properly in any ſence as this, that God now raiſing up in the days of *Uzziah* a generation of Prophets, that ſhould continue in a ſucceſſion till the captivity, and that ſhould leave their Propheſies behind them in writing, תחלת דבר יהוה בחושע *The Lord ſpake* firſt of all theſe by *Hoſea:* Therefore whereas it is apparenſt that *Amos*, by the date of his Propheſie, *ver.* 1. lived in thoſe days of *Uzziah*, which were contemporary with the days of *Jeroboam*, ſo alſo is it apparent by this paſſage of *Hoſea*, that he himſelf began in ſome time of thoſe concurrent years of *Uzziah* and *Jeroboam*, which were fifteen, and ſomewhat before the beginning of *Amos*.

2. His two firſt Chapters ſeem to be uttered by him in the very beginning of his Preaching: of the firſt there can be no doubt nor controverſie, and the other two may be well conceived to be of the ſame date, as appeareth by the matter. In the firſt Chapter, under the parable of his marrying an adulterous wife [which he names *Gomer the daughter of Diblaim*, either for that there was ſome notorious whoriſh wife in thoſe times of that name, or for the ſignificanſie of the words, for they import *corruption of figs*, as *Jer.*24.3. as our Saviour in a parable nameth a begger *Lazarus*, either becauſe there was ſome noted poor needy wretch of that name in thoſe times, or for the ſignificanſie of the word, *Lazarus*, ſignifying, *God help me*, as proper a name for a begger as could be given] under this Parable, I ſay, of his marrying an adulterous wife, and begetting children of her; he foretels firſt the ruine of the houſe of *Jehu*, this typified by a Son ſhe bears, called *Jezrael*, then the ruine of the ten Tribes, this typified by a daughter ſhe bears, which he calls *Lo-ruchamah*, or *unpitied*, for in theſe times of *Jeroboam*, when *Hoſea* began to Propheſie, the Lord had pittied *Iſrael* exceedingly, and eaſed them much of their trouble and oppreſſions, 2 *King.*24.26,27. but now he would do ſo no more: but *Judah* he would yet pitty and ſave them, *not by bow and ſword*, but by an Angel in the days of *Ezekiah*, deſtroyeth *Senacheribs* Army: yet ſhould *Judah* at laſt be alſo caſt off, and become *Lo-ammi*, and then the Gentiles ſhould be called in, in *Iſraels* and *Judahs* ſtead. And thus having laid the generals of his Propheſie down in the firſt Chapter, he goeth on in the ſecond to particularize upon thoſe heads, and to ſhew the reaſon and manner of the Jews rejection, and the manner and happineſs of the Gentiles calling; And thus the time of theſe two firſt Chapters is reaſonably apparent.

3. His third and fourth Chapters may be ſuppoſed to have been delivered by him at the ſame time, becauſe in *Chap.*4.3. he ſpeaketh of the Plagues of Locuſts, and that *Amos*

and *Joel* had ſpoken of, fore-telling them alſo as they had done. In the third Chapter under the parable of another marriage with an adulterous wife, he fore-telleth the iniquity of the people after their return out of *Babel* into their own Land, and alſo their ſtate in their preſent rejection, when they neither follow Idols nor God, when neither as a wife they adhere to God, nor yet to any other god, as to another husband.

The fourth Chapter taketh the people up, as they were in their preſent poſture in the Prophets time, and ſheweth their wickedneſs, and what Judgments the Lord had in ſtore for them, and according to this tenor he goeth on through the reſt of his Book.

5. The reſt of the Book may be ſuppoſed coincident, ſome of it with the times of *Ahaz*, and ſome of it with the former times of *Ezekiel*, even to the captiving of the ten Tribes, as ſhall be obſerved when we come there.

The Propheſie of JOEL *all.*

IN theſe latter days of *Jeroboam* the ſecond, and much about the times of *Amos* his firſt prophecying among *Iſrael*, did *Joel* alſo appear and begin to prophecy among *Judah*. Some of the Hebrew Doctors have conceived him to have lived in the time of *Eliſha*, and that theſe threatnings of his of famine, were accompliſhed in the ſeven years famine in that time, 2 *King*. 8. 1. others have ſuppoſed him to have lived and propheſied in the times of *Manaſſeth King of Judah*, caſting his time as much too forward, as the other was too backward; but his Subject matter will declare his time: for ſeeing he ſpeaketh of the ſame Plague of Locuſts, and of drought and fire, that *Amos* doth, it is an argument ſufficient to conclude that *Amos* and he appeared about the ſame time.

He ſadly bemoaneth and deſcribeth in his two firſt Chapters, the miſerable famine, and grievous condition that the people were brought into through the Plagues of Locuſts and Drought, and painteth out the Catterpillars, and Cankerworms, and Locuſts, which he calleth *the Northern Army*, as if they were an Army of men indeed: They came in at the North part of the Land, from towards *Syria* and *Hamath*, and kept as it were in a body, and devoured all before them as they went along to the South part, and there as they were facing about to go off below the point of the dead Sea, the barrenneſs of that part affamiſhed them, who had affamiſhed the whole Country. The Prophet yet concludes afterwards with comfortable promiſes of Rain after the Drought, and flouriſhing Trees and times after theſe Locuſts: And upon that diſcourſe of the reſtitution of temporal bleſſings, he riſeth to ſpeak of ſpiritual bleſſings in the days of Chriſt, in the gift of Tongues; and in the wonders that ſhould attend Chriſts death, and that ſhould go before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and concludes in the third Chapter with threatnings againſt the enemies of *Jeruſalem*, and particularly foretelleth the deſtruction of the Army of *Senacharib*; againſt which the Lord cauſed his mighty ones to come down, *verſ.* 11. namely, his Angels, and deſtroyed them in the valley of *Jehoſhaphat* before *Jeruſalem*. This *Hoſea* alſo had particularly pointed at *Hoſ.* 1. 7.

The Book of AMOS, *all.*

THIS Propheſie is ſo clearly dated, that there needeth not to uſe many words to ſhew in what time to lay it. It was uttered in the days of *Jeroboam*, and in the days of *Uzziah*, that they lived together; and of this Prophets propheſying in any Kings reign further there is no mention.

Almoſt at the end of his Book he telleth us that *Jeroboam* was then alive, and *Amaziah* the Prieſt of *Bethel*, would have ſtirred him up againſt *Amos*, as againſt a Traytor, *Chap.* 7. 10. &c. ſo that this Book is to be taken in, in the latter times of *Jeroboam*, and the proper order of it falleth between the ſeven and twenty and eight and twenty verſes of 2 *King.* 14. And in the ſame place alſo come in the Books of *Hoſea* and *Joel.* And ſo we may obſerve the dealing of the Lord with *Iſrael* the plainer. For whereas they had been brought very low by their enemies, and their miſeries were become exceeding great; the Lord yet would not deſtroy them, but would try them with one kindneſs more, and ſo he gives them great eaſe and deliverance by *Jeroboam:* But when both *Jeroboam* and they continued ſtill in the Idolatry of the old *Jeroboam*, and in the wickedneſs of their own ways, the Lord ſendeth theſe Prophets amongſt them, to foretel their final deſtruction and overthrow.

Amos neither a Prophet nor a Prophets ſon, by education, *Chap.* 7. 14. that is neither Tutor nor Scholler in the Schools of the Prophets, but a Shepherd of *Tekoa*, and of a rude breeding, yet like the *Galilean* fiſhers becomes a glorious Scholler in the School of the Lord, and a glorious Teacher in the Congregation of *Iſrael.* He began to propheſie two years before the Earthquake, and told of it before it came, that *the Lord would ſmite the Winter houſe, with the Summer houſe*, *Chap.* 3. 15. and *the Lintel of the door* of the Idolatrous Temple *ſhould be ſmitten*, and the poſts ſhake, *Chap.* 9. 1. and ſo there ſhould be a rent and breach in the Idoll Temple at *Bethel*, when the Lord now came to viſit them, as there was at the Temple in *Jeruſalem*, at the death of Chriſt. It is very generally held by the Jews, that this Earthquake was at that very time when *Uzziah* was ſtruck Leprous, but that that cannot be we ſhall obſerve, when we come forward to the year of his death. *Amos* propheſieth againſt ſix Nations beſides, *Iſrael*, and *Judah*, and concludeth them all under an irreverſible decree of deſtruction, for ſo ſhould that clauſe be rendred, which in every one of the threatnings breedeth ſo much difficulty of tranſlating, לא אשיבנו *I will not revoke it.* For the ſenſe lieth thus, *The Lord will roar from Zion, and utter his voice from Jeruſalem: And thus ſaith the Lord, For three tranſgreſſions of Damaſcus, and for four, I will not revoke it.* That is, I will not revoke that voyce; but *Damaſcus* ſhall be deſtroyed, and ſo of the reſt. For the maſculine affixe in אשיבנו cannot poſſibly be referred to any thing that went before, but only to קולו *His voyce*, in *verſ.* 2. and to ſome thing that went before it, it muſt of neceſſity be referred.

The fourth tranſgreſſion of every Nation is particularly ſpecified, for ſo is that clauſe alſo to be underſtood in every one of the threatnings. For three tranſgreſſions of *Damaſcus*, but eſpecially for the fourth, I will not revoke the voice that is gone out againſt it; and ſo the like phraſe is uſed, *Prov.* 30. 15, 18, 21.

The Propheſie of OBADIAH.

THERE is no undoubted certainty of the times of this Prophet, and there is ſome controverſie about his perſon. The Hebrew Doctors moſt generally hold, that this *Obadiah* was he that lived with *Ahab*, 1 *King.* 18. and that he was a proſelited *Idumean:* they expreſs it thus, *The holy bleſſed God ſaid, Of them, and among them will I raiſe up one againſt them: there ſhall come* Obadiah, *who dwelt with two wicked perſons,* Ahab *and* Jezabel, *and learned not their works, and he ſhall take vengeance of* Eſau, *who dwelt with two righteous perſons,* Iſaac *and* Rebecca, *and learned not their works.* But *Aben Ezra* moderately and diſcreetly refuſeth this opinion, *For,* ſaith he, *where it is ſaid,* Obadiah *feared the Lord, if it had been this very Prophet, how doth he call him a fearer of the Lord, and not rather a Prophet, ſeeing that Propheſie was a degree more honourable?* And withal, when *Jezabel* ſought to deſtroy all the Lords Prophets, how could *Obadiah* have eſcaped if he had been a Prophet, being always at Court in *Jezabels* eye? Had this *Obadiah* been *Ahabs* Courtier, it were eaſie enough to tell in what time and place to lay this Propheſie, but ſince he was not, as is apparent by theſe Arguments alledged, and might be confirmed by more, we are ſtill to ſeek who this Prophet was, and in what time he lived. It appeareth by the matter of his Propheſie, that *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* had been under great calamity and captivity, and that *Edom* had helped forward the miſery, ſee *ver.* 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. ſtrangers had carried away captive the forces of *Jeruſalem*, and forreiners had entred into her gates, and caſt Lots upon her, and *Edom* was as one of them: Now whether this meaneth the *Babiloniſh* captivity, or ſome riffling of *Jeruſalem* ſome time before, there is the queſtion: At the ſacking of it by the *Babilonians*, the *Edomites* were buſie to help on the ruine, as it is related in *Pſal.* 137. 7. and they cryed, *Raſe it, raſe it, even to the foundation*; and if this Propheſie refer to that time, then ſhould it be laid after the Propheſie of *Jeremy* for time and order: But theſe two arguments do perſwade, that this Propheſie of *Obadiah*, and this ſpleen of *Edom* againſt *Jeruſalem* were of a timelier and ſooner date; 1. Becauſe there is no mention at all of any ſuch a Prophet at and after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, when men of the beſt note and eminency are reckoned very carefully. 2. Becauſe he mentioneth only the Captivity of *Iſrael* and *Judah* in *Zarephath* and *Sepharad*, not in *France* and *Spain*, as the words are commonly interpreted, but in *Sarepta* of *Zidon*, and in other places thereabout, or in *Edom:* Now if this his Propheſie had been after the *Babilonian* had deſtroyed *Jeruſalem*, it had been proper to have ſpoken of the Captivity of *Iſrael* in *Aſſyria*, and of *Judah* in *Babilon*, and not of a ſmall parcel of Captives in two ſmall Towns or Places. Therefore I cannot but conceive that *Obadiah* lived contemporary with theſe men, with whoſe Propheſies his is laid, *Hoſea*, *Amos*, and *Jonah*, and that this malicious carriage of the *Edomites* againſt *Jeruſalem* and *Judah*, was either when it was ſacked by *Shiſhak* King of *Egypt*, 1 *King.* 14.25. or by the *Philiſtims* and *Arabians*, 2 *Chron.* 21. 16, 17. or by *Joaſh* King of *Iſrael*, 2 *Chron.* 25.21. and that theſe Captives of *Iſrael* and *Judah* in *Sarepta* and *Sepharad*, were like thoſe in *Amos* 1, 6, 9. taken by the *Sidonian*, and by whoſoever inhabited *Sepharad*, to be delivered up to *Edom.*

World

Division

The Book of JONAH, *all.*

IN *Hoſea*, *Joel*, and *Amos* is ſhewed the rejection and ruine of *Iſrael* and *Judah*, and in *Obadiah*, the deſolation of *Eſau* the next Kinſman, and when the ſeed of *Jacob* and *Eſau* is thus decreed to ruine and caſting off, then it was ſeaſonable to ſend *Jonah* out to fetch in the Gentiles: He lived in the ſame time with theſe Prophets, named in the days of *Jeroboam* the ſecond, and Propheſied of his Victories, and in his time or not long after he goeth to *Niniveh*: He at firſt declineth his Embaſſage, for love to his own people, knowing that the coming in of the Gentiles would be the caſting off of the Jews, and he was unwilling to be the forwarder and inſtrument of it. At *Joppa* he diverts from his errand [compare *Acts* 10. and the like unwillingneſs in *Simon Bar Jona*] taketh Ship for *Tarſhiſh*, a City now in the territories of *Ninevehs* dominion, but comes a ſhore in a Whales belly: a type of Chriſts Burial and Reſurrection before the Gentiles calling. *Nineveh* repented at the preaching of *Jonah*, denouncing deſtruction but forty days off: but about forty years after or leſs it is deſtroyed indeed, under the effeminate King *Sardanapalus*.

2 CHRON. XXVI. *ver.* 5.

Uzziah.

3216 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 UZZIAH ſeeketh God, and proſpereth, *Zechariah* a Prophet is as it were his houſhold Chaplain, and following his directions it goeth well with him. There is mention in *Eſay* 1.2. in the times of *Ahaz*, of one of the ſame name, *Zechariah*.

3223 23 *Eſay* beginneth to Propheſie in this three and twentieth year of *Uzziah*, when it was now threeſcore and five years to the captiving of the ten Tribes, for ſo ſeems that paſſage to be dated and underſtood, *Eſay* 8.8. *within threeſcore and five years ſhall Ephraim be broken off that it be not a people*: For to what other date can it be referred if it mean barely the ten Tribes captiving. Not from the time that *Eſay* uttered that Propheſie in the time of *Ahaz*; for from the firſt year of *Ahaz* to the breaking of *Ephraim* was but twenty years, nor from the beginning of *Amos* his Propheſying, as the Jews do caſt it, for he began in *Jeroboams* time, and from *Jeroboams* laſt to the breaking of *Ephraim* was above ſeventy years, but it is to be counted from the time when *Eſay* himſelf began to Propheſie: He began in the days of *Uzziah*, and had continued all the time of *Jotham*, and now it was the reign of *Ahaz*, and the Lord fixeth him this term for *Ephraims* Kingdom; that count from the beginning of his own propheſying, ſixty five years forward, and then the ten Tribes ſhould be captived. Now the Holy Ghoſt reckoneth from that date rather then from any other. 1. Becauſe juſt now was the middle time betwixt the revolt of the ten Tribes, and the burning of the Temple, which whole ſum and ſpace was three hundred ninety years, ſo ſummed *Ezek.*4.5. and ſo ſhall the Reader ſee by them when we come there. If any will ſtrictly have theſe ſixty five years reckoned from the time of *Eſays* uttering the Propheſie in the time of *Ahaz*, we ſhall lend them a conjecture hereafter.

Interregnum.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 AFter the death of *Jeroboam*, the Throne of *Iſrael* was empty twenty two years, for *Zachariah* the ſon, and next ſucceſſor of *Jeroboam* beginneth not to reign till the thirty eight year of *Uzziah*, 2 *King.*15.8. The reaſon of this may be ſuppoſed to be partly ſedition, and diſturbance in the State, for when a King doth reign he is preſently ſlain 2 *King.* 15.10. and partly the bitterneſs of the Plagues which had begun in *Jeroboams* time.

187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194

World | *Uzziah* | *Division.*

ESAY I.

2. The people of *Jeruſalem* [much more of *Samaria*] were now become ſo abominable that they are as *Sodome* and *Gomorrah*, *verſ.* 10. full laden with iniquity, *verſ.* 4. nothing amended by the ſad judgment paſt, *verſ.* 5. and therefore now determinately given up, *verſ.* 7. 24. And Heaven and Earth called to witneſs theſe things, as they were called to witneſs when theſe things were foretold, *Deut.* 32. ſo that this is a proper place to count the ruine of the ten Tribes, when it was a time of fixing the ruine of *Jeruſalem.*

2 CHRON. XXVI. VI. VII, VIII.

3224 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 3237 37

UZZIAH overcometh the Philiſtims, and diſmantleth their chief Garriſons of *Gath*, *Jabneh*, and *Aſhdod*, and buildeth Cities and Garriſons of his own in the midſt of them. He ſubdueth the *Ammonites*, and ſome *Arabians*, and here ſome part of the Propheſie of *Amos* againſt the Philiſtims and *Ammon*, beginneth to take place. *Amos* 1. 8. 13. but to be accompliſhed in a more compleat deſolation by the *Aſſyrians* and *Babilonian* afterward: the waters of a great flood that ſwept down all before them, as *Eſay* 8. 8.

Interregnum 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22

THE vacancy ſtill continueth in the Kingdom of *Iſrael.*

195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208

ESAY II, III, IV.

Eſay the Evangeliſt is a Prophet at *Jeruſalem.* He foretelleth the beginning of the Goſpel in the laſt days of *Jeruſalem*, and the conflux of people to that light of the Lord, and to that Law that ſhould come from *Sion*, as a Law of old had done from *Sinai:* that there ſhould be no longer that quarrelling that had been by all Nations againſt the Jews becauſe of their Religion, for now Religion ſhould be imbraced by all Nations, that mens reliance upon their own righteouſneſs ſhould be aboliſhed, and the doctrine of Repentance take place. That Chriſt the *Branch* ſhall be glorious, and the members of the new *Jeruſalem* holy: but the people of the times of his Propheſying ſo abominable that he prayeth againſt them, *Chap.* 2. 9. [as *Elias* had done againſt the ten Tribes, 1 *King.* 19. 14.] and threatneth ſore deſtruction and judgments both upon men and women. Thus was it with the people in manners, though it were ſo proſperous with *Uzziah* for Victories, the Lord intended to try *Judah* with kindneſſes ſtill, as he had done *Iſrael* in the days of *Jeroboam* the ſecond: He fore-ſaw the iſſue, he would leave them without excuſe, and had ſomething yet to do for the glorifying of his Name, and his Ordinances, before he would deliver his people into his enemies hand.

2 CHRON. XXVI. from *verſ.* 9. to *verſ.* 16.

3238 38

UZZIAH keepeth up an Army of 307500. Builds Towers and Forts, and maketh warlike Engines, and groweth exceeding ſtrong; and feared of the Kings round about him.

Zechariah. 1

2 KING. XV. *ver.* 5. to *ver.* 23.

ZECHARIAH the ſon of *Jeroboam* reigneth ſix months, and is ſlain, and here endeth *Jehues* houſe, and here *Hoſea's* Propheſie taketh place, *Hoſea* 1. 4, 5. 209

World | Uzz. | ESAY V. | Division

39 | 1 SHALLUM reigneth a moneth, having slain *Zechariah.*

3239 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 ALthough the Prophet *Esay* prophesied almost thirty years in the time of *Uzziah*, yet have we no more but the five first Chapters left of all his Prophesies in so long a space, and of those we have not the certain years neither, but must take them up at conjecture. In this fifth Chapter he singeth a Song for Christ his beloved, concerning his beloveds Vineyard, as they used to sing at their Vintages, but it is a dolefull ditty, concerning the unfruitfulness and wilde Grapes of the Vineyard of *Israel*, after so much husbandry. Some of those sour Grapes he reckons up under several woes after his Song. From this place Christ useth the parable of the Vineyard, and the Jews from hence do soon understand it, *Matth.* 21. 34, 45.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 MENAHEM slayeth him, and reigneth ten years; he rippeth up the woman with child of *Tiphsah*, *Ammon* like, *Amos* 1. 13. *Menahem* doth evil in the sight of the Lord, following *Jeroboams* Idolatry. He is invaded by *Pull* King of *Assyria*, [now is *Syria* fading and *Assyria* rising] but he hireth *Pull* with 1000 Talents of silver to be on his side, and to strengthen him in his Kingdom: This sum he raiseth again by Tax of 60000 rich men, at fifty shekels a man. 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218

3248 48 10 *Menahem* dieth: *Ephraim* by him is brought in a reliance and resting upon *Assyria*, which they continue into their own undoing. *Hosea* taxeth them for this again and again, *Hos.* 5. 13. & 7. 11. & 8. 9. and foretelleth that therefore the *Assyrian* shall be their King, *Hos.* 11. 5. and that they shall eat unclean things in the Land of *Assyria*, *Hos.* 9. 3. 219

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2 KINGS XV. *Vers.* 23, 24, 25, 26, 27.

3249 49 3250 50 UZZIAHS victories and magnificence in time make him proud.

51

1 2 THIS year *Israels* Throne is empty. *Pekahiah* reigneth two years, and is slain by *Pekah* the son of *Remaliah.* 220 221 222

1 *Pekah* the Son of *Remaliah*, reigneth twenty years. 223

2 CHRON. XXVI. from *vers.* 16. to the end of the Chapter. And 2 KING. XV. *vers.* 5, 6, 7.

3252 52 UZZIAH is this year struck with Leprosie, and this year dieth. The Holy Ghost hath given a close intimation, that *Uzziah's* Leprosie befell him in the last year of his reign, and not before 2 *King.* 15. 50. where it is said that *Hosea slew Pekah in the twentieth year of Jotham*, upon which arise these two scruples: 1. How *Jothams* twentieth year can be spoken of when he reigned but sixteen, 2 *King.* 15. 33. this shall be looked after when we come thither. And 2. how can *Pekahs* twentieth year be called the twentieth of *Jotham*, when *Pekah* began to raign a year before him, and so *Pekahs* twentieth is but *Jothams* nineteenth?

Answ. Why, here is the hint that the Holy Ghost giveth of the time of *Uzziahs* being struck Leprous, namely, in the last year of his raign: for here by this very expression is shewed that *Jotham* reigned in the last year of his fathers life; and the Text plainly expresseth the occasion, because *the Lord smote the King with Leprosie, so that he was a Leper unto the day of his death, and* Jotham *the Kings son was over the House, judging the people of the Land.*

ESAY

World | Jotham | Division

ESAY VI.

IN the year that King *Uzziah* died, *Esay* seeth the glory of Christ in the Temple, *John* 12. 41. filling the Temple with smoak in sign of the burning of it, and Angels called *Seraphim*, that is, *Burning ones*, because of the firing of the Temple, which was there foretold, do proclaim the Trinity to be *Holy, Holy, Holy*, yet had the Jews so unholily behaved themselves toward it; that they are deemed to blindness and obduration till they be utterly destroyed.

2 CHRON. XXVII. *all.*
2 KING. XV. *from ver.* 32. *to the end.*

3253 1 JOTHAM reigneth, and
2 doth uprightly, and pro-
3 spereth, buildeth the Gate be-
4 tween the Kings house and the
5 Temple, and buildeth many
6 forts in the Country, subdueth
7 *Ammon* as his father had done,
8 bringeth them under a great
9 Tribute, and executeth some
10 more of *Amos* his Prophesie
11 against them. He was Son to
12 JERUSASH the daughter
13 of *Zadok* the High Priest. This
14 it may be made *Uzziah* the
15 more forward to assail the
Priests Office, because he had married the High Priests daughter, but *Jotham*, though so much of the Priests Seed, yet did not attempt the like.

Pekah | 2 KING. XV. *verf.* 28. 29. 1 CHRON. V. *all.*

2 PEKAH seemeth to have 224
3 been a *Gileadite*, and *Pe-* 225
4 *kahiah* a *Gadite*, *Pekah* with fif- 226
5 ty Gileadites slayeth him in the 227
6 Palace at *Samaria*, and reigneth 228
7 wickedly after him. He pro- 229
8 veth a very sore scourge to *Ju-* 230
9 *dah* before he dieth. In these 231
10 times, even in the days of *Jo-* 232
11 *tham* there was an account ta- 233
12 ken of the families of *Reuben*, 234
13 *Gad*, and half *Manasseh*, the 235
14 inhabitants beyond *Jordan*, 236
15 1 *Chron.* 5. 17. and so had 237
16 there been in the days of *Je-* 238
roboam the second: then at their restoring by *Jeroboam* out of the hands of *Hamath* and *Syria*, and now at their arming against the *Assyrian*, under whose hand they fall, in the time of *Pekah*, and are never again restored to *Israel*.

MICAH. I. II.

IN the reign of *Jotham* beginneth *Micah* to Propheſie, and mourneth sadly for the ten Tribes Captivity, which now drew near, and for the misery of *Jerusalem* which was not far off. He was a Prophet in the days of *Jotham*, *Ahaz*, and *Hezechiah*; and it is more proper to conceive, that the subject and matter of his whole Book was the tenor of his propheſying in every one of their times; then it is easie to tell what Chapters of his Book were delivered in every one of those Kings time. The conclusion of the third Chapter is allotted to the times of *Hezekiah*, *Jer.* 26. 18. and there may the whole Chapter be laid, and all the rest that follow it, and there shall we take them in. *Micah* was a Prophet of *Mareshah* in the Tribe of *Judah*, bordering upon the Philistims, *Josh.* 15. 44. 2 *Chron.* 14. 19. He beginneth his Propheſie with the very same words that *Michaiah* had concluded his to *Ahab*, שמעו עמים כלם 1 *King.* 22. 28. in a strange Syntax and construction: *Hearken ye people all of them*, his Propheſie is in some places very obscure, and very terrible, and in some very plain and comfortable. He speaketh glorious things of Christ, and his Kingdom, and nameth the Town where he should be born, and useth the very words of *Esay*, who was now alive, to expreſs the conflux to the Kingdom of

of Christ under the Gospel, and his power in it, and the peace that should be under it.

2 KING. XVI. *ver.* 1, 2, 3, 4.
2 CHRON. XXVIII. *ver.* 1, 2, 3, 4.

World | Jotham | Ahaz | Pekah | Division

3268 | 16 | 1 AHAZ reigneth very 2 wickedly, serveth *Baalim*, and 3 burneth *his Sons*, 2 *Chron.* 28. 3. that is, *one of his Sons*, 2 *King.* 16. 3. in the fire to *Molech*. *Hezekiah* is preserved by a special providence for a better purpose.

17 PEKAH is a desperate 18 enemy to *Judah*, and 19 joyneth with *Syria* against *Jerusalem* to make *Rezin*, *a son of Tabeel*, or one of the the posterity of *Tabrimmon*, King there, *Esay* 7.6.

Division: 239, 240, 241

2 KING. XVI. *Vers.* 5.

ESAY VII.

AHAZ his wickedness bringeth *Rezin* and *Pekah* against *Jerusalem*, but they cannot prevail against * *the House of David*, for the promise sake. *Esay* assureth *Ahaz* of deliverance from *those two fire brands*, both Kings and Kingdoms, which were now grown to be but *tails*, and were ready to *smoak* their last: He offereth *Ahaz* a sign which he scornfully refuseth, and despiseth to try *Jehovah* [his son *Hezekiah* is of another mind, 2 *King.* 20. 8.] therefore the Lord himself giveth this sign, *That the Lord will not quite cast off the House of David till a Virgin have born a Son, and that Son be God in our nature*, both which are great wonders indeed; yet he threatens sad days to come upon *Jerusalem before.*

* Observe this phrase in *ver.* 2. & 13.

ESAY VIII.

ESay writes a Book full of no other words but this, * *Maher-shalal-hash-baz*, and takes two men that were of esteem with *Ahaz*, *Zechariah*, his father in law, and *Uriah* the Priest, to see and witness what he had done, that so it might come to *Ahaz* his knowledge. He also names a child that his wife bare him by this very name, and all to confirm that *Damascus* and *Samaria*, the two enemies of *Judah* now in Arms against it should speedily be destroyed. He useth two several phrases of the same signification, as applying them to the two places, *Samaria* and *Damascus*; yet doth he withal threaten those of *Judah* that despised the house and Kingdom of *David*, because it was but like the waters of *Shiloam*, of a very small stream, in comparison of those great Kingdoms that were so potent, and therefore that desired to be under one of those great Kingdoms, and to make confederacy with it: such men he threatens, that he will bring upon them a Kingdom great enough, which should come as a mighty River, since they despised the small stream, and should over-flow *Emmanuels* land all over. He propheseth glorious things of *Emmanuel* himself, as that he should be a Sanctuary: that he should have children or Disciples, that he should give them a law and testimony, which should be Oracles to inquire at, and that whosoever should * transgress that law and testimony should be hard bestead, famished, perplexed, and at last driven to utter darkness.

* *Hasting to the spoil he hasteth to the prey.*

* Vers. 21. ואבר בה *And he transgresseth against it, i. e. against the Testimony ver.* 2. *of the Gospel.*

World

Ahaz

Division

ESAY IX.

THAT this darkneſs ſhall be a worſe darkneſs and affliction then that was in *Galilee*, in their captivity, either by *Hazael* or the *Aſſyrian*, for thoſe places ſaw light afterward, for the Goſpel began there, but the contempt of the Goſpel ſhould bring miſery irreparable: He ſpeaketh again glorious things concerning Chriſt, the Child promiſed, before *Davids* houſe fail, *the Prince of Peace, and* * *Father of Eternity:* A letter of note and remarkableneſs is in the word לְמַרְבֵּה *Lemarbeh* in *ver.*7. *Mem clauſum*, to ſhew the hiddenneſs and myſteriouſneſs of Chriſts Kingdom different from viſible pomp, and to hint the forty years before *Jeruſalems* deſtruction, when this Dominion increaſed through the world. The juncture of the firſt verſe of this Chapter, with the laſt of the preceding, and this ſubject of *verſ.* 9. & 11. ſhew plainly, that this Chapter is of the ſame time with thoſe two before.

* אבי עד verſ. 6.

ESAY XVII.

HERE alſo is the Reader to take in this ſeventeenth Chapter of *Eſay*, made upon the very ſame ſubject that theſe three laſt mentioned, the ſeventh, the eighth, and the ninth, were, namely, concerning the final ruine of *Damaſcus* and *Ephraim*. And whereas *Damaſcus* was deſtroyed and captived in the beginning of the time of *Ahaz*, and as it is eaſily argued thereupon, that this Propheſie that foretelleth the deſtruction of it, ſhould be ſet before the Story that relateth its deſtruction; ſo it may be concluded, that this Propheſie may be very properly taken in here, upon theſe conſiderations: 1. Till the time of the raign of *Ahaz* the Prophet, meddles not with *Damaſcus* and *Ephraim* joyned together; namely, not till they joyned together to invade *Judah*. 2. Step but one ſtep further in the Chronicle, then this very place where we would have this Chapter taken in, and *Damaſcus* is ruined. And therefore this Chapter had to deal with *Damaſcus* and *Ephraim* joyned together, it is an argument that it is to be laid no ſooner then here; and ſince it is a Propheſie of the deſtruction of *Damaſcus* before it come, it can be laid no further forward. Now the reaſon why it lieth in that place of the Book where it doth, is becauſe there are many Propheſies againſt many ſeveral places laid there together; and when the Lord is dealing threatnings among all the Countries and places thereabout, *Damaſcus* and *Ephraim* could not go without: And therefore as theſe three laſt named Chapters are laid where they be, as ſingle and ſingular denuntiations againſt theſe two places; ſo is this Chapter laid where it is, becauſe it ſhould there go in company with other threatnings.

ESAY XXVIII.

IN the ſame manner is the eight and twentieth Chapter of this Book, which foretelleth alſo the deſtruction of *Ephraim*, laid beyond its proper time, among Chapters on either ſide it, that are of a date after *Ephraim* was deſtroyed; but it is laid there, that threatnings againſt that place might alſo come in among the threatnings againſt other places: And ſince there is no certain notice of what date that Chapter is, it may not unfitly be taken in here, and ſo all *Eſays* Propheſies againſt *Ephraim* come together.

World | *Ahaz* | Division

2 CHRON. XXVIII. *verſ.* 4. to *verſ.* 16.

REZIN and *Pekah* returning to their ſeveral homes from *Jeruſalem*, which they could not overcome, ſpoil *Judah* miſerably as they go, *Pekah* ſlayeth 120000 men, and taketh 200000 women and children Captives, but they are mercifully uſed and inlarged at the admonition of a Prophet, the only good deed that we read of done in *Samaria* of a long time; *Rezin* alſo carrieth a great Captivity away to *Damaſcus*.

2 KING. XVI. *ver.* 6.

AND not content with that, he taketh his opportunity after he comes home; now *Judah* is ſo low to take in *Eloth*, the Sea-town in *Edom*, which *Uzziah* had recovered in the beginning of his reign; and this is the laſt victory of *Syria* before *Aſſyria* ſwallowed it up.

2 KINGS XVI. *ver.* 7. to 17.

3271 | 4 AHAZ hireth *Tiglath-Pilefer*; *this raſor that is hired*, namely *Aſſyria*, *Eſa.* 7.20. doth now ſhave *Galilee*, *Gilead* and *Damaſcus*; and ere long it lighteth on him that hired it. *Tiglath* captiveth *Damaſcus to Kir, and ſlayeth Rezin*, as *Amos* 1.5. *Ahaz* goeth to *Damaſcus* to ſee him, and bringeth away with him the pattern of an idolatrous Altar.

5 *Ahaz* as he falleth into great
6 ſins, ſo falleth he into great
7 miſeries, being oppreſſed by
8 enemies on every hand; yet
9 ſtill groweth he worſe and
10 worſe, and is no whit hum-
11 bled by his calamities; therefore the Text ſets a ſpecial mark and brand upon him for ſuch impenitency. *This is that King Ahaz*, 2 *Chron.* 28. 22. He ſetteth up a Dial, which yieldeth a miraculous ſign to his ſon *Hezekiah*, though he himſelf had ſcorned to ask for a ſign.

Pekah | 2 KINGS XV. *verſ.* 30, 31.

20 PEKAH before he dieth loſeth all *Gilead* and *Galilee*, and at laſt is ſlain himſelf by *Hoſhea* the ſon of *Elah*. *In the twentieth year of Jotham the ſon of Uzziah.* Now is revenge taken on *Pekah* for all his cruelty againſt *Judah:* but it is not for *Ahaz* his ſake; therefore it is not dated by his time, but by *Jothams* in the grave. 242

1 After the death of *Pekah*, 243
2 there is no mention of any King 244
3 in the Throne of *Iſrael*, for 245
4 compleat ſeven years together: 246
5 For though *Hoſhea* ſlew *Elah* in 247
6 the fourth of *Ahaz*, which is 248
7 called *Jothams twentieth*, yet is 249 not he ſaid to raign till *Ahaz* his twelfth year, 2 *King.* 17. 1. The reaſon of this will be worth the labour a little to inquire after, for the reſolving of this matter, doth not only clear this place, but alſo gives light to one or two places more, which are of obſcurity.

HOSEA V. VI.

IN the times of *Ahaz*, after his ſeeking to *Aſſyria* for help, do theſe Chapters ſeem to have been uttered; for Chapter 5. 13. reproveth that in *Ephraim* and *Judah* both, and threatens them both with judgments. And Chapter 6. inviteth and exhorteth to repentance and promiſeth good. *Ephraim* is the more ſpecially named in the reproof for relying upon *Aſſhur*, though *Judah* were now under the ſame ſin, and falleth under the ſame reproof, becauſe *Ephraim* was firſt in that fault, 2 *Kings* 15. 19. and was firſt ruined by *Aſſhur*.

World | *Ahaz* | 2 KING. XVI. *ver.* 17,18. 2 CHRON. XXVIII. *ver.* 16. to 26.

3279 | 12 | AHAZ is intrapt in his
13 | own ſnare: his hired *Aſſyrians* now overfloweth himſelf: *Such days come upon him and his people, as had not been ſince Ephraim departed away from Judah*, now that is fulfilled, *Eſay* 7. 17.

Hoſhea | 2 KING. XVII. *ver.* 1, 2. | Diviſion

1 | HOSHEA reigneth in the | 250
2 | twelfth year of *Ahaz*, and | 251
reigneth nine years from that time forward: Now ſince the time that *Hoſhea* had ſlain *Pekah*: *Shalmanezer* the King of *Aſſyria* had come up againſt him, and brought him into Vaſſalage: and now in the twelfth year of *Ahaz* ſets the Crown upon his head, and he and the Kingdom of *Samaria* become ſubjects and tributaries to the Crown of *Aſſyria*, for obſerve in the Text, that *Hoſhea becomes Shalmanezers ſervant, and gave him tribute* [this was in the twelfth of *Ahaz*, and from thence the nine years of his reign are dated] but afterward he is found faulty, and caught and impriſoned, and then *Samaria* in three years ſiege is taken: So that thoſe ſeven years that were between the death of *Pekah* and *Ahaz* his twelfth, are without the mention of any King in *Samaria*, becauſe *Hoſhea* was not yet eſtabliſhed in the Throne, but kept under by the *Aſſyrian* till the twelfth of *Ahaz*, and then he ſets him up King there. This obſervation of the vaſſalage of *Samaria*, before the final taking of it in the ninth of *Hoſhea*, helpeth firſt to underſtand that place in *Hoſh.* 10. 14. namely, that *Shalman*, or *Shalmanezer* [for *Eſer* was but an additional title to the Aſſyrian Monarchs, as *Pil-eſer*, *Eſer-haddon*, &c.] ſpoiled *Beth-arbel* in this his firſt voyage againſt *Samaria*, and ſo would he ſpoil *Bethel* at his ſecond.

ESAY X, XI, XII, XIII, & XIV. to *ver.* 28.

AND the ſame obſervation alſo helpeth to methodize theſe Chapters in *Eſay*, and to remove that doubt that ariſeth by comparing *Eſay* 10. *ver.* 9. 11. with *Chap.* 14. 28. together, for the former place ſpeaketh of the ſubduing of *Samaria* by the *Aſſyrian* [which was not till ſome years after *Ahaz* his death] and yet the latter ſpeaks but of the the year in which *Ahaz* died: yet is there no diſlocation at all in this, but that taking of *Samaria*, that *Chap.* 10. 9. ſpeaketh of was in this firſt expedition of *Shalmaneſer* againſt *Hoſhea*, before the twelfth of *Ahaz*, when he ſubdued *Samaria* and her Idols, and brought that Kingdom under tribute. In *Eſay* 10. he threatens to do the like to *Jeruſalem*, and indeed he doth it: *He came up to Ajath, paſſed to Migron, laid up his Carriages at Micmaſh, lodged at Geba, Cities within Ahaz his dominion, and came over the paſſage*, that had been ſtraitly kept as a Frontier between the Kingdom of *Samaria* and the Kingdom of *Judah*, &c. and indeed came up to *Jeruſalem* and ſubdued *Ahaz*: Theſe were thoſe ſtrong waters that over flowed *Judah* and *Emanuels* land in *Ahaz* his time, *Eſay* 8. 8. and the bitter days that he ſaw, the like not ſeen ſince the ten Tribes revolt, *Eſay* 7. 17. Of theſe days it is that *Hezekiah* ſpeaketh, in the very next year, or fourteenth of *Ahaz*, *Our fathers have fallen by the ſword, and our ſons, and daughters, and wives are in captivity*, 2 Chron. 29. 9. *And be not ye like your fathers, and like your brethren, which treſpaſſed againſt the Lord, and the Lord gave them up to deſolation*, as you ſee 2 *Chron.* 30. 7. This coming up of the *Aſſyrian* King againſt *Jeruſalem*, was the occaſion of *Ahaz* his ſpoiling the things of the Temple, *his cutting off the borders and baſes, and removing the laver and ſea, and the covert for the people to ſtand under on the Sabbath, and his turning away his own entry aſide from the houſe of the Lord*, 2 *King.* 16. *verſ.* 17, 18. *Becauſe of the King of Aſſyria*, as ſaith the Text, either to beſtow thoſe things that he thus cut off upon the King, or for fear the King ſhould ſee too much of the true Religion there, but that *Ahaz* might ſhew himſelf a worſhipper of ſtrange gods as well as the King. Theſe ſad times, and this expedition the Prophet ſpeaketh of in that

tenth

tenth Chapter, but in the eleventh and twelfth he again comforts the house of *David* with the vertue of *the anointing*, or with the operation of the promise to the Throne of *David*: that his lamp should not go quite out till the Branch of the root of *Jesse* should bud, and a King from thence should bear rule over all Nations. And in *Chap.* 13. & 14. he Propheseth against the Kingdom of *Babilon*, which indeed was but now newly sprung: that this stock of *Jesse* should out-wear both *Assyria* and it; and that the *anointing* or decree that God had made concerning *Davids* everlasting Throne should be their ruine that strove against it.

World | *Ahaz* | *Hezekiah* | *Hoshea* | *Division*

2 KINGS XVIII. *ver.* 1. 2, 3.
2 CHRON. XXIX.

3281 | 14 | 1 HEZEKIAH reigneth in the third year of *Hoshea*, and so first it is evident that he reigned in his fathers life time; for if *Hoshea* began in the twelfth of *Ahaz* as he did, 2 *King.* 17. 1. and *Hezekiah* began in the third of *Hoshea*, as he did 2 *King.* 18. 1. then doth it follow inevitably that *Hezekiah* began his Reign in the fourteenth of *Ahaz*, and said to reign sixteen years, 2 *King.* 16. 2. The reason of this is also resolved out of that observation before, about *Shalmanezers* first expedition against *Samaria*, and his then expedition against *Jerusalem*, for he had subdued and deposed *Ahaz*, and made him to become as a private man, and set up *Hezekiah* on the Throne in his stead, whom God had reserved for the benefit of his people, and for an instrument of much glory to himself out of the bloody sacrifices of *Ahaz* to *Molech*, and out of the massacring hand of the enemy that slew some of his sons. See 2 *Chron.* 28. 3. 7. It is said in 2 *King.* 18. 7. That *Hezekiah rebelled against the King of Assyria and served him not*; intimating that he had been under the *Assyrian* homage, but he would bear it no longer, and that in time provoked *Sennacherib* against him. Secondly, Observe how very young *Ahaz* was when he begat *Hezekiah*: He was twenty years old when he began to reign, 2 *King.* 16. 2. and in the fifteenth year of his reign his son *Hezekiah* begins to reign, being then five and twenty years old current, 2 *King.* 18. 2. and so was born when *Ahaz* was but ten years old: the like not to be parallelled again in all the Scripture, unless it was in the very young age of *Judah*, when he begat his eldest son *Er*, *Gen.* 38.

Hoshea 3 HOSHEA reigneth wickedly, but not so wickedly as the Kings of *Israel* had done that had been before him. This is remarkable, that the last King of all that succession should be the best, and yet under him the Kingdom destroyed. | 252

2 CHRON. XXIX. XXX, XXXI.

3282 | 15 | 1 HEZEKIAHS first year properly; and so is it reckoned, 2 *King.* 18. 9. 10. for his fourth year is said to be *Hoseas* seventh, and his sixth *Hoseas* 9. For though the beginning of his reign was somewhat coincident with the third of *Hoshea*, yet was it but a little time, and that year was soon out: therefore the Holy Ghost doth tell us, when it was that he began his reign at the very first: namely in *Hoseas* third: yet he rather counteth the beginning of his first year, from the first day of a new year, and from his entring upon

Hoshea 2 KING. XVII. *ver.* 3.

Hoshea 4 HOSHEA after his subjection to the King of *Assyria*, and receiving his Crown from him, yet revolteth and relieth upon the King of *Egypt*. Thus did the ten Tribes trust in *Egypt* before their captiving; and so likewise did *Judah* before her captivity, as they had both trusted on *Assyria*. | 253

upon the work of reformation, then from the other date.

Hezekiah upon the first day of the year beginneth to cleanse the house of the Lord, and even in the life time of *Ahaz* casteth out those defilements that *Ahaz* had brought into the Temple, in eighty and eight days the Priests do cleanse the house and the Court, and by Sacrifices they make a new Dedication. In the second Month they appoint and keep the Passover, and *Hezekiah* and the Princes send throughout all the ten Tribes to invite them to come in to the true Religion: this overture of reconciliation to God, and to the house of *David* they have now before they be destroyed: some of them imbrace it, come and eat the Passover, but not purified: yet by *Hezekiahs* prayer all goes well with them. The people departing from this Passover go abroad through the land, and break down Idols, not only in *Judah* but also in divers places of the Country of the ten Tribes. *Hezekiah* at *Jerusalem* restoreth the Priests to their courses, and the Tithes to the Priests.

In this purging and cleansing of the Temple, which *Hezekiah* performed in the beginning of his reign it may well be supposed, that that Copy of *Solomons* Proverbs was found mentioned, *Prov.* 25. 1. and was transcribed by some of *Hezekiahs* servants out of the old Manuscript, which it is like was much soiled and spotted with time and neglect.

2 KING. XVI. *vers.* 19, 20.
2 CHRON. XXVIII. *ver.* 26, 27.

World	Ahaz	Hezekiah	Hoshea		Division
3283	16	2	5	AHAZ dieth having lived a good while a deposed King, and having seen his Son depose the Idolatry that he had erected. EGypt becomes a broken Reed to *Israel*: they lean upon it, but it does pierce their hand, and not support them.	254

ESAY XIV. from *vers.* 28. *to the end.*

IN the year that *Ahaz* died *Esaiah* propheseth against the *Philistims*, that whereas *Uzziah* had been a Serpent to them, and had bitten them sore, as 2 *Chron.* 26. 6. but when he was dead they insulted over *Ahaz*, 2 *Chron.* 28. 18. that now *Hezekiah* should prove a *Cockatrice* to them, and smite them again, as it came to pass, 2 *King.* 18. 8. That God would first bring upon them a famine, and then *Hezekiahs* sword, and finally, a *Northern power* that should utterly dissolve them. But that the terrible Messengers of the *Assyrian* Nation, that should come against *Jerusalem*, as *Rabshakeh* and *Rabsaris*, &c. should receive this answer, That God hath founded *Zion*, and the poor of his people should trust in it, and the *Assyrian* should not prevail against it.

HOSEA VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV.

ABOUT this time were all these Chapters of *Hosea* delivered, as may be collected by these three observations. 1. The common and constant speech, that the Prophet maketh to *Ephraim* in them, sheweth, that these things were spoken to the ten Tribes before they were captived, whose Captivity is now within four years to come. 2. That this was spoken after *Hoshea* had intertained amity with *Ægypt*, of which there is mention, 2 *Kings* 17. 4. For see how Chap. 7. 11. & 12. 1. do speak of and intimate such a thing. And 3. That this was spoken after the expedition of *Shalman* mentioned before; in which expedition he destroyed *Betharbel*, Chap. 10. 14. and before his second expedition, when he should destroy *Bethel*.

World	Hezekiah	2 KING. XVIII. *verſ.* 4. 5, 6, 7, 8.
3284	3	HEZEKIAH ſtill go-
	4	eth on in his upright-
	5	neſs, and in reforming: He de-
3287	6	ſtroyeth *the brazen Serpent* which the people had Idolized.
	7	It was now about ſeven hun-
	8	dred and thirty years old. He
	9	conquereth the *Philiſtims*, as
	10	*Eſay* had propheſied of him,
	11	*Eſay* 14. 28. and ſmote them
	12	even unto *Gaza* and the bor-
	13	ders thereof ממגדל נוצרים עד עיר מבצר i. e. *both garriſoned Towers*, or Caſtles, *and fenced Cities.* He alſo rebelled againſt the King of *Aſſyria*, who had ſet him upon the Throne, and would no more homage him; relying upon the Lord for aſſiſtance, to keep the Throne of *David* free from ſuch ſlavery.

Hoſhea	Diviſion	2 KING. XVII. *verſ.* 4. to *verſ.* 24. & XVIII. *ver.* 9, 10, 11, 12.
6	255	HOSHEA impriſoned
7	256	for diſloyalty.
8	257	*Samaria* beſieged.
		Samaria ſtill beſieged.
9	258	*Samaria* taken, and the ten
	259	Tribes captived. *Iſrael* is now
	260	*Lo-ruchamah, No more pitied*,
	261	*Hoſ.* 1. 6. The Story of the
	262	King of *Aſſyria's* planting *Sa-*
	263	*maria* with a mixt people, is
	264	related inſtantly after the ſtory
	265	of her captiving, though they were a great while diſtant, that the ſtory of *Samaria* might be related and concluded all at once. And obſerve how the ſtory of its captiving is related twice, *viz. Chap.* 17. as referring to the times of *Hoſhea*, and *Chap.* 18. as reſerving to the times of *Hezekiah.*

ESAY XV, XVI.

IN theſe fifteenth and ſixteenth Chapters there is a ſad Propheſie againſt *Moab*, which was to have its accompliſhment within three years after it was propheſied, *Chap.* 16. 14. *Within three years, as the years of an hireling, and the glory of Moab ſhall be contemned.* *Seder Olam* applies theſe three years to the three years of the ſiege of *Samaria*, where he conceiveth the *Moabites* like baſe hirelings did aſſiſt the King of *Aſſyria* againſt *Iſrael*; and for theſe three years baſe ſervice, the Lord would requite her with confuſion and contempt: But the like threatning being uſed againſt *Kedar*, and terminated within one year, *Chap.*21.16. doth ſhew that this is to be taken in the proper ſenſe of coming to paſs within three years. Now when this ruine and miſery of *Moab* befel, it is not ſpecified, nor whence theſe three years are to be dated, can it be determined. But only thus much may be concluded; That the *Aſſyrian* Army was continually abroad and conquering up and down, both in the time of *Shalmanezer*, and in the time of *Sennacherib*; and whether *Shalmaneſers* Army before the taking of *Samaria*, or after, or *Sennacheribs* Army before his coming up to *Jeruſalem*, did deſtroy and ſubdue *Moab*, it is uncertain; but that one of theſe did it at ſome one of theſe times, it is more then probable; for the Prophet can hardly poſſibly be interpreted to any other date; and to which of theſe times ſoever it be referred, the order of theſe Chapters will yet appear very proper as we have laid them in the firſt thirteen years of *Hezekiah.*

ESAY XVIII, XIX.

A Propheſie againſt *Aſſyria* and *Egypt*, the one the ſcourge, and the other the carnal confidence of *Iſrael*: He calleth *Aſſyria the land ſhadowing* with wings, deſcanting upon his own phraſe which he had uſed in *Chap.* 8. 8. *The ſtretching out of his wings ſhall fill thy Land O Immanuel.* And foretelleth of the deſtruction of the Hoſt of *Aſſyria*, by the ſtroke of the Angel. He alſo propheſieth the deſtruction of *Egypt*, and *Judahs* going down to dwell there, even to the filling of five Cities with the Language of *Canaan*, but thoſe ſhould prove alſo *Cities of Deſtruction*: Yet in time *Egypt* and *Aſſyria* and *Iſrael*, ſhould come to the obedience of the Goſpel.

ESAY XX.

IN *the year that Tarton took Aſhdod*, *Eſay* hath another Propheſie againſt *Egypt*, and one againſt *Ethiopia*: *Tartan* was an *Aſſyrian* chief Commander under *Sennacherib*, 2 *Kings* 18. 17. and it is very probable that he died among the 185000 men that were ſlain by the Angel, 2 *Kings* 19. *ver.* 35. 2 *Chron.* 32. 21. And ſo his taking of *Aſhdod* muſt fall out before that time; And this conſideration doth help very well to know the time and method of this Chapter. *Eſay* was now in ſackcloth, mourning belike for the ten Tribes captiving: And the *Aſſyrian* Army is now abroad taking in Cities and places as faſt as it can; and the Lord in this Chapter threatens the two moſt potent Kingdoms then extant, *Egypt* and *Cuſh*, that they ſhall both be captived and ſhamefully uſed by *Aſſyriah*. *Tarhakah* King of *Cuſh* faceth *Sennacherib*, 2 *King.* 19. 9. and is foiled by him, as appeareth, *Chap.*43.3.

ESAY XXI.

ABout the ſame time hath the Prophet a ſad viſion againſt *Babylon* now riſing, and againſt *Dumah* and *Kedar*, Countries of *Arabia*, ſee *Gen.* 25. 13, 14. and foretelleth of *Kedars* ruine within one year, which directeth us to the order and time of this Propheſie; namely, that it was in theſe conquering times of the *Aſſyrian*, before he received his ſad blow by the Angel.

He foretelleth of *Babylon*, הבוגד בוגר והשודד שודד *ver.* 2. That there ſhould be *a cozener of Babylon the cozener, and a ſpoiler of that ſpoiler*, and that *all ſighing* through Babylonian preſſures *ſhould ceaſe*: That *Belſhazzers night of pleaſure* and banqueting *ſhould be turned into fear*, *verſ.* 4. That while they were furniſhing Tables, and ſetting Centinels to watch while they eat and drank, the alarm ſhould be given, and they ſhould cry *Ariſe ye Princes and anoint the ſhield*, ver. 5.

By a couple of Horſe-men and two Chariots of different draughts he characſtreth *Cyrus*, and *Darius*, and the *Median* and *Perſian* Nation, *verſ.*7. and proclaimeth the ruine of *Babylon* by them.

Of *Dumah* he telleth, that in *Seir* or *Idumea* it would be queſtioned, what was the iſſue of that night when *Babylon* was deſtroyed, *Watchmen, what of that night?* And the iſſue and the anſwer ſhould be, that firſt a morning or ſome dawning from *Babylons* bondage was ſprung, but afterward a ſad night of ſorrow ſhould come on *Dumah* alſo, as it had done on *Babylon*. That *Arabias* tents ſhould be ſo ſpoiled that they ſhould be forced to lodge in the open forreſt, &c.

ESAY XXII.

THIS Chapter containeth a ſad Propheſie againſt *Judea*, which he calleth, *The valley of viſion*, becauſe of Gods revealing himſelf there to his Prophets: He foretelleth in it the heavy times that were coming upon that people of *Judea*, by the *Aſſyrian* Army, before it was miraculouſly deſtroyed. That the ſlain thereof ſhould not only be ſlain with the ſword, nor dead only by battel, but dead with famine, *verſ.* 2. for the invaſion of that Army ſhould cauſe husbandry to be neglected, ſo that Briars and Thorns ſhould come upon the land through this neglect, and there ſhould be this trouble for many days and years together, and lamenting for the pleaſant Fields and the fruitful Vine, as *Chap.*32. 10. 12, 13. *Elam* and *Kir*, *Perſia* and *Aſſyria* ſhould be combined in this invaſion, and ſhould fill the Country with Charets and Horſmen: that by this miſery the Lord ſhould *diſcover the covering*, or uncloak the hypocriſie and pretences

tences of *Judah*, for now they would ſhew their carnal confidence, *ver.* 9. 10, 11. and their carnal ſecurity, *verſ.* 12. 13. He propheſieth of the diſplacing of *Shebna* from being over the houſhold, and placing of *Eliakim* in his room: which was accompliſhed, and was come to paſs when *Rabſhakeh* lay before *Jeruſalem*, *Eſay* 36. 22.

ESAY XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXIX.

AS in the two and twentieth Chapter the Prophet had foretold the miſery and perplexity of *Judea* by *Sennacheribs* army before the Angel deſtroyed it, ſo in the firſt and laſt of theſe Chapters he declareth the final deſolation of it by *Nebuchadnezzar*, as he doth the deſolation of *Tyrus* by him, *Chap.* 23. and the final deſolation of *Ephraim* by *Salmaneſer*, *Chap.*28. He mingleth many ſweet and gracious promiſes and comforts among his threatnings, &c. He calleth the Altar *Ariel*, and *Jeruſalem Ariel*, or *the Lion of God*, the one for devouring ſacrifices, the other for devouring men by ſlaughter: And he threatneth that God would diſtreſs *Ariel* the City, and it ſhould be as *Ariel* the Altar, with abundance of ſlain about it, *Chap.*29.2.

ESAY XXX. XXXI.

THE oppreſſion and terrour of the *Aſſyrian* Army made perplexed *Judea* look after an arm of fleſh, *the reed of Egypt*, as *Chap.*36.9. This carnal confidence the Prophet taxeth ſmartly in theſe two Chapters: yet for his promiſe ſake aſſureth of deliverance, and foretelleth the Divine vengeance upon the *Aſſyrian*. The miſery and oppreſſion by this Army, what under *Shalmaneſer*, and what under *Sennacherib* had been long, and had been grievous; ſo that they had eaten the bread of adverſity, and drunken the water of affliction, and their teachers had been removed into corners, &c. *Chap.* 30. 20. But as the ſtream of the *Aſſyrian* power had overflowed and rought up even to the neck, as *Chap.* 8. 8. ſo ſhould the Lords anger do now to him, *Chap.* 30. 28. And they of *Jeruſalem* ſhould have *joy in the night*, *ver.* 29. Compare *Chap.* 37. 36. for the *Aſſyrian* ſhould be beaten down with the voice of the Lord, *ver.* 31. In the valley of *Hinnom* or *Tophet*, *ver.* 33. And ſhould fall, not by the ſword either of great, or mean man, but of the mighty God, *Chap.* 31. 8. Theſe and other particulars do plainly clear the method of theſe Chapters, and ſhew they lye here in their proper time.

ESAY XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXV.

UNTO the ſame times are we to refer theſe Chapters alſo, ſpeaking amongſt other things of the ſad times that *Judah* ſuffered while the *Aſſyrian* Army was ranging and deſtroying up and down, before the Lord deſtroyed him: That he ſhould ſpoil the Vintage and Husbandry, *Chap.* 32. 10. 12. and that he made the Highways waſte, and cared not to keep any Covenant that he made, *Chap.*33.8. but he ſhould be deſtroyed, and ſo ſhould the other enemies of the Church, particularly *Edom*, who was a conſtant adverſary, *Chap.*34. and good and comfortable things ſhould accrew to *Sion*, *Chap.*35.

MICAH III, IV, V, VI, VII.

THE laſt verſe of the third of *Micah* is owned by the men of *Jeremiahs* time, to have been uttered in the time of *Hezekiah*, *Jer.*26.18. and here may both that whole Chapter, and all the Chapters that follow it be very well placed, as Propheſied in ſome time of *Hezekiahs* firſt thirteen years, before *Sennacherib* beſieged *Jeruſalem*; for in *Chap.*5.1. he ſeemeth to ſpeak of that ſiege, and of *Sennacheribs* blaſphemy both againſt God and *Hezekiah*, *ſmiting the Judge of Iſrael as with a rod upon the cheek*; and he fore-telleth that Chriſt ſhould be the peoples peace in the *Aſſyrians* invaſion; and that though the proud enemy thought to triumph and tread down the chief City of all the Nation, *Jeruſalem*, yet ſhould that be ſo far from being inſulted over by him, that *Bethlehem* a poor Town ſhould yield and produce one that ſhould tread both the *Aſſyrian* and all other the Churches enemies under foot. And ſo as the birth of Chriſt of a Virgin was a ſign to *Ahaz*, ſo is his birth in *Bethlehem* a ſign in the days of *Hezekiah*.

World | Division | Hezekiah

The Propheſie of NAHUM, *all.*

IN theſe days of *Hezekiah* alſo lived *Nahum* the Prophet, and was one of the comforters of *Jeruſalem*, *Eſay* 40. 1. againſt the burden and terrours of *Aſſyria*. He is generally held to have propheſied in the days of *Manaſſeh* with *Habakkuk*, which he might very well do, beginning in the reign of *Hezekiah*, and continuing in *Manaſſeh*. He mentioneth the evil counſel of *Sennacherib* againſt the Lord, and fore-telleth his death in his Idol Temple, *Chap.* 1. 11. 14. and denounceth deſtruction to *Niniveh*, the chief City of *Aſſyria*, &c.

2 KINGS XVIII. from *ver.* 13. to the end, and XIX. all.
2 CHRON. XXXII. from beginning to *verſ.* 24.
ESAY XXXVI. & XXXVII.

3295 | 266 | 14 SENNACHERIB the King of *Aſſyria*, having invaded *Judah*, *Hezekiah* ſends a ſubmiſſion to him at *Lachiſh*; who cheatingly gets three hundred and thirty Talents from him, and then departs not away from him for all that year. The *Aſſyrian* firſt ſends ſome of his ſervants with a Meſſage to *Jeruſalem*, to have perſwaded the people out of their own defence; but when that would not prevail, he ſendeth a great force againſt the City; where *Rabſhakah* in the head of them revileth *Hezekiah*, and the Lord, &c. But *Hezekiah* praying and ſending to *Iſaiah* hath a comfortable anſwer; and a comfortable ſign; A comfortable anſwer, that the King of *Aſſyria* ſhould be bridled and muzled, and this very thing ſhould be a comfortable ſign for the future, that God would prevent the famine which they had great cauſe to fear; and that God would eſtabliſh them for the time to come. The *Aſſyrian* Army had ſpoiled all their tillage thorow the Country for a long time, as *Chap.* 32. 9, 10, 12, 13. *&c.* and what ſhall they do now for meat and ſuſtenance, if they ſcape that Army? Why eat this year what groweth of it ſelf, and what may be found up and down on the Trees and the ground. But what muſt they do the next year? Which was a year of releaſe and reſt, as every ſeventh year was, and they might not till the ground? Why, *Providebit Deus*, God will alſo then provide for them of what grows of it ſelf again, and then the third year ſow and reap, and return to your old peace and proſperity.

ESAY XXXVIII.

2 KING. XX. to *ver.* 12. & 2 CHRON. XXXII. *ver.* 24.

HEZEKIAHS ſickneſs of the Plague ſeemeth to have been in the very time while the *Aſſyrian* Army lay about *Jeruſalem*; for though the deſtruction of that Army, by the Angel, be related before the Story of his ſickneſs, yet that his ſickneſs was while that Army was alive may be conjectured upon theſe two collections.

Firſt, It is paſt all doubt that his ſickneſs was this very ſame year that the *Aſſyrian* Army was deſtroyed by the Angel, for if he reigned nine and twenty years, as 2 *King.* 18. 2. and that ſtroke of the Angel upon that Army was in his fourteenth year, as *verſ.* 13. of that Chapter; and he lived fifteen years after his ſickneſs, as 2 *King.* 20. 6. then it makes that matter paſt controverting.

Secondly, The Lord in his ſickneſs doth not only promiſe him recovery from his diſeaſe, but alſo that he will deliver him and that City out of the hand of the King of *Aſſyria*; which ſhews there was then danger to him and *Jeruſalem* from that King; And this may be conceived one cauſe that made *Hezekiah* to weep ſo bitterly when the meſſage of death was denounced unto him; becauſe he was to leave *Jeruſalem* and *Judea* under the preſſure and danger of the *Aſſyrian* Tyrant, and muſt not ſee the delivery of it.

Therefore

World	Division	Hezekiah	
			Therefore though the whole ſtory of *Sennacherib* be laid together as was fit; yet can I not but in my thoughts inſert this ſtory of *Hezekiahs* ſickneſs, before the deſtruction of his Army; as no doubt it came to paſs before *Sennacheribs* death; and yet is that ſtoryed before it, for the concluding of his Hiſtory all at once.
			To *Hezekiah* alone is it given to know the term of his life; and the Sun in the Firmament knoweth not his going down, that *Hezekiah* may know his.

2 KING. XX. from *verſ.* 12. to *verſ.* 20.
ESAY XXXIX. all.
2 CHRON. XXXII. *verſ.* 25, 26.

MErodach, or *Berodach-Baladan*, the King of *Babel*, viſiteth *Hezekiah* by his Embaſſadors, to congratulate his recovery, and to inquire after the miracle of the Sun turning back. The Lord left *Hezekiah* to try what was in his heart, and it ſhewed folly. The Lord foretels by the Prophet the captivity into *Babel*, which City and Kingdom is now ſmall, and under the power of the *Aſſyrian*, before it riſe to be the golden head. For obſerve in 2 *Chron.* 33. 11. that *Babel* is in the hand of the King of *Aſſyria*, *The Captains of the hoſt of the King of Aſſyria carried Manaſſeth unto Babel.*

It might very well be that *Eſer-haddon* who ſucceeded *Sennacherib* in the *Aſſyrian* Monarchy, took offence at *Merodach-Baladan*, for his intimacy and familiarity with *Hezekiah*, and thereupon ſet upon *Babel*, and took it out of his hands. *Babel* had been tributary to the Crown of *Aſſyria* hitherto, the *Aſſyrian* having built it for ſome of his ſervants that traded upon *Euphrates* in Ships, and made it a fair City; but now *Eſer-haddon* ſubdued it, and defaced it, *Eſay* 23. 13.

2 CHRON. XXXII. from *verſ.* 27. to end.
2 KINGS XX. *verſ.* 20, 21.

267	15		HEZEKIAH liveth theſe fifteen years in ſafety and proſperity,
268	16		having humbled himſelf before the Lord for his pride to the Em-
269	17		baſſadors of *Babel*: The degrees of the Suns reverſing, and the fifteen
270	18		years of *Hezekiahs* life prolonging, may call to our minds the fifteen
271	19		Pſalms of degrees, *viz.* from Pſalm 120 and forward: There were *He-*
272	20		*zekiahs* ſongs that were ſung to the ſtringed inſtruments in the Houſe of
273	21		the Lord, *Eſay* 38. 21. whether theſe were picked out by him for that
274	22		purpoſe, be it left to cenſure. The Jews hold they were called *Pſalms*
275	23		*of degrees*, becauſe they were ſung upon the fifteen ſtairs that roſe into
276	24		the Courts of the Temple. Who ſo in reading thoſe Pſalms ſhall have
277	25		his thoughts, upon the danger of *Jeruſalem* by *Sennacherib*, and her de-
			livery, and the ſickneſs of *Hezekiah* and his recovery, ſhall find that they
			fit thoſe occaſions in many places very well. But I aſſert nothing, but
			leave it to examination.
278	26		1 CHRON. IV. from *verſ.* 34. to the end.
279	27		IN the time of *Hezekiah* ſome of the *Simeonites* ſubdue the *Meunims*
280	28		and the *Amalekites*. It is moſt likely it was not in the former four-
			teen years of *Hezekiah*, when the *Aſſyrian* Army was all abroad, and
			none durſt peep out, but in his laſt fifteen years, when that Army was
			deſtroyed and gone.
3310	281	29	*Hezekiah* dieth.

World	Division	Manasseh

ESAY XXIII. & ESAY XL, XLI, *&c.* to the end of the Book.

THE propheſying of *Eſay* is concluded by the Title of his Book in the times of *Hezekiah* [though the Hebrews of old have held, that he lived and died in the days of *Manaſſeh*, and *was ſawn aſunder by him.* The Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* may ſeem to ſpeak to that, *Heb.*11.37.] therefore according to the Chronology of the title of the Book in the firſt verſe of it, theſe Chapters that are ſet after the Story of *Hezekiahs* fourteenth year, or after the Story of the deſtruction of the *Aſſyrians*, and *Hezekiahs* recovery, are all to be allotted to the fifteen years of his prolonged life, ſince there is no direction to lay all of them, or any of them in any time elſe, &c.

The three and twentieth Chapter alſo falleth under the ſame time, even towards the latter end of *Hezekiahs* reign, when the King of *Aſſyria* had now taken *Babel.* This is apparent by *ver.*13. ſpoken of a little before; for there the Lord threatneth *Tyrus* by the example of *Babel*; that City had been founded by the *Aſſyrian* * for his Ships and Ship-men to traffick upon *Euphrates*, as *Tyrus* was built on the Sea for the like purpoſe, but now the *Aſſyrian* had brought that to ruine, and ſo ſhould the caſe of *Tyrus* be by the *Babilonians. Nebuchad-nezzar* deſtroyed *Tyrus*, *Ezek.*29.18.

לעים
* *For Ships and for men of the Deſert*, thereupon *Babel* is called, *The deſert of the Sea*, Eſay 21.1.

Now the reaſon why this Chapter, that fell ſo late in *Hezekiahs* time, is yet laid in that place where it is, is this: becauſe the Propheſies againſt thoſe Countries which lay ſo together, might lye alſo together, and threatnings and denunciations of Judgments might come as it were all in one body: For it may be obſerved, that very much of this Book that lieth before the Story of *Sennacherib* is threatning and terrour, and the moſt of the Book that lieth after is comfort and promiſes. Only upon mention and promiſe of *Cyrus*, Chap. 44. & 45. there is a grievous threatning of *Babylon*, which ere long grew great, Chap. 46. & 47. for *Cyrus* was to deſtroy it.

2 KING. XXI. to *verſ.* 17.

2 CHRON. XXXIII. to *verſ.* 11.

3311	282	1
	283	2
	284	3
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	286	5
	287	6
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	305	24
	306	25

MANASSEH reigneth 55 years. A very bad ſon of a very good father: He equalleth or rather exceedeth the very *Canaanites* in abominable wickedneſs: He is a moſt extream Idolater, Murderer, and Conjurer.

2 KING. XVII. from *verſ.* 24. to end.

In his time the Kings of *Aſſyria* planted *Samaria* with a mongrel people from divers Countries: *Eſar-haddon* was the man, *Ezr.* 4. 2. who ſeemeth alſo to be called *Aſnapper*, *verſ.*10. unleſs the Commander in chief in that expedition bare that name. Theſe *Samaritans* newly ſetled are devoured with Lions, as the Prophet that came from *Samaria* was, 1 *King.* 13. for doing contrary to the Lord. In after times they grow conſtant enemies, and bitter againſt the Jews: yet cometh *Joſiah* in the next generation and deſtroyeth the relicks of Idolatry in the very midſt of them. To this Plantation of the Country and Cities of *Samaria*, with ſuch Forreiners may that Propheſie refer in *Eſay* 7. *verſ.* 8. if we will count the time from the very delivery of the Propheſie, *Within threeſcore and five years ſhall Ephraim be broken that it be not a people:* Which Propheſie being delivered about the third or fourth year of *Ahaz*, if we count thoſe ſixty five years forward, the end of them will fall about the four or five and twentieth year of *Manaſſeh:* And the matter ſo taken may be underſtood in this ſence, That the Prophet there denounceth ſuch a ruine to *Ephraim* [and *Damaſcus* is alſo included in the ſame Propheſie, and was concluded alſo under the ſame Plantation] that it ſhould no more be a People or Country of that name, but the very name now changed, gone, and rooted out. We gave another gloſs and date upon theſe words and years before, namely, counting them backward from the

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			the captiving of *Samaria*, as here we count them forward from the delivery of the Propheſie: the Reader may judge and take his choice.

The Propheſie of HABAKKUK, *all.*

IN theſe wicked times of *Manaſſeh* lived *Habakkuk*, and Propheſied againſt his wickedneſs, and of him and *Nahum* may very well be underſtood that paſſage in 2 *King.* 21.10. *The Lord ſpake by his ſervants the Prophets, ſaying, Becauſe Manaſſeh the King of Judah had done theſe abominations, &c. therefore I am bringing evil upon Jeruſalem and Judah, that whoſoever heareth of it, both his ears ſhall tingle:* which in a manner is the very ſame with that in *Hab.* 1. 5. *Behold, ye, and regard, and wonder marvelouſly, for I will work a work in your days, which ye will not believe though it be told you: For loe, I raiſe up the Chaldeans,* &c.

This Judgment upon *Judea* by the *Caldeans* was yet to come after ſome ſpace of time, as *Chap.* 2.3. and this Prophet fore-armeth againſt it by that golden Doctrine, *The juſt ſhall live by faith:* and by fore-telling the Judgements upon *Babel* it ſelf. He prayeth for the preſervation of Propheſie in the captivity in a forrain Land, and calleth the captivity, *The midſt of years*, viz. 'twixt *Samuel* and *Chriſt:* He taketh out his own leſſon that he readeth to others of *living by faith*, and profeſſeth in the greateſt extremities and improbabilities of good, yet to rejoyce in the Lord, and to joy in the God of his ſalvation.

2 CHRON. XXXIII. from *verſ.* 11. to the end.

2 KING. XXI. from *verſ.* 17. to the end.

307	26		THE wickedneſs of *Manaſſeh* doth in time bring him into chains in
308	27		*Babel*, they bring him to be humbled for his wickedneſs, and that
309	28		brings him into his throne again: Both his mind and his eſtate received a
310	29		great change and alteration; in what time of his reign he was carried to
311	30		*Babel*, and how long he continued there is undeterminable; but upon his
312	31		return to *Jeruſalem* again he maketh a great reformation, and builded di-
313	32		vers great buildings, and garriſoned the ſtrong Cities of *Judah.*
314	33		And now ſince the *Aſſyrian* Monarchy is ready to fall in the next Gene-
315	34		ration, let us look back a little upon the growth and riſe of it hitherto;
316	35		and upon the *Syrian* Kingdom which it hath a good while ago ſwallowed
317	36		up. *Damaſcus* the head of *Syria*, *Eſay* 7.8. was extant in the days of *Abraham*,
318	37		*Gen.* 15.2. but not mentioned of any great victoriouſneſs till the days of
319	38		*David*, nor then the head of *Syria* neither; for then was *Syria* divided in-
320	39		to ſeveral Kingdoms, as *Aram Zobah*, *Aram beth-Rehob*, *Aram Naharaim*,
321	40		and *Aram Damaſcus*, 2 *Sam.* 8.3. & 10.8. The chief King among them in
322	41		thoſe times was *Hadadezer*, the ſon of *Rehob* King of *Zobah*, and who
323	42		had now joyned *Rehob* and *Zobah* into one Kingdom, and had alſo
324	43		brought *Aram Naharaim*, or ſome good part of it into the ſame Monar-
325	44		chy. Compare *Pſal.* 60. the title, with 2 *Sam.* 8.3. &c. *Rezin* a ſervant
326	45		of his runs away from him, and goes to be King of *Damaſcus*, 1 *King.*
327	46		11.23. then that City began to peep up, and ere long to be head of all
328	47		*Syria*; and theſe Kings reigned there, *Benhadad* the ſon of *Tabrimmon*,
329	48		the ſon of *Hezion*, in the days of *Aſa*, 1 *King.* 15. 18. Then *Benhadad*
330	49		the Son of this *Benhadad* in the days of *Ahab*, 1 *King.* 20. 1 34. and of
331	50		his ſon *Joram*, 2 *King.* 6.24. Him *Hazael* one of his Commanders ſtifled,
332	51		and reigned in his ſtead, 2 *King.* 8.15. and doth *Iſrael* much miſchief,
333	52		2 *Kings* 10. 32. *Benhadad* his ſon ſucceeded him, 2 *King.* 13. 24. and
334	53		after him reigned *Rezin* the laſt King of *Syria* captived by the *Aſſy-*
335	54		*rian*, and *Damaſcus* with him; and ſo is there an end of the *Syrian*
			power.
3365	336	55	*Manaſſeh* dieth.

World	Division	Ammon	
			Ammon reigneth two years; and is at laſt ſlain by his own ſervants, but his death avenged on thoſe ſervants by the people of the Land. Whileſt the Kingdom of *Syria* was in its power, the *Aſſyrian* Kingdom
3366	337	1	was obſcure, and therefore very improperly made by ſome the firſt of the
3367	338	2	four Monarchies. No King of it mentioned in Scripture, till *Pull* in the time of *Menahem* King of *Iſrael*. *Famous* in Heathen Stories is *Sardanapalus*, the laſt King of that Kingdom, whileſt it was obſcure, and with whom it fell. Before his time it was that *Jonah* went to *Niniveh*, and propheſied againſt it, ſome thirty or forty years before its fall. In new hands that City and Kingdom began to be great and victorious: The firſt of the Kings of the new race was *Pull*, ſo potent that he pull'd a thouſand Talents by way of tribute from the King of *Iſrael*, 2 *King.* 15. 19. After him came *Tiglath-Pileſer* into the *Aſſyrian* Throne and conquered *Syria*, and added it to *Aſſyria*, 2 *Kings* 16. 9, 10. Next after him reigned *Shalmanezer* who captivated the ten Tribes, 2 *King.* 17. 3, &c. and after him *Sennacherib* the blaſphemous, called alſo *Sargon*, as it is probable, *Eſay* 20. 1. *Eſar-haddon* ſucceeded *Sennacherib*, and he is the laſt *Aſſyrian* King mentioned, if *Aſnapper* were not one, on that Throne, different from him. Then did *Babylon* ſwallow up *Niniveh*, and *Nebuchad-nezzar* ſubdued it, and brought it under the ſubjection of *Babylon*, whereas *Babel* had been lately under the ſubjection of it.

2 KING. XXII. *verſ.* 1. and 2 CHRON. XXXIV. *verſ.* 1. to *verſ.* 8.

3368	339	1	JOSIAH reigned 31 years, being but eight years old when he
	340	2	began to reign. The youngeſt King that ever ſate upon the Throne
	341	3	of *Judah*, as young again as *Uzziah*, 2 *King.* 15. 2. and yet was *Uz-*
	342	4	*ziah* long off the Throne for his minority: God hath much to do by
	343	5	*Joſiah*, and therefore he ſets him on the Throne, and ſhews his piety
	344	6	to the world betime: The Lord had ſpoken of him about 340 years ago, 1 *King.* 13. 2.
3374	345	7	JEHOIAKIM born this year: Compare 2 *Chron.* 34. 1. and 36. 5.
3375	346	8	JOSIAH ſetteth himſelf to ſeek God in the eighth year of his reign.
3376	347	9	JEHOAHAZ born, ſee 2 *Chron.* 36. 2. He is called *Johanan* and
	348	10	*Shallum*, 1 *Chron.* 3. 15. *Jer.* 22. 11. and ſaid to be the firſt born of
	349	11	*Joſiah*, becauſe he reigneth firſt, and the fourth Son, becauſe he was laſt born.
3379	350	12	*Joſiah* purgeth *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* from Idols, &c.

JEREMY.

3380	351	13	JEREMY beginneth to Propheſie in the thirteenth of *Joſiah*, and by Propheſying to help forward the reformation begun, which went on exceeding ſlowly, not through any negligence of *Joſiah* himſelf, whoſe heart was very upright with the Lord; but through the ſlackneſs and remiſneſs of the Princes and people, and through the rootedneſs of Idolatry in them. And hence it is that *Jeremy* propheſieth ſo terrible things, and ſo certain deſtruction in the very time of reformation. *Joſiah* in the twelfth year of his reign had begun to deſtroy Idolatry, and yet how much filth of it was remaining in his eighteenth year is almoſt incredible, 2 *King.* 23.

Jeremy a young Prieſt and Prophet for the young King; was, *Moſes* like, a Prophet to *Iſrael* forty years, *viz.* 18 of *Joſiah*, 11 of *Jehoiakim*, and 11 of *Zedekiah*; and as *Moſes* was ſo long with the people a Teacher in the Wilderneſs till they entred into their own Land, ſo was *Jeremy* ſo long in their own Land a Teacher before they went into

World	Division	Josiah	
			to the wilderneſs of the Heathen. The Holy Ghoſt ſetteth a ſpecial mark upon theſe forty years of his Propheſying, *Ezek.* 4. 6. where when the Lord ſummeth up the years that were betwixt the falling away of the ten Tribes, and the burning of the Temple, three hundred and ninety in all; and counteth them by the Prophets lying ſo many days upon his left ſide; he bids him to lye forty days upon his right ſide, and bear the iniquity of the Houſe of *Judah* forty days, a day for a year: Not to ſignifie that it was forty years above three hundred and ninety, betwixt the revolting of the ten Tribes, and the captivity of *Judah*, for it was but three hundred and ninety exactly in all; but becauſe he would ſet and mark out *Judahs* ſingular iniquity by a ſingular mark; for that they had forty years ſo pregnant inſtructions and admonitions by ſo eminent a Prophet, yet were impenitent to their own deſtruction.
			The Propheſies of *Jeremy* are either utterly undated, and ſo not eaſily, if at all, to be referred to their proper time, or thoſe that are dated, are almoſt generally diſlocated, and not eaſie to give the reaſon of their diſlocation. The firſt Chapter at *verſ.* 2. and the third Chapter at *verſ.* 6. do only bear the date of *Joſiahs* reign, and no more mention of any other Propheſie delivered in his time expreſly made, and yet there is no doubt that very much of the beginning of his Propheſie was in his time.

JEREMY I.

THIS Chapter dateth it ſelf by the thirteenth year of *Joſiah*, and that was the time, and this was the ſubject of the Prophets firſt Miniſtery; for here is laid down the general head upon which his whole Propheſie doth chiefly run, *A rod and evil to come upon Jeruſalem from the North.* God ſheweth him a plain dried withered rod, to ſignifie the rod and ſtroke that God was about to bring upon the people; and when he asked *Jeremy* what he ſaw, he not only ſaith he ſaw a rod, but he can readily name the wood of which it was made, though it was withered and dry, and no ready token on it to diſcern of what wood it was, *I ſee*, ſaith he, *Makal ſhaked, a rod of Almond:* thou haſt well ſeen, ſaith God, for *Ani ſhokedh, I haſten my word to perform it.* The Lord deſcanteth upon the word *Shakedh* in the Prophets anſwer: And ſince *Jeremy* had ſpoken ſo fully, as to tell that he not only ſaw a rod, but a rod of *Shakedh*, or of *Almond*, the Lord anſwers as fully, that he is not only about to bring a rod upon the Land, but alſo *Shakedh, he doth haſten* to perform it.

352	14		*Joſiah* goeth on in piety and in reforming, yet is not the wrath of the Lord removed, partly becauſe of the ſins of *Manaſſeh*, 2 *King.* 23. 26. and partly becauſe the peoples reformation was but fained, *Jer.* 3. 10. and partly becauſe in moſt of them there was no reformation at all.
353	15		
354	16		
355	17		

2 KING. XXII. from *verſ.* 3. to end, and XXIII. to *verſ.* 29.

2 CHRON. XXXIV. from *verſ.* 8. to end, and XXXV. to *verſ.* 20.

3385	356	18	THE copy of the Law written with *Moſes* own hand is found this year in the Temple, *Joſiah* conſulteth *Huldah* a Propheteſs about it. *Jeremy* was not now at *Jeruſalem* but at *Anathoth* the Town of his birth, he propheſied there till his Towns-men were about to kill him, Chap. 11. 22. and then he goeth up to *Jeruſalem*, and the Lord before hand tells him, that he muſt expect rougher dealing at *Jeruſalem* then at home: For, *if foot-men had wearied him, how could he run with horſemen, &c.* Chap. 12. 5. If he had been thus tired with his own equals at *Anathoth*, what would he do with the great ones at *Jeruſalem*? And if in his native Town, the place of his peace, he had found ſo much trouble, what would he do in *Jeruſalems* tumults? *For even thy brethren and thy fathers houſe have dealt treacherouſly with thee, &c.* verſ. 6.

The Prophet was very young when he began to Propheſie, and ſpent ſome of his *junior* years in preaching to his own Country-men, but they

deſpiſed

World	Division	Josiah	
			deſpiſed his youth; and therefore as *Chriſt* being refuſed by his own Towns-men of *Nazareth*, goeth then about all *Galilee*, preaching the Goſpel, *Luke* 4. So *Jeremy* rejected and indangered by his Towns-men of *Anathoth*, goeth then abroad to propheſie at *Jeruſalem*; where it is more then probable he was not when *Joſiah* inquired of *Huldah* a woman about *Moſes* Copy. *Zephany* had not yet appeared a Prophet at all, as ſhall be obſerved by and by.
			Joſiah humbled and afraid upon the reading of the Law, bringeth the people into a Covenant, ſetteth on to deſtroy Idolatry, and keepeth a ſolemn Paſover.

JEREMY II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII.

357	19		JEREMY in theſe latter years of *Joſiah*, doth propheſie very ſad and heavy things againſt *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*, and telleth plainly, that *Jeruſalem* ſhould become like *Shiloh*, &c. For the time and order of theſe Chapters, the Reader may take notice of theſe few things:
358	20		
359	21		
360	22		
361	23		
362	24		1. That whereas his Chapters from the twentieth forward, are of very much and very viſible diſlocation, theſe to the twentieth do not own any ſuch thing in ſo viſible and evident a manner as thoſe do, nor indeed by any cloſer intimation to conclude any whit certainly upon, and therefore it is not ſafe nor ſolid to tranſpoſe them at all, but to take them up as they lye. Nor do I ſee any thing to the contrary, but that they lye very direct and methodically all along.
363	25		
364	26		
365	27		
366	28		
367	29		
368	30		
			2. The thirteenth Chapter, and all that follow to the one and twentieth I conceive to have been delivered in the time of *Jehoiakim*, and not in the time of *Joſiah*, and that upon this ground, becauſe in *Chap.* 13. *verſ.* 18. The Prophet calls to the King and Queen, *Humble your ſelves, and ſit down, for your Principality ſhall come down even the Crown of your glory:* which was moſt fully accompliſhed upon *Jehoiakim* and his wife, *Jer.* 22. 19. with 2 *King.* 24. 12. and not at all upon *Joſiah* and his Queen; at the leaſt not upon his Queen for ought we read of.
			3. There is one particular very remarkable, that runneth along through the moſt of theſe Chapters, from the beginning of the third to the fourteenth, and that is, the mention of a great drought or want of rain, as *Chap.* 3. 3. & 5. 24, 25. & 8. 13. 20. & 9. 10. 12. & 12. 4. & 14. 1, 2, 3, 4. Now if this drought were in the time of *Joſiah* [as it is mentioned inſtantly before the dating of a Propheſie in *Joſiahs* time, Chap. 3. 3. 6.] and in the time of *Jehoiakim* [as there is mention of it preſently after a Propheſie againſt *Jehoiakim*, *Chap.* 13. 18. & 14. 1, 2.] then it appeareth that this ſad reſtraint of rain fell out in the laſt years of *Joſiah*, and continued ſome of *Jehoiakims* time, and ſo theſe Chapters of *Jeremy* do moſt properly fall in with the latter years of *Joſiahs* reign. In *Chap.* 11. 2. he ſeemeth to ſpeak concerning the Covenant that *Joſiah* had cauſed the people to enter into, upon the finding and reading of *Moſes* copy, and he doth earneſtly exhort the people to keep it. And it may be that phraſe in *Chap.* 2. 31. *O generation behold*, or ſee *the Word of the Lord*, may have reference to that copy of *Moſes* alſo; I am ſure it may be more properly interpreted, as if he pointed to that; then it is interpreted by ſome Jews, as if he ſhewed them the Pot of *Manna*. There is only ſome Chronical doubt ariſeth upon the eighteenth verſe of the ſecond Chapter, and that is, whether *Judah* had any league and reliance with and upon *Egypt* in *Joſiahs* time; which, as there is no Scripture to aſſert; ſo alſo is there none neither to contradict. And it may very well be held affirmatively, and more probable then otherways, all circumſtances well conſidered: And what if *Joſiahs* death by the King of *Egypt* were a temporal puniſhment, for his reliance upon *Egypt*?

World | Division | Joſiah

The Propheſie of ZEPHANIAH, *all.*

IN theſe latter times of *Joſiah* did *Zephaniah* alſo ariſe, and appear a Prophet, the great Grand-child of King *Hezekiah* if ſome gueſs aright. The times of his Propheſying may be ſetled the better by this, that as the firſt verſe of his Book doth date his Propheſie by the reign of *Joſiah*, ſo the eight verſe of the ſame Chapter doth Propheſie againſt the Kings Children, *Jehoahaz*, *Jehoiakim*, and *Zedekiah*, for their new-faſhions and new-fangled apparrel. Now the eldeſt of theſe three was but twelve years old at *Joſiahs* eighteenth, and the ſecond but ten. It is true indeed that it nameth not theſe three men by name, but why it ſhould not be underſtood in the litteral and proper ſence, and mean theſe three men, I yet ſee no ground to the contrary. The Jews indeed appear to be of another mind, for they make * *Jeremy* to be *Zephanies* Scholler; and ſo Expoſiters are of another mind, for they underſtand *the Kings Children* largely, for the Noble-mens Sons, or Courtiers, but conſidering the wickedneſs of theſe ſons of *Joſiah* after their fathers death, I have no reaſon to think them much otherwiſe in their fathers life-time, and I ſee not why they may not go in the firſt place with any that deſerved reproof, and on whom it lighted under the name of *the Kings Children.*

* Maimon in Præf. ad Miſh.

2 CHRON. XXXV. from *verſ.* 20. to end.

2 KING. XXIII. *verſ.* 29. 30.

3398 | 369 | 31 JOSIAH ſlain by *Pharaoh Necho*, yet dies in peace, 2 *Kings* 22.20. becauſe in Gods favour. The King of *Aſſyria* had conquered *Carchemiſh* a great while ago, *Eſay* 10. 9. And *Necho* or his Predeceſſors had recovered it, and he went now to ſtrengthen the Garriſon there, or to recover it; and paſſing ſome part of *Joſiahs* Country with an Army, *Joſiah* takes a quarrel at him [though it may be he was in league with him] and is ſlain at *Megiddo.* This *Zech.* 12.10. alluded to, *The mourning of Hadadrimmon*; and *in the valley of Megiddo*; there is an *Ellypſis* of the conjunction *Vau.*

2 CHRON. XXXVI. *verſ.* 1, 2, 3, 4.

2 KING. XXIII. *verſ.* 31, 32, 33, 34, 35.

JEHOAHAZ is made King by the people of the Land, as one beſt beloved by them, for he was two years younger then *Jehoiakim.* Compare 2 *King.* 23. *verſ.* 31. & 36. He is called *Shallum*, 1 *Chron.* 3. 15. *Jer.* 22. 11. He reigned but three months, and is depoſed by *Pharaoh Necho.* His three months reign is to be reckoned in the laſt year of *Joſiah:* as *Jeremy* maketh the account plain, *Jer.* 25.3. And therefore I muſt here retract [and I retract it with wonder how it ever was ſo miſtaken] what is ſaid in *Prolegon*; *to harmony of Evang: That ſome years of trouble paſſed between tha death of Joſiah, and the reign of Jehoiakim.*

2 KING. XXIII. *verſ.* 36, 37.

2 CHRON. XXXVI. *Verſ.* 4, 5.

3399 | 370 | 1
371 | 2 JEHOIAKIM reigneth eleven years; ſet up by *Pharaoh Necho*, and named *Jehoiakim* by him inſtead of *Eliakim.* In which change of name, *Pharaoh* ſhewed rather his power then any thing elſe, unleſs he would not indure the word *Jehovah* in *Jehoiakims* name, for *Jehoiakim* and *Eliakim* is but one and the ſame in ſignification.

JEHOIAKIM doth wickedly, like as his wicked predeceſſors had done: *And his eyes and his heart are not but for covetouſneſs, and for to ſhed innocent blood, and for oppreſſion, and for violence to do it, Jer.*22.17. Amongſt other of his wickedneſſes this was not the leaſt, committed in

the beginning of his raign, that he ſlew *Urijah* the Prophet. Read here, *Jer.26. ver.* 20, 21, 22, 23.

JEREMY XIII,XIV,XV,XVI,XVII,XVIII,XIX,XX,& XXII. to *ver.*24.

IT was obſerved before, that Chapter 11. was moſt properly to be referred to *Joſiahs* times, as pointing to the Covenant that he cauſed the people to enter into, and that the twelfth Chapter joyned to it, *viz. verſ.* 5, 6. of *Chap.* 12. to *verſ.* 21, 22, 23. of *Chap.* 11. And ſo with the end of the twelfth Chapter, are ended the Propheſies of *Jeremy* of *Joſiahs* time. And it was alſo obſerved before, that *ver.* 18. of *Chap.*13. pointed at the time of *Jehoiakim*; and ſo doth alſo the 18. *verſ.* of *Chap.* 22. And therefore ſince we have no date nor direction for any of the Chapters between, to fix them to any other time, we may very well take in all theſe Chapters of *Jeremy* from the beginning of the thirteenth to the 24 *verſe* of the two and twentieth, in the beginning of the reign of *Jehoiakim.* The one and twentieth Chapter only is to be ſet out, for it is plainly dated by the time of *Zedekiah.* Now the reaſon of ſetting this Chapter ſo forward, as among thoſe that were in the beginning of *Jehoiakims* time, whereas it was in *Zedekiahs*, which was many years after, may be conjectured to be becauſe of the correſpondency of ſomething in the twentieth Chapter and it. In the twentieth a *Paſhur* in the time of *Jehoiakim*, ſets *Jeremy* in the ſtocks for foretelling deſtruction to *Jeruſalem* by the *Babylonian.* And in the one and twentieth a *Paſhur* in the time of *Zedekiah*, ſeeks to *Jeremy* for remedy againſt the *Babylonian*, who had made good *Jeremies* Propheſie ſo far as that he had beſieged *Jeruſalem:* This was a thing remarkable, that one *Paſhur* ſhould thus oppoſe *Jeremies* propheſying, and another *Paſhur* ſhould thus aſſert it; And for the better marking of this, the two Chapters that contain the two ſtories are laid together.

The two and twentieth to *ver.*24. doth ſhew that it was delivered in *Jehoiakims* time, when *Shallum* or *Jehoahaz* was not long before captivated: It biddeth, *Weep not for the dead, Joſiah, but weep ſorely for* Shallum *that was gone, for he ſhould return no more*, verſ.10. See 2 *Kings* 23.34.

JEREMY XXVI. all, and XXVII. to *verſ.* 12.

THE beginning of theſe two Chapters bear the date of *the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim*, which in this Prophets language is not preciſely the firſt year of his reign [the firſt, ſecond, or third year ſingly he nameth not] but it is taken in a larger ſence and conſtruction, as there is an evidence from the like expreſſion uſed concerning another King, and expounded, Chap. 27. 1. *In the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah, in the fourth year:* Here *Zedekiah* is in the fourth year of his reign, and yet it is called, *The beginning of his reign*; and the reaſon of the Phraſe is, becauſe of the double condition and change that either of theſe Kings underwent in the time of their reign; *Jehoiakim* for above two years reigned by the deputation of *Pharaoh Necho:* but the reſt of his time by the deputation of *Nebuchad-nezzar*; and *Zedekiah* for four years at the leaſt reigned under the ſubjection of the King of *Babel*, Jer. 51. 59. but the reſt of his time he reigned as rebelling, and caſting off the yoke of the *Babylonian*, 2 King. 24. 20. therefore the time of either of theſe Kings before this change and alteration befel them, is called, *The beginning of their reign.*

Now as for the order and method of theſe two Chapters under hand, let us a little look back to the portion where we left before, and that was at the three and twentieth verſe of the two and twentieth Chapter; for from thence to this 26 Chapter, all that comes between is diſlocated and laid there by anticipation. The four and twentieth verſe of Chapter twenty two beareth the date of the raign of *Jehoiachin* or *Coniah*, which was not till *Jehoiakim* had reigned eleven years; whereas divers Propheſies which were uttered in thoſe eleven years of *Jehoiakim*, are ſet after, as Chap. 25. & 26. & 27. and very many more. Now the reaſon of this method is this, that the threatnings againſt the father *Jehoiakim*, and the ſon *Jehoiachin* might be laid together; and the rather becauſe the time of *Jehoachins* reign was but very ſhort, namely,

three

World | Division | Jehoiakim

three months; and therefore the prediction of his captivity, is fitly joyned to the prediction of his fathers, since his reign is reputed as nothing, *Chap.*36.30.

And when the Text is fallen upon, upon this occasion, from *vers.* 24. of *Chap.* 22. to the end, all the Prophesies that refer to his time, and concern his person, are also brought up together, *viz. Chap.* 23. and 24. that the matters concerning him might be laid together in one place.

The 25 Chapter is dated by *Jehoiakims* fourth year yet laid before Chap. 26. & 27. that bear the date of *the beginning of his reign*, because it pointeth out the term and space of the *Babylonian* Captivity, which was indeed the main subject of *Jeremies* Prophesie, and therefore when in the preceding Chapters he had fore-told the captivity, both to, and of *Jehoiakim*, and *Jehoiachin*, and in the five and twentieth he sets himself to fore-tel and measure out the space of the Captivity, therefore these Chapters that handle that main and general head of his Prophesie are laid thus forward and together, and then particular matters are laid after. So that these 26 & 27 *Chap.* to *ver.* 12. do joyn in proper current of time and Chronicle, to *vers.* 23. of *Chap.* 22. and the reason of the interposition of the other Chapters may be conceived of as hath been said. In Chap. 26. *Jeremy* is in danger of his life by the Priests and false Prophets, but acquitted by the Elders: They alledge two contrary examples, one of *Hezekiah*, who piously submitted to *Micahs* Prophesie, and troubled him not for it; and the other of *Jehoiakim* who cursedly slew *Urijah* for Prophesying the truth: the former they propose as a Copy to be followed, and the other as a caution, not to shed more Prophets blood in murdring *Jeremy*, for too much was lately shed already in the murder of *Urijah*.

In Chap. 27. to vers. 12. *Jeremy* is injoyned to make yokes and bonds, to denote servitude and subjection to *Babel*, but in the entry of the Chapter there is a visible difficulty; for *in the beginning of Jehoiakims reign*, *Jeremy* is commanded to make bonds and yokes, and to send them to certain Kings, *by the messengers that came to Zedekiah King of Judah*; now how can *Zedekiah* be called *King of Judah* in the beginning of the reign of *Jehoiakim*, since *Jehoiakim* reigned eleven years, and *Jehoiachin* three months before *Zedekiah* came to reign? *Answ.* These things are to be understood to be spoken Prophetically concerning *Zedekiah*, as well as concerning *Nebuchad-nezzars* sons; for the Lord by the Prophet fore-tels that *Nebuchad-nezzar* should reign, and his son and Grand-child after him, and therefore must the Prophet presently make yokes and bonds, and put them of his own neck in token of *Judahs* subjection, which indeed begun in the very next year. And he fore-tels withal that *Zedekiah* should reign, and that divers Kings should send Messengers to him, and by them should *Jeremy* send those yokes to those Kings, &c.

3401 | 372 | 3 The latter part of this third year of *Jehoiakim*, is the beginning of *Nebuchad-nezzars* first year, for his first year took up part of *Jehoiakims* third, and part of his fourth; this is apparent, by comparing *Dan.* 1. 1. with *Jerem.* 25. 1. The fourth of *Jehoiakim* is indeed most commonly reckoned as *Nebuchad-nezzars* first, but we shall observe hereafter, that there are intimations sometimes in Scripture, to teach us to understand that reckoning according to this account.

World	Division	Years of Captivity	Jehoiakim.	

DANIEL I. to *verſ.* 8. And 2 KING. XXIV. *verſ.* 1. 2 CHRON. XXXVI. *verſ.* 6, 7.

IN this third year of *Jehoiakim*, *Nebuchad-nezzar* beſiegeth and taketh *Jeruſalem*, and *Jehoiakim*; he putteth him in fetters to carry him to *Babel*, but reſtoreth him again to the Throne as a tributary to the crown of *Babel*, and ſo *Jehoiakim* becomes his ſervant three years.

Here begins the ſeventy years Captivity, and the ſeventy years of the rule of *Babel*, *Jer.* 25. 11, 12. & 29. 10.

In this captivity were carried away *Daniel*, *Hananiah*, *Miſhael*, and *Azariah*, and now is that ſad Prediction to *Hezekiah* fulfilled, 2 *King.* 20. 18. and that of *Zephany*, *Zeph.* 1. 8.

DAN. I. from *verſ.* 8. to 18.

3402 | 373 | 1 | 4 DANIEL and his three fellow Nobles now in *Babel*, réfuſe the Court diet, and betake themſelves to an auſterity of diet, but once more to be paralleld in all the Scripture, and that was in *John the Babtiſt*; yet they come on and grow freſh and fat, to ſhew that man liveth not by bread only, &c.

JEREMY XXV.

IN this fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, which was the firſt year of *Nebuchad-nezzar*, *verſ.* 1. *Jeremy* prepareth a cup of indignation for *Jeruſalem*, and for all the Nations round about it, and at laſt for *Sheſhach* or *Babylon* it ſelf.

JEREMY XLVI. & XLVIII. & XLIX. to *verſ.* 34.

JEREMY propheſieth againſt *Pharaoh Necho* and *Egypt*, foretelling the overthrow of his Army at *Carchemiſh*, which accordingly came to paſs this year; and then the Lord avengeth the death of good *Joſiah*, as *verſ.* 10. This Chapter, though it fell under the time of *Jehoiakim*, yet is it laid ſo far in the Book, as after the ſtory of *Judahs* going into captivity, and into *Egypt*; for a reaſon, which ſhall be touched preſently, and ſo ſhall the method of *Chap.* 48. & 49. be taken into conſideration.

JEREMY XXXVI. to *verſ.* 9.

BARUCH writeth the Propheſie of *Jeremy* in a Book, and readeth it in the Lords Houſe on the ſolemn Faſt day [the tenth of *Tizri* probably] in the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, *verſ.* 1. This Chapter lieth after many Propheſies of the times of *Zedekiah*, becauſe he would lay the relation of hiſtorical things, and particularly, of *Jeremies* ſufferings, together. In *Chap.* 36. is told that he was impriſoned in *Jehoiakims* time, *verſ.* 5. and his Book burnt by that wicked King. In *Chap.* 37. is told that he was impriſoned in *Zedekiahs* time, *verſ.* 15. and in *Chap.* 38. how he is put into the dungeon.

JEREMY XLV.

A Meſſage comes to *Baruch* from God, upon his writing out of *Jeremies* Propheſie in the fourth of *Jehoiakim*.

The looking back upon *Chap.* 43. & 44. and conſidering the tenour of them, will give light and a reaſon for the placing of this Chapter, and the next following ſo far in the Book, though they are of ſo early a date in the reign of *Jehoiakim*. Upon *Johanans* carrying the people into *Egypt*, contrary to the expreſs Word of God,

Jeremy

World	Diviſion	Years of Captivity	Jehoiakim	
				Jeremy, denounceth ſad things to the Jews now in *Egypt*, and ſure deſtruction to *Egypt* it ſelf; this in *Chap.* 43. from *verſ.* 9. &c. and in *Chap.* 44. thorow out. Then is laid the relation of the comfort and incouragment that *Jeremy* gave *Baruch* many years before the time of the other Propheſies; Then *Baruchs* ſafety in *Ægypt*, and in her miſeries, might be thence intimated and obſerved: For thither had *Johanan* brought *Baruch*, *Chap.* 43. 6. And the like juncture of Stories was obſerved at *Exod.*18. where *Jethroes* coming to *Iſraels* Camp is ſtoried inſtantly after the ſtory of the curſe paſſed upon *Amalek*, to ſhew that he fell not under that curſe, though he lived in that Nation.
				After the intertexture of this 42 Chapter, which was a comfortable word for *Baruch* in *Egypt*, in the threatnings of *Egypt*; the 46 Chapter which was alſo delivered in this fourth of *Jehoiakim*, is laid next, that all the threatnings againſt *Egypt*, though at ſeveral times delivered, yet might come together; and that the accompliſhment of this Propheſie delivered in *Jehoiakims* time, and fulfilled upon *Pharaoh Nechos* Army, might be a confirmation, that *Iſrael* in *Egypt* muſt expect the like truth of the Propheſies againſt it, delivered to them there, of miſery to come upon it by *Nebuchadnezzar*.
				Of the ſame date with the 46 Chapter we may well ſuppoſe the 48 & 49 Chapters to be alſo, becauſe the ſecond verſe of Chapter 46. doth uſe a comprehenſive expreſſion, The Word of the Lord *againſt the Gentiles*, as concluding all theſe Sermons and Propheſies againſt theſe ſeveral Nations under one date and head; only Chap.47. and verſ. 34. of Chap.49. are of ſeveral ſpecified dates; of which, when we come to them.
				JEREMY XXXVI. from *verſ.* 9. to end.
3403	374	2	5	IN the fifth year of *Jehoiakim*, in the ninth month, *Jehoiakim* cuts in pieces and burns *Jeremies* Propheſie, a wickedneſs not to be paralleld: Let the Reader weigh whether *Baruchs* reading the Book in the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, on the Faſt day, *verſ.* 6. and his reading it now in the fifth year of *Jehoiakim*, at an extraordinary Faſt in the ninth month, be above the ſpace of two months aſunder. It is very well worth the pondering. I cannot but conclude affirmatively, and I believe upon very good ground; and this obſerved and concluded doth help to count the ſeventy years captivity the more exactly: if it do not alſo teach us to begin the year from the time of the firſt captivity, from its antient date in *Tiſri*, till Redemption altered the date, and brought it to *Abib*, which I believe Captivity hath now altered again. The preceding Chapter and this, and divers forward are Hiſtorical, and therefore they are laid together after thoſe that are more fully Prophetical: we ſhall obſerve the like in the Book of *Daniel* ere it be long.
	375	3	6	There is no particular occurrence mentioned this ſixth year of *Jehoiakim*.
				2 KING. XXIV. the latter end of *verſ.* 1. and *verſ.* 2, 3, 4.
				JEHOIAKIM rebelleth againſt the King of *Babel*, for which he is miſerably invaded, and *Judah* ſpoiled; and this miſery continueth all his time.
				DANIEL I. from *verſ.* 18. to end.
3405	376	4	7	DANIEL and his three fellows are preſented to the King, and higly approved of.

World	Division	Years of Capt.	Joſiah	
	377	5	8	
	378	6	9	
	379	7	10	

JEREMY XXXV.

THE Story and matter of *Jeremies* ſetting wine before the *Rechabites*, &c. is ſaid to be *in the days of Jehoiakim*, but in what year is not mentioned; only this may be collected out of the Text, that it was after *Jehoiakims* rebelling againſt *Nebuchad-nezzar*, for they ſay in *verſ.* 1. that *they fled to Jeruſalem for fear of the Army of the Chaldeans, and the Army of the Syrians:* which are the Army mentioned to have come againſt him upon his rebelling, 2 *King.* 24. 2. This Story therefore fell out in theſe latter years of *Jehoiakim*. Now it is laid ſo far in the Book, as after divers Propheſies dated by the times of *Zedekiah*, partly becauſe it is Hiſtorical, and ſo is ſet after Prophetical things, and partly becauſe this Story of the *Rechabites* doth ſet off the impiety of the Jews, mentioned in the preceding Chapter, the more, for there he ſheweth how falſe the people were to their Covenant with God, in recalling their freed ſervants, and here how faithful the *Rechabites* were to an ingagement of their father.

2 KING. XXIV. *verſ.* 5, 6, 7.

2 CHRON. XXXVI. *verſ.* 6, 7, 8.

3409	380	8	11	

JEHOIAKIM captived, ſlain, and buried with the burial of an Aſs.

JER. LII. *verſ.* 28.

NEBUCHAD-NEZZAR captiveth three thouſand and twenty three Jews. This is to be underſtood of the captivity of *Jehoiakim*; it is called *the ſeventh year* of *Nebuchadnezzar*, becauſe his ſiege againſt *Jeruſalem* began in his ſeventh, and he took the City in the beginning of his eight; and partly to diſtinguiſh this from the captivity of *Jehoiakin*, which was in his eight, when he carried away many thouſands, 2 *King.* 24. 12, 14, 16.

2 KING. XXIV. *verſ.* 8. 9.

2 CHRON. XXXVI. *verſ.* 9.

JEHOIACHIN the ſon of *Jehoiakim* reigneth three months: He is called alſo *Jeconiah*, and *Coniah:* the name *Jeho*, or *Jah* [a contraction of *Jehovah*] being ſometime ſet before his name, and ſometime after, and the firſt ſyllable of his name ſometime cut off; and he called *Coniah*.

That his three months are to be taken in, in *Jehoiakims* laſt year, there is evidence ſufficient in 2 *King.* 25. 2, 8. where the eleventh year of *Zedekiah*, and the nineteenth of *Nebuchad-nezzar* are coincident, or fall in together: And in 2 *Chron.* 36. 10. where it is ſaid, that *when the year was expired* the King of *Babel* captived him thither.

There is one main doubt and ſcruple ariſeth, in comparing his Story in the Book of *Kings* and *Chronicles* together, for the Book of *Chronicles* ſaith, he was *eight years old* when he began to reign, and the Book of *Kings* ſaith, he was *eighteen:* Now in expreſſions that are ſo different, propriety is not to be expected in both; but the one to be taken properly, and that is, that he was eighteen years old when he began to reign; and the other, that he was the Son of the eighth year, or fell in the lot of the eighth year, after any Captivity of *Judah* had begun: for the beginning of his reign was in the eighth year of *Nebuchad-nezzar*, 2 *King.* 24. 12. and in the eighth year of the ſeventy of captivity: And ſo the Holy Ghoſt dealeth here as he doth about *Ahaziah*,

2 *King.*

World	Division	Years of Captivity	Jehoiakim

2 *King.* 8. 26. and 2 *Chron.* 22. 2. compared together, as was obſerved there.

JEREMY XXII. from *verſ.* 24. to the end.

JEHOIACHIN, or *Jeconiah*, is no ſooner upon the Throne, but *Jeremy* denounceth his captivity, and the failing of *Solomons* houſe in him: And this doth but as it were take at that Propheſiy which he uttered before againſt *Jehoiakim* his father, *Chap.* 36. 30. *He ſhall have none to ſit upon the throne of David*; When the ending of *Solomons* Houſe is to be denounced, he calleth the *Earth, Earth, Earth*, to hear the word of the Lord, that the earthly Kingdom was now to decay, and therefore a Kingdom of another nature was to be looked after.

JEREMY XXIII. all.

THIS King and Kingdom is deſcribed in this Chapter; and when he had denounced the failing of *Solomons* houſe, and the ruine of the earthly Kingdom of the houſe of *David*, in the Chapter before, he now telleth of the everlaſting King and Kingdom of *David*, *verſ.* 5. 6. and denounceth woe againſt thoſe curſed Shepherds and Paſtours that had helped *Solomons* houſe forward unto ruine.

2 KING. XXIV. from *verſ.* 10. to *verſ.* 17.

2 CHRON. XXXVI. *verſ.* 10.

JEHOIACHIN, or *Jeconiah*, or *Coniah* captived, and *Jeruſalem* with him, 18000 men of might, 10000 from *Jeruſalem*, and 8000 out of the Country, and all the treaſures of the Temand Kings houſe: אולי הארץ ואת *And the mighty of the land:* but written אולי *The fools.* *Mordecay* was carried away in this captivity, *Eſther* 2. 6.

And ſo was *Ezekiel* alſo, and therefore he dateth his times from this date, *Ezek.* 1. 2. and calleth it, *Our captivity*, Chap. 40. 1.

2 KING. XXIV. *verſ.* 17, 18, 19, 20. And JEREMY LII. *ver.* 1, 2, 3.

2 CHRON. XXXVI. *verſ.* 11.

3410	381	9	1

ZEDEKIAH made King by the King of *Babel*, he was *Jehoiachins* Uncle, 1 *Kings* 24. 17. but called *his brother*, that is, his Kinſman, 2 *Chron.* 36. 10. and *his ſon*, becauſe he ſucceeded him in the throne, 1 *Chron.* 3. 16.

JEREMY XXIV. all.

	382	10	2
	383	11	3

JEREMY ſeeth comfortable things, concerning thoſe that were captived into *Babylon* with *Jeconiah*: that they are as good figs that may be eaten, and that in time they ſhall return.

JEREMY XXVII. from *verſ.* 12. to the end.

3413	384	12	4

JEREMY had been commanded thirteen years ago to make yokes and bands, and to put them upon his own neck, in token of *Judahs* ſubjection to *Nebuchad-nezzar:* which in the very next year after, namely, in the third year of *Jehoiachin* came to paſs: and he is alſo then commanded by way of prediction, that when ſuch and ſuch Kings Embaſſadors ſhould come to *Jeruſalem* to *Zedekiah*, he ſhould ſend the yokes away by thoſe Meſſengers to their Kings.

That cometh to paſs in this fourth year of *Zedekiah*, as the firſt verſe of Chapter 28. doth plainly date it.

JEREMY

World	Division	Years of Captivity	Zedekiah	

JEREMY XXVIII. all.

HANANIAH at *Jeruſalem*; foretelling falſely the reſtoring of the captivity within two years, is himſelf ſtruck with death within two months, for teaching rebellion againſt the Lord.

JEREMY XXIX, XXX, XXXI, XLIX. from *verſ.* 34. to end. And LI. all.

THIS fourth year of his reign, *Zedekiah* either went himſelf, or ſent Meſſengers to *Babel*, or both, for ſo is that *verſ.* 59. of *Chap.* 51. diverſly read, when *Seraiah* went with *Zedekiah*, or when he went *for* or *in behalf* of *Zedekiah* into *Babylon*. Now by the men that went thither, either with him or for him, *Jeremy* ſendeth Letters to the children of the captivity, one to perſwade them to frame their hearts, and to compoſe themſelves for ſeventy years captivity: This, two Prophets in *Babel*, ſuch others as *Hananiah* at *Jeruſalem*, gain-ſay, and would perſwade the people to the contrary. And a third writes to *Jeruſalem* to have *Jeremy* puniſhed; therefore he threatneth bitter judgments againſt all three. This in *Chap.* 29.

And being upon a Propheſie of the captivities return in that Chapter, *verſ.* 10, 11, &c. he falleth in *Chap.* 30. & 31. largely to foretel the calling home of the two Tribes, and of the ten Tribes to Chriſt. Now though it be doubtful whither he ſent the Propheſie of theſe two Chapters to *Babel*, yet is it doubtleſs, that their order is very proper in this place, where he is foretelling of the peoples return.

He alſo ſendeth another Letter to *Babylon* concerning the ruine and deſtruction of *Babylon* it ſelf, in Chap. 50. & 51. which Chapters are laid as the period of his Propheſie, that then concluſion of them all might be the foretelling of the ruine of *Babel*. And under the ſame date may we alſo take the laſt part of *Chap.* 49. from *verſ.* 34. to end; a Propheſie againſt *Elam* that joyned with *Babel* againſt *Judea*, *Iſa.* 22. 6. and is joyned here with *Babel* in threatnings. *The beginning of the reign of Zedekiah* in verſe 34. may be taken as it is Chap. 28. 1. for his fourth year.

EZEKIEL I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII.

3414	385	13	5	IN the fifth year from *Jehoiachins* captivity, the Lord raiſeth up *Ezekiel* for a Prophet to the people in *Babylon*, as *Jeremy* was in *Jeruſalem*.

He dateth his Propheſie from *the* 30 *year*, of the finding of *Moſes* his Copy in the 18 of *Joſias*, [as is commonly conceived, but] as it may very well be ſuppoſed, from *the* 30 *year of his own age*, he being a Prieſt, and that being the time at which the Prieſts entred their function. *Num.* 4. 3. at that time the ſpirit of Propheſie came upon him, and by a river in *Babylon*, he ſeeth the Heavens opened, as Chriſt at the ſame age had the Heavens opened to him by a river in *Judea*, *Luke* 3. 21, 22, 23.

Now that the people of *Iſrael*, the Church, are to be planted in another Country for a long time, the Lord ſheweth a glory in the midſt of them, as he had done at their firſt conſtituting into a Church in the Wilderneſs; and out of a cloud and fire, as he had done there, he ſheweth himſelf, and from between living creatures, as from between the *Cherubims*, he giveth his Oracles to the Prophet.

He cauſeth him to eat a roll, to lay a viſionary ſiege to a pictured *Jeruſalem*, to lye on his ſide three hundred and ninety days, ſuitable to the time of the peoples rebellion from *Jeroboams* revolt to the Cities deſtruction; and forty days more in anſwer to the forty years tranſgreſſion of *Judah*, under the miniſtry of *Jeremy*, as was ſaid before.

World	Division	Years of Captivity	Zedekiah

fore. To eat the bread of affliction and pollution, to ſhew the want of victuals at *Jeruſalem*, and the peoples eating of polluted things in *Babel*. To ſhave off his hair, and to part it into ſeveral fatal ſignifications, &c. And now that the deſtruction of the City is near at hand, but five or ſix years off, he foretelleth it in ſad expreſſions, and bemoaneth it with doleful lamentations.

2 CHRON. XXXVI. *verſ.* 11, 12, 13, 14. 15, 16.

BEcauſe the fourth year of *Zedekiah* is called *the beginning of his raign*, *Jer.* 28. 1. which ſheweth his condition yet unchanged, as we obſerved before: And becauſe *Ezekiel* in the next year ſpeaketh of his revolt from his oath made to the King of *Babel*, *Ezek.* 17. 15. Therefore may we conclude that he rebelled againſt *Babel* in this fifth year of his raign.

EZEKIEL VIII. IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX.

3415	386	14	6

ALL theſe Chapters fall in, in the ſixth year after *Jeconiahs* captivity, or in the ſixth of *Zedekiah*, as appeareth by the date of the eighth Chapter, verſ. 1. and by the date of the twentieth Chapter, verſ. 1. compared together.

In Chapter eight the Lord ſheweth a juſt cauſe why he is about to remove his glory from the Temple, *viz.* becauſe it was defiled with all manner of Idolatry.

1. There was סמל הקנאה *An image of provocation*, or a provoking image, *verſ.* 3. 5. in the entry into the Temple.

2. The very whole *Sanhedrin*, and *Jaazaniah* their chief, committed all manner of Idolatry, *verſ.* 10. 11.

3. The woman weeping for *Adonis*, verſ. 14. And

4. The twenty four heads of the courſes of the Prieſt-hood, and the High Prieſt, that ſhould have been ſerving God at the Altar, turning their backs upon it, and adoring the Sun, משתחויתם לשמש *verſ.* 16. a very ſtrange framed word to expreſs their ſtrange abominableneſs.

In Chap. 9. God marketh his own before deſtruction cometh. Compare *Rev.* 7. *Jeremy*, *Baruch*, *Ebedmelech*, and whoſoever elſe feared the Lord are here marked out for deliverance.

Chap. 10. *Ezekiel* ſeeth the glory of God in the Temple, which he had ſeen at *Chebar*, but now it is fleeting off, and removed as far as the Eaſt Gate. And in Chap. 11. it is flitted clean off the City to mount *Olivet*.

Chap. 12. When God had thus flitted away his own Glory he ſetteth the Prophet to flit away his ſtuff, and this doth he that he might the more throughly ſet on the impreſſion of captivity. And from thence forward the Prophet falleth upon the people, the falſe Prophets, and Propheteſſes with ſharp reproofs, &c.

In Chap. 17. there is a terrible denuntiation of Judgment againſt *Zedekiah*, for violating his Oath and fealty to the King of *Babel*, and ſeeking to *Ægypt* for help and ſtrength that he might rebel againſt him; This the Book of *Chronicles* brandeth him for, that he rebelled againſt King *Nebuchad-nezzar*, who had made him ſwear by God, 2 *Chron.* 36. 13. It appeareth that at this time he had revolted and began to rebel, and ſo was now brewing his own and *Judahs* deſtruction, and therefore the Prophet throughout all theſe Chapters doth lay on the more load of threatning and terror.

EZEKIEL XX, XXI, XXII, XXIII.

3416	387	15	7

DEſtruction is now drawing on apace; God will not give the Elders of *Iſrael* any anſwer, no more then he would to *Saul*. A ſword is ſharpned and preparing for *Jeruſalem* and *Rabbah*; *Nebuchad-nezzar* providing to be avenged on both: it ſeems the King of

World	Division	70 years Captiv.	Zedekiah	
				Ammon proved traitor to *Babel* as well as *Zedekiah* had done. This prophane wicked Prince of *Israel* his day is come: the Crown must *be over-turned, over-turned, over-turned* till Christ come whose right it is. The sins of *Jerusalem* and *Israel* are reckoned up, now she is ready to be called to account.
	388	16	8	Of any passage or occurrence of this year there is no mention.

2 KING. XXV. *vers.* 1.2. JEREMY XXXIX. *vers.* 50. & 52. *vers.* 4. 5.

3418	389	17	9	IN the ninth year of *Zedekiah*, in the tenth month, or the month *Tebeth*, the tenth day of the month, in the very deep of winter *Nebuchad-nezzar* layeth siege to *Jerusalem*.

EZEKIEL XXIV.

THAT very day *Ezekiel* is told of the thing by the Lord in *Chaldea*, and by the Parable of the death of a beloved wife he is told, and telleth the people of the destruction of the City and Temple, their delight.

EZEKIEL XXV.

YET will the Lord take vengeance of those neighbour Nations that took content, and rejoyced in the misery of *Jerusalem*.

JEREMY XXI.

ZEDEKIAH upon the Chaldeans incamping against the City, inquireth of *Jeremy* what shall become of them; and receiveth a sad answer of destruction and captivity, the reason of the order of this Chapter was observed before.

JEREMY XLVII.

JEREMY fore-telleth the subduing of the Philistims by *Nebuchad-nezzar*, even before *Gaza*, one of their chief Cities was subdued by *Pharaoh*; this was when *Pharaohs* Army was abroad, and raised the siege at *Jerusalem*, *Jerem.* 37. This Chapter lieth where it doth, that the Prophesies against *Egypt* may be joyned together.

JEREMY XXXVII.

3419	390	18	10	THE *Egyptians* to whom *Zedekiah* had revolted from *Nebuchad-nezzar*, raise his siege at *Jerusalem*; yet *Jeremy* telleth, that the *Chaldeans* shall return and take the City; he is taken and put in prison.

JEREMY XXXII. XXXIII, XXXIV.

JEREMY in the prison buyeth and purchaseth Land in token of the peoples return thither again: he Prophesieth comfortable things thereupon; but sad things to the present Generation in *Jerusalem*, who had covenanted to let their servants go free, but afterwards reduced them to servitude again.

World | Division | 70 years Captivity | Zedekiah

EZEKIEL XXIX. to *verſ.* 17.

IN this tenth year, the tenth month and twelfth day of the month the Word of the Lord cometh to *Ezekiel* againſt *Ægypt*, &c. And here is a viſible diſlocation, for Chap. 26. is dated by *the eleventh year*, and Chap. 30. verſ. 20. and Chap. 31. are dated by *the eleventh year*; yet this Chapter that comes between is dated by *the tenth*. Now the reaſon of this miſplacing is eaſie to be apprehended, and that is this:

1. The Propheſie againſt *Egypt* was in the tenth year, as moſt properly meeting with *Egypt*, in the very height of its pride, and of *Jeruſalems* carnal confidence in it: For now it was a foot with all its force to raiſe the ſiege at *Jeruſalem*, and *Jeruſalem* with all its hope did relye upon it; and therefore in that very time the Lord denounceth deſtruction to it, and fruſtration to the Jews hopes in it. Now;

2. The reaſon of ſetting this Propheſie, that fore-telleth ſo much after the Propheſie againſt *Tyrus*, which was in *the eleventh year*, is, becauſe *Tyrus* was firſt to be deſtroyed, and *Egypt* was to be the wages of *Nebuchad-nezzar* for deſtroying *Tyrus*, Chap. 29. 18, 19. and therefore that this might be obſerved the better, the threatning of the deſtruction of *Tyrus* which was given after, yet is ſet before the threatning of the deſtruction of *Egypt*, which was given before.

EZEKIEL XXVI. XXVII, XXVIII.

3420 | 19 | 11 THIS eleventh year of *Zedekiah*, and nineteenth of *Nebuchad-nezzar* was the fatal year of *Jeruſalems* deſtruction; and now are *Ezekiels* three hundred and ninety years up, *Ezek.* 4. 5. we counted the very year of the diviſion of the Tribes the firſt of them, or elſe the very laſt of them would have fallen here; on the very firſt day of this year hath *Ezekiel* the ſad prediction concerning the ruine of *Tyrus* and *Sidon*.

EZEKIEL XXX. from *verſ.* 20. to the end.

ON the ſeventh day of this firſt month *Ezekiel* Propheſieth of the weakning and fall of *Egypt*, whom *Nebuchad-nezzar* had now beaten off, and was returned to *Jeruſalems* ſiege again.

EZEKIEL XXXI.

ON the firſt day of the third month of this year, *Ezekiel* hath another Propheſie againſt *Egypt*.

JEREMY XXXVIII.

IN theſe gaſping times of the City, when all the proviſion in it was even ſpent, *verſ.* 9. *Jeremy* (by curſed ſuggeſtion to the King) is caſt into the Dungeon, but delivered thence by the good care of *Ebed-melech* a Cuſhite, &c.

JEREMY XXXIX. *verſ.* 15, 16, 17, 18.

JEREMY thus delivered by the means of *Ebed-melech* from the Dungeon, Propheſieth deliverance to *Ebed-melech*. Now this paſſage is laid after the Story of the taking of the City; though *Jeremy* propheſied it before; becauſe when the Holy Ghoſt hath ſhewed the ſafety of *Jeremy* in the deſtruction, he would alſo ſhew the ſafety of *Ebed-melech*, according to *Jeremies* Propheſie.

2 KING. XXV. *verſ.* 2. to *verſ.* 20.

2 CHRON. XXXVI. *verſ.* 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

JEREMY XXXIX. *verſ.* 2. to *verſ.* 15.

And LII. *verſ.* 5. to *verſ.* 28.

IN the fourth month of this eleventh year of *Zedekiah*, which was the month *Tammuz* on the ninth day of the moneth, [much about our Mid-ſummer day] there is no more proviſion left, and the City is broken up. *Zedekiah* and the men of war get away by night; but *Zedekiah* is overtaken near *Jericho*, ere he could reach the foords of *Jordan*, and brought to *Nebuchad-nezzar*, and judgment paſſed upon him, &c. And he that would never ſee the danger, now ſeeth the Judgment, and his eyes are put out.

In the fifth moneth, the ſeventh day of the month, *Nebuzaradan* fireth the Temple and *Jeruſalem*, about the 23 of our *July*, captiveth the remnant of the people, leaving only ſome for husbandry, over whom he maketh *Gedaliah* Governor, and carrieth away all the Veſſels of the Houſe of the Lord, and the two brazen pillars that ſtood before it.

In reckoning the height of the two Pillars *Jachin* and *Boaz*, there is ſome difference and difficulty; for in 2 *Kings* 25. 17. It is ſaid, *The height of one Pillar was eighteen cubits.* And ſo 2 *King.* 7. 15. and *Jer.* 52. 21. But in 2 *Chron.* 3.15. it is ſaid, *He made two Pillars thirty five cubits high.*

And in that very verſe it is ſaid, the Chapiter that was on the top of each of them, was five cubits: And ſo 2 *King.* 7. 16. and *Jer.* 52. 22. But in 2 *King.*25.17. it is ſaid, The height of the Chapiter was *three cubits.*

Solution. 1. Of the difference in the former reckoning; the reaſon is this, becauſe the Book of *Kings*, and *Jer.* 52. 21. reckon the height of each Pillar diſtinct, and ſay plainly, they were *eighteen cubits high a piece*; But the Book of *Chronicles* reckoneth the meaſure of them both joyntly together, and ſaith, they were *five and thirty cubits long*; that is, both together were ſo long, and ſeverally they were ſeventeen cubits and an half a piece. Now the half cubit that is reckoned above [when it is ſaid they were eighteen cubits high a piece] was taken up within the Chapiter, for the Chapiter being a long maſſey piece of braſs, ſet upon the head of the Pillar, the Pillar muſt needs be let in ſomething into it, as a tenon into a morteiſe to make it faſt, and ſo it was half a cubit; ſo that the Pillar was eighteen cubits high, but it was only ſeventeen cubits and an half appearing.

2. The difference of the ſecond accounting [*viz.* of the height of the Chapiter, one Text ſaying it was three cubits high, and the other five] ariſeth from this, That the Chapiters themſelves were five cubits high a piece, but there was net work wrought about them at their bottom, which ſtood as a Crown about them on the top of the Pillars, that only three cubits of the plain Chapiter could be ſeen.

In this captivity was *Seraiah* the father of *Ezra* taken and ſlain, 2 *King.*25.18. *Ezr.*7. 1. he was the High Prieſt, and he and *Zephaniah* the ſecond Prieſt or *Sagan*, came to an end as fatal, as *Hophni* and *Phinehas* had done at the ruine of *Shiloh.*

Were *Ezra* never ſo young now, yea were he now in his mothers womb, yet muſt he needs be very aged when he cometh up to *Jeruſalem* ſo long after the captivity, *Ezr.* 7. we ſhall judge of this by then we come there.

World Captivity

The Book of the LAMENTATIONS.

UPON this ſad miſery befallen *Jeruſalem*, *Jeremy* compoſeth the ſad ditty of his *Lamentations*, bewailing its caſe moſt dolefully, but withal moſt elegantly. For all the Chapters in this Elegiack Book, the fifth or laſt excepted, are alphabetical, or every verſe beginning in order with the Letters of the Alphabet, and the third Chapter doing it three times over: Only in all the Alphabets, but that of the firſt Chapter, there is a diſlocation of the two letters ע and פ *Ain* and *Pe*: For whereas *Ain* ſhould properly be ſet before, according to the conſtant method of the Hebrew Alphabet, it is not ſo here, but *Pe* ſet before, and *Ain* after. The Prophet by this alteration of the letter ע *Ain*, which in numbers denoteth ſeventy, aiming, as it may be well ſuppoſed, to hint the ſeventy years that this deſolation of *Jeruſalem*, to which it was now come, ſhould laſt.

JEREMY XL. to *verſ.* 9.

NEBUZARADAN bringeth all his captives to *Ramah* [then was a ſad voice heard there of lamentation, weeping and mourning, as *Chap.* 31. 15. *Matth.* 2. 18.] and from thence he inlargeth *Jeremy* from his Manicles [not which *he* had put on him but which the Jews had put on him in the Court of the Priſon], and diſmiſſeth him to go to *Gedaliah*, or elſe whither, as he pleaſed. Then the Word of the Lord cometh to him, and directeth him to go to *Gedaliah*.

2 KING. XXV. *verſ.* 20. 21. And JEREMY LII. *verſ.* 26,27,28,29.

THE continuance and connection of the Story here is to be conceived thus: That *Nebuzaradan* when he fired the Temple, and captived the City, in his return towards his Maſter maketh a *Rendez-vouz* at *Ramah*, as in the Sections preceding, and there diſpoſeth of ſome of his Priſoners, particularly of *Jeremy* for inlargement, and then he goeth forward to his Maſter to *Riblah*; whither when he bringeth his Captives, *Nebuchad-nezzar* ſlayeth ſeventy two of them. This number is conſiderable by reflexion upon the ſeventy two that were firſt choſen, *Numb.* 11. 26, 27. And becauſe we may the rather obſerve this, there is a difference of the account of the Book of *Kings* from *Jeremy*. The Book of *Kings* ſaith that *Nebuzaradan* took away from *Jeruſalem*, *Seraiah*, *Zephaniah*, three Porters, a chief Officer over the Army, and the chief Secretary of the Army; five men that were near the King, and ſixty men of the Land; that is, five out of the Temple, two out of the City, five out of the Court, and ſixty out of the Country, and brought them to *Riblah*, and there the King of *Babel* ſlew them. Now *Jeremy* agrees exactly in all the account but this, that he ſaith, he took away ſeven men that were near the King; which he did indeed, but ſlew but five of them, for the other two *Jeremy* and *Ebedmelech* were delivered: Now of their Story the Penman hath given you account before, and therefore when he ſaith here, that all theſe were taken at *Jeruſalem*, and ſlain at *Riblah*, he himſelf had been the interpreter there how to underſtand it ſuitable to the relation in the Book of *Kings*.

Jeremy in *verſ.* 28. 29. reckoning the men that *Nebuchad-nezzar* carried away captive, ſaith in his ſeventh year, they were three thouſand and twenty three Jews, and in his eighteenth three thouſand and thirty two from *Jeruſalem*; in which if the Reader ruminate well upon the matter, he will find a great deal of difficulty: For,

1. He never mentioneth in this reckoning either the Captivity in the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, which was the firſt Captivity, not the Captivity of *Jechoniah*, in which the moſt people were carried away: And.

2. There is no mention elſe-where of *Nebuchad-nezzars* carrying away into captivity from *Jeruſalem* either in his ſeventh year, or in his eighteenth; but of his doing ſo in his eighth there is mention, 2 *King.* 24. 12. and in his nineteenth, *Jer.* 25. 12.

Now

Now for anſwer; 1. To the Firſt, The Prophet doth not here ſpeak ſimply of the perſons that were captived, but of perſons that were captived and put to death, for that was the very tenour of his ſpeech in the verſe immediately before: And for the confirming of this, it is obſervable, that in theſe two verſes he mentioneth only the Captives that were cauſed by an open Rebellion, *Jehoiakims* and *Zedekiahs*, and upon thoſe followed ſlaughter upon cold blood: but in the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, when *Daniel* and his fellows were captived, and when *Jechoniah* was captived with 18000 more, there was no ſuch ſlaughter becauſe there was no ſuch rebellion: And by this very conſideration we may learn what was the end of *Jehoiakim*, againſt whom *Jeremy* threatned the burial of an Aſs, although the Scripture hath not clearly expreſſed it elſe-where.

To the ſecond we have given ſome piece of an anſwer before, more fully now: *Nebuchad-nezzars* firſt year was properly in *Jehoiakims* third, for then is the firſt news you hear of him, *Dan.*1.1. but withal, his firſt year is counted with *Jehoiakims* fourth, in which the ſeventy years Captivity began, for then he had captived *Jeruſalem*, and according to theſe two reckonings the Scripture reckons; ſometime by the firſt, as *Nebuchad-nezzars* firſt year properly: ſome-time by the ſecond, as being his firſt year over *Iſrael*, and of the ſeventy of Captivity, after which matter the Scripture looketh with ſpecial notice.

Now *Jehoiakims* Captivity was in *Nebuchad-nezzars* eighth according to the firſt date, but it is ſaid to be in his ſeventh according to the ſecond, and the rather becauſe *Jechoniah* was captived the ſame year, and ſo the one is diſtinguiſhed from the other. And ſo *Zedeliahs* captivity was in *Nebuchad-nezzars* nineteenth, according to the firſt date and propriety, but ſaid here to be in the eighteenth, according to the ſecond; and the rather to include in the number of the captived, and ſlain, thoſe whom *Nebuchad-nezzar* caught of the Jews when he marched away from the ſiege of *Jeruſalem* the year before, when the King of *Egypt* raiſed it; for then it is not imaginable but he caught ſome, and how he would deal with them they being in open rebellion we may well ſuppoſe.

JEREMY XL. from *verſ.* 7. to the end. And XLI. all.

2 KING. XXV. *verſ.* 22, 23, 24, 25.

THE diſperſed Captains and Companies that had fled for their ſafety up and down for fear of the Chaldean Army, do ralley and come together to *Gedaliah* the Governour for protection. *Jeremy* amongſt theſe reckoneth *Jonathan, and the Sons of Ephai the Netophathite*, which the Book of *Kings* omitteth; either for that theſe were ſlain with *Gedaliah* by *Iſmael*, as *Jer.* 41. 3. and never came to *Egypt*; whither the Book of *Kings* and *Jeremy* bringeth thoſe rallied Captives and People after *Gedaliahs* death: Or that *Jonathan* came as an inferiour to *Johanan* his brother, and that theſe ſons of *Ephai* the *Netophathite* came under the colours of *Seraiah* the *Netophathite*, and ſo the Book of *Kings* reckons only the Colonels or chief Commanders.

In the ſeventh Month, *Iſmael*, ſome younger brother of the Royal blood, and ten Nobles of the Court, envying *Gedaliahs* promotion, do traiterouſly murder him. This was a very ſolemn month in it ſelf; for the Feaſt of Trumpets expiation and Tabernacles that ſhould have been in it; and in this month of old had *Salomon* kept the dedication of the Temple, and ſent the people home with joyful hearts afterwards, but how is the matter altered now?

Iſmael alſo killeth ſeventy *Samaritan* Proſelites, ſuch as were coming to the Feaſt of Tabernacles, and caſteth them into a trench that *Aſa* had made to be a ſtop betwixt the *Samaritans* and himſelf; then made to keep off *Samaritans*, enemies to their Religion, now filled with *Samaritans*, friends to it. The little dealing that the Jews had with the *Samaritans*, and the flying about of the *Chaldean* Troopers, had made ſuch interception of intelligence, that theſe poor men knew not of the firing of the Temple, though it were in the fifth month, till they be upon the way towards it, and then underſtanding of it, they rent their clothes, &c.

World Captivity

JEREMY XLII. & XLIII. And 2 KING. XXV. *verſ.* 26.

THE Captains and people upon the death of *Gedaliah* go into *Egypt*, though they had promiſed to be ruled by the voice of the Lord; and though the Lord had flatly forbidden them to go thither, and ſo had done of old, that they ſhould never return to *Egypt*. Poor *Jeremy* is carried along with them; and when he comes there, he propheſieth both againſt *Egypt* and them.

3421 20 The Jews are now ſetled in *Egypt*, and in time they fall to a common and open Idolatry, for which *Jeremy* reproveth them, and threatneth them very ſore. In *verſ.* 9. he ſeemeth to give a cloſe touch upon the Idolatry of *Salomons* wives, the firſt original of Idolatry to the Kings of *Judah*. ואת רעות נשיו. The wickedneſſes of the Kings of *Judah*, and the wickedneſſes of *his* wives; which indeed may be well conſtrued of *every one of their wives:* But the quaintneſs of the phraſe ſeemeth to hint ſome ſuch a particular thing; and it may the rather be ſo underſtood, becauſe he is here taxing the preſent Idolatry of the Jews wives in *Egypt*, and ripping up the ſore to the very head, which indeed was firſt thoſe wives of *Solomon*.

Obſerve in *verſ.* 25. how the Hebrew Syntax ſeemeth to twit theſe mens baſe uxorioufneſs, ותרבדנה & תקימנה & ונשוכם אתם תעשונה uſing the Verb in the feminine Gender, though he ſpeak to the men.

Now in the 45 *Chap.* of this Book of *Jeremy*, *verſ.* 1. It is ſaid, that *Baruch had written theſe words in a Book at the mouth of Jeremy, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim*, what theſe very laſt words mentioned before. But this is very unlikely, for theſe laſt ſpeeches appear to be uttered upon emergency; the meaning of it therefore is, that *Jeremy* in the fourth of *Jehoiakim* had uttered Propheſies to this purpoſe, that *Jeruſalem* ſhould be deſtroyed, and the Land left deſolate, and the people captived, and miſchief and miſery following them: which is cleered to be accompliſhed in the ſtory of theſe Chapters, and therefore this 45 Chapter is laid here though the ſtory of it was nineteen or twenty years ago, to ſhew, and to record the truth of thoſe things which that wretched King *Jehoiakim* would not believe, but burnt the Book in the fire: And theſe are the ſubject of the other Copy that *Baruch* wrote when the firſt was burnt.

EZEKIEL XXXIII.

THIS twentieth year of *Nebuchad-nezzar*, and of the firſt Captivity, was the twelfth year of *Ezekiels* Captivity with *Jeconiah:* And on the tenth month of this year, and on the fifth day of that month *Ezekiel* hath intelligence that *Jeruſalem* was fired, *verſ.* 21. Temple and all: It is almoſt a year and an half ſince the thing was done, and yet intelligence comes but now: The evening before theſe tidings came to him, his mouth is opened again to Propheſie to his own people, which he had not done ſince the day that *Nebuchad-nezzar* firſt laid ſiege to *Jeruſalem* three years ago, whereof one year and a half was taken up in that ſiege, and one year and ſomewhat above an half, ſince the City was taken. Compare *Chap.* 24. *verſ.* 1. & 26, 27. In this ſpace of time though *Ezekiel* were dumb to *Iſrael*; yet was he not to other Nations, for he Propheſieth many ſad things againſt other Countries, as is apparent by the Chapters taken up before.

EZEKIEL XXXII.

IN the ſame year, *viz.* the twelfth of *Ezekiels* and *Jechonias* Captivity, he hath a Propheſie againſt *Egypt* in the laſt month of the year, on the firſt day of the month, and another on the fifteenth day of the ſame month, *verſ.* 27. Now the diſlocation of this Chapter is eaſily ſeen, for the three and thirtieth Chapter that followeth it, is dated in the tenth month of this twelfth year, and this, in the twelfth month: But the reaſon of this tranſpoſition is almoſt as eaſily ſeen; namely, becauſe there are divers Propheſies againſt *Egypt*, and other Countries before, and this is alſo brought thither to them that it may lye with them.

World | Captivity

EZEKIEL XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVI, XXXVII, XXXVIII, XXXIX.

21 22 ALL theſe Chapters of *Ezekiel* fall not under any expreſſed or determinate date; the fortieth Chapter does under the date of the five and twentieth year of *Jechoniahs* captivity; therefore we are to conceive at large of the time of theſe Chapters, that they were delivered between the twelfth year of that Captivity, by which the three and thirtieth Chapter is dated, and the five and twentieth, by which the fortieth.

JEREMY LII. *verſ.* 30.

3424 23 IN the three and twentieth year of *Nebuchad-nezzar*, or the three and twentieth of the firſt Captivity, for theſe run parallel, *Nebuzaradan* Captain of the Guard carried away captive of the Jews ſeven hundred and forty five perſons; it may be this was in revenge of the baſe uſage of *Gedaliah*, and the *Chaldeans* that were with him: And here is the laſt blow of the *Jews* given by the *Babylonian*, and now is *Judea* and *Jeruſalem* in full and compleat Captivity.

PSAL. CXXXVII.

AND here it may not be impertinent to take in the 137 Pſalm, which deſcribeth the poſture and ſorrow, and ſcorn of theſe captived ones, as they ſate in *Babel*.

1 CHRON. II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX.

24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 NOR may it be unproper in this place to read and view again theſe Chapters of the firſt of *Chronicles*: It is true indeed, that they and their Texts broken in pieces might be laid to be read in other places, as was ſaid before, as thoſe Genealogies and Stories that are recited elſe-where in Scripture, to be laid with thoſe places where they are mentioned; and thoſe that are not mentioned again in Scripture to be laid with the Stories of ſuch times as the beſt evidence or probability will tell when they came to paſs, or were in being: Thoſe Texts that tell of Plantations of Cities or Countries, to be laid in that place in the Book of *Joſhua* that relateth the dividing of the Land, as was done there: Thoſe that draw long Pedegrees to conclude in ſome famous man, as the Pedegree of *Korah* to *Samuel*, Chap. 6. theſe to be brought in at the Story of that famous man. Thus might theſe Genealogies and Chapters be taken up: But ſince, Chap. 9. 1. telleth that theſe Genealogies were written in the Book of the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah that were captived*; and ſince divers places in theſe Chapters ſpeak of the Captivity, and of theſe latter times; and ſince the reading of theſe Chapters after the Story of *Jeruſalems* Captivity, is as it were a ſhort review of the planting, and ſetling, and growing of that Nation in that Country, out of which the Story of the Captivity hath told the Reader they were now removed; it may be very methodical and proper upon theſe conſiderations, and very profitable to take in theſe Chapters, and to read them here again.

EZEK. XL, XLI, XLII, XLIII, XLIV, XLV, XLVI, XLVII, XLVIII.

3434 33 34 THIS thirty third year of the firſt Captivity, and of *Nebuchad-nezzar*, was the five and twentieth of the Captivity of *Jechoniah* and *Ezekiel*. And now the Lord ſheweth the Prophet a new Temple, bigger then all the old *Jeruſalem*, and a new *Jeruſalem* bigger then all the Land of *Canaan*; by theſe very dimenſions ſhewing that theſe things cannot literally, but muſt ſpiritually be underſtood.

World | Captivity

EZEKIEL XXIX. from *verſ.* 17. to the end. And XXX. to *verſ.* 20.

3436 | 35 THIS ſeven and twentieth year of his Captivity *Ezekiel* hath another Propheſie againſt *Egypt*, and this is the laſt we have of this Prophet; and it is laid here, though it ſhould have been laſt in the Book, that all the Propheſies againſt *Egypt* might come together. *Nebuchad-nezzar* had lately taken *Tyrus*, and it had coſt him very dear; and this year he taketh *Egypt*, as the pay of his Souldiers for that ſervice: And now is *Babylon* intire Monarch of all the World, and *Nebuchad-nezzar* become the golden head; *Egypt* the only Kingdom that oppoſed him being ſubdued.

DANIEL II, III, IV.

3437 | 36 NEBUCHAD-NEZZAR now come to his height, hath a dream of the four Monarchies, of the tree cut down, &c. grows proud, and will be worſhipped for a God. The three Princes of *Judah* live in the fire; they were now at the leaſt 40 years old, and therefore improperly, but commonly called *the three children.*

This year is called *the ſecond year of the Kingdom of Nebuchad-nezzar*, *Dan.* 2. 1. not of his firſt being King, but of his intire Monarchy, when *Egypt*, the only potent Prince and Nation that ſtood againſt him, was now ſubdued. So *the firſt year of Cyrus* is to be underſtood, *Ezr.* 1. 1. not the firſt year of his being King, but the firſt year of his univerſal Monarchy, as the very next verſe explaineth it, *The Lord God hath given me all the Kingdoms of the Earth.*

Some part of this year is *Nebuchad-nezzar* mad.

37 *Nebuchad-nezzar* mad.
38 *Nebuchad-nezzar* mad.
39 *Nebuchad-nezzar* mad.
40 *Nebuchad-nezzar* mad.
41 *Nebuchad-nezzar* mad.
42 *Nebuchad-nezzar* mad.
43 *Nebuchad-nezzar* reſtored to his wits and Kingdom again.
44
45

2 KINGS XXV. *verſ.* 27, 28, 29, 30.

JEREMY LII. *verſ.* 31, 32, 33, 34.

3446 NEbuchad-nezzar dieth, and *Evil-merodach* reigneth. This is the thirty
46 ſeventh year of the Captivity of *Jechoniah*. On the five and twenti-
47 eth day of the twelfth moneth *Evil-merodach* bringeth him out of
48 priſon, and on the ſeven and twentieth day he promoteth him above all the
49 Kings of *Babel*, and feedeth him all his life; it may be *Nebuchad-nezzars* ſeven
50 years madneſs and miſery had wrought ſome humility and gentleneſs upon
51 this his Son. *Jechoniah* was now fifty five years old, and had indured ſeven
52 and thirty years impriſonment, and now the Lord releaſeth him, and he na-
53 meth *Salathiel* as his next heir to *Davids* Throne and Principality, for *Jecho-*
54 *niah* had no heir of his own: The time of the three *Babylonian* Kings, that
55 took up the whole ſpace of that Monarchy, are eaſily to be collected by the
56 Scripture; namely, *Nebuchad-nezzar* to have reigned five and forty years cur-
57 rent, *Evil-merodach* three and twenty current, and *Belſhazzar* three. The
58 firſt is plain by this, that the ſeven and thirtieth of *Jechoniah* is called *Evil-*
59 *merodachs* firſt. The laſt will be made plain by and by, and the apparency of
60 the ſecond will reſult from both theſe. *Evil-merodach* by the *Septuagint* in
61 *Jer.* 52. is called *Ulamadachar*; but he is called far nearer to his own name by
62 them in 2 *King.* 25. *Joſephus* calleth him *Abilamaridochus Antiq. lib.* 10. *cap.* 12.
63 There is a general ſilence in Scripture of any thing done in his time, beſides
64 his inlarging of *Jechoniah*; whereas there are very wondrous and remarkable
65 matters mentioned and recorded to have been done in *Babylon* in the time of
66 *Nebuchad-nezzar* his father and of *Belſhazzar* his Son.

3468 | 67 *Belſhazzar* reigneth three years.

World	Captivity	Belſhazzar

DANIEL VII.

IN this firſt of *Belſhazzar Daniel* ſeeth the Viſion of the four Kingdoms that troubled the World, but eſpecially the Church, from the firſt riſing of *Nebuchad-nezzar*, till the coming of the everlaſting Kingdom of Chriſt in the Goſpel, viz. *Babylonian*, *Mede-Perſian*, *Grecian*, and *Syrogrecian*; All the time of the Kingdoms before the *Babylonian* is not medled withal, becauſe handled before along in the Bible, and all the times of the *Roman* State, after the coming of *Chriſt* is not medled withal neither, but left to be treated of by a beloved Diſciple, as theſe are by a beloved Prophet, viz. in the *Revelation*.

The diſlocation of this Chapter will eaſily be ſpied by any eye that looketh but upon the two Chapters next before it; for the fifth ſpeaks of *Belſhazzars* end of reign, and this of his beginning; and the ſixth ſpeaks of matters done in *Darius* his time, which was after *Belſhazzars* death, and this of matters done in the firſt of *Belſhazzers* reign; but the reaſon of this diſlocation is almoſt as conſpicuous as the diſlocation it ſelf; and that is, becauſe the Hiſtorical things of this Book are ſet by themſelves firſt, and the viſionary or prophetical things afterward.

68 | 2 In this ſecond of *Belſhazzar* there is no particular occurrence mentioned.

DANIEL V.

3470 | 69 | 3 BABYLONS Sins are now come to the full, *Belſhazzar* toppeth them up, by abuſe of the Veſſels of the Houſe of God at a drunken and Idolatrous Feaſt, to the deſpite and ſcorn of him that owed them, and to the grief of thoſe that had concernment in them.

Hereupon that Divine hand that had written the two Tables for a Law to his people, writeth the doom of *Babel* and *Belſhazzar* upon the wall, viz. the ruine of theſe his enemies: This *turneth the night of the Kings pleaſure into fear unto him*, as *Eſay* had Propheſied of him long ago, *Eſay* 21. 4. and *Jeremy*, *Jer.* 50. 43. The Wiſe Men of *Babylon* are become fools, and cannot read this writing though it were in their own Language; *Daniel* readeth and interpreteth it, and that both in an *Hebrew* and a *Chaldee* conſtruction, for the words were both Languages, *Mene*, *Mene*, *He hath numbred and finiſhed*; *Tekel*, in Chald. *He hath weighed*. In Heb. *Thou art too light*; *Parſin*, in Heb. *The Perſians*; *Pareſin*, in Chald. *Dividing*: and *Daniel* interprets it according to the extent of the words in both Tongues, for both *Hebrews* and *Chaldeans* were concerned though differently in the iſſue of the matter.

Preſently the enemy that lay about the Town began to ſtorm, and the Centinels and Watch-men in the Watch Towres give the Alarme; *Ariſe ye Princes, and anoint the Shield*, ſee *Eſay* 21. 5. *And one Poſt runs to meet another, to ſhew the King of Babylon that his City is taken at one end*, *Jer.* 51. 31. and that night is *Belſhazzar* ſlain. And *Darius* the *Median* took the Kingdom, being ſixty two years old; and ſo it appears he was born in the year of *Jehoiakims* and *Jehoiachins* captivity; and thus did the Lord provide, that in that very year when the *Babylonian* was moſt buſie to captive and deſtroy, the captiver and deſtroyer of *Babylon* ſhould be born. The Reader will here obſerve in the Chronicle in the Margin, that the third of *Belſhazzar* proves but the ſixty ninth year of the Captivity, and not the ſeventy. But if he do but withal obſerve, that part of *Jehoiakims* third was properly the beginning of thoſe ſeventy years, he will alſo ſee that part of *Belſhazzars* third was in the like reckoning ſome of the ſeventieth year, and the reſt of that year was taken up in *Cyrus* and *Darius* ſetling the Monarchy before the Decree for building *Jeruſalem* come forth.

Cyrus the *Perſian* was joyned with *Darius* the *Median* in the expedition againſt *Babel*, and ſo in the rule of the Monarchy when they had obtained it; and therefore the Prophet *Eſay* deſcribeth the enemies of *Babel*, by a Chariot with *a couple* of Horſe-men, a Chariot of Aſſes, and a Chariot of Camels, *Eſay* 21. 7. 9. and *Daniel* interprets the hand-writing on

the

the wall, that the *Babylonian* Monarchy ſhould be divided betwixt the *Median* and the *Perſian*: But *Darius* only carrieth the name here, becauſe he was far the older man, and becauſe indeed he was *Cyrus* his Grand-father: If we may conjecture any thing from the Heathen Writers. They ſpeak of *Aſtyages* the *Median* King, who had one only Daughter called *Mandane*, and ſhe the Mother of *Cyrus* by *Cambyſes* the King of *Perſia*, vid. *Xenoph. Herod. Juſtin.* Now this being the general conſent of all the Writers of the beſt repute among the Heathen, that there was no King of *Media* at that time but only *Aſtyages*, *Cyrus* his Grand-father; we may very well conclude that this *Darius* and their *Aſtyages* were all one, and that *Darius* becauſe of his Grand-fatherſhip did bear the name of the Royalty, though *Cyrus* in this conqueſt had equal ſhare with him, and was for other victories a Conqueror beyond him. Not to inſiſt upon thoſe mixtures of fabulouſneſs that the Heathens have invented for the inhancing of the credit of *Cyrus*, as they were uſed to do about men that were the firſt raiſers of a Kingdom; as that his Grand-father *Aſtyages* delivered him to *Harpagus* a Noble Man, as ſoon as he was born to be made away: that *Harpagus* afraid of ſuch a Fact, delivered him to the Kings chief Shepherd for ſuch a purpoſe; that he laid and left the infant in a wood: that it was there nouriſht by a Bitch: that the Shepherds wife took it home and nurſt it, and expoſed an infant of her own inſtead of it, &c. To omit theſe things which were invented only for the honour of the beginning of the *Perſian* Empire; we may ſafely take up that relation which is unanimouſly given by all their Hiſtorians, and in which there can be no flattery at all ſuſpected, and that is of the Pedigree and deſcent of *Cyrus*, and the names and qualities of his Parents, and ſo they give him for the ſon of *Cambyſes* the King of *Perſia*, and of *Mandane* the Daughter and only child of *Aſtyages* King of *Media*, and ſo was he heir to both the Kingdoms.

Now upon the conqueſt of *Babylon*, *Darius*, or *Aſtyages* plat-forms the Government of that Monarchy under one hundred and twenty Governours, in the one hundred and twenty Provinces that belonged to it: And above theſe he ſet a Triumvirate, or three Princes to be ſuperviſors to them, and to take their accounts both of Tribute and Affairs. *Daniels* knownneſs in *Babylon*, which was newly taken for his divine and wonderful wiſdom and ſpirit, bringeth him to be one of theſe three: and that promotion and his ſingular carriage in it bringeth him into envy, and that into the Lions Den, &c. This occurrence may be conceived to have been preſently after the conqueſt of *Babel*, even in the compaſs of that year upon theſe grounds.

1. Becauſe *Darius* it is like would form the Government of his Monarchy as ſoon as he had it, and *Daniel* would not be long unenvied when promoted.

2. It is very probable that *Darius* reigned but a little beyond this year.

3. The writing of this Chapter in the *Chaldee* Tongue, may be ſome argument that this occurrence befel *Daniel* while he was in *Chaldea*.

DANIEL VIII.

THE firſt and ſecond Verſes of this Chapter plainly ſhew, that *Belſhazzar* reigned but three years, for it telleth that in the third year of *Belſhazzar*, *Daniel* was in *Shuſhan*, the royal City of *Perſia*: It cannot be imagined that he was there in *Belſhazzars* life time, for his preferment and reſidence was in *Babylon* till *Babylon* fell; but his coming thither was by the tranſporting of him thither by the Perſian Monarch after he had conquered *Babylon*, who as it appeareth by *verſ.* 27. had preferred him there, and intereſſed him in the Kings imployment.

This is called the third year of *Belſhazzar*, purpoſely that we might learn to give the firſt year of *Cyrus* its proper date. *Belſhazzar* was dead and gone, and *Darius* had faſhioned the *Babylonian* Monarchy into another Government: *Daniel* had been caſt into the Lions Den in *Babylon*, and was now removed to the Court of *Perſia*: *Cyrus* and *Darius* had ruled all for a

World. Belshazzar

certain space, and yet is this Chapter and the occurrences in it dated by this, that it was *the third year of Belshazzar*; partly that we might learn to reckon the first of *Cyrus* and *Darius*, not the very year that *Babylon* fell, but the year after; and partly, that we might observe how in the very year that the *Medes* and *Persians* destroy *Babel*, the Lord revealeth to *Daniel* the destruction of the *Medes* and *Persians*, and the two Monarchies after them.

All the Chapters in *Daniel*, from *Chap.* 2. *vers.* 4. to the beginning of this Chapter are written in the *Chaldee* Tongue, and from the beginning of this Chapter to the end of the Book he writeth in *Hebrew*; for the affairs that fell under the *Chaldean* Monarchy he hath registred in the *Chaldean* Tongue; but now that Kingdom is destroyed, he will have no more to do with that Language, but thence forward he applies himself to write his own native Tongue the *Hebrew*, seeing that God would not have the *Persicke*, under which Language he now was, to be the original of any part of Scripture.

DANIEL IX.

DANIEL knowing from *Jeremies* Propheſie, that the ſeventy years of Captivity were now fully expired, addreſſeth himſelf to God by prayer for their return: He receiveth not only a gracious anſwer to his deſire, but a Prediction of what times ſhould paſs over his people till the death of Chriſt; namely, ſeventy weeks, or ſeventy times ſeven years, or four hundred and ninety. This ſpace of time the Angel divideth into three unequal parts.

1. Seven ſevens, or forty nine years, to the finiſhing of *Jeruſalems* Walls.

2. Sixty two ſevens, or four hundred thirty four years, from that time till the laſt ſeven.

3. The laſt ſeven in the latter half of which Chriſt Preacheth, viz. three years and an half, and then dieth, &c.

The twenty ſeventh Verſe therefore is to be read thus: *He ſhall confirm the Covenant with many in the one week, and in half that week he ſhall cauſe Sacrifice and Oblation to ceaſe, &c.* So that from this year to the death of Chriſt are four hundred ninety years; and there is no cauſe, becauſe of doubtful Records among the Heathen, to make a doubt of the fixedneſs of this time, which an Angel of the Lord hath pointed out with ſo much exactneſs.

World Cyrus

EZRA. CHAP. I.

And 2 CHRON. XXXVI. *verſ.* 22. 23.

CYRUS publiſhed a Decree for the *Jews* returning to their own Land again; This Decree was ſigned at the very inſtant of *Daniels* prayer, *Dan.* 9. 23.

Darius was yet alive and reigning, as appears by comparing *Dan.* 9. 1. but the Decree and Proclamation is the Act of *Cyrus*, not only in regard of a Propheſie that went before concerning him, *Eſay* 44. 28. but alſo becauſe he was the greater Conqueror, and the greater Prince. For 1. He was not only ſharer with *Darius* in the Conqueſt of *Babylon*, but was alſo ſharer with him in the Kingdom of *Media*, as being ſole heir to it; but *Darius* had no claim with him in the Kingdom of *Perſia*. 2. *Beroſus*, not that of *Annius*, but cited by *Joſephus*, *Lib.* 1. *cont. Apion* ſaith, that *Cyrus* had conquered even all *Aſia*, before he came to beſiege *Babel*; κρατησαμενος τῶν λοιπην Ασίαν ἤρμοσεν ὅπη τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. *Cyrus* delivered out to *Zerubabel*, who by the *Chaldeans* was called *Shesbazzar*, all the Veſſels of the Temple that *Nebuchad-nezzar* had captived. In the ſumming of them there is ſome obſcurity, for there is a particular given only of two thouſand four hundred ninety nine, and yet the Text ſummeth up five thouſand four hundred, for it particulareth only thoſe that were of a greater ſize, but ſummeth up both the great and little; for 2 *Chron.* 36. 18. it is ſaid, that the King of *Babel* brought all the Veſſels of the Houſe of God, *both great and ſmall* to *Babel*, vid. Joſeph. Antiq. 11. 1.

EZRA II.

THIS Chapter reckoneth the number of the *Jews* that returned out of Captivity, it firſt nameth the chief Conductors and Princes among the people, and then the ſeveral Families and number of Perſons; the ſeventh Chapter of *Nehemiah* hath this Catalogue over again, but with abundance of difference, ſome reaſon whereof ſhall be given there.

The Commanders and Rulers in chief were twelve:

1. *Zerubabel* the Prince of *Judah*.
2. *Jeſus* the ſon of *Jozedek* the High Prieſt.
3. *Nehemiah*, the builder and repairer of *Jeruſalem* afterward.
4. *Seraiah*, or *Azariah* as he is called, *Neh.* 7. 7. probably *Ezra*, who is called *Seraiah* after the name of his father.
5. *Realiah*, called *Raamiah*, *Neh.* 7. the difference of the name agreeing in the ſence, for *Realiah* ſignifieth, *The Lords terrour*, and *Raamiah* the *Lords thunder*.
6. *Mordecay*, the Uncle of *Eſther*, and over-thrower of *Haman*.
7. *Nachamani*, he is mentioned in the Book of *Nehemiah*, but omitted here: For he came not up now, but at ſome other time before *Nehemiah* taketh his Catalogue.
8. *Bilſhan*.
9. *Miſpar*, or *Miſpeſeth*.
10. *Bigudi*.
11. *Rehum*, or *Nehum*.
12. *Baanah*.

The number of the people was 42360 their ſervants and maids proſelyted, 7337.

World | Cyrus

EZRA III.

IN the ſeventh month the returned *Jews* meet at *Jeruſalem*, build up the Altar, keep the Feaſt of Tabernacles, offer Sacrifices, but yet have no Temple.

3472 | 2 In the ſecond year of *Cyrus*, and of the peoples return, in the ſecond month of the year or *Ijar*, the foundation of the Temple is laid: Divers are preſent at it that had ſeen the former Temple, for it was but fifty three years ſince it was deſtroyed; and they mourn as faſt to ſee how ſhort that building was like to come of that Temple they had ſeen, as the others rejoyce to ſee a Temple toward that had ſeen none before.

EZRA IV.

3473 | 3 ARTAXERXES reigneth in the third year of *Cyrus*, and here let us take up the conſideration of the *Perſian* Kings and theſe times a little, ſince there is not a little obſcurity and difficulty about the reckoning and computing of them.

1. At the conqueſt of *Babylon* *Cyrus* and *Darius* were Partners, as was obſerved before; *Darius* only named in the Scripture at that expedition becauſe the elder, and *Cyrus* only named in Heathen Authors becauſe the founder of the *Perſian* Monarchy. Theſe two reigned together two years, ſaith *Metaſthenes*, if we may believe that Author; but whether they did ſo or no, it is paſt all doubt that their years, were they two, or more, or leſs, were reckoned together; for the firſt year of *Darius*, when the Decree of the building *Jeruſalem* came out, *Dan.* 9. 1. 23. was the firſt of *Cyrus* alſo, *Ezra* 1. 1.

2. *Cyrus* is generally held by Heathen Writers to have reigned about thirty years

Herodot. Triginta annis. Juſt. &c. Now the queſtion as to the matter we have now in hand, is not how long *Cyrus* reigned in all, but how long he reigned after the *Perſian* Monarchy began in him, or after that year that the Scripture calls *his firſt year*, namely, *when the Lord had given him all the Kingdoms of the Earth*, and when he reſtored the *Jews* to their own home again. Here prophane Writers the moſt of them ſay nothing towards a reſolution, and thoſe that go about it ſpeak, ſome one thing, ſome another.

The Scripture hath given us this ſatisfaction in this matter, that either *Cyrus* reigned but three years after, or if he lived longer, yet that his ingagement in his wars abroad cauſed him to leave his ſon *Artaxerxes* Vice-roy at home, to rule what he had got, whileſt he was buſie to conquer more. Either of theſe two ſuppoſed doth ſerve our purpoſe, to lead on the times that we have in hand.

Now for the concluding of the one of theſe the Scripture giveth us this argument: It is ſaid in *Ezra* 4. *verſ.* 5. that *the enemies of the Jews hired counſellors againſt them all the days of Cyrus, even until the reign of Darius King of Perſia*, to fruſtrate their purpoſe of building the Temple, and at laſt compaſſed their deſire and deſign by information to *Artaxerxes*: *Cyrus* all his days did not plainly or openly revoke, nor croſs his own Decree, and if he connived at the croſſing of it by his Son, his fatal end by *Tomyris* was but of juſt reward; but in the beginning of the reign of his ſon *Artaxerxes* the enemy had his deſire, and the building ceaſed. Now this was in the third year of *Cyrus*, *Cyrus* being either now dead [as *Daniels* viſion in *Perſia*, is ſaid to be in the third year of *Belſhazzar*, *Dan.* 8. *Belſhazzar* being dead a while before, as was obſerved there] as *Artaxerxes* governing as Vice-Roy, and the time now reckoned by him, as it is in other places of Scripture the like. For in the third year of *Cyrus*, *Daniel* mourned three weeks together, nor did he eat any pleaſant bread, nor fleſh or wine came into his mouth, nor did he annoint himſelf at all, *Dan.* 10. 2, 3. And what was the reaſon? Becauſe of the hindrance of the building of the Temple, for according to *Daniels* faſting and mourning one

and

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and twenty days the Angel ſaith, That the Prince of the Kingdom of *Perſia* had withſtood him one and twenty; not that an earthly King hath any power over an Angel, but that this new King of *Perſia* by hindring the Temple had hindred thoſe good tidings which otherwiſe he ſhould have brought; and that the miſery of *Daniels* people was the cauſe of his affliction, is apparent by *verſ.* 15. becauſe that when the Angel had told him, that the viſion concerning his people was for many days, he is dumb for ſorrow, and his ſpirit faints within him: ſo that the ſtoppage of the Temples building by *Artaxerxes* was in *Cyrus* his third year, in ſome part of that year, and continued ſo till the ſecond year of *Darius*.

3. Now how long this ſpace was is more obſcure then the matter before, and that upon theſe two difficulties. 1. Becauſe we cannot readily determine what number of Kings came between: And 2. When we have done that, then are we utterly to ſeek how long a time thoſe Kings reigned: But for anſwer to theſe two doubts, to adhere to Scripture, and not to intricate our ſelves with the various and perplexed relations of the Heathen Writers about the *Perſian* Kings, we ſhall obſerve two or three particulars as we go along, and as we have occaſion to take them up, and for the preſent this: That as he that ſet the building of the Temple afoot again after its long ſtop, is called both *Darius* and *Artaxerxes*, verſ. 14, 15. ſo that he that cauſed that ſtop is called both *Ahaſhuerus*, and *Artaxerxes*, Ezra 4. verſ. 6, 7. for *Artaxerxes* was a common name of the Kings of *Perſia*, as *Pharaoh* was of the Kings of *Egypt*.

DANIEL X, XI, XII.

DANIEL mourning for the hindrance of the Temple, ſeeth *Chriſt* as *John* did in *Patmos*: And hath a Revelation of the condition of his own people, under their powerful Enemies, till the madneſs of *Antiochus Epiphanes* was over: He ſhould violate the Sanctuary, and cauſe Religion and *Moſes* Law to lie in the dirt for a time, two *Times*, and *half a time*, or three years and an half, or one thouſand two hundred and ninety days; But he that waiteth and liveth to ſee five and forty days more, or till thoſe one thouſand two hundred and ninety days be made up one thouſand three hundred and thirty five days, he ſhould ſee an end of *Antiochus*.

Artaxerxes Ahaſhuerus.

3474 | 1 | The building of the Temple lieth forgot and forlorn by the command of *Artaxerxes Ahaſhueroſh* the preſent King of *Perſia*: Hereupon divers of the Jews that had gone up to *Jeruſalem* in the firſt of *Cyrus*, return back again in this Kings reign, to their old reſidence in *Babylonia* or in *Perſia* again.

2 | The building of the Temple lieth ſtill quite forlorn.

World | Artax. Ahaſhuerus

ESTHER I.

3476 | 3 ARTAXERXES, who was alſo called *Ahaſhueroſh*, after his great Grandfather of the *Median* blood, *Dan.* 9. 1. is a greater Potentate and Prince by ſeven Provinces then *Cyrus* and *Darius* were; compare *verſ.* 1. with *Dan.* 6. 1. To ſhew and to ſee his own glory and pomp, he maketh a Feaſt half a year together to his Nobles, and ſeven days more to all *Suſan*, and when all this glory of his great command hath been ſhewed, he cannot command his own wife, &c.

ESTHER II.

4 THREE whole years and above is *Ahaſhuerus* without a Queen:
5 his ſervants and officers in ſeveral Countries are making inquiry after
6 who may be fit for a Queen for him.

3480 | 7 *Eſther* taken into the Kings Palace in the ſeventh year of his reign, in the tenth month, *verſ.* 16. a Daughter of *Benjamin*, born for the good of her people; *Mordecai* had been captived with *Jechoniah* above ſeventy years ago, and had been at *Jeruſalem* when the Captivity was ſent back to their own Country again, and there had helped forward their ſettlement and proſperity as long as the work of the Temple would go forward: but when not, he returns to *Perſia*, and there doth his people good in that Court, when he could no longer do it in their own City.

8 *Bigthan* and *Tereſh*, two of the Kings Porters hanged for Treaſon: The matter diſcovered by *Mordecai*, and revealed to the King.

ESTHER III.

9 HAMAN promoted by the King to the higheſt honour in the
10 Kingdom, obtaineth not one bowing or cringe from *Mordecai*,
11 *Mordecai* diſdaineth to homage or to ſhew reverence to an *Amalekite*; for ſo *Haman* was, of the Seed of *Agag*, whom *Samuel* hewed to pieces in *Gilgal*.

3485 | 12 *Haman* would buy all the Jews in the *Perſian* Monarchy for ten thouſand Talents of ſilver, but they are given him for nothing: He goes not about the deſtruction of them, but firſt uſeth direction by Magical Lots: what day fitteſt to ſpeed of his requeſt, and the Devil allots him the thirteenth of the firſt month, and what month fitteſt for the execution, and the Devils Lot telleth him the month *Adar*.

On the thirteenth day of the firſt month, Letters are diſpatched through all the Provinces of the Monarchy, for the deſtruction of the Jews at ſuch a time.

ESTHER IV, V.

ALL the Provinces perplexed at the tidings, the Jews in *Shuſhan* keep a Faſt of three days and three nights long: this time is meaſured exactly, as the three days and three nights of our Saviours death; for on the third day *Eſther* puts on the Kingdom מלכות, and obtains the Kings favour.

ESTHER VI, VII.

HAMAN prepares a Gallows for himſelf, and beſpeaks Honours for *Mordecai*; his Wife and friends knew the curſe upon *Amaleck* becauſe of the Jews, and read his fall.

ESTHER VIII, IX.

ON the twenty third day of the month *Sivan*, *Mordecai* and *Eſther* obtain Letters to revoke *Hamans* bloody purpoſe; and that the Jews ſhould ſtand in their own defence againſt their enemies, which they do at the time appointed for their deſtruction, and ſlay 75810 men. The feaſt of *Purim* inſtituted.

ESTHER X.

13 AFTER this great and wonderful deliverance, and proſperity of the
14 Jews, *Artaxerxes*, or *Ahaſhueroſh*, layeth a Tax upon the whole Empire, but in what year of his reign is uncertain, and how long he reigned after this, is not eaſily determinable: For the Scripture is utterly ſilent to expreſs the number of the years of his reign, or any of the Kings of of *Perſia* that come after him, in clear expreſſions. Of this King it ſaith no more at all, of the next it mentioneth his ſecond year, *Ezra* 4. 24. his fourth year, *Zech.* 7. 1. his ſixth year, *Ezra* 6. 15. his ſeventh, *Ezra* 27.8. his twentieth, *Neh.* 1. 1. his thirty ſecond, *Neh.* 13.6. but how long he reigned further there is no account at all neither.

By collection from other places and paſſages it may be concluded, and upon very good ground, that this King *Artaxerxes Ahaſhueroſh* reigned but fourteen years in all, the ground is this: Becauſe *Zechariah* in the ſecond year of *Darius*, doth then but reckon the time of ſome captivity ſeventy years. The Angel of the Lord anſwered, and ſaid, *O Lord of Hoſts, how long wilt thou not have mercy on Jeruſalem, and on the Cities of Judah, againſt which thou haſt had indignation theſe ſeventy years*, *Zech.* 1. 12. And in *Chap.* 4. there are ſome people ſent from *Babel* to *Jeruſalem*, and they have this *quære* among the reſt of the buſineſs they came about to ſpeak to the Prieſts, which were in the houſe of the Lord of Hoſts, and to ask, *Should I weep in the fifth month, as I have done theſe ſeventy years.* Compare *ver.* 3. & 5. Now from the beginning of the ſeventy years, or the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, to the ſecond of *Darius*, were many years above ſeventy; namely, the three years of *Cyrus*, all the years of *Ahaſhueroſh*, which were twelve, mentioned in Scripture before his taxing the Empire, and two of *Darius* himſelf: eighty ſeven in all by this account, from the time that the ſeventy years captivity beginneth to be counted: therefore theſe ſeventy years mentioned in *Zechary* muſt be counted from ſome other date, or elſe there will be exceeding much hardneſs and impropriety in the ſpeech. Now this date is, *from the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and firing of the Temple in the nineteenth year of Nebuchad-nezzar, to Darius his ſecond*, namely, fifty one years of the ſeventy of *Babell*, three of *Cyrus*, fourteen as we ſuppoſe of *Ahaſhueroſh*, and two of *Darius*.

For let the Reader but impartially and unbiaſſed expound thoſe two places in *Zechary* alledged, and how can he poſſibly interpret the ſeventy years there mentioned, of the ſeventy years mentioned *Jeremy* 25. 11, 12. & 29. 10. which were expired ſeventeen years ago, by plain account of Scripture. Eſpecially let him but weigh well the ſcope and purpoſe of the ſeventh Chapter of *Zechary*, and it will make the date and account that we give of thoſe ſeventy years to be proper and approveable. In the ſecond year of *Darius* the Temple, after a long hinderance of the building of it, is begun upon to be built again, and it goes happily forward; thereupon the Church at *Babell* ſends to *Jeruſalem* to inquire of the Prieſts. *Now that the Temple is built again ſhall I faſt, and keep ſolemn days of humiliation*,

miliation, as I have done theſe ſeventy years ſince the Temple was deſtroyed. If they had faſted but the ſeventy years of the captivity, then had they laid down their faſts at the leaſt ſeventeen years, to the ſecond of *Darius*, nineteen to the fourth, as *Zech.* 7. 1. And if they had laid them down ſo long, while the work and building of the Temple lay forlorn, why ſhould they think of taking them up again, now it went well with that work and building? And if they had continued them all the time of the captivity, and all the time ſince, why is it called but ſeventy years, whereas it was at the leaſt eighty ſeven? Therefore to me it is paſt all peradventure, that the ſeventy years there ſpoken of are counted from the firing of the Temple to the re-building of it, in the ſecond of *Darius*, and that this very account doth neceſſarily allot fourteen years reign to *Artaxerxes Ahaſhueroſh*, that hindered it, to make up this ſum: As we obſerved the like neceſſary allowing of ſeventeen years to *Joſhua*, upon the reſult of a groſs ſum, where all the reſt of the ſum is cleared by particulars but only thoſe ſeventeen: And with this computation that we have given, how pregnantly and properly doth agree that reckoning of the Angel *Gabriel*, of ſeven times ſeven years, or forty nine years from *Cyrus* his decree of building *Jeruſalem*, to the finiſhing of it; as we ſhall obſerve at the thirty ſecond year of *Darius*? But the Reader will there ſee it readily enough of himſelf, without any notice.

3488 1 After *Artaxerxes Ahaſhuerus* the husband of *Eſther*, reigned *Artaxerxes Darius*, falſly ſuppoſed by the Jews to be his ſon: Probably the ſame with *Darius Hyſtaſpis* in Heathen Authors; called the King of *Aſſyria*, *Ezra* 6. 22.

EZRA V. *verſ.* 1. And HAGGAI I.

3489 2 IN this ſecond year of *Darius*, on the firſt day of the ſixth month, *Haggai* beginneth to Propheſie, and checketh the peoples not caring to build the Temple; eſpecially thoſe hireling Jews that are ſpoken of, *Ezra* 4. 5. that were bribed by the Enemy, to give councel againſt the building, and that were ſtill ſaying, *The time is not yet come that the houſe ſhould be built.*

On the twenty fourth day of the ſame month, the preparation for the building begins; with the twelfth verſe of *Hag.* 1. read *Ezra* 5. *verſ.* 2.

HAGGAI II. to *verſ.* 10.

IN the ſeventh month, on the twenty one day of the month, *Haggai* foretels the glory of this ſecond Temple; and ſpeaketh this to divers that had ſeen *Solomons* Temple ſtanding.

ZECHARY I. to *verſ.* 7.

IN the eighth month *Zechary* begins to propheſie.

HAGGAI II. from *verſ.* 10. to the end.

IN the ninth month, on the twenty fourth day of it, they begin to lay ſtones in the Temple wall, and to raiſe the building: For from the twenty fourth day of the ſixth Month they had only prepared materials. On this day *Haggai* hath two Propheſies.

World | *Artaxerxes Darius*

ZECHARY I. from *verſ.* 7. to end.

And CHAP. II, III, IV, V, VI.

IN the eleventh month, on the fourteenth day, *Zechary* ſeeth Chriſt riding on a Horſe, and Angels like Horſes attending him: He ſeeth a viſion of four horns, that ſhould ſeek to ſcatter *Judah*, *Rehum*, *Shimſhai*, *Tatnai*, *Shether Boſnai*, and four carpenters to break thoſe horns, *Zorobabel*, *Joſhua*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*: He ſeeth *Jeruſalem* ready to be meaſured, but let alone becauſe the compaſs of it ſhould be boundleſs: He ſeeth the garments of the High Prieſthood tattered and poor, but new ones found out by the Lord, in figure of a glorious Miniſtry under the Goſpel; Chriſt the corner ſtone with ſeven Eyes. The Church, ſeven golden Candleſticks; and the miniſtry of the Church of Jews and Gentiles, two Olive Trees, emptying themſelves into thoſe Candleſticks; A flying roll of the length and breadth of the porch of the Temple, full of curſes; wickedneſs in an Ephah [the greateſt meaſure in uſe ſetled in *Babylon*, &c.

EZRA V. from *verſ.* 3. to end.

And VI. to *verſ.* 14.

3 THE Enemies of the Jews under a pretended officiouſneſs to the King, but upon an intent malice againſt the Temple, by Letters to *Darius*, ſeek to hinder it, but by a ſpecial providence it proves occaſion of the more advancing of it: Hitherto had the Jews built only upon the incouragement of the Prophets, *Haggai* and *Zechary*, now they have a Commiſſion from the King.

ZECHARY VII, VIII.

3491 4 IN the fourth year of *Darius*, in the ninth month which is *Chiſleu*, on the fourth day of the month, וישלח בית־אל, *The Congregation* in *Babel* ſent to *Jeruſalem* to inquire concerning their Faſts, whether they ſhould continue them, now the Temple was begun, and was ſo forward in building, or lay them down.

They uſed theſe ſeveral Faſts:

Firſt, In the fourth month, becauſe then the City broken up, *Jerem.* 52. 6.

Secondly, In the fifth month, becauſe in that month the Temple was fired, 2 *King.* 25. 8.

Thirdly, In the ſeventh month, becauſe in that *Gedaliah* was ſlain, and all the Jews with him ſcattered, *Jer.* 41. 1.

Fourthly, In the tenth month, *Zech.* 8. 19. becauſe in that month the ſiege began about *Jeruſalem*, 2 *King.* 25. 1.

So that by the intent and occaſion of all thoſe ſolemn Faſts, which referred all of them to the laſt and final ſtroke and ruine of *Jeruſalem* by the Babilonian, and nothing at all to the firſt Captivity of *Jehoiakim*, or *Jechoniah*, it is apparent that the ſeventy years mentioned to have been the length of theſe ſolemn days and duties are to be underſtood and reckoned from the very ſame time and occaſion, as was obſerved before.

5 The Temple goeth well forward, and the work receiveth no interruption, but proſpereth.

World | Artax. Darius

EZRA CHAP. VI. from *verſ.* 14. to the end.

3493 | 6 IN the ſixth year of *Darius*, on the third day of the month *Adar*, the Temple is finiſhed, and the Dedication of it ſolemnly kept.

EZRA VII, VIII.

3494 | 7 ON the firſt day of this ſeventh year of *Darius*, *Ezra* ſetteth up from *Babylon* to go to *Jeruſalem*, *Ezra* 7. *ver.* 9.

On the ninth, tenth, and eleventh days he muſters his Company, and keeps a Faſt at the River *Ahava*, *Ezra* 8. *ver.* 15, 23.

On the twelfth day he beginneth to march, *ver.* 31.

On the fourteenth day the Paſsover is ſolemnly kept at *Jeruſalem*.

Ezra cometh to *Jeruſalem* on the firſt day of the fifth month, or the month *Ab*, and on the fourth day delivereth out upon weight all the Gold and Silver that he had brought with him for an Offering, from the King, from his Princes, and from *Iſrael* in *Babel*.

Ezra was Uncle to *Joſhua* that was now High Prieſt, *Chap.* 7. 1. with 1 *Chron.* 6. 14. His father *Seraiah* was ſlain at the ſacking of *Jeruſalem*, 2 *King.* 25. 18. ſeventy five years ago. *Ezra* was then very young, if ſo be he were then born.

EZRA IX, X.

REST and proſperity, which the returned Jews have a little injoyed, hath bred corruption amongſt them, by making mixt Marriages with the Nations amongſt whom they lived. This, *Ezra* reformeth, and cauſeth them to put away their Wives; which were a great multitude; only four men oppoſed the buſineſs, two Levites, and two others: and to ſuch a ſence is *verſ.* 15. of *Chap.* 10. to be read; *Onely Jonathan the ſon of Aſahel, and Jahaziah the ſon of Tiknah, ſtood againſt this matter* עמדו על זאת *and Meſhullan and Shabbethai helped them*, weigh *verſ.* 16. and it inforceth this tranſlation.

The meeting about this matter was on the twentieth day of the ninth month, and then they choſe Elders to ſee the work carried on: they begin to ſit upon it the firſt day of the tenth month, and have finiſhed the buſineſs by the firſt day of the firſt month, *Chap.* 10. 14, 16, 17.

This matter was done in the ſeventh year of *Darius*, or *Artaxerxes*, the ſame year that *Ezra* came to *Jeruſalem*, as the Text ſeemeth to carry it on, unleſs by the ſtrange writing of the word לחריוש *verſ.* 16. the Holy Ghoſt would hint *Darius* his tenth. לחרש העשירי לדדיוש הדבר: Let the learned judge.

ZECHARY

World | Artax. Darius

ZECHARY IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV.

8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 FROM this action of *Ezra*, of reforming their mixt Marriages, which moſt likely was in *Darius* his ſeventh, there is a ſilence of any thing done till *Darius* his twentieth, and then *Nehemiah* begins to ſtir. In this time therefore, which was the ſpace of twelve years, we may very well conceive that *Zachary* was propheſying among the people, and helping forward the Reformation: and ſince there is no date to direct us otherwiſe we may very well take up his 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. *Chapters*, in which he Propheſieth very plainly and fully of many things concerning Chriſt, and the time of his coming: as of the Converſion of *Paul*, and the Goſpel beginning at *Hadrach* and *Damaſcus*, and of *Antioch* in *Hamath*, intertaining the Goſpel of Chriſt riding into *Jeruſalem* upon an Aſs, *Chap.* 9. 1, 9. of his confounding the three Shepherds the *Phariſees*, *Saduces*, and *Eſſeans*: his being ſold for thirty pieces of Silver, *Chap.* 11. 8. 12. his Diſciples ſcattered, *Chap.* 13. 7. divers of *Jeruſalem* mourning over him whom they peirced, *Chap.* 12. and the reſt, and their City and Temple periſhing through unbelief, *Chap.* 11. 1. &c.

NEHEMIAH all the Book,

Chap. 13. *verſ.* 7.

3507 20 IN the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Darius*, in the month *Chiſleu*, *Nehemiah* underſtandeth the miſerable caſe of *Jeruſalem*, and in the month *Niſan* following he obtaineth leave of the King to go to *Jeruſalem*, and a Commiſſion and a Convoy. Here obſerve, that *Chiſleu* the ninth month, and *Niſan* following which was the firſt month, are both in the twentieth year of *Darius*, *Chap.* 1. 1. and *Chap.* 2. 1.

21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 *Nehemiah* is twelve years governour of *Judea*, before he return again to *Perſia* to the King, in that time he builds the wall of *Jeruſalem*, fills it, and ſettles it with Inhabitants; brings the people into order, and into a Covenant, and *Jeruſalem* into habitableneſs in ſafety: And having finiſhed all that was needful for the conſtituting of the City, and the people in peace and piety, he returneth at the end of twelve years, or in the two and thirtieth year of the King, according as he had appointed, *Chap.* 13. 6. and from that year if we count backward to the firſt of *Cyrus*, you have the ſum of ſeven times ſeven, or forty nine years, the term that the Angel had pointed out for the building of *Jeruſalem*, City and wall, *Dan.* 9. 25. viz. of *Cyrus* three years, of *Ahaſhueroſh* fourteen years, and of this *Darius* thirty two. And thus far goeth the Old Teſtament in telling the years of the Story as it goeth along; and further then this thirty two of *Darius* it counteth not by named ſums. And this very conſideration doth confirm me in this reckoning of the years of theſe Perſian Kings; for I cannot but conclude, that the Holy Ghoſt naming the ſeveral years of theſe Kings hitherto, intendeth to continue the Chronicle till this time of *Jeruſalems* compleating, and there to end the Annals.

In the ſeventh Chapter of this Book, which giveth account of the number, and the families of the people that planted *Judea* after the Captivity, you will find exceeding much difference from the Catalogue in *Ezra* 2. though this is ſaid by the Text to be the ſame: for the fifth verſe ſaith thus, *I found a Book of the Genealogy of them that came up at the firſt, and found written therein, &c.* but the matter is to be conceived and apprehended thus:

World | Artax. Darius

thus: That *Nehemiah* found that Liſt and Catalogue of thoſe that came up in the firſt of *Cyrus*, as it was taken then; and that he called over the names of the Families as they lay in order there: He obſerved the order of that Liſt in calling and liſting them, but he took the number of them as they were now when he numbred them: Some Families were now more in number then they were when that firſt Liſt was made, and ſome were leſs, and ſome that were in that Liſt were not to be found now; for ſome had more of the ſame Stock come out of *Babel* ſince the firſt numbering, and ſome that had come up at firſt and were then numbred were now gone back, and ſo he obſerveth by comparing that Liſt, and the preſent number, how the Plantation in *Judea* had gone forward or backward, increaſed or decayed ſince the firſt return.

3519 | 32 *Nehemiah* returneth to the King again, *Chap.* 13. 6. and here the Chronicle of the Old Teſtament ends.

NEHEM. XIII. from *verſ.* 7. to the end.

NEHEMIAH, after his abſence from *Jeruſalem* [which how long it was is uncertain] when he returneth thither again, findeth things exceedingly out of order, which he ſeeketh to reform: He lived after this to the times of *Darius* the laſt King of *Perſia*, for he ſpeaks of him, *Chap.* 12. 22. and of *Jaddua* the High Prieſt, who met *Alexander* the Great when he came to *Jeruſalem*, and to whom *Alexander* ſhewed ſo great reſpect as *Joſephus* reporteth, *Antiq. Lib.* 11. *Caput. ult.*

Ezra liveth alſo near towards the times of *Jaddua*, for he wrote the Book of *Chronicles* in the time of *Johanan*, *Jaddua's* father, *Nehem.* 12.23. and ſo he lived well towards the expiration of the *Perſian* Monarchy: He was born at the leaſt fifty years before *Cyrus* firſt; and from thence to *Darius* his thirty ſecond, were forty nine years, an hundred in all within one: And after that he weareth out the time of one High Prieſt, namely, *Joiada*, and writeth in the time of *Johanan* or *Jonathan*, the next High Prieſt after him: This conſideration alſo helpeth to confirm that account of the times and Kings that we have given from *Cyrus* hither.

The

World

The Propheſie of MALACHI.

MALACHI the laſt of the Prophets of the Old Teſtament is held by ſome to have been *Ezra*; but that matter is not much material, and it is little certain: And ſomething uncertain are his his times, if we ſhould go about to be curious in determining of them; but only this we may conclude of him, that he lived in the times of corruption, the beginning of which are mentioned by *Nehemiah*. He propheſieth againſt the ſtrange marriage mentioned there, *Nehem.* 13. 23, 28. *Mal.* 2. 11. And againſt the detention of Tithes mentioned there, *Neh.* 13. 10, 11. *Mal.* 3. 8. And againſt other prophanneſſes, *Neh.* 13. 15. *&c. Mal.* 1. 13. *&* 2. 8. *&c.* He concludeth with turning them to the ſtudy of *Moſes* and the Old Teſtament, and to the expectation of *Elias Baptiſt*, the beginning of the new. Becauſe after his departure out of the world, the ſpirit of Propheſie alſo departed, and was a ſtranger among the Jews till the dawning of the Goſpel. The *Apochrypha* Books that were written in the time between, wanted the dictating of that ſpirit, for it was now departed.

And thus endeth the Old Teſtament, in a prediction of the Baptiſt to come; and in a threatning of a curſe upon the unbelieving Jews.

FINIS.

THE

HARMONY,

Chronicle and Order

OF THE

NEW TESTAMENT.

The { Text of the Four EVANGELISTS *Methodized.*
Story of the ACTS of the APOSTLES *Analyzed.*
Order of the EPISTLES *Manifested.*
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All Illustrated, with variety of

OBSERVATIONS

Upon the Chiefest Difficulties

Textual and Talmudical:

For clearing of their Sense and Language.

With an Additional

DISCOURSE

CONCERNING

The Fall of JERUSALEM

AND THE

Condition of the *JEWS* in that Land afterward.

By *JOHN LIGHTFOOT* D.D.

LONDON,

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TO THE
READER.

I *Shall not trouble the Reader with any long Diſcourſe to ſhew how the Scripture abounds with tranſpoſition of ſtories; how the Holy Ghoſt doth eminently hereby ſhew, the Majeſty of his ſtyle and Divine Wiſdom; how this is equally uſed in both Teſtaments; what need the ſtudent of Scripture hath, carefully to obſerve thoſe diſlocations; and what profit he may reap, by reducing them to their proper time and order. I Shall only in brief give account of what I have done in the enſuing Treatiſe, which refers to that way of ſtudy of the New Teſtament.*

Some years ago I publiſhed The Harmony, Chronicle and Order of the Old Teſtament, *obſerving what tranſpoſitions may be obſerved there, the reaſon of their diſlocating, and where, in Chronical account, is their proper time and place: and accordingly manifeſting the genuine Order of the Books, Chapters, Stories and Propheſies through the whole Book. The New Teſtament being Written and Compoſed after the very ſame manner of texture, requireth the like obſervation, and having made the Aſſay upon the one, I could not but do the like by the other. I have therefore firſt obſerved the proper Time and Order of the Texts of the Evangeliſts, and how all the four may be reduced into the current of one Story, and thereby evidences taken out of them themſelves. I could willingly have publiſhed the Text it ſelf in that Order, for ſo I have tranſcribed it from end to end, and ſo I offered it to the Preſs, but found its paſſage difficult: So that I have been forced to give directions for the ſo reading of it only by naming Chapters and verſes. It would have been both more eaſie and more pleaſant to the Reader, had the Text of the four been laid before him in ſeveral Columes, but his examining and ordering it in his own Bible by the intimations given, will coſt more labour indeed, but will better confirm memory and underſtanding.*

The Acts of the Apoſtles, *do not much ſcruple the Reader with diſlocations, but the taking up of the times of the Stories, is not of little difficulty, and yet in ſome particulars, of ſome neceſſity: Theſe are obſerved where moſt material, according to what light and evidence may be had for them, either in the Text it ſelf there, or elſwhere. Eſpecially I have indeavoured to obſerve the times of the writing of* The Epiſtles, *both thoſe that fall in, in thoſe times that the Story of* The Acts of the Apoſtles *handleth, and thoſe that were written afterward. For the fixing of ſome there is ſo plain ground from the Text that the time is determined certainly; for others, we are put to probability and conjecture, yet ſuch ground to build conjecture on, that I hope there hath not been much roving from the mark. I muſt ſtand at the Readers cenſure.*

I was unwilling to have medled with The Revelation, *partly becauſe I have no mind to be bold in things of that nature (I ſee too much daring with that Book already) and partly, becauſe I could not go along with the common*

ſtating of the times, and matters there: yet being neceſſitated by the nature of the task, that I had undertaken, I could not but deal with the Times and Order of things ſpoken of in that Book: and that could not be done neither, without ſome ſpeaking to the things themſelves: which I have conjectured at (referring all to better Judgments) by the beſt propriety of the Language and Dialect uſed, I could obſerve: where literally, and where alluſively to be underſtood.

Now becauſe it would have been but a tedious task for the Reader, only to ſtudy upon the meer diſlocations, and the ordering of them, or only to be pondering how to lay all in their right current, I have not only gone the way before him, but have ſtewed his way all along with variety of obſervations; as not obvious (for ſuch would have but added one tediouſneſs to another) ſo I hope not unprofitable, nor without his delight.

I have not ſet my ſelf to Comment, but in a tranſient way to hint the clearing of ſome of the moſt conſpicuous difficulties, and that partly from the Text it ſelf, and partly from Talmudical collections. Of which later I have alleadged very many, and the moſt of them I hope not impertinently, but for uſefull illuſtration. For though it is true indeed that there are no greater enemies to Chriſt, nor greater deniers of the Doctrine of the Goſpel, then the Hebrew Writers; yet as Corah's Cenſers, and the ſpoils of David's enemies, were dedicated to the Sanctuary ſervice, ſo may the Records, to be met with in theſe men, be of moſt excellent uſe and improvement to the explication of a world of paſſages in the New Teſtament: Nay multitudes of paſſages not poſſibly to be explained, but from theſe Records. For ſince the ſcene of the moſt actings in it, was among the Jews, the ſpeeches of Chriſt and his Apoſtles were to the Jews, and they Jews by birth and education that wrote the Goſpels and Epiſtles, it is no wonder if it ſpeak the Jews Dialect throughout; and glanceth at their Traditions, Opinions and Cuſtoms at every ſtep. What Author in the World but he is beſt to be underſtood from the Writers and Dialect of his own Nation? What one Roman Writer can a man underſtandingly read, unleſs he be well acquainted with their Hiſtory, Cuſtoms, Propriety of phraſes and common ſpeech? So doth the New Teſtament, loquitur cum vulgo: Though it be penned in Greek, it ſpeaks in the phraſe of the Jewiſh Nation among whom it was penned all along, and there are multitudes of expreſſions in it which are not to be found but there and in the Jews Writings in all the world. They are very much deceived that think the New Teſtament ſo very eaſie to be underſtood, becauſe of the familiar doctrine it containeth, Faith and Repentance. It is true indeed, it is plainer as to the matter it handleth, then the Old, becauſe it is an unfolding of the Old: but for the attaining of the underſtanding of the expreſſions that it uſeth in theſe explications, you muſt go two ſteps further then you do about the Old, namely to obſerve where and how it uſeth the Septuagints Greek, as it doth very commonly, and when it uſeth the Jews Idiome, or reference thereunto, which indeed it doth continually: A Student well verſed in their Language and Writings would find it no great difficulty to tranſlate the the New Teſtament into Talmudick language, almoſt from verſe to verſe, ſo cloſe doth it ſpeak all along to their common ſpeech. The allegations that I have produced of this nature in this preſent Tract, I have done but curſorily, as not writing a Comment, but a running Survey of the Times, Order and Hiſtory of the whole New Teſtament: So that it may be many of them may not ſpeak to every Reader that full intent for which they are produced, and which, would I have ſpent time to have been their Interpreter (but I was willing to

avoid

avoid prolixity) *I could have made them to have ſpoken plainly. What I might have done in this kind I ſhall ſhew but by one inſtance* (*which let not the Reader think tedious here, ſince I have avoided tediouſneſs in this kind all along hereafter*) *and this is by a Comment in the way we have been ſpeaking of but upon one verſe, and that is the* 22d. *verſe of the* 5th. *Chapter of* Matthew, *which I have picked out the rather, to make an exercitation upon, becauſe it is generally held by all Expoſitors, that in it there is a plain reference to ſomething in the Jewiſh Cuſtoms, which is the thing we have been mentioning.*

Whoſoever is angry with his Brother without a cauſe, ſhall be in danger of Judgment, *&c.*

The ſenſe which is ordinarily given of this verſe in the conſtruction of many Expoſitors, is made to refer unto the three ſorts of Judicatories among the Jews: the loweſt conſiſting of three Judges, the middle of twenty three, and the ſupream of ſeventy one. With which alluſion and explication I cannot cloſe, upon theſe three Reaſons: 1. *Becauſe the loweſt Judicatory to which they apply the word* The Judgement, *had nothing to do in capital matters: and ſo the concluſion of the verſe before cannot be underſtood in this verſe*, The murderer ſhall be in danger of being judged by the Judicatory of three, *for they judged no ſuch thing; and anſwerably the firſt clauſe in this verſe, where the ſame word* The Judgment *is reſerved, cannot have the ſame application.* 2. *The word* Συνέδριον *is uſed only in the ſecond clauſe, and it will be hard to give a reaſon why the middle* Sanhedrin *ſhould only be ſo called* (*as that interpretation makes it to be*) *when all the three, and moſt eminently the higheſt did bear that name.* 3. *To apply* Gehenna ignis *to penalty inflicted by the higheſt* Sanhedrins, *as divers do, doth cauſe ſo hard ſtraining* (*as may be obſerved in the ſeveral alluſions that are framed of it*) *that it is very far from an eaſily digeſted and current ſenſe. I deny not indeed that* Chriſt *in the verſe alluded to ſomething of the Jews practiſes, in ſome point of Judicature, but unto what, I ſhall defer to conjecture, till its courſe come, in the method, in which it ſeemeth moſt genuine to take the unfolding of the verſe up, and that is* 1. *To conſider of three words in it; which alſo are to be met in other places, and ſo carry a more general concernment with them, then to be confined unto this verſe, and thoſe are*, Brother, *and* Ἐνοχος, *and* Gehenna. 2. *To conſider of the three degrees of offences that are ſpoken of, namely* cauſeleſs anger, *ſaying* Raka, *and calling* Thou fool. *And* 3. *to conſider of the three penalties denounced upon theſe offences, viz.*, Judgment, The Council, *and* Hell fire.

1. *The word* Brother, *which doth ſo conſtantly wrap up all profeſſors of the Name of* Chriſt, *in the ſignification of it, in the New Teſtament, may not unfitly be looked upon, by reflection upon the ſenſe of the word* Neighbour *in the Old Teſtament, as that was commonly interpreted and underſtood by the Jews:* By uſing the word Neighbour (*ſaith* Rabbi Nathan) he excludeth all the Heathen, *Aruch. in* בן בריה. *And let this paſſage of* Maymony *be well weighed*: It is all one (*ſaith he*) to ſlay an Iſraelite and to ſlay a Cananite ſervant: he that doth either muſt be put to death for it: An Iſraelite that ſlayeth a ſtranger ſojourner is not put to death by the Sanhedrin for it, becauſe it is ſaid, if a man come preſumptuouſly upon his Neighbour (*Exod.*21.14.) and it is needleſs to ſay, he is not to be put to death for a Heathen. And it is all one for a man to kill another mans ſervant,

or

or to kill his own ſervant, for he muſt die for either, becauſe a ſervant hath taken upon him the Commandments, and is added to the poſſeſſion of the Lord. *In* Rotſeahh, *&c.* per. 2. *By which it is apparent that they accounted all of their own Religion, and them only, to come under the title* Neighbour; *to which opinion how our Saviour ſpeaketh you may obſerve in* Luke 10. 29, 30, &c. *So that in the Jewiſh Church there were thoſe that went under the notion of* Brethren, *that is,* Iſraelites, *who were all of one blood; and thoſe that went under the name of* Neighbours, *and thoſe were they that came in from other Nations to their Religion:* They ſhall no more teach every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, *Jer.* 31. 34, &c. *Now under the Goſpel, where there is no diſtinction of Tribes and kindreds, the word* Brother *is ordinarily uſed to ſignifie in the ſame latitude that* Neighbour *had done: namely all that come into the profeſſion of the Goſpel, and it is ſo taken alſo, as that had been, in contradiſtinction to a* Heathen: Any man that is called a Brother, 1 *Cor.*5.11. *If* thy brother *offend thee,* &c. *Let him be as* a Heathen, Matth. 18. 15, 17.

2. Ἔνοχος, *which our Engliſh rendereth,* Is in danger of, *tranſlates the* word חייב *and* מחויב, *which are as ordinarily uſed among the Jewiſh Writers, as any words whatſoever: as* חייב מיתה *Guilty of death.* חייב כרת Guilty of cutting off, *&c. Every page almoſt in either Talmud will give you examples of this nature.*

3. Gehenna: *It is well known that this expreſſion is taken from* גיא הנום The valley of Hinnom, *of which, and of the filthineſs and abominableneſs of which place, there is ſo much ſpoken in Scripture. There was the horrid Idol* Molech *to which they burnt their children in the fire:* And thither, *as* D. Kimchi *ſaith,* was caſt out all the filth and unburied carcaſes, and there was a continual fire to burn the filth and the bones *In* Pſal. 27.

From hence the Jews borrowed the word, and uſed it in their ordinary language, to betoken Hell: *And the Text from which they eſpecially tranſlated the conſtruction, ſeemeth to have been the laſt verſe of the Propheſie of* Iſaiah, *which by ſome of them is gloſſed thus,* And they ſhall go forth out of Jeruſalem into the valley of Hinnom, and there they ſhall ſee the carcaſes of thoſe that rebelled againſt me, *&c. Vid.* Kimch. & Ab. Ezr. in loc.

It were endleſs to ſhew the frequency of the word in their Writers: let theſe few examples ſuffice. Chald. Paraph. in *Iſa.* 26. 15. Lord thou wilt drive all the wicked to Gehinnom. *And on* Iſa. 33. 14. The wicked ſhall be judged and delivered to Gehinnom the everlaſting burning. *And on* ver. 17. Thou ſhalt ſee thoſe that go down to the Land of Gehinnom. R. Sol. *on* Iſa. 24. 22. They ſhall be gathered together, as priſoners are gathered in the pit, and ſhall be ſhut up in priſon מחויבי גיהנום לגיהנום ἔνοχοι εἰς γεενναν εἰς γεενναν, They that guilty of Gehinnom into Gehinnom. *Targ. in* Ruth 2. 12. Be thou delivered from the Judgment of Gehinnom. *Midras Miſhle fol.* 69. Do you think to be delivered from the Judgment of Gehinnom? *Baal Tur. in* Gen. 1. 1. Becauſe of the Law, they are delivered from the Judgement of Gehennah, *&c. See the phraſe,* Matth. 23.33.

And

And now we have done with words, let us come to ſentences, and conſider the offences that are prohibited, which are eaſily acknowledged to be gradual, or one above another. About the firſt, viz. Cauſeleſs anger, *there needeth no explanation, the words and matter are plain enough.*

The ſecond is, Whoſoever ſhall ſay to his brother *Racha. A nickname or ſcornful title uſual which they diſdainfully put one upon another, and very commonly: and therefore our Saviour hath ſpecified in this word, the rather becauſe it was of ſo common uſe among them, and they made no bones at it. Take theſe few examples,* A certain man ſought to betake himſelf to repentance (*and reſtitution.*) His wife ſaid to him *Rekah* if thou make reſtitution, even thy girdle about thee is not thine own, *&c. Tanchum fol.* 5. Rabbi Jochanan was teaching concerning the building of Jeruſalem with Saphires and Diamonds, *&c.* One of his ſcholars laughed him to ſcorn. But afterward being convinced of the truth of the thing, he ſaith to him, Rabbi, Do thou expound, for it is fit for thee to expound: as thou ſaideſt ſo have I ſeen it: He ſaith to him *Rekah*, Hadſt thou not ſeen thou wouldeſt not have believed, *&c. Midras Tillin. fol.* 38. *col.* 4. To what is the thing like? To a King of fleſh and blood who took to wife a Kings daughter: he ſaith to her, Wait and fill me a cup, but ſhe would not: whereupon he was angry and put her away: She went and was married to a foordid fellow: and he ſaith to her, Wait and fill me a cup: She ſaid unto him, *Rekah*, I am a Kings daughter, *&c. Idem in* Pſal. 137. A Gentile ſaith to an Iſraelite, I have a dainty diſh, for thee to eat of. He ſaith What is it? He anſwers Swines fleſh. He ſaith to him, *Rekah*, even what you kill of clean beaſts is forbidden us, much more this. Tanch. fol. 18. col. 4.

The third offence is to ſay to a brother, Thou fool, *which how to diſtinguiſh from* Racha, *which ſignifies* an empty fellow, *were ſome difficulty, but that* Solomon *is a good Dictionary here for us, who takes the term continually for a wicked wretch and reprobate, and in oppoſition to ſpiritual wiſdom: So that in the firſt clauſe is condemned* cauſeleſs anger; *in the ſecond*, ſcornful taunting and reproaching of a brother: *and in the laſt*, calling him a reprobate and wicked, *or uncharitably cenſuring his ſpiritual and eternal eſtate. And this laſt doth more eſpecially hit the Scribes and Phariſees, who arrogated to themſelves only to be called* חכמים Wiſemen, *but of all others had this ſcornful and uncharitable opinion*, This people that knoweth not the Law is curſed, Joh. 7. 49.

And now for the penalties denounced upon theſe offences, let us look upon them, taking notice of theſe two traditions of the Jews, which our Saviour ſeemeth to face and to contradict.

1. *That they accounted the command* Thou ſhalt not kill, *to aim only at actual murder. So in their collecting of the ſix hundred and thirteen precepts out of the Law, they underſtand that command to mean but this,* That one ſhould not kill an Iſraelite: *Vid.* trip. Targ. ibid. Sepher Chinnuch ibid. Maym. in Rotſeah: per. 1. *And accordingly they allotted this only violation of it to judgement. Againſt this wild gloſs and practiſe he ſpeaketh in the firſt clauſe: Ye have heard it ſaid,* Thou ſhalt not

not kill, *and he that killeth or committeth actual murder, is liable to judgment, and ye extend the violation of that command no further; but I ſay to you, that cauſeleſs anger againſt thy brother is a violation of that Command, and even that maketh a man liable to judgment.*

2. *They allotted only that murder to be judged by the Council or* Sanhedrin, *that was committed by a man in* propria perſona. *Let them ſpeak their own ſenſe:* A murderer is he that kills his neighbour with a Stone, or with Iron: or that thruſts him into water or fire out of which it is not poſſible to get out again, if the man die he is guilty, חי"ב (ἐνοχος.) But if he thruſt him into fire or water, out of which it is poſſible to get out again, though he die, yet he is quit. He ſets on him a Dog or a Serpent, he is quit: He intended to kill a ſtranger and kills an Iſraelite; To kill a little one, and kills one of ſtature: To hit him on the loins, and ſuch a blow on the loins could not kill him, but it miſſes the loins and hits him on the heart and kills him: he is quit. He intended to hit him on the heart, and ſuch a blow on the heart was enough to kill him, but it lights on the loins, and ſuch a blow on the loins was not enough to kill him, yet he dies: he is quit. He intended to ſtrike one of ſtature, and the blow was not enough to have killed one of ſtature, but it lites on a little one, and there was enough in the blow to have killed a little one, and he dies, yet he is quit. He intended to hit a little one, and there was enough in the blow to kill a little one, but it lights on one of ſtature, and there was not enough in the blow to kill one of ſtature, yet he dies: he is quit. R. Simeon ſaith, Though he intended to kill one, and kills another, he is quit, *&c. Talm. in Sanhedr. per.* 9.

Any one that kills his neighbour with his hand, as if he ſtrike him with a ſword, or with a ſtone that kills him, or ſtrangles him till he die, or burns him in the fire, ſeeing that he kills him any how in his own perſon, lo ſuch a one muſt be put to death by the Sanhedrin: But he that hires another to kill his neighbour, or that ſends his ſervants and they kill him, or that violently thruſts him before a Lion, or the like, and the beaſt kills him: Any one of theſe is a ſhedder of blood, and the guilt of ſhedding of blood is upon him, and he is liable to death by the hand of Heaven, but he is not to be put to death by the Sanhedrin. And whence is the proof that it muſt be thus? Becauſe it is ſaid, *He that ſheds mans blood, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed.* This is he that ſlays a man himſelf, and not by the hand of another. *Your blood of your lives will I require:* This is he that ſlays himſelf. *At the hand of every beaſt will I require it:* This is he that delivers up his neighbour before a beaſt to be rent in pieces. *At the hand of man, even at the hand of every mans brother will I require the life of man:* This is he that hires others to kill his neighbour: In this interpretation *requiring* is ſpoken of all the three, *behold* their judgment is delivered over to Heaven (*or God.*) And all theſe manſlayers and the like, who are not liable to death by the Sanhedrin; if the King of Iſrael will ſlay them by the Judgment of the Kingdom and the Law of Nations, he may, *&c. Maym.* ubi ſupr. *per.* 2.

You

You may obſerve in theſe wretched traditions a twofold killing, and a twofold judgment: a mans killing another in his own perſon and with his own hand, and ſuch a one liable to the judgment of the Sanhedrin, *to be put to death by them as a murderer: And a man that killed another by proxy; not with his own hand, but hiring another to kill him, or turning a beaſt or ſerpent upon him to kill him. This man not to be judged and executed by the* Sanhedrin, *but referred and reſerved only to the judgment of God. So that from hence we ſee plainly, in what ſenſe the word* Judgment *is uſed in the latter end of the preceding verſe, and the firſt clauſe of this, namely not for the Judgment of any of the* Sanhedrins, *as it is commonly underſtood, but for* the Judgment of God. *In the former verſe* Chriſt *ſpeaks their ſenſe, and in the firſt clauſe of this, his own, in application to it. Ye have heard it ſaid, that any man that kills is liable to the Judgment of God; But I ſay to you that he that is but angry with his brother without a cauſe, is liable to the Judgment of God. You have heard it ſaid, That he only that commits murder with his own hand, is to be judged by the Council or* Sanhedrin *as a murderer; But I ſay to you, that he that but calls his brother* Racha *as common a word as ye make it, and a thing of nothing, he is liable to be judged by the* Sanhedrin.

Laſtly, He that ſaith to his brother, Thou fool, *wicked one, or caſtaway,* ſhall be in danger of Hell fire. Ἔνοχος εἰς γέενναν πυρός. *There are two obſervable things in the words. The firſt is the change of caſe from what was before: there it was ſaid,* τῇ κρίσει, τῷ συνεδρίῳ, *but here* εἰς γέενναν. *And hereupon* S. Petit *in his* variæ Lectiones *lib.* 1. *cap.* 1. *profeſſeth that he cannot wonder enough, that Expoſitors ſhould not obſerve this variation: and what he himſelf maketh of the obſervation of it I ſhall not inſiſt upon, but refer the Reader to his own words. Surely he little minds the* Greek *Text that ſees not this in it, and there needs not any far fetched Expoſition to ſatisfie about it: It is but an Emphatical raiſing of the ſenſe, to make it the more feeling and to ſpeak home: He that ſaith to his brother* Raka *ſhall be in danger of the Council, but he that ſays* Thou fool, *he ſhall be in danger of a penalty even to Hell fire. And thus our Saviour doth equal the ſin and penalty in a very juſt parallel. Injuſt anger, with Gods juſt anger and judgment: Publick reproach, with publick correction by the Council: And cenſuring for a child of Hell, to the fire of Hell.* 2. *It is not ſaid* εἰς πῦρ γεέννης, To the fire of Hell, *but* εἰς γέενναν πυρός, To a Hell of fire: *in which expreſſion he doth ſtill ſet the Emphaſis higher: And beſides the reference to the* valley of Hinnom, *he ſeemeth to refer to that penalty uſed by the* Sanhedrin, *of burning: the moſt bitter death that they uſed to put men unto: the manner of which was thus:* They ſet the malefactor in a dunghil up to the knees: and they put a towel about his neck, and one pul'd one way, and another another, till by thus ſtrangling him they forced him to open his mouth. Then did they pour ſcalding lead into his mouth, which went down into his belly and ſo burnt his bowels. *Talm. in Sanhed. per.* 7. *Now having ſpoken in the clauſe before of being judged by the* Sanhedrin, *whoſe terribleſt penalty was this burning, he doth in this clauſe raiſe the penalty higher, namely of burning, but in Hell: not a little ſcalding lead, but even with* a Hell of fire, *&c.*

The greateſt part of the New Teſtament might be obſerved to ſpeak in ſuch reference to ſomething or other commonly known, or uſed or ſpoken among the Jews, and even the difficulteſt paſſages in it might be brought to far more facility then they be, if theſe references were well obſerved. There are divers places where Commentators, not able to clear the ſenſe for want of this, have been bold to ſay the Text is corrupt, and to frame a Text of their own heads; whereas the matter skilfully handled in this way, might have been made plain: As we have given experiment in this kind in ſome as we have gone along, and divers others might have been inſtanced, but our work was not now to write a Comment.

Auguſt 28.
1654.

THE HARMONY, Chronicle and Order OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The First Part.

Viz.

The HARMONY and ORDER OF THE FOUR EVANGELISTS.

SECTION I.

LUKE Chap. I. Ver. 1, 2, 3, 4.

LUKE'S *Preface. His warrant to write his Gospel.*

IN compiling the four Evangelists into one continued Current and Story, this Preface that *Luke* prefixeth to his Gospel, may very fitly be set before them all, as a general Proem to the whole.

If he wrote his Gospel, near about that time, when he wrote his *Acts of the Apostles*, it was not till *Paul* had now worn out his two years imprisonment in *Rome*, or thereabout, *Acts* 28. 30. which was twenty seven years after *Christs* Ascention: by which time the Gospel had been carried by the Apostles who were *Eye-witnesses* of *Christs* Actions, and by the Disciples, who were *Ministers of the Word*, through the most parts of the World.

From these mens Sermons and Relations, many undertook to write Gospels, partly for their own use, and partly for the benefit of others,: which thing, though they did lawfully and with a good intent, yet becaus they did it not by Inspiration, nor by Divine Warrant; albeit, what they had written were according to Truth, yet was the Authority of their Writings but humane, and not to be admitted into the Divine Canon. But *Luke* had his intelligence and instructions *from above*, Ἄνωθεν, *ver.* 3.

SECTION II.

JOHN Chap. I. *from the beginning to* Ver. 15.

CHRISTS *Divinity shewed: and the fitness of him, the Word, to be incarnate.*

AFter the Preface, this portion doth justly challenge to be ranked first: for it not only treateth of *Christs Divinity*, which is first to be looked after in his story, but it also sheweth, how proper it was for him the Second Person in the *Trinity* to be incar-

nate, rather than either of the other Perſons: 1. He being *the Word* by whom the world was created, and therefore fitteſt by whom it ſhould be redeemed. 2. *The Word* in whom the Promiſe of Life was given, *ver.* 4. and ſo moſt fit by whom life ſhould be brought. 3. The ſubſtance of that word of Promiſe, that *ſhone as a light* throughout all the Old Teſtament, *in the darkneſs* of the Types, Figures, Propheſies and Myſteries there, and the darkneſs of thoſe obſcure diſpenſations comprehended it not, but that it gave light and ſhone in that obſcurity: and they could not comprehend it, it being a light to break out in a far greater luſtre than they afforded.

SECTION III.

LUKE Chap. I. *from* Ver. 5. *to* Ver. 57.

Year of World.	Year of *Rome.*	*AUGUSTUS.*	*HEROD*
3927.	753.	30.	34.

The Birth of John *the Baptiſt, and the Birth of our Saviour foretold by the Angel* Gabriel.

The Method and Order of this Section, will not need much proof or clearing. The preceding gave an intimation of *Chriſts* fore-runner, *Joh.* 1. 6. and this begins to tell his ſtory to the full.

HEROD *the Great*, by deſcent an *Edomite*, and placed by the *Romans* King of *Judea* [compare *Gen.* 27. 40.] among divers other paſſages, in his uneven, and rugged Reign, had ſlain the *Sanhedrin*, Joſeph. Ant. l. 14. c. 17. and to plaſter the buſineſs again, by the Counſel of *Bava ben Bota* repaired the Temple, and made it incomparably more ſumptuous than it was before, *Jucas fol.* 19. He began this Work in the 18*th* Year of his Reign, and it coſt him eight years to finiſh it, *Joſ. Ant. lib.* 15. *c.* 14. So that this new Fabrick was but eight or nine years old at this year that we are upon.

In this Temple *Zacharias*, a Prieſt of the courſe of *Abia*, was offering Incenſe in the Holy Place, as was uſed daily; and hath tidings brought him of a Son, that ſhould be fore-runner to the *Meſſias*. Although *Zacharias* be ſaid to have been *of the courſe of Abia*, yet can it hardly be thought that he was of his Seed and Poſterity: for we find mention but of four of the Courſes that returned out of *Babylon*, and *Abias* was none of them, *Ezra* 2. 36, 37, 38, 39. But the whole number of thoſe Prieſts that did return of thoſe four Courſes, being about 4290, were caſt by lot into 24 Courſes, according to the Primitive Inſtitution, and *Zacharias* was of the eighth, as *Abias* Courſe had been before the Captivity, and which yet bare his Name, as the other did their Names, who had denominated the Courſes from their firſt original. Of this ordering of the Courſes after the Captivity, both *Talmuds* ſpeak largely, in the Treatiſe *Taanith cap.* 4.

Whether *Zacharias* were of the Seed of *Abia* or no, it is apparent by his ſerving in *Abias* Courſe, that he was not High-Prieſt, but one of the ordinary Prieſts, that ſerved by courſe as their turn came, and that had their particular imployment in the ſervice by lot. The manner of their lottery for this purpoſe, is mentioned at large in *Tamid cap.* 3. in *Joma cap.* 2.

The Angel *Gabriel*, who about 456 years ago had given account to *Daniel* of the time of *Meſſias* his ſufferings, doth now when that time is drawing near, firſt bring tidings of his fore-runners birth, and then of his own.

The Jeruſalem Gemara in Joma fol. 42. *col.* 3. relates a ſtory very parallel to this of *Zachary*, both of his ſeeing an Angel in the Temple, and of his ſtay there longer than was uſed at offering Incenſe. *Simeon the Juſt*, ſay they, *ſerved* Iſrael *in the High-Prieſthood forty years: And on the laſt year he ſaith unto them, This year I muſt die. They ſay to him, How knoweſt thou that? He anſwered. Every year hitherto, when I went into the moſt Holy Place,* [on the day of expiation] *one like an old man cloathed in white, and vailed in white, went in with me, and came out with me. Now this year he went in with me, but came not out with me.* And inſtantly after, *The High-Prieſt might not ſtay praying in the moſt Holy Place long, leſt he ſhould put the people into a fear. One once ſtaid long, and they were about to go in after him. Some ſay it was* Simeon *the Juſt. They ſaid to him, Why didſt thou ſtay ſo long? He anſwered, I was praying for the Sanctuary of your God, that it ſhould not be deſtroyed. They ſay to him, Though thou dideſt ſo, yet ſhouldeſt not thou have ſtayed ſo long.*

If this Relation carry any truth with it, it might be looked upon as the expiring of Viſion (as Propheſie had alſo ceaſed not long before that time:) for *Simeon the Juſt* is ſaid to be משירי אנשי הכנסת הגדולה *of the remnant of the men of* Ezra's *great Synagogue. Aboth R. Nathan cap.* 4. and upon the death of *Zachary* and *Malachy*, who were of that Synagogue, the ſpirit of Propheſie departed: And here Viſion and Propheſie is dawning again.

Zacharias

Zacharias for not believing the words of the Angel is ſtruck חרש *Deaf and Dumb:* and doth fore-ſignifie the ſilencing of the *Levitical* Prieſthood e're long to be. In the Jews Canons חרש is one of the five ſorts of Perſons that they commonly exclude from all imployments and matters of honour, truſt or import; and it means שאינו לא שומע ולאמרבר *one that can neither hear nor ſpeak*, Jeruſ. in chagigah. fol. 75. col. 4.

His Wife *Elizabeth* conceiving with child, retires as a recluſe for five months ſpace, that ſhe might keep her ſelf from all defilement, ſhe carrying as choice a *Nazarite* in her Womb as ſhe did, *ver.* 15.

Five months were not the whole time of her retiring, for that that urged her to keep cloſe ſo long, had the ſame tie upon her all the time ſhe went with child; but five months are only named, by way of introduction to the ſtory, and occurrence in the ſixth month mentioned inſtantly after.

In the ſixth month the ſame Angel appeareth to the Virgin *Mary*, and telleth her of the Birth of the *Meſſias*, to be of her: which ſhe believing, though by the courſe of Nature ſo impoſſible, ſhe preſently goeth to her Couſin *Elizabeth* into the Hill-countrey of *Judea* [to *Hebron*, ſee *Joſh.* 21. 11.] not only to viſit her and to rejoyce with her, nor only to ſee the proof of thoſe things that the Angel had told of her, but very probably, acted by the Holy Ghoſt, that ſhe might conceive the *Meſſias* in *Hebron*, where ſo many choice and eminent Types of him, and references to him had been in ancient time.

Theſe Tidings come to the Virgin at the very latter end of the year that we are upon, or the beginning of the next, and her Journey to *Hebron* is in the middle of Winter.

SECTION IV.

MATTHEW Chap. I. *All the Chapter.*

CHRIST'S *Genealogy by the Line of* Solomon, *and by his ſuppoſed Father* Joſeph. *His Mother in danger to be divorced upon falſe ſuſpition of Adultery.*

WHether it were that *Mary* conceived with child at the inſtant of the Angels telling her of her Conception, as hath been held moſt generally, or at the inſtant that ſhe came to her Couſin *Elizabeth* in *Hebron*, by the time that ſhe had ſtayed with her *three months*, ſhe might eaſily be diſcovered to be with child, as *Tamar* was after the ſame ſpace of time, *Gen.* 38. 24. Whoſe caſe and danger of death in that ſtory, compare with the Virgins caſe and danger of divorce in this. The *Talmudick* Decretals do allot three months for ſuch a diſcovery. *Every woman* (ſay they) *that is divorced or become a widow, behold ſhe may not be married, nor eſpouſed, till ſhe have ſtayed* 90 *days, that it may be known whether ſhe be with child or no; and that there may be diſtinguiſhing betwixt the Seed of the firſt Husband, and the Seed of the ſecond. Likewiſe a ſtranger and his Wife which are Proſelytes, they keep them aſunder* 90 *days, that there may be a diſcerning between the Seed ſown in holineſs* [that is when they are come into the true Religion out of Heatheniſm. Compare 1 *Cor.* 7. 14.] *and the Seed not ſown in holineſs.* Talm. in Jebamoth cap. 4. & in Chetuboth cap. 5. Maym. in Geruſhin cap. 11.

This ſpace of time conſidered, in the preſent ſtory, it ſheweth how fitly the laſt Verſe of the preceding Section, *viz.* Luke 1. 56. and the 18*th* Verſe of this, do joyn together. The Genealogy interpoſed doth not interrupt, but illuſtrate the ſtory intended: And it is not only properly, but even neceſſarily, ſet in the Front of the Evangelical Hiſtory, that ſatisfaction might be given by it, in that main Point concerning *Chriſt*, which the Scriptures do ſo often inculcate, and which the Jews would firſt of all look after, namely to prove *Jeſus of Nazareth*, how ever ſo meanly born, yet to be *The Son of David.* There were two remarkable *Maxims* among the Jewiſh Nation. 1. *That there was to be no King of* Iſrael, *but of the Houſe of* David *and Line of* Solomon. *Talm. in Sanhedr. cap.* 10. And conſequently they looked for King *Meſſias* from that Line. 2. *That the Family of the Mother is not called a Family.* Juchaſin. fol 55. Hereupon hath *Matthew* moſt pertinently brought this Pedigree through the Houſe of *Solomon*, and ended it in *Joſeph* a Male, whom the Jews looked upon as the Father of *Jeſus.*

The laſt Verſe of this Chapter, as it referreth to the demeanour of *Joſeph* and *Mary* in their mutual ſociety till the Birth of *Chriſt*, lyeth properly in the Harmonizing of the Evangeliſts, in the place where it doth: But as it referreth to the Birth of *Chriſt*, it is coincident with *Luke* 2. 7. The Reader in his thoughts will place it as he ſeeth cauſe in theſe ſeveral Relations.

SECTION

SECTION V.

LUKE Chap. I. *from* Ver. 57. *to the end.*

John Baptiſt born.

WHen *Maries* three months ſtay with her Couſin *Elizabeth* was expired, it is eaſily gueſſed, that if *Elizabeth* by that time were not delivered of her child, yet ſhe was very near it: and that conſideration doth clear the ſubſequence of this Section to the preceding.

John Baptiſt born in *Hebron*, the place of the reſidence of *Abraham*, and of the firſt Royalty of *David*. Here Circumciſion was firſt ordained, and here is he born that was to bring in Baptiſm inſtead of Circumciſion. The Prieſts at the Temple, as they looked for break of day, uſed oft to ſay, *The face of all the Skie is bright even unto Hebron.* Talm. in Joma. cap. 3. &. in Tamid. cap. 3. Compare the dawning of the Goſpel now riſing there, in the Birth of the *Baptiſt*: and compare the words of *Zacharias a Prieſt*, ver. 78.

The time of the *Baptiſts* Birth will be found [by ſetting that Clock from our Saviours] to have been in the Spring, much about the time of the *Paſſeover*, about which time of the year *Iſaac* was born.

SECTION VI.

LUKE Chap. II. *from* Ver. 1. *to* Ver. 40.

World.	*Rome.*	*Auguſtus.*	*Herod.*	*CHRIST Born.*
3928.	754.	31.	35.	

LUKE maketh the coherence clear, when he interpoſeth nothing betwixt the Birth of the *Baptiſt* and the Birth of *Chriſt*: and indeed there is nothing to be found in any of the Evangeliſts that can interpoſe.

The four Monarchies which *Daniel* had told ſhould be, and ſhould expire, before the coming of *Chriſt*, have now run their courſe, and a fifth is riſen far more potent and fully as cruel as all the four put together, and therefore it is pictured with the badges of all the four, *Rev.* 13. 2. compared with *Dan.* 7. 4, 5, &c.

A Decree of *Auguſtus* given out at *Rome*, becomes an occaſion of accompliſhing a Decree of the Lords, namely of the Birth of the *Meſſias* at *Bethlehem*. He is born under a *Roman* taxation, and now that Propheſie of *Chittim* or *Italy* afflicting *Heber*, Numb. 24. 24. beginneth livelily to take place.

The time of his Birth was in the Month *Tiſri* [which anſwereth to part of our *September*] and about the Feaſt of *Tabernacles*, as may be concluded upon by obſerving that he lived juſt *two and thirty years old and an half*, and died at *Eaſter*. That Month was remarkable for very many things. In it the World was created, the Tabernacle begun, and the Temple conſecrated: and as the *Jeruſalem Gemariſts* well obſerve, *In it were the Fathers* [before the Flood] *born:* In *Roſh haſhanah fol.* 56. *cap. col.* 4.

His Birth was in the night, and attended with the Song of a whole Quire of Angels, [as *Heb.* 1. 6. and compare *Job* 38. 7.] and with a glorious Light about *Bethlehem* Shepherds, to whom this great Shepherd is firſt revealed.

At eight days old he is Circumciſed, and made a Member of the Church of *Iſrael:* At forty days old, he is preſented in the Temple in the Eaſt Gate of the Court of *Iſrael*, called *the Gate of Nicanor*; and *Maries* poverty is ſhewed by her Offering, (compare *ver.* 24. with *Lev.* 12. 6, 8.) yet her Child is owned as *the conſolation and expectation of* Iſrael.

The firſt year of his Age and Infancy *Chriſt* ſpent at *Bethlehem:* for whereas the Lord by the Prophet had appointed his Birth there, *Mich.* 5. 2. his Parents had no warrant for his Education in any place but there, till the Lord ſhould give them an expreſs for it, which he did by an Angel, *Mat.* 2. 22. Therefore how the words of *Luke* in *chap.* 2. *ver.* 39. are to be underſtood, we ſhall obſerve upon the next Section.

SECTION VII.

MATTH. Chap. II. *All the Chapter.*

CHRIST II. *CHRIST homaged by the Wiſe Men, Perſecuted by* Herod, *flies into* Egypt.

THE order of this Section and Story is cleared by *ver.* 7. and *ver.* 16. by which it appeareth that *Chriſt* was *two years old* when the Wiſe Men came to him: For *Herod* had enquired diligently of them the time when the Star appeared, and according to the time that they had told him, he ſlew the Male Children *from two years old and under. From two years old*, becauſe they had told him it was ſo long ſince the Star appeared; And *under two years old*, becauſe he would make ſure work, as to that ſcruple that might ariſe, namely, whether the Star were a fore-runner, or a concomitant of the Birth of that King of the Jews that they ſpake of.

Now that the Star appeared at the inſtant of his Birth, cannot but be concluded upon this conſideration, if there were no more; That otherwiſe it left the Wiſe Men ſo uncertain of the time when he ſhould be born, as that they could not tell whether he were born or no, no not when they were come to *Jeruſalem.*

The appearance of the Star therefore was on the night when he was born, and they having told *Herod* how long it was ſince it appeared, he accordingly ſlayeth all the Children of two years old; for ſo old according to their information did he account the Child to be for whom he ſought, and yet withal he ſlew all the Children under that age, that he might be ſure to hit and not fail of his deſign. This conſidered, it ſheweth that *Chriſt* was in his ſecond year at the Wiſe Mens coming, and withal it proveth the order of this Section to be proper, and that this Story is to be laid after the Story of *Maries* Purification and not before, as many have laid it.

It may be objected indeed, that *Luke* having given the Story of his preſenting in the Temple, concludeth, *When they had performed all things according to the Law, they returned into Galilee:* Now if they returned into *Galilee* when *Chriſt* was 40 days old, how was he found at *Bethlehem* at two years old? *Anſw. Luke* is to be underſtood in that paſſage according to the current of his own Story. He had nothing to ſay about this matter of the Wiſe Men, nor of Chriſts Journey into *Egypt* [becauſe *Matthew* had handled that to the full before,] and the next thing that he hath to relate, is his coming out of *Galilee* to *Jeruſalem*, to one of the Feſtivals: having nothing therefore to inſert between his preſenting in the Temple at forty days old, and his coming again to the Temple at twelve years old, he maketh this brief tranſition between *when they had performed all things according to the Law they returned into Galilee*, that he might thereby bring *Chriſt* to *Galilee*, from whence he came when he ſhewed his wiſdom at twelve years old.

Μάγοι in Scripture is always taken in the worſt ſenſe for men practiſing Magical and unlawful Arts; and if it be to be underſtood ſo in this place, it magnifieth the power and grace of *Chriſt* the more, when men that had been of ſuch a profeſſion become the firſt Profeſſors of *Chriſt*, of any among the Gentiles: They ſeeing a new and uncouth Star in the Heavens, [it may be the light that ſhone about *Bethlehem*-Shepherds ſeemed to them at diſtance a new ſtrange Star hanging over *Judæa*] are informed by God two years after what it ſignified; and are wrought upon by his Spirit to come and homage *Chriſt* whom it pointed out.

Herod at the report of the *King of the Jews* born, and that with the attendance of ſuch a glorious Star, looks upon him as the *Meſſiah*, yet endeavours to murder him. He is ſent by the direction of an Angel with his Mother into *Egypt*, where there was at this time an infinite number of the Jewiſh Nation. *Succah cap.* 5. *At* Alexandria *there was a great Cathedral, double cloiſtered, and ſometime there were there double the number of* Iſrael, *that came out of* Egypt, *and there were* 71 *Golden Chairs, according to the* 71 *Elders of the great Sanhedrin; And there was a Pulpit of wood in the middle, where the Miniſter of the Congregation ſtood*, &c. The *Babylon Talmud* ſaith, *Alexander the Great* ſlew theſe multitudes, but the *Jeruſalem* ſaith *Trajanus* did. And the Author of *Juchaſin* will ſhew you a truth in both. For, *In the days of* Simeon *the Juſt* (ſaith he) Alexandria *which was* Amon Min No, *was full of Iſraelites, double the number of thoſe that came out of* Egypt, &c. *But they were all ſlain by* Alexander. *But after this it was re-peopled again from the time of* Onias, *who built there a great Temple, and an Altar, and all the men of* Egypt *went thither*, &c. *And there was a great Congregation there, double to the number of thoſe that came out of* Egypt. *Fol.* 14. Of this Temple built by *Onias* in *Egypt*, *Joſephus* maketh mention, *Antiq. lib.* 13. *cap.* 6. And the *Talmud* in *Menachoth*, cap. 13. So that *Chriſt* being ſent into *Egypt* was ſent among his own Nation, who had filled that Country.

The

The time that he was in *Egypt* was not above three or four months, ſo ſoon the Lord ſmote *Herod* for his butchery of the Innocent Children, and murtherous intent againſt the Lord of Life. *Joſeph* and *Mary* being called out of *Egypt* after *Herods* death, intend for *Judæa* again, thinking to go to *Bethlehem*; but the fear of *Archelaus*, and the warning of an Angel directs them into *Galilee*; They knew not but that *Chriſt* was to be educated in *Bethlehem* as he was to be born there; therefore they kept him there till he was two years old, and durſt not take him thence, till fear and the warrant of an Angel diſmiſſeth them into *Egypt*; And when they come again from thence, they can think of no other place but *Bethlehem* again, till the like fear and warrant ſend them into *Galilee*.

CHRIST.
III.
IV.
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII.
IX.
X.
XI.

There is none of the Evangeliſts that recordeth any thing concerning *Chriſt*, from the time of his return out of *Egypt*, till he come to be twelve years old, which was for the ſpace of theſe years; For the better underſtanding of which times let us take up ſome few paſſages in *Joſephus*.

Antiq. lib. 17. *cap.* 10. *Herod* (ſaith he) *reigned* 34 *years, from the time that* Antigonus *was taken away, and* 37 *years from the time that he was firſt declared King by the* Romans.

And again in the ſame Book *cap.* 15. *In the tenth year of the reign of* Archelaus, *the People not enduring his cruelty and tyranny, they accuſed* Archelaus *to* Cæſar, *and he baniſhed him to* Vienna: *And a little after* Cyrenius *was ſent by* Cæſar *to tax* Syria, *and to confiſcate* Archelaus *his Goods.*

And *lib.* 18. *cap.* 1. Coponius *was alſo ſent with* Cyrenius *to be Governour of* Judea.

And *ibid. cap.* 5. Coponius *returning to* Rome, Marcus Ambibuchus *becometh his Succeſſor in that Government. And after him ſucceeded* Annius Rufus, *in whoſe time died* Cæſar Auguſtus *the ſecond Emperor of the* Romans.

Now when *Auguſtus* died *Chriſt* was fourteen years old, as appeareth from this, that he was 29 years old compleat, and beginning to be thirty, in the fifteenth year of *Tiberius* the Emperor next ſucceeding, *Luke* 3. 1, 2. Reckon then theſe times that *Joſephus* hath mentioned between the death of *Herod* and the death of *Auguſtus*, namely, the ten years of *Archelaus*, and after them the Government of *Coponius*, and after him *Ambibuchus*, and after him *Rufus*, and it will neceſſarily follow that when *Herod* ſlew *Bethlehem* Children, *Chriſt* being then two years old, it was the very laſt year of his Reign.

SECTION VIII.

LUKE Chap. II. *from* Ver. 40. *to the end of the Chapter.*

World.	*Rome.*	*Auguſtus.*	*CHRIST.*	*Archelaus.*
3939.	765.	42.	XII.	10.

CHRIST at twelve years old *ſheweth his Wiſdom among the Doctors:* At the ſame Age had *Solomon* ſhewed his Wiſdom in deciding the Controverſie between the two Harlots. *Ignat. Martyr. in Epiſt. ad Magnoſ.*

IT is very eaſie to ſee the ſubſequence of this Section to that preceeding: ſince there is nothing recorded by any of the Evangeliſts concerning *Chriſt* from his infancy till he began to be thirty years old, but only this Story of his ſhewing his Wiſdom at twelve years old among the Doctors of ſome of the three *Sanhedrins* that ſate at the Temple; for there ſate one of 23 Judges in the Eaſt Gate of the Mountain of the Houſe called the Gate *Shuſhan*; Another of 23 in the Gate of *Nicanor*, or the Eaſt Gate of the Court of *Iſrael*. And the great *Sanhedrin* of 71 Judges, that ſate in the Room *Gazith*, not far from the Altar.

Though *Herod* had ſlain the *Sanhedrin*, as is related by *Joſephus* and divers others, yet was not that Court, nor the judiciary thereof utterly extinguiſht, but revived again, and continued till many years after the deſtruction of the City.

His Story about this matter is briefly thus given by the *Babylon Talmud*, in *Bava Bathra* fol. 3. facie 2. *Herod was a ſervant of the* Aſmonean *Family; he ſet his Eyes upon a Girl of it. One day the man heard a voice from Heaven* [Bath Kol] *which ſaid, Any ſervant that rebelleth this year ſhall proſper. He riſeth up, and ſlayeth all his Maſters: but left that Girl,* &c. *And whereas it is ſaid, Thou ſhalt ſet a King over thee from among thy brethren,* [which as the gloſs there tells us, their Rabbies underſtood, *of the chiefeſt of thy brethren*] *he roſe up and ſlew all the great ones, only he left* Baba ben Bota *to take counſel of him.* The gloſs upon this again tells us, *That he ſlew not utterly all the great ones, for he left* Hillel *and the Sons of* Betirah *remaining*; and *Joſephus* relateth alſo, that he ſpared *Shammai:* to which *Abraham Zacuth* addeth, that *Menahem* and 80 gallant Men of the chief of the Nation were gone over to his ſervice and to attend upon him. So that theſe of themſelves, and by ordination of others, did ſoon repair that breach that his Sword had made in the

Sanhedrin,

Sanhedrin, he not reſiſting its erection again, when he had now taken away the Men of his diſpleaſure.

Hillel was Preſident, and ſat ſo forty years, and died [by the Jews computation applied to the Chriſtian account] much about this twelfth year of *Chriſt*. For they ſay that *he lived an hundred and twenty years, the laſt forty of which he ſpent in the Preſidency of the Sanhedrin, entring upon that dignity an hundred years before the deſtruction of the City.*

Menahem was at firſt Vicepreſident with him, but upon his going away to *Herods* ſervice, *Shammai* came in his room: and now two as eminent and learned men ſat in thoſe two Chairs, as ever had done ſince the firſt birth of traditions. *Hillel* himſelf was ſo deſerving a man, that whereas in the vacancy of the Preſidentſhip, by the death of *Shemaiah* and *Abtalion*, *R. Judah* and *R. Jeſhua* the Sons of *Betirah* might have taken the Chairs, they preferred *Hillel* as the worthier perſon, *Talm. Jeruſ. in Peſſachim. fol.* 33. *col.* 1. He bred many eminent Scholars, to the number of fourſcore, the moſt renowned of which by name were, *Jonathan ben Uzziel* the Chaldee Paraphraſt, and *Rabban Jocanan ben Zaccai*: both probably alive at this year of *Chriſt*, and a good while after. The latter was undoubtedly ſo, for he lived to ſee the deſtruction of the City and Temple, and ſat Preſident in the *Sanhedrin* at *Jabneh* afterwards. And till that time alſo lived the Sons of *Betirah* mentioned before.

Shammai was little inferior to *Hillel* in learning or in breeding learned men: and their equal learning and Schools bred differences between them in point of learning, and determination about ſome things in their traditions. The two Maſters controverting about a few Articles, but their Scholars about very many, and their differences very high.

This contention of the Scholars grew ſo very high even in the Maſters time, that it is recorded that the Scholars of *Shammai* affronted and bandied againſt *Hillel* himſelf, in the Temple Court. *Jeruſ. in Jom. Tobh. fol.* 61. *col.* 3. And the quarrelings of theſe Schools were ſo bitter, that as the ſame *Talmud* relateth, it came to effuſion of blood and murdering one another, *Shabb. fol.* 3. *col.* 3. *Theſe are ſome of the Traditions that were made or ſetled in the Chamber of* Hananiah *the Son of* Ezekia, *the Son of* Garon. *The perſons were numbred, and the Scholars of* Shammai *were more than the Scholars of* Hillel. *That day was a grievous day to* Iſrael, *as was the day of the making of the Golden Calf. The Scholars of* Shammai *ſtood below and ſlew the Scholars of* Hillel. Nor did theſe animoſities ceaſe, but they were ever croſſing and jarring, till at the laſt the Schools of *Hillel* carried it, by the determination of a Divine Voice from Heaven, as was pretended [for to ſuch fictions they were glad to betake themſelves.]

Till the Divine Voice [Bath Kol] *came forth, it was lawful for any one to practiſe according to the weighty or light things of the School of* Shammai, *or according to the weighty or light things of the School of* Hillel. *There came forth a Divine Voice at* Jabneh, *and ſaid,* The *words of the one and of the other are the words of the Living God, but the certain determination of the thing is according to the School of* Hillel. *And whoſoever tranſgreſſeth againſt the words of the School of* Hillel, *deſerveth death.* Ibid. in Beracoth fol. 3. col. 2.

At theſe times then that we are upon, their School-Learning was come to the very height, *Hillel* and *Shammai* having promoted it to a pitch incomparably tranſcendent above what it had been before; and accordingly now began the Titles of *Rabban* and *Rabbi*; *Rabban Simeon* the Son of *Hillel* being the firſt Preſident of the *Sanhedrin* that bare a Title, for till theſe times their great and Learned Men had been called only by their bare proper names. So that now in a double ſeaſonableneſs doth *Chriſt* the Divine Wiſdom of God appear and ſet in among them, at twelve years old beginning, and all the time of his Miniſtry after, going on to ſhew them their wiſdom folly, and his own Word and Doctrine the Divine Oracles of Wiſdom. In a double ſeaſonableneſs I ſay, when their Learning was now come to the height, and when their Traditions had to the utmoſt made the Word of God of no effect.

This twelfth year of *Chriſt* was the laſt year of the Reign of *Archelaus* the Son of *Herod*, of whom is mention, *Matth.* 2. 22. He is accuſed to *Auguſtus* for Male-adminiſtration, and thereupon baniſhed by him to *Vienna*, as was mentioned before. And *Coponius* comes Governour of *Judæa* in his ſtead.

CHRIST. XIII. XIV. AUGUSTUS *Cæſar* dieth this fourteenth year of *Chriſt*, on the nineteenth day of *Auguſt: duobus Sextis, Pompeio & Apuleio. Coſſ. Suet. in Auguſto cap.* 10. He was 75 years, 10 months and 26 days old, having been Monarch ſince his victory at *Actium* 44 years, wanting 13 days. *Dion. Caſſ. lib.* 56. TIBERIUS *Cæſar* reigneth in his ſtead.

CHRIST. XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII. XIX. XX. XXI. XXII. XXIII. XXIV. XXV. XXVI. XXVII. XXVIII.

All this ſpace of Chriſts Life, from his twelfth year of age, to his twenty ninth, is paſſed over by all the Evangeliſts in ſilence, becauſe they were not ſo much to treat of his private life and imployment, as of his publick Miniſtry. And here they follow the ſame courſe that the Angel *Gabriel* had done, in his foretelling of the time of his appearing, *Dan.*9.24,25, *&c.* where ſpeaking of the years that ſhould paſs, from his own time unto *Meſſiah the Prince*, he beginneth the Story of *Meſſiah*, from the time of his Miniſtry only, or from the latter half of the laſt ſeven years there mentioned, the time when he ſhould confirm the Covenant with the many, *&c.*

Theſe years he ſpent with his Parents at *Nazareth*, Luk. 2.51. following his Fathers Trade of Carpentry, *Matth.* 13. 55. with *Mark* 6. 3. And theſe two things were they eſpecially that did ſo mainly cloud him from the eyes of the Jews, that they could not own him for the *Meſſias*, namely, becauſe he was of ſo poor condition and education, and they looked for the *Meſſias* in a pompous garb, and becauſe his firſt appearing in his Miniſtry was out from *Nazareth*: his Birth at *Bethlehem* ſo many years ago, either having been not at all taken notice of when it was, or if it were, by this time worn out of notice and remembrance.

SECTION IX.

LUKE Chap. III. *from the beginning to* Ver. 18. **MATTH.** Chap. III. *from the beginning to* Ver. 13. **MARK** Chap. I. *from the beginning to* Ver. 9.

CHRIST. XXIX. *The Goſpel began in* JOHNS *Miniſtry and Baptiſm.*

THe order of this Section is confirmed by all the three. *Mark* hath made this the beginning of his Goſpel, becauſe the preceding occurrences of *Chriſts* Birth and Minority, were committed by the Holy Ghoſt who held his pen, to the pens of others: He calls the Miniſtry and Baptiſm of *John*, *the beginning of the Goſpel*, and that deſervedly, both in regard of *Johns* preaching and proclaiming *Chriſts* appearing to be ſo near, as alſo in regard of the great change that his Miniſtry introduced, both in doctrine and practiſe: He preaching and adminiſtring the *baptiſm of repentance for the remiſſion of ſins*, whereas baptiſm till that time had been uſed and taken up as an obligation to the performance of the Law: And he baptizing Jews into another Religion than their own, whereas till then, baptizing had been uſed, to admit Heathens into the Religion of the Jews.

Here is the ſtandard of time that the Holy Ghoſt hath ſet up in the New Teſtament; unto which, as unto the fullneſs of time, he hath drawn up a chronical Chain from the Creation: and from which as from a ſtanding mark, we are to meaſure all the times of the New Teſtament if we would fix them to a certain date.

There are two main ſtories that *Luke* layeth down in his third Chapter; the one is *Johns baptizing*, and the other is, *Chriſt baptized* by him, and he hath dated the former *in the fifteenth year of* Tiberius Cæſar, and how to date the latter we are taught and helped by theſe Collections. 1. He intimateth to us that *Chriſt* when he was baptized by *John*, was but entring on his Thirtieth year, as the words that he hath uſed do plainly evidence Ἀρχόμενος ὡν ὡσὶ, *He was beginning to be about thirty years of age*, or *after a manner*, and in ſuch a way of reckoning, as the Scripture ordinarily uſeth, accounting the very firſt day of a year, as that year. יום אחד חשנה חשוב כשנה: *One day of the year is reputed that year.* Tal. Bab. Roſh haſhanah fol. 2. 2. *John* baptized half a year before *Jeſus* came to be baptized of him, for he was half a year younger than *John*, Luk. 1. 26. and as *Chriſt* was baptized and entred his Miniſtry, juſt when he was beginning to enter upon his thirtieth year, ſo *John* had begun his Miniſtry at the ſame age, and both according to the Law, *Numb.* 4. 3. Chriſt was baptized in *September*, at what time of the year he had been born: For the phraſe of *Luke* mentioned before, doth plainly confirm, that his Baptiſm was cloſe to that time of the year, that had been the time of his Birth. 4. For the ſynchronizing therefore of the year of *Chriſt* with the year of *Tiberius*, we muſt lay *Tiberius* his fifteenth collateral in *Annal*, accounting with *Chriſts* nine and twentieth; whether you reckon *Tiberius* his year from the very time of the year that he began to reign, which was the 20*th* of *Auguſt*, [and then in *September* when *Chriſt* was baptized, his ſixteenth year was begun, and *Chriſts thirtieth*] or whether you reckon according to the common accounting of the *Roman Faſti*, from *January* to *January*, and then though *Chriſt* indeed ſpent three months of his thirtieth year in *Tiberius* his fifteenth ſo accounted, yet he ſpent three times three months of it in his ſixteenth.

The

The fifteenth year of *Tiberius* then, and the nine and twentieth of our Saviour, was the great year of the beginning of the Gospel, in the preaching and baptizing of *John*, who began this work about Passeover time, or in the month *Abib*, otherwise called *Nisan*. The time of the year that *Abraham* had received the Promise, *Isaac* was born, *Israel* was redeemed out of *Egypt*, and the Tabernacle was erected in the Wilderness. The Jews speak more than they are aware of, when they say, that *As in* Nisan *there had been redemption, so in* Nisan *there should be redemption.* Tal. Bab. ubi supr. fol. 11. The Gospel began, and *Christ* died in that month.

Now whereas it may seem strange, that upon *Johns* beginning to baptize, he introducing so strange a practise and doctrine among them, yet the People should flock to him in so great multitudes, as the Evangelists shew they did, and receive his Baptism with so much readiness: [besides that general satisfaction that may be given to this, from the consideration of Gods special hand and work, providing entertainment for his Gospel, now setting forth,] these four things also may be pertinently observed.

1. This was the time that the Nation expected that the *Messia* should appear: See *Luke* 19. 11. *Gabriels* seventy in *Dan.* 9. had so plainly and exactly pointed to this very time, that not only the pious and the studious among the Nation, could not but observe it, but it had even raised an expectation through a great part of the World, of some great Potency to arise among the Jewish Nation about these times, which should subdue and be Ruler of all the World. *Percrebuerat oriente toto vetus & constans opinio, esse in fatis ut eo tempore Judæa profecti rerum potirentur.* Sueton. in Vesp. cap. 4. *An old and a constant opinion had grown through the whole East, that some coming out of the East should be Master of all.*

Nay so evident was the time and truth in *Daniel*, that the *Jerusalem Gemarists* that could be well content to deny that *Messias* was already come, as the rest of their Nation do, yet they cannot but confess it in *Beracoth. fol.* 1. *col.* 1. in this Story. *Our Doctors say, the Name of King* Messias *is* David: R. Joshua ben Levi *saith, His Name is The branch.* [Zech. 3. 8.] R. Judah *the Son of* R. Ibhu *saith, His Name is* Menahem, [the Comforter.] *And this helps to prove that which* R. Judah *saith, namely this example of a certain Jew: who as he was plowing, his Ox lowed: A certain* Arabian *passing by and observing his Ox low, said, O Jew, O Jew, loose thine Oxen, and lay by this Plow, for behold your Sanctuary is destroyed. The Ox lowed a second time. He saith to him again, O Jew, O Jew, yoke thine Oxen, and tie on thy Plow, for behold King* Messias *is born. He saith to him, What is his Name? the other answered Menahem* [the Comforter:] *And what is his Fathers Name? He answered, Hezekiah* [the strong God.] *He saith to him, Whence is he? He answered, from the Royal Palace of* Bethlehem Judah. *He went and sold his Oxen, and sold his Plow and Gears, and went about from City to City selling swadling-cloaths for babes. When he came to that City, all the Women bought of him, but the Mother of* Menahem *bought not. He heard the voice of the Women saying, O Mother of* Menahem, *thou Mother of* Menahem, *Bring some things sold here to thy Child. She answered, Now I pray, that all* Israels *enemies may be hanged, for on the day that he was born the house of the Sanctuary was destroyed. He saith to her, We hope as it is destroyed at his feet, so it will be built at his feet. She saith to him, I have no money. And why, saith he, doth he suffer for that? If thou have no money now, I will come again after two days and receive it. After the days he came to the City, and saith to her, How does the Child? She answered him, Since the time that thou sawest me, there came winds and storms and took him out of my hands.* A clear confession of *Christs* being already come, and of the poverty of his Mother.

2. They expected a great change of things when *Messias* should come: That Promise in the Prophet of *new Heavens and a new Earth*, to be created, raised this expectation. Hence have they this saying, אלף שנים עתיד הקב"ה לחדש את עולמו *The holy blessed God will renew the World for a thousand years.* Aruch in צדק [*John* speaks their own Language, when he speaks of *reigning with Christ a thousand years*, Rev. 20. 4. which is no more to be understood of the time yet to come, then *Messias* is yet to be expected as not come.] Hereupon they call the *days of the Messias* בריחחדשה *A new Creation*, as 2 *Cor.* 5. 17. In Midras Tillin. fol. 4. col. 3. *R. Houne* speaketh of three Ages, and the last that he mentioneth is דורו של משיח *the age of the Messias: And when that comes*, saith he, *the holy blessed God saith, Now it lies upon me to Create a new Creation.* They likewise call that time עולם הבא *the World to come*, because of the change of things that they expected then, as if a new World were created. *Tanchum. fol.* 77. *col.* 3. *In the world to come I will send my messenger speedily, and he shall prepare the way before me. Paul* taketh *the world to come* in this sense, *Heb.* 2. 5.

3. Baptism had been in long and common use among them many generations before *John Baptist* came, they using this for admission of Proselytes into the Church, and baptizing Men, Women and Children for that end:

Talm. in Jebamoth cap. 4. and Maym. in Iſſure biah, cap. 13. *A perſon is not a Proſelyte till he be both circumciſed and baptized.*

Id. in Chettuboth cap. 1. קטן מטבילין אותו על דעת בית דין. *A little one they baptize, by the appointment of the Conſiſtory.* And Maym. in Avadim. cap. 8. *An Iſraelite that takes a little Heathen Child, or that finds an Heathen Infant, and baptizeth him for a Proſelyte, behold he is a Proſelyte.*

Hence a ready reaſon may be given, why there is ſo little mention of baptizing Infants in the New Teſtament, that there is neither plain Precept nor Example for it, as ſome ordinarily plead: The reaſon is, becauſe there needed no ſuch mention, baptizing of Infants having been as ordinarily uſed in the Church of the Jews as ever it hath been in the Chriſtian Church: It was enough to mention that *Chriſt* eſtabliſht Baptiſm for an Ordinance under the Goſpel; and then, who ſhould be baptized, was well enough known, by the uſe of this Ordinance of old. Therefore it is good plea, *Becauſe there is no clear forbidding of the baptizing of Infants in the Goſpel*, ergo, *they are to be baptized:* for that having been in common uſe among the Jews, that Infants ſhould be baptized as well as Men and Women, our Saviour would have given ſome ſpecial prohibition if he intended that they ſhould have been excluded: ſo that ſilence in this caſe doth neceſſarily conclude approbation to have the practiſe continued which had been uſed of old before.

Johns Baptiſm differed from that before, only in this; that whereas that admitted Proſelytes to the Jewiſh Religion, this admitted and tranſlated Jews into the Goſpel Religion: that was a Baptiſm binding them over to the performance of the Law, as their Circumciſion did, but this was *a Baptiſm of repentance for the remiſſion of ſins*, as was obſerved before.

4. Though ſome of the Nation expected that the *Meſſias* would come and redeem them, though they were impenitent, as ſome of the *Gentiles* plead in *Talm. Bab. Sanhedr. cap.* 10. & *R. Samuel in articulis fidei Judaicæ*: yet was it more generally held, and with good reaſon, that the *Meſſias* would look for a repenting Generation: and thereupon others of the *Gemariſts* in the place alleadged ſay: *If Iſrael repent but one day, preſently the Meſſias cometh.*

Upon the conſideration of theſe things, it will appear the leſs ſtrange, that the People flowed in to *Johns* Baptiſm in ſo great a conflux, this being the time about which the Nation expected the appearing of *Meſſias*, Baptiſm being a thing moſt commonly known and uſed among them, and this Baptiſm of repentance adminiſtred preparatively toward the entertainment of *Chriſt* now ready to come, being ſutable to their own apprehenſions of the neceſſity of repentance, againſt his coming.

Baptiſm was [beſides other tendencies of it] as a badge whereby thoſe that received it and ſtuck to it, were marked out for ſafety and preſervation againſt that deſtruction that was to come upon the Nation for unbelief. Therefore *John* conſtrues their coming to be baptized, their *fleeing from the wrath to come:* and *Peter* in the ſame ſenſe, doth ſay, that *Baptiſm doth now ſave*, 1 Pet. 3. 21. as the Ark had done in the deſtruction of the old World, ſo this from the deſtruction now coming. And *Acts* 2. 40. to his admonition to *Repent and be baptized*, he addeth, *Save your ſelves from this untoward Generation.*

§ § §

MATTH. Chap. III. *from* Ver. 13. *to the end.* | MARK Chap I. Ver. 9, 10. 11. | LUKE Chap. III. Ver. 21, 22.

[CHRIST XXX.] CHRIST is baptized being thirty years old initiant. *Joſephs* Age at his appearing before *Pharaoh*, Gen. 41. 46. The Prieſts, at their entrance into their Office, *Numb.* 4. and *Davids* when he began to reign, 2 *Sam.* 5. 4.

He hath now three years and a half to live, and to be a publick Miniſter of the Goſpel, as the Angel *Gabriel* had told, *Dan.* 9. 27. that *in half of the laſt ſeven of the years* there named, he ſhould confirm the Covenant: *R. Jochanan* ſaith, *Three years and an half the Divine Glory ſtood upon the Mount of Olives and cried, Seek the Lord while he may be found.* Midr. Till. fol. 10. col. 4.

This ſpace of time had been renowned before, by *Elias* his ſhutting up Heaven, *Luke* 4. 25. *James* 5. 17. and now Heaven is opened; by the perſecution of *Antiochus* when all Religion was deſtroyed, *Dan.* 12. 7, 11. and now redemption and reſtoring is come.

Chriſt therefore living three years and an half, and dying at *Eaſter*, it follows that he was baptized in *Tizri, about the Feaſt of Tabernacles*, at which time of the year he had been born: and was now, when he was baptized, nine and twenty years old compleat, and juſt entring upon his thirtieth: to which add his three years and an half after his Baptiſm, and it reſulteth, that he died, being two and thirty years old and an half: the exact time of

of *Davids* reign in *Jeruſalem*, 1 Kings 2. 11. *The days that* David *reigned over* Iſrael, *were forty years; ſeven years reigned he in* Hebron, *and thirty and three years reigned he in* Jeruſalem: that is, in *Hebron* ſeven years and an half, 2 *Sam.* 5. 5. and in *Jeruſalem* two and thirty years and an half: ſo the *Jeruſ. Talm.* counteth well, in *Roſh haſhanah*, fol. 1. col. 2.

As *Chriſt* by Circumciſion was admitted a Member of the Church of the Jews, ſo is he by Baptiſm of the Church of the Goſpel: being withal inſtalled into his Miniſterial Function by Baptiſm, and Unction of the Holy Ghoſt, as the Prieſts were into theirs, by waſhing and anointing.

SECTION X.

LUKE Chap. III. *from* Ver. 23. *to the end of the Chapter.*

CHRIST'S *Genealogy by his Mothers ſide.*

MATTHEWS Genealogy, and this, as they run by a different Line, ſo they are brought in upon different ends. *Matthew* intends to ſhew, that *Jeſus Chriſt* was the Son promiſed to *David*. *Luke* ſhews him the ſeed of the woman promiſed to *Adam*, *Gen.* 3. 15. who in the next following Section begins to break the head of the Serpent. Therefore when that promiſe to *Adam* beginneth to take place in *Chriſts* entring upon his Miniſtry, and in his being ſealed for the *Meſſias* by the Holy Ghoſt, this Genealogy is divinely woven in.

Matthew derives his Line by the Pedigree of *Joſeph* his ſuppoſed Father, and draws it from *Solomon*: *Luke* by the Pedigree of *Mary* his Mother, and draws it from *Nathan*: For as the Jews looked on him as *the Son of David*, they would regard the Maſculine Line and the Line Royal, therefore *Matthew* giveth it at his birth. But looked on, as the ſeed promiſed to *Adam*, *the ſeed of the woman*, he was to be looked after by the Line of his Mother. And whereas this ſeed of the woman was to deſtroy the power of *Satan* by the word of truth, as *Satan* had deſtroyed men by words of falſhood, *Luke* doth properly draw up his Line to *Adam*, now when he is to begin to preach the Word.

The Line on this ſide the Captivity, for which there is no record elſewhere in Scripture, *Matthew* and *Luke* took from ſome known Records then extant among the Nation. *R. Levi* ſaith, *There was found a Book of Genealogies at* Jeruſalem, *in which it was written*, Hillel *was of the Family of* David. Ben Jatſaph *of the Family of* Aſap, *&c. Tal. Jeruſ. in Taanith, fol* 68. *col.* 1. They kept the Records of Pedigrees, and of all other they would be ſure to keep thoſe of the Family of *David*, becauſe of the expectation of the *Meſſiah* from it.

SECTION XI.

MATTH. Chap. 4. *from the beginning to* Ver. 12.

MARK Chap. I. Ver. 12, 13.

LUKE Chap. IV *from the beginning to* Ver. 14.

The Seed of the Woman and the Serpent combating.

MARK and LUKE by theſe words, *immediately the Spirit driveth him*, and *Jeſus returned from* Jordan, do make the order neceſſary: ſo that as for the ſubſequence of this to what preceded there can be no ſcruple. Only there is ſome difference 'twixt *Matthew* and *Luke* in relating the order of the temptations: which *Matthew* having laid down in their proper rank [as appeareth by theſe particles *then*, ver. 15. and *again* ver. 8.] *Luke* in the rehearſing of them, is not ſo much obſervant of the order [that being fixed by *Matthew* before,] as he is careful to give the full ſtory, and ſo to give it, as might redound to the fulleſt information.

As our Mother *Eve* was tempted by *Satan* to *the luſt of the fleſh*, *the luſt of the eyes*, *and the pride of life*, as 1 Joh. 2. 15. [for ſhe ſaw it was *good for food*, that it was *pleaſant to the eyes*, and to be deſired *to make one wiſe*, Gen. 3. 6.] ſo by theſe, had it been poſſible, would the ſame tempter have overthrown *the ſeed of the woman*: For he tempted him to *turn ſtones into bread*, as to ſatisfie the longing of the fleſh; to fall down and worſhip him upon the ſight of a bewitching object to *his eyes*, and to fly in the air *in pride*, and to get glory among men. *Luke* for our better obſerving of this parallel, hath laid the order of theſe temptations anſwerable to the order of thoſe.

Jeſus being baptized about the Feaſt of *Tabernacles*, toward the latter end of our *September*, is preſently carried into the Wilderneſs of *Judea*, by the acting of the Holy Spirit, to enter that combate with the Serpent which was deſigned, *Gen.* 3. 15. Forty days and forty nights [He being all the while in watching, faſting and ſolitude, and among the wild

wild beasts, but sate as *Adam* among them in innocency] the Devil tempteth him invisibly as he doth other men, namely, striving to inject sinful suggestions into him, but he could find nothing in him to work upon, as *Joh.* 14. 30. therefore at forty days end he taketh another course, and appeareth to him visibly in the shape of an Angel of Light [and so had *Eve* been deceived by him, mistaking him for a good Angel] and trieth him by perswasion, by Scripture, and by power, but in all is foiled, mastered and banished by a word.

SECTION XII.

JOHN Chap. I. *from* Ver. 15. *to the end of the Chapter.*

CHRIST *is pointed out by* John, *and followed by some Disciples.*

COnceive the continuance of the Story thus: *Christ* newly baptized, goeth immediately into the Wilderness, and leaveth *John* at *Jordan* on *Judea* side: In the time of the forty days temptation, *John* having now gathered his Harvest of Disciples on that side the River, goeth over into the Country beyond *Jordan*, and baptizeth in *Bethabara*. Thither came some Pharisees by commission of the *Sanhedrin*, to question him about the Authority whereby he baptized, making no strangeness at baptizing, which had been so long in use among them, but questioning his Authority to baptize in that tenor that he did.

The next day after their questioning of him, *Christ* cometh into sight, is pointed out by *John*, and followed by some of his Disciples.

For half a year *John* had baptized in the Name of *Christ*, and knew him not, *ver.* 31, 33. Only as all the Nation expected the *Messias* to come in time, and *John* had it revealed to him that he was now ready to appear, so *John* baptized, and the People came to him upon this account: He professed to all that came to him to be baptized, and so he did to the Jews Commissioners now, that he baptized only in the Name of him that was to come after him, *whose shoos latchet he was not worthy to unloose*, ver. 27. Let a passage in *Tosaphtoth* comment upon these words: אי זה היא חזקת עבדים נעל לו סנדלן והיחיר לו סנדלן וחוליך אחריו כלים למרחץ. *What is the token of a Servant? He ties his Masters shoos, or looses his shoos, and bears his things after him to the bath*, In Kiddushin cap. 1. And the like saith *Maymony in Mekerah* cap. 2. *A Canaanite Servant is like Land as to buying: and he is bought by Money, or by Script, or by service in way of earnest: And what is the earnest in buying Servants? Namely that a man use them as they use Servants before a Master. As to loose his shooe, or to tie his shooe, or to carry his things after him to the bath*, &c.

So that those that were baptized in this time, of whom there was a very great number, knew not of *Jesus of Nazareth* his being the *Christ*, nor knew they more of *Christ* than they had known before, but only that he was ready to come: only they were baptized into faith in him, and to repentance.

But when *Christ* himself came to be baptized, *John* had discovery of him, and so is able now upon the sight of him to point him out to his Disciples: whereupon *Peter* [and probably *John*] and *Andrew*, and *Philip*, and *Nathanael* follow him.

SECTION XIII.

JOHN Chap. II. *All the Chapter.*

Water turned into Wine.

CHRISTS first Passeover after his Baptism.

THe words *The third day* in *ver.* 1. mean either the third day from *Christs* coming into *Galilee*, Joh. 1. 43. or the third day from his conference with *Nathanael*, or the third day from the Disciples first following him, they give demonstration enough of the *series*, and connexion of this Chapter to the former.

It was about the middle of our *November* when *Christ* came out of the Wilderness to *John* at *Bethabara*, and then there were about four months to the Passeover, which time he spent in going up and down *Galilee*, and at last comes to his own home at *Capernaum*. Those two passages being laid together, *The day following Jesus would go forth into Galilee*, Joh. 1. 43. And *After this he went down to Capernaum, and continued there not many days, and the Jews Passeover was at hand*, Joh. 2. 12. do make it evident that *Jesus* had now a perambulation of *Galilee*, which took up a good space of time. So that this first Miracle of turning Water into Wine, was about the middle of our *November*, or little further.

The

The Jews marriages were fixed to certain days of the week: *For a Virgin was to be married on the fourth day of the week, and a widow on the fifth*, Talm. in chetub. cap. 1. [The reason why, is not pertinent to produce here.] Now if this marriage at *Cana*, were of a Virgin, and on the fourth day of the week, or our *Wedneſday*, then *Chriſts* firſt ſhewing himſelf to *John* and his Diſciples at *Jordan*, was on the firſt day of the week, afterward the Chriſtian Sabbath.

Theſe Marriage Feaſts they held to be commanded, and thereupon they have this *Maxime, It is not fit for the Scholars of the wiſe to eat at Feaſts, but only at the Feaſts commanded, as thoſe of eſpouſals and of marriages*, Maym. in Deah. cap. 5.

At the Paſſeover, it is half a year ſince *Chriſt* was baptized; and thenceforward he hath three years to live, which *John* reckoneth by three Paſſeovers more, *viz. Joh.* 5. 1. & 6. 4. & 18. 28. In this firſt half year he had gone through his forty days temptation, had gathered ſome diſciples, and had perambulated *Galilee*.

At *Jeruſalem* at the *Paſſeover*, in the face of all the People, he acted in the evidence of the *great Prophet*, and purgeth his own Temple, as *Mal.* 3. 1, 3. doth many Miracles, knoweth the falſe hearts of many, and truſteth not himſelf with them.

He found in the Temple thoſe that ſold Oxen and Sheep, ver. 14. For ſome illuſtration to this paſſage, take a Story in *Tal. Jeruſ. in Jom. tobh. fol.* 61. *col.* 3. *One day* Baba ben Bota *came into the Temple Court and found it ſolitary* or deſtitute [that is, not having any beaſts there for ſacrifice.] *He ſaith, Deſolate be their houſes who have deſolated the houſe of our God. What did he? He ſent and fetched in three thouſand ſheep of the ſheep of* Kedar, *and ſearched them whether they were without blemiſh, and brought them into the mountain of the houſe*, [or the utmoſt Court, the place where Chriſt found Sheep and Oxen at this time] *and ſaith, My brethren, the houſe of* Iſrael, *whoſoever will bring a burnt-offering let him bring it, whoſoever will bring a peace-offering let him bring it.*

Among other things that *Jeſus* did for the purging of his Temple, it is ſaid, *He poured out the changers money, and overthrew the Tables*, Κολλυβιστῶν ἐξέχεε τὸ κέρμα, and ſo again, *Matth.* 21. 12. Maym. in Shekalim. cap. 1. *It is an affirmative Precept of the Law, that every Iſraelite pay yearly half a ſheckel; yea even the poor, that lives on alms, is bound to this, either begging ſo much money that he may give it, or ſelling his coat to get ſo much.*

Talm. in Shekalim. cap. 1, *&c. On the firſt day of the month Adar, proclamation was made about this half ſhekel, that they ſhould get it ready. On the fifteenth day of that month, the Collectors ſat in every City for the receiving of it; and as yet they forced none to pay. But on the five and twentieth day they began to ſit in the Temple*, [this was ſome eighteen or nineteen days before the Paſſeover] *and then they forced men to pay, and if any refuſed they diſtrained. They ſat with two Cheſts before them, into the one of which they put the money of the preſent year, and into the other the money that ſhould have been paid the year before. Every one muſt have half a ſhekel to pay for himſelf. Therefore when he brought a ſhekel to change for two half ſhekels, he was to pay* קולבון לשולחני Κόλλυβον τῷ τραπεζίτῃ, *ſome profit to the changer. And when a ſhekel was brought for two, there was a double profit to be paid for the change.*

SECTION XIV.

JOHN Chap. III. *All the Chapter.*

Nicodemus. The Diſciples baptize in the Name of Jeſus.

BEfore our Saviours departure from *Jeruſalem*, *Nicodemus* one of the Judges of the great *Sanhedrin* cometh to him, and becometh his Diſciple: for we cannot ſo properly look for a Member of that great Council in any place as at *Jeruſalem*. He had obſerved in his Miracles, the dawning of the days of *Meſſias*, or *the Kingdom of Heaven*, but having but groſs and erronious apprehenſions concerning *the Kingdom of Heaven*, or of the ſtate of thoſe days [as was the general miſtake of the Nation,] he is rectified about that matter, and is taught the great Doctrines of regeneration and believing in *Chriſt: Chriſt* teaching regeneration by the Spirit and Water, exalteth Baptiſm, and cloſely calleth to *Nicodemus* to be baptized. The *Talmudick* Records make mention of a *Nicodemus* in theſe times, who had to do about waters, to provide ſufficient for the People to drink at the Feſtivals.

He is taught, [againſt the great miſpriſion of the Nation] that *Meſſias* ſhould be a redeemer of the Gentiles as well as the Jews. The Jews in their common language, did title the Gentiles אומות העולם, *The Nations of the World*. The Earth they divided into חוצה לארץ וארץ ישראל, *The Land of Iſrael*, and *out of the Land:* and the People they parted into ישראל and אומות עולם *Iſrael and the Nations of the World:* The New Teſtament which follows their common Language exceeding much, uſeth both theſe expreſ-

ſions

ſions very often, whereby to ſignifie the *Gentiles:* ſometimes calling them *thoſe that are without*, and ſometimes *the world*. *Nicodemus* very readily underſtood the word in this common ſenſe, when Chriſt ſays, God ſo loved *the world*, that he gave his Son. And he very well perceived that *Chriſt* contradicted in theſe his words, their common and uncharitable error, which held, that the *Meſſias* ſhould be a redeemer only to *Iſrael* [and thoſe Gentiles only, that ſhould be proſelyted to their Judaiſme,] but as for the reſt of the Heathen he ſhould confound and deſtroy them: Examples of this their proud and uncharitableneſs might be produced by multitudes: let theſe two or three ſuffice. The Jeruſ. Talm. in Taanith fol. 64. col. 1. ſpeaking of the coming of *Meſſias* ſaith, and produceth theſe words, *Iſa.* 21. 12. *The morning cometh and alſo the night, It ſhall be the morning to* Iſrael, *but night to the Nations of the world.* Midr. Till. on Pſal. 2. *The threſking is come, the ſtraw they caſt into the fire, the chaff into the wind, but preſerve the wheat in the floor; and every one that ſees it, takes it and kiſſes it:* כן אומות העולם *So the Nations of the world ſay, the world was made for our ſakes, but* Iſrael *ſay to them, Is it not written, But the people ſhall be as the burning of the Lime-kilne, but* Iſrael *in the time to come* [לעתיד לבוא an expreſſion whereby they commonly mean the times of the *Meſſias*] *ſhall be left only, as it is ſaid, The Lord ſhall lead him alone, and there ſhall be with him no ſtrange god. Baal turim* on *Num* 24. 8. on thoſe words, *He ſhall eat up the Nations his enemies, and ſhall break their bones*, obſerveth the letter ע in one of the words to have a ſpecial mark upon it, *ſignifying*, ſaith he, *that he ſhould root out the ſeven Nations* [of the *Canaanites*] *and in time to come* [לעתיד לבוא] *the other ſixty three Nations*, that is all the ſeventy Nations of the world. No, ſaith our Saviour, God loved *the world* or the Gentiles, and God ſent not his Son *Meſſias* to condemn *the world* or the Gentiles, but that *the world* through him ſhould be ſaved.

After this tranſaction with *Nicodemus*, *Jeſus* departeth from *Jeruſalem* into *Judea*, and there he ſetteth his Diſciples to baptize in his Name: that whereas *John* had only baptized in the name of *Chriſt*, and his baptized ones did not know who *Chriſt* was, now the Diſciples baptize in the name of *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, to evidence him to be the *Chriſt* into whoſe Name *John* had baptized.

John himſelf was baptizing ſtill in *Ænon* in *Galilee*, having traverſed *Judea* upon the coaſts of *Jordan*; and *Peræa* or beyond *Jordan*, and now come thither where preſently his ſun is to ſet.

This Chapter contains the ſtory of half a year and ſomewhat more, namely from the Paſſover [if the conference with *Nichodemus* were at that time] till after the feaſt of *Tabarnacles:* at which time it was a whole year ſince *Chriſt* was baptized, and a year and an half ſince *John* began to baptize.

SECTION XV.

LUKE Chap. III. Ver. 18, 19, 20.

JOHN *Impriſoned.*

FRom the laſt verſe of the preceeding Section and forward, we hear no more of *John* in any of the four Evangeliſts, till you find him in priſon. Therefore this portion in *Luke*, which giveth the ſtory of his impriſonment, is very fitly and properly to be ſubjoyned to what preceedeth: obſerve how aptly the firſt verſe of this and the laſt of that do joyn together. *Luke* indeed hath uſed an anticipation here, laying down the ſtory of *Johns* impriſonment, before the ſtory of *Chriſts* being baptized, becauſe he would ſhew the effects of *Johns* doctrine altogether. With Phariſees, Sadducees, Publicans, Souldiers, and the reſt of the people, he found entertainment of his doctrine when he told them their faults, and taught them their duty; but when he reproved *Herod*, he would not be ſo compliant, but impriſoned him. The time of his commitment may be gueſſed, by what time it was that *Chriſt* ſlipped aſide for his own ſafety upon the hearing how the caſe went with *John*, which will appear to be about the middle of our *November*, and *John* had begun to preach and baptize at ſpring was twelvemonth before, about ſome eighteen or nineteen months ago.

SECTION

SECTION XVI.

CHRIST. XXXI. | JOHN Chap. IV. *All the Chapter.* MATTH. Chap. IV. Ver. 12.

CHRIST at Jacobs well Converteth Samaritans: Healeth a ſick perſon, &c.

CHRIST was in *Judea* when *John* was apprehended by *Herod* in *Galilee*. His pretended quarrel was the multitude of *Johns* diſciples, as dangerous for innovation: but the very true cauſe indeed was, his and *Herodias* ſpleen for *Johns* plainneſs with them about their inceſt. The *Phariſees* at *Jeruſalem* would ſoon hear what was become of *John* their eye-ſore, and what *Herod* laid to his charge, namely the dangerouſneſs of his gathering ſo many diſciples. Now our Saviour underſtanding that they looked upon him, as one that had more Diſciples then *John*, and ſo was in equal danger from them upon that account, he getteth out of *Judea* out of their reach and goeth to *Galilee*. But was not *Galilee* within their reach too?

From *ver.* 35. may be computed the time of this journey into *Galilee*, namely when it was *now four months to harveſt*; that is, to the Paſsover, for from the ſecond day in the Paſs-over week their Harveſt began, *Lev.*23.11,&c. And from this, there may be ſome reaſonable conjecture concerning the time when *John* was caſt into priſon. *Chriſt* was in *Sychar* field about the latter end of our *November*, when it was now four months to the Paſsover, and he took that journey as ſoon as he underſtood of *Johns* impriſonment, *Matth.*4.12. He was now entred upon his one and thirtieth year of age.

When he cometh up into *Galilee*, he avoideth his own City *Nazareth*, ver. 44. becauſe he knew he ſhould find no reſpect there in regard of the mean education that he had among them: but he goeth to *Cana* where he had done his firſt miracle; and from thence with a word of his mouth he healeth one ſick at *Capernaum*. It was the ſon Βασιλικοῦ τινος, *of one of the Kings party*, namely of old *Herods*, to whom divers of the eminent and learned of the Jews had gone to be his ſervants, to the diſtaſt of others, and probably in a reluctancy to their own principles, but overcome with court intereſts, *Juchaſin fol.*19.

SECTION XVII.

LUKE Chap. IV. *from* Ver. 14. *to* Ver. 31. | MARK Chap. I. Ver. 14.

CHRIST Preaching in Nazaret Synagogue is in danger of his life.

THus is CHRIST come up to *Galilee* again from *Jeruſalem*, and out of *Judea* where he had ſtaid a good ſpace. The Reader may obſerve here what a *chaſma* [if I may ſo call it] there is in the ſtory of *Luke*, who hath ſtepped from the ſtory of *Chriſts* temptation in the wilderneſs, to this his coming to *Galilee*, and hath laid nothing between, whereas there was a whole years hiſtory intercurrent; and ſo we obſerved ſuch another *Chap.*2.39.

At his firſt coming up into *Galilee* in this voyage, he avoideth his own Town *Nazareth*, becauſe he knew a Prophet hath no honour in his own Country, but now having gon up and down the country ſome ſpace, and a renown being gone of him all over thoſe parts, he cometh at laſt to ſee what entertainment he can find in his own Town. There he is admitted [as a member of that Synagogue] to be *Maphtir*, or publick reader of the ſecond Leſſon in the Prophets for that day. But preaching upon what he had read, and hinting the calling of the Gentiles, from the dealing of *Elias* and *Eliſha* with ſome Heathens, and withall pinching cloſe upon the wickedneſs of *Nazaret* by that compariſon, he is in danger of his life, but delivers himſelf in ſome miraculous manner.

He preacheth thus in the Synagogue, in the authority and demonſtration of a Prophet, and as he evidenced that authority elſewhere by his miracles, ſo doth he here in *Nazaret*, by reading of the Leſſon in the Prophet, which being to be red in the *original Hebrew*, which Language was now loſt among them and only attained to by ſtudy, he ſheweth his Prophetical ſpirit in this skill in the language, having had no education to ſuch a purpoſe. The reader in the Law and Prophets both, had an Interpreter, that rendred what was read out of the Hebrew text into the vulgar language, and the Interpreter ſometime took liberty to paraphraſe upon the Text [as the Caldee Paraphraſt had done, eſpecially upon the Prophets,] and kept not always *verbatim* to it. The *Jeruſalem Gemariſts* give an inſtance of ſuch a thing, in Sanhedr. fol. 20.col. 3. *Joſeph the Maonite interpreted in the Synagogue in Tiberias theſe words*, Hear ye this all ye people, *Why do not ye labour in the Law? have not I given the Sanhedrin to you for a gift?* And hearken O houſe of *Iſrael*.

Why do you not give the Sanhedrin the gift I appointed you at Sinai? And hearken O houſe of the King, for the judgment is to you; *I ſpeak it to you, but the judgment is to the Prieſts: I will come and ſit with them in judgment, and end and deſtroy them out of this world.* So *Chriſt* in reading the Leſſon out of the Prophet, becomes his own Interpreter and Paraphraſt both.

SECTION XVIII.

MATTH. Chap. IV. Ver. 13,14,15,16,17. MARK Chap. I. Ver. 14,15.

CHRIST *at Capernaum in the coaſts of Zebulon and Nepthali*, &c.

WHereas *Matthew* in the beginning of this Section, telleth that *Chriſt* left *Nazareth*, *Luke* in the end of the preceeding, ſhews the reaſon why, namely becauſe he was in hazard of his life there, and ſo the connexion is made plain.

In the coaſts of *Zebulon* and *Napthali* captivity had firſt begun, 2 *King.* 15. 29. and there *Chriſt* firſt beginneth, more publickly and evidently to preach the near approach of *the Kingdom of Heaven* and redemption. In the firſt plantation of the Land after the captivity, *Galilee* eſcaped from being *Samaritan*, and was reſerved for this happy priviledge, of being the firſt ſcene of *Chriſts* preaching the Goſpel. And as that country was inhabited by a good part of the ten Tribes before their captivity, ſo upon the return out of *Babel* in the ten tribes of *Zorobabel* and *Ezra*, it may well be held to have been planted with ſome of the ten Tribes again. For 1. Obſerve in *Ezra* 1. that there is a Proclamation from *Cyrus*, that any of the blood of the Jews whereſoever within his dominions, ſhould have liberty to go up to *Jeruſalem*, ver. 3,4,5, Now undoubtedly the ten Tribes were then reſiding within his dominions, and it is harſh to conceive that they had all ſo far utterly forgot God and their country, as none of them to deſire to go to their own Land again when permitted. 2. There is a *ſumma totalis* in *Ezra* 2. of fourty two hundred and threeſcore, *ver.* 64. that returned out of captivity upon that Proclamation, and there are the number of ſeveral families reckoned, as making up that ſum: whereas if the total of theſe particulars be ſummed up, it reacheth not, by ſixteen thouſand or thereabout, to that number of forty two thouſand, three hundred and threeſcore. Where then muſt we find thoſe ſixteen thouſand, ſince they ariſe not in the number of the families there named? The families there named are of *Juda* and *Benjamin* and then certainly thoſe ſixteen thouſand can hardly be imagined any other then of the ten Tribes. And 3. Whereas it is apparent that the returned of *Judea* and *Benjamin*, planted *Judea*, whom can we imagin, but ſome of the ten Tribes to have planted *Galilee*? And hence their difference in language from the Jews of *Judea*, and in ſeveral cuſtoms. And hence the reducing of ſome after the captivity, to the line of ſome of the ten Tribes: as *Hannah* to the Tribe of *Aſher*, Luk. 2. 36. *Ben Cobiſin of the line of Ahab.* Talm. Jeruſ. in Taanith fol. 68. col. 1.

And here is the firſt returning of the ten Tribes, to be ſuppoſed, and it carrieth fair probability, that the moſt of the twelve Apoſtles, and many of the reſt of the Diſciples that were of *Chriſts* moſt conſtant retinue, were of the progeny of ſome of the ten Tribes returned.

SECTION XIX.

LUKE Chap. V *from the beginning to* Ver. 12. MATTH. Chap. IV. Ver. 18,19,20,21,22. MARK Chap. I. Ver. 16,17,18,19,20.

Peter *and* Andrew, *&c. called to be fiſhers of men.*

THe method and *ſeries* is confirmed by the tranſition of *Matthew* and *Mark*: but in the order of *Luke* there is ſome difficulty. 1. He relateth the calling of theſe Diſciples differently from the relation given by the other: for they ſay *Chriſt* called *Peter* and *Andrew* as he walked by the ſea ſide, but he ſtorieth their call when *Chriſt* was with them in the ſhip: they ſay he called *James* and *John* at ſome diſtance beyond *Peter* and *Andrew*, but he carrieth it as if he called them all together. But this is not contrariety, but for the more illuſtration; they all ſpeak the ſame truth, but one helps to explain another. The ſtory at full in them all is thus: As *Jeſus* walked by the ſea of *Genezareth*, he ſaw two ſhips ſtanding there, the one whereof belonged to *Peter* and *Andrew*, and the other to *James* and *John*. All theſe men, being partners, had been fiſhing all night, but had caught nothing, and were now ſtepped down out of their ſhips to waſh their nets. *Chriſt* preſſed with multitude on the ſhore, entreth into *Peters* ſhip and thence teacheth the people

people. And thence putting off a little into the main, he helpeth *Peter* to a miraculous draught of fishes, which was so unwieldy that he was glad to becken up *James* and *John* from the shore to come and help them. The draught of fishes was got up and boated, and then *James* and *John* return to the shore again, and fall to mending their net which was rent at the helping at so great a draught. *Peter* seeing what was done, adoreth *Christ*, and he and *Andrew* being yet at sea, are called by him for fishers of men, and bringing their ship to shore, they leave all and follow him. *Christ* and they coasting a little further along the shore, came to *James* and *John*, and he calleth them. And thus lieth the story at the full.

2. A second scruple in the order of *Luke* is this, that he hath laid the two miracles of casting out a Devil in *Capernaum* Synagogue, and the healing of *Peters* mother in law, before the calling of these Disciples, which apparently by this Evangelist were after. But the reason hereof may be conceived to be, especially this. In *Chap.* 4. *ver.* 30, 31. he had related that *Jesus* escaping from *Nazaret*, came down to *Capernaum*, and being now in the mention of his being there, he recordeth these two miracles that he did there [though not at that very time he hath brought them in] having an eye in that his relation, rather to the place then to the time. And so we shall observe elsewhere, that the very mention of a place, doth sometimes occasion these holy penmen, to produce stories out of their proper time, to affix them to that their proper place.

These Disciples hitherto, were only as private men, following *Christ*, and here is the first time that they are but mentioned to the Ministerial function, to be *fishers of men*: How then did they baptize before? *John* 3. 22. with *John* 4. 2. And the starting of this question, calleth to remembrance that saying of the Apostle, 1 *Cor.* 1. 17. *Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel*: Is baptism administrable by private men, and is there any inconsistency betwixt baptizing and preaching? *Answ.* As baptism was in use among the Jews for admission of proselytes under the Law, these two things were required to it, 1. צריך לטבלו בפני שלשה *He that was baptized must be baptized before three*: 2. הדבר היה צריך בית דין *The thing required a concessus*, or to be done by the allowing of some eldership. And *because it required this* [saith *Maymony*, whose words the former are also] *therefore they baptized not on the Sabbath, nor on the holy days, nor in the night. A man that baptized himself, and proselyted himself, although it were before two witnesses; or that came and said I was proselyted in such a mans concessus and they baptized me, he is not permitted to come into the Congregation, till he bring witness.* Maym, in Issure.biah. per. 13. The reason of this strictness was, because of their strict niceness about conversing or matching with a Heathen, till they were sure he was fully Israelited.

Christ and the Apostles in the administration of baptism, followed or forsook their custom as they saw cause. In the case alledged, he follows it, he preacheth and calleth in Disciples, and they are baptized by these Disciples, but *Christ* chief in the action: and therefore one text tells us that he baptized, though we are taught by another text, that he baptized not. Now the Disciples are not to be looked upon as private men, since they were men of such privacy with the *Messias*, and not only converted by him, but called to be with him, and intended by him to be solemnly inducted into the ministerial function when he should see time.

And answerably in that saying of the Apostle, *I came not to baptize, but to preach*, he setteth not an inconsistency between these two, which were joyned by *Christ* in *Pauls* and all Ministers Commission, *Matth.* 28. 19. but he speaketh according to this custome that we have mentioned, which the Apostles followed when disciples came in to be baptized, by multitudes, they themselves preaching and bringing in disciples to be baptized, and others baptizing them, and they not private men neither, but fellow-labourers with them in the Gospel, and Ministers of it.

Fishers of men] Maym. in Talm. Torah. per 7. speaks of דייגי תורה *Fishers of the Law.*

SECTION XX.

MARK Chap. I. *from* Ver. 21. *to* Ver. 40.

LUKE Chap. IV. *from* Ver. 31. *to the end of the Chapter.*

MATTH. Chap. VIII. Ver. 14, 15, 16, 17.

A Devil cast out in Capernaum *Synagogue.* Peters *wives Mother and divers more healed.*

IF the transition of *Mark* from the preceding story to this, be observed, it cleareth the order: For having declared there how *Christ* had called his Disciples; *And they*, saith he, that is *Christ* and his new called Disciples *went into* Capernaum; his own City.

There on the Sabbath day he casteth out a devil, in the Synagogue, who by confessing *Christ* for the *Messias*, would have terrified the people with the dread of him, that they might not dare to entertain him. From the Synagouge they go to dinner to *Peters* house,

and there he raiſeth his wives Mother in law from a Fever: And after Sun-ſet when the Sabbath was done; many more are brought to him and are healed. They began their Sabbath from Sun-ſet, and at the ſame time of the day they ended it. *Talm. Hieroſolm. in Sheviith. fol.* 33.*col.* 1. And their manner of obſerving it, briefly was thus: for the conſideration of ſuch a thing may be of ſome uſe, in ſome places of the Goſpel as we go along, ſince there is ſo frequent mention there about their Sabbath.

The Eve of the Sabbath, or the day before, was called *the day of the preparation* for the Sabbath, *Luk.* 23. 54. and from the time of the evening ſacrifice and forward, they began to fit themſelves for the Sabbath, and to ceaſe from their works, ſo as not to go to the barber, not to ſit in Judgement, *&c.* nay not to eat thenceforward till the Sabbath came in. Nay thenceforward they would not ſet things on working, which being ſet a work would compleat their buſineſs of themſelves, unleſs it would be compleated before the Sabbath came. As, *they would not put Galls and Coperas to ſteep to make Ink, unleſs they would be ſteeped while it was yet day, before the evening of the Sabbath was entred. Nor put wooll to dying, unleſs it would take colour whilſt it was yet day: Nor put Flax into the oven, unleſs it would be dried whilſt it was yet day,* &c. *Talm. in Sab. per.* 1.

They waſhed there face, and hands, and feet in warm water, to make them neat againſt they met the Sabbath, and the ancient wiſe men uſed to gather their ſcholers together and to ſay, *Come let us go meet King Sabbath,* Maym. in Sab. per. 36.

Towards Sun-ſetting, when the Sabbath was now approaching, they lighted up their Sabbath candle. *Men and Women were bound to have a candle lighted up in their Houſes on the Sabbath, though they were never ſo poor, nay though they were forced to go a begging for Oyl for this purpoſe: and the lighting up of this candle was a part of making the Sabbath a delight: and women were eſpecially commanded to look to this buſineſs,* &c. *Ibid.*

They accounted it a matter of ſpecial import and command, *to hallow the Sabbath with ſome words;* becauſe it is ſaid, *Remember the Sabbath day to hallow it*: and accordingly they uſed a two-fold action to this purpoſe, namely a ſolemn form of words in the way of hallowing it at its coming in, and this they called קידוש *Kidduſh,* and another ſolemn form of words in way of parting with it at its going forth, and this they called הבדלה *Habdala.*

The ſolemnity accompanying the hallowing of it at its coming in was thus. They ſpred and furniſhed the table with proviſion, and had the Sabbath candle burning by; and the maſter of the houſe took a cup of wine, and firſt rehearſed that portion of Scripture in *Gen.*2.*ver.* 1,2,3. and then bleſſed over the wine, and then pronounced the hallowing bleſſing of the Sabbath, and ſo drank off the wine, and the reſt of the company drank after him, and ſo they waſhed their hands and fell to eat. This helps to underſtand thoſe verſes of *Perſius* in Satyr. 5.

> ---------- *At cum*
> *Herodis venere dies, unctaque feneſtris*
> *Diſpoſitæ pinguem nebulam vomuere lucernæ*
> *Portantes violas, rubrumque amplexa catinum*
> *Cauda natat thynni, tumet alba fidelia vino:*
> *Labra moves tacitus recutitaque Sabbata palles.*

They uſed to eat their meals on the Sabbath, and thought they were bound to it in honour of the day, the firſt of which was this that they ate at the very entrance of it over night. Yea the poor that lived of alms were to eat three meals that day: and thoſe that were of ability were to get choice proviſion, and always better, at the leaſt not the ſame that they uſed on the week days.

The morning being come, and up, they went to morning prayer in the Synagogue, and when they had done there, they went home and ate their ſecond meal: and when they had done that, they went to ſome *Beth Midraſh,* or Divinity Lecture, and there ſpent the time till the afternoon was well come on; and then went home and ate their third meal, and ſo continued eating and drinking till the Sabbath went out.

At the going out of the Sabbath, which was about Sun-ſetting, the maſter of the family again gave thanks over a cup of wine; then over his candle [for he ſet up a parting candle too,] and then over ſome ſpices which they uſed for the refreſhing or reviving of any perſon that ſhould faint for ſorrow to part with the Sabbath [this is the reaſon they give themſelves;] And then he pronounced the הבדלה *ſeparation bleſſing,* by way of ſeperating between the Sabbath that was now going out, and the working day that was coming in. And ſo he and the company drank off a cup of wine and fell to their victuals again.

But to return again to our Evangeliſts. The retrogade courſe of *Lukes* method at this place, appeareth more conſpicuous then before. For in the beginning of the fifth Chapter

ter he giveth the relation of the Disciples calling, and in the latter end of the fourth, this story of casting out the Devil in *Capernaum* Synagogue, which was after their calling. Which he hath so placed, the rather [besides what was said upon this matter before] because in the last verse of that fourth Chapter, he speaketh of *Christs* preaching all about in their Synagogues, and therefore beginneth the fifth Chapter with the story of the calling of the Disciples, that he might shew how *Christ* went attended with them in that perambulation. And in the same manner *Matthew* hath laid their call and that voyage close together for the very same intimation. *Matth.* 4.22,23. although other occurrences came between which he hath laid a great way off: As the story of *Peters* wives mother, which is brought in in this Section. He had said *Matth.* 4. 23. *That Jesus went about all the Synagogues of* Galilee, *teaching in their Synagogues and preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom, and healing all manner of sickness.* He therefore beginneth first with his Doctrine, and layeth down the Sermon in the Mount, and then beginneth to speak of his Miracles at *Chap.*8. and first giveth the story of healing a Leper, which was the first Miracle he wrought in that perambulation: and then the healing of the Centurions servant, which was the first Miracle he wrought after the Sermon in the Mount: and there being come into mention of one Miracle done in *Capernaum*, he also bringeth in another [though not done at the same time, but before] that he might dispatch the works done in that place together. And thus the scope of his method is plain: and here again we see an example of what was said before, namely that the mention of a place doth oftentimes occasion these holy Pen-men, to speak of stories out of their proper time, because they would take up the whole story of that place all at once or together.

SECTION XXI.

MATTH. Chap. IV. Ver. 23, 24, 25.

A third perambulation of Galilee.

THE beginning of this Section, and the conclusion of the preceding, being laid together, the order appeareth plain and direct.

CHRIST had perambulated *Galilee* twice before, since he was baptized, but either altogether without, or else with very little retinue, but now attended with his Disciples and with great multitudes: and his fame is now spread throughout all *Syria*. *Syria* was exceeding numerously inhabited by Jews, and in divers things it is set in equal privilegial pace and equipage with the Land of *Canaan*. Insomuch *that there is a controversie amongst our wise men* [saith *R. Menahem* on *Deut.*11.] *whether* Syria *which was subdued by* David *were of the Land of* Israel *or no.*

In three things, say they, *Syria was equal with the Land of* Israel, *and in three things it was equal with heathen Countries: The dust defiles, as heathen Countries dust doth, and he that brings a Bill of Divorce out of* Syria, *is as if he brought it out of a heathen Land; and he that sells his servant into* Syria, *is as he that sold him into a heathen Country: In three things it is equal to the Land of* Israel: *for he that buyes Land in* Syria, *is as if he bought it in the suburbs of* Jerusalem, *and it is liable to Tithes, to the year of release, and if he can go to it in cleanness, it is clean.* Tosaphta in Kelim per.

SECTION XXII.

MARK Chap. I. *from* Ver. 40. *to the end of the Chapter.*	LUKE Chap. V. Ver. 12. 13, 14, 15, 16.	MATTH. Chap. VIII. Ver. 2, 3, 4.

A Leper healed.

MARK and *Luke* do assure the order: the reason why *Matthew* hath placed this story, as he hath done, hath been observed instantly before: which some not having taken notice of, have supposed the story in *Matthew*, and in the other two Evangelists not to have been the same, but conceive they speak of two several Lepers healed at two several times: whereas the words of the Leper, and the words and action of *Christ* in all the three, do assert it plainly for one story; and had the reason of *Matthews* dislocation of it been observed, it would never have been apprehended otherwise.

Lepers in *Israel* might not come into the Cities, till the Priests had pronounced them clean, and so restored them again to the Congregation: for the Priests could not heal, but only judge of the malady: and whom they pronounced clean, were not healed wholly of the disease, but were enlarged only from their separation: The Leprosie continued still, though they were absolved from their uncleanness by the Priest [a very pregnant

pregnant emblem of original ſin,] but the danger of infection was over, and ſo they were reſtored again to humane ſociety. If this Leper had not yet been under the Prieſts abſolution, his faith, or his earneſt deſire of his recovery, or both, enforceth him to break thoſe bounds that were ſet him, and he ſtraineth courteſie to come to *Chriſt* in a City, *Luke* 5. 12. If he were abſolved by the Prieſts already from his uncleanneſs, yet ſeeketh he to *Chriſt* to make him clean from his diſeaſe, which the Prieſts could only pronounce him clean from: the Prieſts could only pronounce him clean to the Congregation; *Chriſt* makes him clean to himſelf.

SECTION XXIII.

MARK Chap. II. *from the beginning to* Ver. 15. LUKE Chap. V. *from* Ver. 17. *to* Ver. 29. MATTH. Chap. IX. *from* Ver. 2. *to* Ver. 10.

CHRIST *healeth a palſie man: forgiveth ſins: calleth* MATTHEW.

MARK and *Luke* do again confirm the order: but *Matthews* diſlocation of the ſame ſtory, doth breed ſome ſcruple. For the clearing of which, let us firſt begin at the very concluſion of this Section, and make good the order there in the end, and that will illuſtrate the propriety of it here in the beginning: We have parted the ſtory of the calling of *Levi*, from the ſtory of the feaſt that he made for *Chriſt* after his call, although all the Evangeliſts that handle his ſtory have laid them cloſe together: The warrant upon which we have parted them, although they be ſo nearly joyned in the Text, is from theſe two things: 1. From undoubted evidence, by the current of the hiſtory, and the progreſs of the Evangeliſts hitherto, which makes it plain, that *Levies* calling was at that time that we are now upon, or as it is laid in the end of this Section. 2. From this evidence, that his feaſt was not of a good while after his call, in that *Matthew* ſaith, *while he was ſpeaking*, namely about faſting, and putting new cloth into an old garment, *&c.* [which ſpeech both the other Evangeliſts place at *Levies* feaſt or preſently upon it:] *Jairus* came unto him. See *Matth.* 9. 18. *Mark* 2. 15, 18, 19. *Luke* 5. 29, 33, *&c.* Now it is plain by the proceſs of the hiſtory of *Mark* and *Luke*, that very many things, and a good ſpace of time intercurred between the calling of *Matthew* or *Levi*, and the coming of *Jairus*: for *Levies* call is in *Mark* 2. 14. and *Luke* 5. 27. and the ſtory of *Jairus* his coming is not till *Matth.* 5. 22. and *Luke* 8. 41. Now in that theſe words that *Chriſt* was in ſpeaking when *Jairus* came to him, *Matth.* 9. 18. were ſpoken at *Levies* feaſt, *Luke* 5. 29, 33. it is apparent that his feaſt was a good ſpace of time after his call: and hence have we warrant for the putting of thoſe ſtories in the harmonizing of the Evangeliſts. The three indeed that ſpeak of theſe ſtories do handle them together, becauſe they would diſpatch *Levies* ſtory at once: and *Mark* and *Luke* do mention what occurred at his feaſt, but when they have done that, they return to the ſtory and time, that properly followed in order after his calling.

Here therefore is the reaſon of *Matthews* ſo far diſlocating the ſtory of the palſie man that is before us as he hath done: namely becauſe in that ninth Chapter he pitcheth upon the time of *Levies* feaſt, and from that time goes on forward with the ſtory ſucceeding it: And ſo having pitched upon the time of his feaſt, he alſo brings in the ſtory of his call, becauſe he would take up his whole ſtory in one place, as the other Evangeliſts have alſo done: and with the ſtory of his call, he hath likewiſe brought in the ſtory of the palſie man becauſe it occurred at the ſame time.

Matthew is not aſhamed to proclaim the baſeneſs of his own profeſſion before he was called, that that grace might be magnified that had called him. He was a Publican [and as it ſeemeth] at the Cuſtom-houſe of *Capernaum*, to gather cuſtom and tribute of thoſe that paſſed over the water, or that had to deal on that Sea of *Galilee*. The *Jeruſ. Talm.* hath this Canon. *Demai. fol.* 23. *col.* 1. חבר שנעשה גבי רוחין אותו מחבורתו: *A Phariſee* [or one of the religion] *that turns Publican, they turn him out of his order, but doth he leave his Publicaniſm? They reſtore him to his order again:* ſo unconſiſtent did they repute this profeſſion and religion. *Maym. in Gezelah. per.* 5. *Men of whom it may be preſumed that they are robbers, and of whom it may be preſumed that all their wealth is gotten of rapine, becauſe their trade is a trade of robbers, as Publicans and theeves, it is unlawful to uſe their wealth,* &c. He becomes an Apoſtle and a Penman of the Goſpel: He wrote his Goſpel firſt of all the four; and wrote it in *Greek*, though he wrote it more particularly for *Hebrews:* for the Hebrew Tongue was ſo loſt, that it was not ordinarily to be underſtood; and the Greek Bible was the readieſt in the hands of the unlearned, to examine the quotations from the Old Teſtament, that he or any other of the divine Penmen ſhould alledge: The Prophets had been but very lately before *Matthews* time turned into the *Chaldee* Tongue by *Jonathan ben Uzziel*, and the Law by *Onkeles* a little after; and the

Jeruſalem

Jeruſalem Talmud tells of a *Targum* or tranſlation of *Job*, which *Gamaliel Pauls* Maſter had. *Shabb. fol.*15. *col.*3. and all this becauſe the original Hebrew was not commonly underſtood. And in the reading of the Law and Prophets in the Synagogues, they had Interpreters that rendred it into the *Syriack*, as was ſaid a little before, becauſe they underſtood not the Original; therefore it were unreaſonable that *Matthew* ſhould write in Hebrew, a Language then to the moſt unknown.

SECTION XIV.

JOHN Chap. V. *All the Chapter.* CHRISTS ſecond Paſsover *after his Baptiſm.*

An infirm man healed at Bethesda.

FOR the juſtifying and clearing of the order in this place, theſe things are to be taken into conſideration. 1. That the firſt thing that the two Evangeliſts *Mark* and *Luke*, who are moſt exact for order, have placed after the calling of *Levi*, is, the Diſciples plucking the ears of Corn. They have indeed interſerted *Levies* feaſt, and *Johns* Diſciples queſtioning about faſting, but that was more for the diſpatching of *Levies* ſtory altogether, then for the propriety of their ſubſequence each to other, as hath been ſhewed already. 2. In that the ſtory of the Diſciples plucking the ears of Corn, is joyned by them next, we are to look for a Paſsover between, for till the Paſsover was over, and the firſtfruits ſheaf offered the ſecond day after, it was not lawful to meddle with any Corn, to uſe, or to eat it, *Lev.*23.14. 3. *Chriſt* had ſaid in the field of *Sichem*, that it was *then four months to harveſt*, Joh. 4. 35. that is, to the Paſsover, at what time their Barley harveſt began, *Lev.*23.11. *&c.* Now, caſting up the time from that place and ſpeech, taken up in the current of the ſtory from thence hither, we cannot but conclude the four months to be now up, and this to be the Paſsover, then thought upon in thoſe words. And we may conceive that the Evangeliſt hath the rather omitted to call it by its proper name, or to ſpeak it expreſly, that this feaſt was the Paſsover, becauſe in that ſpeech he had given fair intimation, how to underſtand the next *feaſt of the Jews* that he ſhould ſpeak of. He mentioneth indeed a Paſsover in *Chap.* 6.4. but we ſhall find by the progreſs of the ſtory in the other Evangeliſts, that that was yet ſo far yet to come, that it cannot in the leaſt wiſe be ſuppoſed to be that which was to come within four months after *Chriſts* being in the field of *Sichem*. *The feaſt of the Jews* therefore that he ſpeaketh of in the firſt verſe of this Chapter, muſt needs be that Paſsover referred to *Joh.* 4. 35. and this conſidered doth clear the order.

At this Paſsover a man is healed at *Bethesda*, who had been diſeaſed from ſeven years before *Chriſt* was born. This was a pool firſt laid up by *Solomon*, as may be conjectured from *Joſephus de Bel. lib.* 5. *cap.* 13. compared with *Nehem.*3. and at firſt called *Solomons Pool*, but now *Bethesda*, or *the place of mercy* from its beneficial virtue. It was ſupplied with water from the fountain *Siloam*, which repreſented *Davids* and *Chriſts* Kingdom, *Iſa.*8.6.

The five porches about it, and the man, when healed, carrying his bed out of one of them, calls to mind the מבואות *Mevuoth* or *Entries* that are ſo much ſpoken of in the Treatiſe *Erubbin*, the carrying of any thing out of which into the ſtreet on the Sabbath day, was to carry מרשות יחיד לרשות רבים out of a private place into a publick, and was prohibited.

He is hereupon convented before the *Sanhedrin*, and there he doth moſt openly confeſs and prove himſelf to be the *Meſſias*: And he aſſerteth that all Power and Judgment is put into his hand, and that he hath the ſame authority for the diſpenſing of the affairs of the New Teſtament, that the Father had for the old. And this he doth ſo plainly, that he leaveth their unbelief henceforward without excuſe.

The Jews ſpeak of divers ominous things that occurred fourty years before the deſtruction of the City; As, *It is a tradition that fourty years before the Sanctuary was deſtroyed the Weſtern Lamp went out, and the ſcarlet liſt kept its redneſs, and the Lords lot came up on the left hand. And they locked up the Temple doors at even, yet when they roſe in the morning they found them open.* Jeruſ. in Joma fol.43. col.3. *And*, Sanhedr. fol.18. col.1. *Fourty years before the Temple was deſtroyed, power of judging in capital matters was taken away from Iſrael:* Now there are ſome that reckon but thirty eight years between the death of *Chriſt* and the deſtruction of the City; and if that be ſo, then theſe ominous preſages occurred this year that we are upon. It being juſt fourty years, by that account, from this Paſsover at which *Chriſt* healeth the diſeaſed man at *Bethesda*, to the time of *Titus* his pitching his Camp and ſiege about *Jeruſalem*, which was at a Paſsover. But of this let the Reader judge.

SECTION

SECTION XXV.

LUKE Chap. IV. *from the beginning to* Ver. 12. MARK Chap. II. *from* Ver. 23, *to the end: and* Chap. III. *from the beginning to* Ver. 7. MARK Chap. XII. *from the beginning to* Ver. 15.

The Disciples plucking ears of Corn: A withered hand healed on the Sabbath.

THE words Σάββατον δευτεροπρῶτον which *Luke* hath used *ver.* 1. being rightly understood, will help to clear the order of this Section, and to confirm the order of the preceding.

The Law enjoyned that the next morrow after the eating of the Passover, should be kept holy like a Sabbath, *Exod.* 12. 16. and accordingly it is called a Sabbath, *Lev.* 23. 7, 11. And there the Law also enjoyns that the next day after that Sabbatical day, they shall offer the sheaf of first fruits to the Lord: and from that day they should count seven Sabbaths to *Pentecost*, which was their solemn festival, and thanksgiving for that half harvest, *viz.* Barley harvest which they had then inned, *Lev.* 23. 15, 16, 17. That day therefore that they offered their first Barley sheaf, and from which they were to count the seven Sabbaths or weeks forward, being the *second day in the Passover week*, the Sabbaths that followed, did carry a memorial of that day in their name till the seven were run out: as the first was called Σάββατον δευτεροπρῶτον, *the first second-day Sabbath*; The next Σάββατον δευτεροδεύτερον, *the second second-day Sabbath:* the next Σάββατον δευτερότριτον, *the third second-day Sabbath*, and so the rest of all the seven through. Now let it be observed, 1. That no Corn, no not ears of Corn might be eaten till the first-fruits sheaf was offered and waved before the Lord, *Lev.* 23. 14. 2. That it was waved *the second day of the Passover week.* 3. That this was the first Sabbath after that second day, when the Disciples pluckt the ears of Corn, and it will plainly evince that we must look for a Passover before this story, and so it will shew the warranty and justness of taking in the fifth of *John* next before it.

But the order of *Matthew* may breed some scruple, and that the rather, because that though he hath placed this story after divers occurrences that are yet to come, yet he hath prefaced it with this circumstance, *At that time:* Now this expression doth not always center stories in the same point of time, but sometimes it hath made a transition betwixt two stories, whose times were at a good distance asunder: as *Gen.* 38. 1. *Deut.* 10. 8. and so likewise the phrase, *In these days*, Matth. 3. 1.

The latter story about healing the man with the withered hand, is so unanimously ordered by all the three, after the other, that there is no doubt of the method of it.

It was a special part of religion which the Jews used on the Sabbath, to eat good meat, and better then they did on the week days: yea they thought themselves bound to eat three meals on that day [as was said before,] and for this they alledge, *Isa.* 58. 13. *Vid. Kimch. ibid. & Tanch. fol.* 1. *Talm. & Maym. in Shab.* &c. compare *Phil.* 3. 19.

Observe how far the Disciples are from such an observance, and from such provision, when a few ears of Barley [for that was the Corn plucked] must make a dinner.

The plucking of ears of Corn on the Sabbath was forbidden by their Canons *verbatim.* Talm. in Shab. per. 7. & Maymon. Shab. per. 7, & 8. *He that reapeth Corn on the Sabbath, to the quantity of a fig, is guilty. And plucking Corn is as reaping: And whosoever plucketh up any thing from it growing, is guilty, under the notion of reaping.*

Christ before his healing the withered hand, is questioned by them; *Is it lawful to heal on the Sabbath day?* Their decretals allowed it in some cases. *Tanch. fol.* 9. *col.* 2. *our Doctors teach the danger of life dispenseth with the Sabbath. And so doth Circumcision and the healing of that.* But *this is a rule saith Rabbi Akibah, that that which may be done on the eve of the Sabbath, dispenseth not with the Sabbath.* Talm. in Shabb. per. 19. Such was this case. Compare *Luke* 13. 14. They accounted that this might have been done any other day.

SECTION

SECTION XXVI.

MARK Chap. III. *from* Ver. 7, *to* Ver. 13. MATTH. Chap. XII. *from* Ver. 15, *to* Ver. 22.

Great multitudes follow Christ: who healeth all that come to him.

THe connexion that both these Evangelists have at this story, doth abundantly assert the order. The *Pharisees* took counsel to destroy him, *but when Jesus knew it, he departed*, &c. The *Herodians* joyn with them in their plotting, which seem to have been these learned and great men of the Nation who had gone into the service of *Herod the Great*, and now of his son mentioned before.

SECTION XXVII.

LUKE Chap. VI. *from* Ver. 12. *to* Ver. 20. MARK Chap. III. *from* Ver. 13. *to the middle of* Ver. 19. MATTH. Chap. V. Ver. 1.

The twelve Apostles chosen.

LUKE and *Mark* do methodize and fix the time of the Sermon in the Mount; which *Matthew* hath laid very early in his Gospel, because he would first treat of *Christs* Doctrine, and then of his Miracles.

In a mount neer *Capernaum*, he ordaineth a Ministry for the Church of the Gospel, and delivereth the doctrine of the Gospel, as *Moses* at *Sinai* had done the like for the Law. The number of the present Ministers appointed, whom he calleth *Apostles*, was twelve, agreeable to the twelve Tribes of *Israel*: that as they were the beginning of the Church of the Jews, so are these of the Gentiles: and to both these numbers of twelve joyned together, the number of the *four and twenty Elders*, the representative of the whole Church, *Rev.* 4. & 5, &c hath relation, *Rev.* 21.12,14.

The Text allotteth these ends of their appointment: 1. *That they might be with Christ*, to see his glory, *Joh.* 1.14. and to be witnesses of all things that he did, *Acts* 10.39,41. *Luk.* 24.48. 2. That he might send them forth to preach. 3. To heal diseases and cast out Devils.

Before they were completed in all their divine endowments, they grew on by degrees; They were auditors a good while, and learning the doctrine of the Gospel, that they were to preach, before they set upon that work: for though *Christ* chose them now, yet it is well towards a twelvemonth, before he sends them abroad a preaching, as will appear in the process of the story. So that besides the time that they had spent before this their choosing, they also spent that in hearing and learning from the mouth of their Master, what they were to teach when he should employ them: So that *even the Apostles themselves at the first setting forth into the Ministry, did not preach by the Spirit, but what they had learned and gotten by hearing, study, conference and meditation.*

As the Lord under the Law, and from the first founding of that Church, did set apart a peculiar order and function of men for the service of the Sanctuary, so did he under the Gospel, a peculiar order and function for the Ministry of the Gospel; and this no more to be usurped upon, then that: Now as under the Law there were several sorts of men within that function, as High-Priests, Chief-Priests, ordinary Priests and Levites, but all paled in with that peculiarity that no other might meddle with their function: so likewise at the first rising of the Gospel, there were Apostles, Evangelists, Prophets, Pastors, Teachers, according to the necessity of those present times, but all hedged in with a distinctive ministerial calling that none other might nor may break in upon. All the Titles and names that Ministers are called by throughout the new Testament, are such as denote peculiarity and distinctiveness of order; as, *Wise men* and *Scribes*, Mat. 23.34. Now the Jews knew not, nor ever had heard of *Wise men* and *Scribes*, חכמים ומופרים, but the learned of their Nation distinguisht for others, by peculiarity of order and ordination: And if they understood not *Christ* in such a sense, namely men of a distinct order, they understood these Titles *Wise men* and *Scribes*, in a sense that they had never known nor heard of before: Ministers in the new Testament are called *Elders*, *Bishops*, *Angels of the Churches*, *Pastors*, *Teachers*: now all these were Synagogue terms, and every one of them denoted peculiarity of order, as might be shewed abundantly from their Synagogue antiquities: The Jews knew no *Elders* but men by their order and function distinguisht from other men. *A Bishop* translates the word חזן *Chazan*, *An Angel of the Congregation* translates the title שליח צבור *Sheliach tsibbor*, *A Pastor* translates the word פרנס

Parnas, And *a Teacher* tranſlates מורה במורש *the Divinity Reader*: Now theſe terms had never been known by any to ſignifie otherwaies then men of a peculiar function and diſtinct order.

SECTION XXVIII.

MATTH. Chap. V. *and* VI, *and* VII.

LUKE Chap. VI. *from* Ver. 20. *to the end of the Chapter.*

The Sermon in the Mount.

THe proof of the order doth not need to be inſiſted upon; *Luke* doth manifeſtly aſſert it. It had been foretold by the Prophet, *All thy children ſhall be taught of God*, Iſa. 54. 13. which if applied to the Gentiles, they had been taught by the Devil, his Oracles and Idols: If applied to the Jews, they indeed had been taught by the Lord in his Prophets, but theſe were but men like themſelves, but this Prophecy foretells the preaching of *Chriſt* who was God himſelf, he teaching and converſing amongſt them, he then the great teacher of the world, *Iſa.* 2. 2. and 51. 4. doth from the mount neer *Capernaum*, deliver his Evangelical Law, not for the aboliſhing of the Law and Prophets, but for their cleering and fulfilling.

He firſt beginneth with pronouncing bleſſings, as the moſt proper and comfortable tenour of the Goſpel: and hereby he calls us to remember *Gerizim* and *Ebal*, Deut. 27. For though *Iſrael* be enjoyned there to pronounce both bleſſings and curſes upon thoſe mountains, yet are the curſes only ſpecified by name and number, for the curſe came by the Law, but he that was to bleſs was to come: which thing taketh place very comfortably and harmoniouſly here. *Luke* addeth that he alſo denounced *woes*; as, *Bleſſed be the poor: Bleſſed are ye that hunger now*, &c. *But wo unto you that are rich: Woe unto you that are full*, &c. according to which form the Jews conceive, the bleſſings and curſes were pronounced by *Iſrael* from thoſe two mountains mentioned, *Talm. in Sotah. per* 7. & *Toſapht. ibi. per.* 8. *How did* Iſrael *pronounce the bleſſings and the curſes? Six tribes went up to the top of mount* Gerizim, *and ſix to the top of mount* Ebal: *the Prieſts, and the Levites, and the Ark ſtood below in the middeſt between; They turned their faces towards mount* Gerizim, *and began with bleſſing; Bleſſed is the man that maketh not any graven or molten Image an abomination to the Lord*, &c. *And both parties anſwered and ſaid Amen. Then turned they their faces towards mount* Ebal, *and began with curſing; Curſed be the man that maketh any graven or molten Image an abomination to the Lord*, &c. *and both parties anſwered Amen:* And ſo of the reſt.

2. He proceedeth laying out of the latitude of the Law, according to its full extent and intention, and ſheweth the wretchedneſs of their traditional gloſſes, that had made the Law of no effect. They underſtood the Law, *Thou ſhalt not kill*, only of actual murder, and that committed by a mans own hand; for *if he hired another to kill him, or turned a wild beaſt upon him, which ſlew him, this they accounted not murder for which to be queſtioned by the Sanhedrin*, though it deſerved the judgment of God, *Talm. in Sanhedr. per* 9. *Maym. in Retſea per* 2. but he ſhews that the command extends to the prohibiting of *cauſleſs anger*, and that that deſerves the *judgment of God*, that the uncharitable ſcornings of a brother, under their uſual word *Raka*, deſerved the *judgment of the Sanhedrin*, and eſpecially the calling him *fool* [in *Solomons* ſenſe,] or cenſuring raſhly his ſpiritual eſtate, deſerved hell fire. They conſtrued the command, *Thou ſhalt not commit adultery.* barely of the act of adultery, and that with another mans wife. *Trip. targ. in marg. ad Exod.* 20. but he tells, that it prohibits, luſtful thoughts and looks, and that looking upon a woman to luſt after her, is adultery in heart. *Rabban Simeon delighted to look upon fair women, that he might take occaſion by the ſight of their beauty, to bleſs God.* [A fair excuſe.] *Tal. Jeruſ. in Beracoth. fol.* 12. *col.* 3.

The Law had permitted divorces, only in caſe of fornication, *Deut.* 24. 1. but they had extended it to any cauſe, and to ſo looſe an extent, that *R. Ahiba* ſaid, *A man may put away his wife, if he ſee another woman that pleaſeth him better than ſhe.* Gittin per. 9. The Law had forbidden *forſwearing*, or ſwearing falſly, thereupon they had made bold to take liberty of *vain* ſwearing at pleaſure, ſo that, what they ſwore were not falſe; as ſee *Tal.* & *Maym. in Shevuoh.*

Theſe curſed conſtructions of theirs by which they had made the Law of no effect, he divinely damneth, and ſtateth the proper and true intent of the Law in theſe caſes.

3. He preſcribeth Chriſtian duties, and eſpecially rules of piety, charity and ſincerity, and condemneth the hypocritical vainglory of the Phariſees about theſe things. They uſed when they gave almes in the Synagogue, to have it openly proclaimed and publiſhed what they gave, as if a Trumpet had been ſounded for every one to take notice of

their

their charity, *Jeruſ. in Demai, fol.* 23. *col.*2. And they had an open proclaiming in the ſtreets, for the calling of the poor to gather the corner of the field that they had left them, *Id. Peah. per.* 4, *&c.* They loved to be ſeen praying in the ſtreets, eſpecially in their Phylactery prayers morning and evening, beſides other occaſional Oraiſons, *Id. Beraçoth. per.* 1, & 2. They uſed to pray thoſe prayers often, and often other prayers, in the Synagogue, apart and diſtinct from the prayers or ſervice that the Synagogue was then upon, and ſo their particular devotion was the more ſubject to be obſerved, *Ib. fol.* 8. *col.* 3, *&c.* They uſed on their faſting days to uſe ſuch a carriage and demeanour in face and garb, that all might obſerve that it was faſting day with them, *Piske. Toſaph. in Taanith. per.*1, *&c.* And in all their devotions and demeanour they hunted after the praiſe of men; which he condemneth, and urgeth for ſincerity and care to approve the heart to God.

Throughout all this Sermon, this great oracle of divine truth, doth not only ſhew and hold out the ſacred doctrines of faith, manners, duty and eternal life, but he evidenceth throughout, that he was throughly acquainted with all the learning, doctrines and traditions of thoſe times. And to the explication of this divine Sermon, is required quick and ready verſedneſs in the Jews Records, for *Chriſt* hath an eye and reference to their language, doctrines, cuſtoms, traditions and opinions almoſt in every line.

SECTION XXIX.

LUKE Chap. VII. *from the beginning to* Ver.11. MATTH. Chap. VIII. Ver. 1. *and then* Ver. 5, *to* Ver. 14.

A Centurion ſervant healed.

LUKES tranſition, *When he had ended all his ſayings*, doth prove the order. The four verſes that ſpeak about the Leper in *Matthew*, were taken up before, and their order ſpoken to then.

A proſelyte Captain that had ſo far affected the Jews religion that he had built a Synagogue in *Capernaum*, having ſeen and heard the works and words of *Chriſt*, believeth him for the *Meſſias*, and beggeth of him the healing of his ſervant. Which that *Chriſt* could do, he concludeth from a compariſon of the power of his own word and command among his ſouldiers: for ſince they were ready to come, and go, or run at his command, much more doth he conclude, was the word of Chriſt of power to command away the diſeaſe of his ſervant if he pleaſed. Chriſt had often in his Sermon on the Mount, aſſerted the authority of his own word, againſt and above the words of their traditionaries, and equalized it with that word that gave the Law. And here is a very high and ſeaſonable confeſſion of the authority of that word, made by this Centurion, and an evidence of the power of it by the healing of his ſervant at diſtance. The mans faith is juſtly extolled though he were a Gentile, and the caſting off the Jews is clearly foretold, which Chriſt had not ſo plainly ſpoken out hitherto.

SECTION XXX.

LUKE Chap. VII. *Ver.* 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17.

The Widows Son of Naim *raiſed.*

AS Chriſt yeſterday recovered a young man from the point of death, ſo doth he another to day from death it ſelf. The words ἐν τῇ ἑξῆς *ver.* 11. do confirm the order. *The day after*, &c.

*Joſeph. Antiq. lib.*20. *cap.* 5. ſpeaks of the Village *Nais*, as being upon the edge of *Samaria*, in the way as the *Galileans* paſſed to *Jeruſalem*. And it is not improbable that *Chriſt* was going thitherward at this time to one of the Feſtivals; moſt like to *Pentecoſt*.

As he comes to *Naim* he meets with a dead man carried out [מתמושל in Talmudick Language] for they might not bury within their Cities, no nor at the Levites Cities, within the compaſs of that ground without the City that was allotted for its ſuburbs, *Maym. in Shemitah veiobel per.*13. [If *Jeruſalem* went parallel with the Levites Cities in this, as it did in other things, Chriſts Sepulchre will not prove ſo near the City as it hath been commonly reputed.] He raiſeth this dead man openly, and in the ſight of all the company there preſent, which was very great, and yet when afterward he raiſeth *Jairus* daughter, he chargeth that thoſe that had ſeen him do the miracle which were but five perſons, that they ſhould tell no man what was done, *Luk.*8.56. which prohibition was given rather in regard of the place where it was done, then in any other reſpect, it being in *Capernaum* againſt which City he had denounced a curſe before.

SECTION XXXI.

LUKE Chap. VII. *from verſ.* 18. *to ver.* 36. MATTH. Chap. XI. *from ver.* 2. *to ver.* 20.

JOHNS *Meſſage to Chriſt: Chriſts teſtimony of* John.

THE Tranſition of *Luke* from the Stories before, about the raiſing of the dead man and healing the Centurions Servant, *And the Diſciples of* John *ſhewed him of all theſe things*, doth confirm the order.

JOHN from *Macherus* Caſtle where he lay Priſoner, ſendeth two of his Diſciples to *Chriſt* to enquire of him, *Whether he were he that ſhould come*; Not that *John* was ignorant who he was, having had ſo many demonſtrations of him as he had had, and having given ſo ample teſtimony of him as he had done, *Joh.*1.34,36. & 3.29,30. Nor that *Johns* Diſciples were ſo wilfully ignorant of him as not to be perſwaded by their Maſter that he was he, but his meſſage to him ſeems to this purpoſe; *John* and his Diſciples had heard of the great and many miracles that *Chriſt* had done, healing the ſick, and raiſing the dead, *&c.* and it may be, they thought it ſtrange that *Chriſt* amongſt all his miraculous workings, would not work *Johns* liberty out of thraldom, who lay a priſoner for him, and for the Goſpel he preached before him: And this, may be, was the bottom of their queſtion, *Art thou he that ſhall come, or look we for another?* As expecting ſomewhat more from the *Meſſias*, then they had yet obtained. They received a full anſwer to their queſtion by the miracles they ſaw wrought, which abundantly proved that he was he that was to come. But as to their expectation of his miraculous enlargement of *John*, his anſwer was, that his work was to preach the Goſpel, and that it was a bleſſed thing not to take any offence at him, but to yield and ſubmit to his wiſe diſpenſations. And accordingly when the meſſengers of *John* were returned, he giveth a glorious teſtimony concerning him to the people, but yet ſheweth how far one truly and fully acquainted and ſtated in the *Kingdom of Heaven*, went beyond him in judging of it, who looked for temporal redemption by it.

The Method of *Matthew* is ſomewhat difficult here, but he ſeemeth purpoſely to have joyned the miſſion of *Chriſts* Diſciples and *Johns* Diſciples together. I ſuppoſe *Chriſt* was at *Jeruſalem* when *Johns* meſſengers came to him: and if it were at the feaſt of Pentecoſt, *John* had then been ſeven or eight months in priſon.

SECTION XXXII.

MATTH. Chap. XI. *from* Ver. 20. *to the end of the Chapter.*

Chorazin and Bethſaida upbraided.

BEſides *Matthews* continuing this portion to that that went before, the upbraiding of theſe Cities is ſo anſwerable to the matter contained in the end of the former Section, that it eaſily ſhews it to be ſpoken at the ſame time: See *Ver.* 17, 18, 19. of this Chapter.

When *Chriſt* ſaith, that if the things done in theſe Cities, had been done in *Tyre* and *Sidon*, and *Sodom*, and *Gomorrha*, they would have repented, and would have remained till now; he underſtandeth not ſaving grace and ſaving repentance in them, but ſuch an external humiliation as would have preſerved them from ruine: As the caſe was with *Nineveh*, they repented and were delivered from the threatned deſtruction: their repentance was not to ſalvation of the perſons, but to the preſervation of their City: as *Ahabs* humbling prevented the preſent judgment, and not his final condemnation.

SECTION XXXIII.

LUKE Chap. VII. *from* Ver. 36. *to the end of the Chapter.*

Mary Magdalen weepeth at Chriſts feet, and waſheth them with tears, &c.

THE continuation of this portion in *Luke* to that in *Sect.*31. will plead for its order: and the reader will eaſily obſerve, that the interpoſition of the preceding Section in *Matthew*, is ſo far from interrupting the ſtory, that it is neceſſarily to be taken in there, and is an illuſtration of it. The actings of the two ſeveral parties in this Section, the Phariſee that invited *Chriſt* to eat with him, and the woman ſinner that comes and weeps at his feet for mercy, may ſeem to have had ſome riſe from, or ſome occaſional reference to

to the ſpeech of *Chriſt* in the two Sections next preceding. In the former he had ſaid, *The ſon of man came eating and drinking*, and this poſſibly might induce the Phariſee to his invitation: and in the latter he had ſaid, *Come unto me ye that are weary and heavy laden*, and that might invite the woman to her addreſs.

This woman was *Mary the ſiſter of Lazarus, who was alſo called Mary Magdalen*; of whom there is mention in the very beginning of the next Chapter. That ſhe was *Mary* the ſiſter of *Lazarus*, *John* giveth us ground to aſſert, *John* 11. 2. as we ſhall ſhew when we come there: where we ſhall evidence, that theſe words, *It was that Mary which annointed the Lord with oyntment, and wiped his feet with her hair*, can properly be referred to no ſtory but this before us: And that *Mary the ſiſter of Lazarus was called Mary Magdalen*, we ſhall prove in the next Section: Chriſt in the ſtory in *Sect.* 31. when *Johns* diſciples came to him we ſuppoſed to be at *Jeruſalem*, and anſwerably it may be conceived that this paſſage occurred at *Bethany*, where *Simon* the Phariſee may not improbably be held to be the ſame with *Simon the Leper*, Matth. 26.6. where this very woman again annointed him.

SECTION XXXIV.

LUKE Chap. VIII. Ver. 1, 2, 3.

Certain women that followed Chriſt.

LUKE again is the warrant for the order. In the former ſtory he had ſpoken of one woman that had found healing and mercy with *Chriſt*, and he ſpeaks here of divers, and among them *Mary Magdalen*. Now that ſhe was *Mary the ſiſter of Lazarus*, let but theſe two arguments be weighed, not to inſiſt upon more. The firſt is this: If *Mary Magdalen* were not *Mary* the ſiſter of *Lararus*, then *Mary* the ſiſter of *Lazarus* gave no attendance at *Chriſts* death, nor had any thing to do about his buriall [or at leaſt is not mentioned as an agent at either] which is a thing ſo incredible to conceive, that it needs not much diſcourſe to ſet forth the incredibility of it. There is mention of *Mary Magdalen*, and *Mary* the mother of *James and Salom*, Mark. 15. 40. and *Joanna*, Luk. 24. 10. but not a word of *Mary the ſiſter of Lazarus*. She had twice annointed *Chriſt* in the compaſs of that very week, ſhe had ever been as neer and as zealous a woman diſciple as any that followed him, and her reſidence was at *Bethany* hard by *Jeruſalem*, and what is now become of her in theſe two great occaſions of attending upon *Chriſts* death and imbalming? Had ſhe left *Chriſt*, and neglected her attendance on him, at this time above all others? or have the Evangeliſts, whilſt they mention the other that attended, left her out? It is ſo unreaſonable to believe either of theſe, that even neceſſity inforceth us to conclude, that when they name *Mary Magdalen*, they mean *Mary the ſiſter of Lazarus*. And Secondly take this Argument of *Baronius*, which hath more weight in it then at firſt ſight it doth ſeem to have, who in his *Annals ad Annum Chriſti* 32, goes about to prove this thing that we aſſert, and he ſhews how it alſo was the opinion of the Fathers, and thoſe in former times. His words are theſe: *We ſay upon the teſtimony of* John *the Evangeliſt, nay of Chriſt himſelf, that it plainly appears, that* Mary *the ſiſter of* Lazarus, *and* Mary Magdalen *was but one and the ſame perſon. For when in* Bethany *the ſame ſiſter of* Lazarus *annointed the feet of* Jeſus, *and* Judas *did thereupon take offence*, Jeſus *himſelf checking the boldneſs of the furious Diſciple, ſaid, Let her alone, that ſhe may keep it againſt the day of my burial: Now that ſhe that brought the oyntment to the ſepulcher for the annointing of the body of* Jeſus, *was* Mary Magdalen, *is affirmed by* Mark, *and that ſhe with* Mary *the Mother of* James *and* Salome *did that office. When therefore neither in him, nor in any other of the Evangeliſts there is any mention of* Mary *the Siſter of* Lazarus, *who was foretold by our Saviour that ſhe ſhould do that office, it may eaſily be known that both theſe* Maries *were but one and the ſame.* At *Joh*, 12. 7. we ſhall ſhew that that ſpeech muſt be conſtrued to ſuch a ſenſe, as he hath put on it, ſave only that following the vulgar Latin, he reads *ſine ut ſervet*, which indeed makes his ſenſe the fuller, but though not ſo read, yet will that ſenſe be full enough.

It is to be objected indeed, that *Mary* was called *Magdalen*, from the place *Magdala*, of which there is mention *Matth.* 15. 29. and in *Tal. Jeruſ. in Maazaroth. fol* 50. *col.* 3. in This paſſage, *R. Jochanan in the name of R. Simeon ben Jochai. He had two incloſures, one in Magdala, the other in Tiberias, &c.* And in *Beracoth fol.* 13. *col.* 1. there is mention of one ר יודה מגדלא R. *Juda of Magdala*: now *Magdala* being in *Galilee* [as ſome ſeat it] or over againſt *Galilee* beyond *Jordan* [as others,] it was ſo very far diſtant from *Bethany*, that *Mary* the ſiſter of *Lazarus*, whoſe Town was *Bethany*, could not poſſibly be called *Magdalen* from *Magdala*. To which we may firſt give *Baronius* his anſwer, who alſo mentioneth this objection; That though ſhe were of *Bethany* by original, and the native ſeat of her fathers houſe, yet might ſhe alſo be of *Magdala* by marriage, or ſome occaſional

occasional residence otherwise. And in the second place, we may adduce what the Talmudicks speak of one מרים מגדלא *Mary Magdalen*, or *Megaddala*, for the word is of doubtful pointing, whom they character for a notorious strumpet in those times that *Jesus of Nazareth* lived. *Alphez. in Gittin. fol.* 605. *Some man finds a fly in his cup, and takes her out and will not drink, and this was the temper of* Papus *the son of* Judah, *who locked the door upon his wife whensoever he went out.* The glossaries *R. Solamon* and *Nissim*, upon this passage comment thus: *Papus the son of* Judah, *was husband* למרים מגדלא *to* Mary Magdala, *and whensoever he went forth he locked the door upon his wife, lest she should speak with any man, which was a usage unfitting, and hereupon there arose discord between them, and she plaid the whore against him.* Now they construe the latter word מגדלא as signifying one that broided or plated her hair, which ἐμπλεκὴ τριχῶν *Peter* blames in women, 1 *Pet.* 3. 3. *Tal. Babyl, Venet. in Sanhedr. per.* 7. is speaking of one that inticed to Idolatry, and how he was brought to the *Sanhedrin* and stoned. *And thus*, say they, *they did to* Ben Saida *in* Lydda, *and hanged him on the Passeover eve.* Ben Saida *was the son of Pandira.* [They call our Saviour blasphemously by this name *Ben Saida.*] And a little after. *His mother was* Saida. *His mother was* Mary Magdalen, Mary *the platter of womens hair.* vid etiam *Schab.* fol. 104. And in *Chagigah* fol. 4. *The Angel of death said to his messenger, Go fetch me* מרים מגדלא שיעד נשויא *Mary the broider of womens hair; He went and fetched* Mary Magdala, *or* Mary *the broider of hair for young men.* Now whether the word מגדלא be read *Magdela* or *Magdila*, a Participle in Hiphil, which is most proper, and so warranted by *Aruch* in גדל and *Kelim per.* 15.] or *Megaddela* in *Piel*: either of them in a Greek dress, especially the former, come so near the sound of the word in hand, that we may very well construe *Mary Magdalen* in this Talmudick construction for a woman of common infamy, and that hath this nick-name of *Magdila* from her lascivious dress and carriage. Observe *Lukes* expression, Μαρία ἡ καλουμένη Μαγδαληνὴ, *Mary which was called Magdalen*: which manner of phrase is rarely used when persons are named after their Country.

SECTION XXXV.

MATTH. Chap. XII. *from* Ver. 22, *to* Ver. 46.

MARK Chap. III. *from the last clause of* Ver. 19. *And they went into an house: to* Ver. 31.

A Devil cast out: Christ called Belzebub: *Blasphemy against the holy Ghost.*

THe *series* and consequence of this Section will require some cleering. 1. The reader here seeth that *Mark* hath not mentioned any thing from the ordaining of the twelve Apostles unto this place: for the holy Ghost that held all their pens, did so dispose them, that sometimes one should speak the story, sometimes another, and sometimes more or all of them together. Now though the first clause of this Section in *Mark*, *And they went into an house*, be joyned so close to the Apostles ordaining, as if that were the next thing done; yet the current of the story in the rest of the Evangelists, doth shew that it is not to be taken in, at that instant: and indeed the progress of the story even in *Mark* himself, doth shew that this is the proper place of it, as will appear to him that shall precisely observe it. 2. *Matthew* hath laid this story of casting out a Devil, &c. next after two stories that occurred before the Sermon in the Mount, as hath appeared in its place: the reason of which may be supposed to be, because he would take up the exceptions of the Scribes and Pharisees together: That this story in *Matthew* lieth in juncture to these next succeeding will readily appear in them. 3. There is a story in *Luke* 11. so like this, that one would think it were the very same; for there is mention of the same miracle, casting out a Devil, and the same cavil of the Pharisees, and the same answer of Christ: and yet the progress of the history of *Luke* thither, and especially the coming off from that story, do perswade that it was another story. For *Luke* chaineth such following passages to it, that cannot possibly be brought in concurrent with the current of these Evangelists now before us. And we shall observe hereafter, that Christ in his latter time did repeat over again very many of those things that he had spoken a good while before: as *Moses* his *Deutronomy* was but a rehersal of things that had been acted and spoken in his former time. The same devillishness was in the Scribes and Pharisees in all places, and it was accordingly to be met withal by Christ in more places then one: They had taken up a consent to beat down the dignity and authority of his Miracles, by asserting that whatsoever he did, he did by the power of Magick, and this corrupt blood ran up in their veins every where whersoever he met them, and therefore it is no wonder if the same words be in their mouths here and there, when the same rotten principle was every where in their hearts. Observe how scornfully they require a sign from Heaven, when they had but newly seen a most heavenly sign.

The

The word *Beelzebul* was taken up for the more deteſtation, as importing, *The god of a dunghil*, and the ſacrificing to Idols they called *dunging to an Idol*, R. Joſe, ben R. Ben. ſaith, הרואה אותם מובלין עץ *He that ſeeth them dunging to an Idol, muſt ſay, He that ſacrificeth to other gods muſt be deſtroyed.* Talm. Jeruſ. Beracoth, fol. 12. col. 2.

What *Chriſt* ſpeaketh about the unpardonableneſs of blaſphemy againſt the holy Ghoſt, is in direct facing of their Tener; which held, that blaſphemy was attoned for by death though by nothing elſe. *He* [ſay they] *by whom the name of Heaven is blaſphemed, repentance hath no power to ſave him from puniſhment, nor the day of expiation to attone for him, or chaſtiſements of the Judges to acquit him. But repentance and the day of expiation attone for a third part, and chaſtiſements a third part, and death a third part. And of ſuch it is ſaid, If this iniquity be purged till you die: Behold we learn that death acquitteth.* Talm. Jeruſ. Sanhed. fol. 27. col. 3.

The Jews defamed the miracles done by *Chriſt* as done by Magick, as appeareth not only by this and other places in the Goſpel, but even in *Talm. Bab. Schabb. fol.* 104. *col.* 2. *R. Eliezer ſaid to the wiſe men, Did not* Ben Saida [*this is a blasphemous name they give to Jeſus of* Nazareth, *as was ſaid a little before*] *bring inchantments out of* Egypt *in inciſions in his fleſh?*

But when they ſaw they were not able to contradict and decry the credit of the great miracles that he did, and they ſaw that this would not ſerve their turn, to ſay he did them by the power of the Devil; the Devil taught them to betake themſelves to another ſhift clean contrary, and that was, to ſay and maintain, that when *Meſſias* came, he ſhould do no miracles at all: which they aſſert in *Sanhedr. per. Helek. and Maym. in Melachim. per. ult.*

SECTION XXXVI.

MATTH. Chap. XII. *from* Ver. 46, *to the end.* | MARK Chap. III. *from* Ver. 31. *to the end.* | LUKE Chap. VIII. Ver. 19, 20, 21.

CHRISTS *Mother and Brethren ſeek him*, &c.

THe Order is cleered by the tranſition of *Matthew*, *While he yet talked*, &c. *Luke hath* ſet the coming of *Chriſts* mother and brethren, after the Parable of the Sower [whereas the other two Evangeliſts have ſet it before and that in its proper place] thereby intimating the end and proſecution of the errand they came upon, which was to take him up from preaching: with which intention and importunity they follow him from place to place. Here is an evidence of the Virgin *Maries* ſinfulneſs, as well as other womens, if going about to ſtop *Chriſts* Miniſtry were a ſin, as certainly it was, proceed that intention from what pretence ſoever. *Mark* 3. 21. *His friends went to lay hold on him, for they ſaid* ἐξέστη: ſignifie that word what it will, whether *he is beſide himſelf*, or *he is faint*, or *he is in a rapture*, &c. their errand and intention was to take him off from the courſe he was in: which he knew well enough, and therefore he gives ſo ſmart an anſwer, *Who is my mother*, &c? Compare *Deut.* 33. 9.

SECTION XXXVII.

MATTH. Chap. XIII. *from the beginning to* Ver. 54. | MARK Chap. IV. *from the beginning to* Ver. 35. | LUKE Chap. VIII. *from* Ver. 4, *to* Ver. 19.

The Parable of the Sower: and divers other Parables.

MATTHEWS tranſition doth again cleer the order here. *The ſame day went Jeſus, &c.* The ſame day that his Mother and brethren came to him, as is apparent in the twelfth Chapter. So that this conſideration helpeth to methodize the order of *Luke*: for whereas the other two have ſet the coming of *Chriſts* mother and brethren before his uttering of the Parable of the Sower, *&c.* he hath ſet it after; and that without contrariety though with diverſity. For both the occurrences were on the ſame day: and he hath by this order ſhewed how the mother and friends of *Chriſt* having once found him, went along with him, whether to proſecute the intention they came upon, or better convinced to attend him and his doctrine.

CHRIST ſpeaking of Parables, which he doth ſo exceeding much through the Goſpel, was according to the ſtile and Manner of that Nation, which were exceedingly accuſtomed to this manner of Rhetorick. The *Talmuds* are abundantly full of this kind of oratory, and ſo are generally all their ancient writers: and they commonly enter upon their Parables with this preface משל למה חדכר דומה: *A Parable: To what is the thing like?* which ſt Matth he alſo uſeth not ſeldom. And ſometime they enter upon it more abruptly

abruptly with such an entrance as this לאיש or למלך בו *To a man*, or *To a King of flesh and blood*, &c. meaning, *It is like to a man* or *like to a King*, &c. I believe there are very many in the world, that have not been further acquainted with the writings of the Jews then what they have seen quoted by other writers, and yet are ready to censure them of lies and falshoods [which indeed they are not free from] meerly upon want of acquaintance with their stile of Parables and hyperboles.

Very good use may be made of the Talmudick treatises, *Peah*, *Demai*, and *Kilaim*, which treats intentionally concerning sowing and seeds, for illustration of these Parables. In *Kilaim*, they dispute of sowing על סלעים על טרשים *upon rocks and upon stones*, and of mingling חיטין וזונין, *wheat and tares*, &c. cap. 1. *In Peah in Tal. Jerus. fol.* 20. they speak of *a tree of mustard seed*, that one might climbe into like other trees, *&c.* And in divers other passages in these Parables, some light may be fetched from those tracts: seeing *Christ* all along speaketh of things usual and most particularly usual among that Nation.

SECTION XXXVIII.

MATTH. Chap. VIII. Ver. 18,19,20,21,22. | MARK Chap. IV. Ver. 35. | LUKE Chap. IX. Ver. 57. 58,59,60,61,62.

A Scribe will follow CHRIST, &c.

THe story of CHRISTS preparing to go over the water, is evidenced by *Mark*, to come in here in its proper place; for he saith, *The same day at even*, &c. *Matthews* laying it where he hath done, may seem to be because of its neerness to *Matthews* or *Levies* feast, as will appear in the following current of the story; which feast he hath laid at *Matthews* call, and so hath accordingly brought here divers stories together, though far distinct in time; as some being neer the time of his call, some neer the time of his feast. But a greater scruple ariseth, namely, Whether this story in *Matthew*, of two that would follow *Christ*, and that in *Luke* 9.57, *&c.* of three that would do so, be one and the same story, or two occurrences at several times? It is well the matter is of no more chronological import, for it is hard to resolve which way to take it. The words of the persons to Christ, and his answer to them, are so much the same, that it is hard to think two several stories should run so parallel in all circumstances: And yet *Lukes* laying it so far out of its place, might perswade that it is not the same story. It would be more tiresome then profitable to dispute the matter at lage; therefore to make sure and quick work, both the stories may be taken in at both places. I should rather hold them to be two stories: In both of them where it is said, by those that should follow *Christ*, *Let me first go and bury my father*, It argues not that their father was dead or very sick; but that they thought themselves bound not to leave their father whilst he was living.

SECTION XXXIX.

MATTH. Chap. VIII. *from* Ver. 23, *to the end. And* Chap. IX. Ver. 1. | MARK Chap. IV. *from* Ver. 36, *to the end. And* Ch. V. *from beg. to* V. 22. | LUKE Chap. VIII. *from* Ver. 22, *to* Ver. 41.

CHRIST *calmeth the sea: casteth out a Legion of Devils*, &c.

THe order needeth no cleering, it is so plainly asserted by all the three: only among them in relating the story thus ordered, there seems to be some difference: 1. *Mark* says, *They took him in the ship as he was*, namely as he was now in it, having gone into it to preach to the people, as *ver.* 1. The other two speak of his entring into the ship now, as if he had not been in it before, because they continue not this story, to the story of his speaking of the Parables out of the ship as *Mark* doth, but speak of this after other stories. 2. *Matthews* calling of the Country beyond *Jordan* whether he went, *the Country of the Gergasens*, whereas the other two call it *the Country of the Gadarens*, is no great scruple, since it bare two names, ancient and modern. But 3, the main doubt lies in this; that whereas *Mark* and *Luke* speak but of one possessed, *Matthew* speaks of two. So I observe that *Matthew* speaks of two blind men begging at *Jericho*, Matth. 20. 30. whereas *Mark* speaketh but of one, *Mark* 10. 46. And so likewise *Matthew* speaks of both the theeves mocking *Christ*, *Matth.* 27. 44. whereas *Luke* speaks but of one of them so doing, *Luk.* 23.39, &c.

It might be answered, as to this story, that it may be that these two that *Matthew* speaketh of were not alike furious, but that the impetuousness of the one was more then the other:

other: and that *Mark* and *Luke* ſpeak of him only that was in the worſe caſe. Or for ought that *Matthews* Greek prohibiteth, the two might be underſtood for Man and Wife, whom the two other Evangeliſts treat of as one perſon. But by the other examples adduced, where *Matthew* ſpeaking of two, *Mark* and *Luke* ſpeak but of one, it is plain and ſatisfactory, that theſe two latter, writing after *Matthew*, and he having given the ſtory before them, numbring the perſons concerned in it, they have not been curious ſo much to ſpecifie the number of perſons on whom the miracles were wrought, which he had done before, as careful to record the miracle done, that none of Chriſts workings might be left unrecorded, as to the nature of the thing done.

The Evangeliſts deſcribe the condition of theſe poor poſſeſſed ones, much in the ſame colours that the Jews do him that they call שוטה, who is one of the five ſorts of perſons whom they ſeclude from all actings of import or truſt, שוטה ſay they [or a diſtract perſon] *is he that goes out in the night and lodgeth among the graves, and tears his cloths to pieces, and ſpoils what ſoever men give him.* Jeruſ. in Trumoth fol. 4. col. 2.

It is of ſome ſcrupulouſneſs to caſt, how ſo many Swine ſhould be in thoſe parts, ſince Swines fleſh was ſuch an abomination among the Jews, and thoſe that kept and bred Swine little leſs abominated. *Their wiſe men ſaid, Curſed be he that brings up Dogs and Swine,* Maymon. in Niz. Mammon per 5. And there is a ſtory of a Woman reviling one of their Rabbies, in theſe words, *One of theſe three things is in thee, either thou art a drinker of wine, or a uſurer, or one that breeds Swine.* Jeruſ. Shekalim fol. 47. col. 3. But even *Pliny* may help us to an Anſwer and Reſolution in this doubt, who tells us how rare dainties Swines fleſh is accounted of by the *Romans*, *Neque alio ex animali numeroſior materia ganiæ: quinquaginta prope ſapores, cum cæteris ſinguli. Of one creature, ſaith he, is there made more numerous matter for luxury: Almoſt fifty ſeveral taſtes in it, whereas in other creatures there is but one.* And hence thoſe pages of the Cenſors Laws; *Interdictaque cænis abdomina, glandia teſticuli, vulvæ, ſincipita verina,* [A Roman Cook were fitteſt to engliſh this.] And a little after he tells, that *Solidum aprum Romanorum primus in epulis appoſuit P.* Servilius Rullus: Publius Servilius Rullus *firſt of the Romans, ſerved in a whole Swine to the table, the Father of that* Rullus *that promulgated the* Lex Agraria *in* Tullies *Conſulſhip. Tam proprinqua origo nunc quotidianæ rei eſt: A thing now in daily uſe, had its beginning no longer ago.* Obſerve that it was of ordinary uſe among the *Romans* to ſerve in *ſolidum aprum* at their feaſts. *Vid. Plin. nat. hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 51.* Now were it granted that the *Gadarens* were Jews, which for the generality they were not [and to find Swine feeding among the Heathen was no ſtrange thing] yet when there might be ſuch trading in Swine as the Roman cookery and luxury cauſed to be, the covetouſneſs of a Jew would ſtrain him far for his profit, eſpecially it being not directly againſt the Law to deal with theſe Cattel alive, though ſo ſtrictly forbidden to eat them dead.

SECTION XL.

LUKE Chap. V. *from* Ver. 29. *to the end of the Chapter.* MARK Chap. II. *from* Ver. 15. *to* Ver. 23. MATTH. Chap. XII. *from* Ver. 10. *to* Ver. 18.

Levies Feaſt: Concerning Faſting, &c.

MUch needeth not to be ſpoken concerning the order here. Why *Levies*, or *Matthews* Call and feaſt are ſet together by all the Evangeliſts that ſpeak of them, we have obſerved before, namely becauſe they would diſpatch the whole ſtory of that man at once or altogether: And that his call was at the place where we have laid it, the current of the ſtory thither confirmeth paſt denial. Likewiſe that his Feaſt muſt come in here, *Matthews* words, *ver.* 18. do make it plain: for he ſaith, that while *Jeſus was ſpeaking thoſe things* concerning faſting, *&c. Jairus came to him*: whoſe coming the other two Evangeliſts have cleerly pitched in this place.

In *Matthew* the late Publicans houſe, when *Chriſt* is invited to dinner, many Publicans and Sinners ſit down at meat with him, a thing as far contrary to the Phariſaical diſcipline as what was moſt contrary, for which the Phariſees challenge him and his Diſciples. They looked upon Chriſt and his Diſciples, as חבריא men of Religion and Devotion, and therefore that ought to ſeperate themſelves from the vulgar ſort of people; eſpecially from ſuch as theſe were, of an infamous ſtamp and character: *A Scholar of the wiſe*, by their Canons, *might not eat with one of the vulgar*, much leſs with Publicans and Sinners, the worſt ſort of all the vulgar that were.

SECTION XLI.

MARK Chap. V. *from* Ver. 22, *to the end.* | LUKE Chap. VIII. *from* Ver. 41, *to the end.* | MATTH. Chap. IX. *from* Ver. 18, *to* Ver. 27.

A bloody issue healed: Jairus daughter raised.

MATTHEW assures the order, for he saith, *While Jesus was speaking*: those things that are recorded in the preceeding Section, concerning Fasting, and not putting new wine into old bottles, *&c. Jairus* came to him to beg the recovery of his now dying daughter.

Jairus was one of the Rulers of *Capernaum* Synagogue, and had seen so many miracles done by *Christ* there, that if he were not a Disciple already, yet he belives that *Christ* can easily recover her, though when he came away from her she was giving up the ghost. As *Jesus* goeth with him in *Capernaum* streets, a woman with a bloody issue of twelve years continuance cometh behind him and toucheth him: Her disease and *Jairus* daughter, were born in one and the same year, for they were both twelve years old, *Luke* 8. *ver.* 42,43.

The malady of this woman was not only of the said languishing, but it was also of a great uncleanness, according to the uncleanness mentioned in the Law. The Talmudick treatise *Zavim*, and *Maymony in Issurei biah*, cap. 4,5,6. would read a doleful Lecture upon her disease, as to this point of uncleanness. And this it may be was one main cause that made the woman to come trembling and fearing to *Christ* when she saw she could not be hid, *Mat.* 5.33 because she had been so bold as to touch *Christ* in her uncleanness.

The story of the Pictures of *Christ* and this woman touching him, both made in brass [of which the Papists have made no small ado towards their worshipping of Images] hath spoken exceeding wide and far from hitting upon the right place where this woman and *Christ* met. The story as it is related by *Eusebius*, *Baronius* and others, is this. *That in* Cæsarea Philippi *called otherwise* Paneas, *the house of this woman was to be seen: and before the door of the house, a brazen Image of a woman kneeling, and before her the brazen statute of a man, in a garment down to the feet, and stretching out his hand to the woman: And that there grew there a certain strange herbe, which when it grew up to touch the brazen hem of his garment, it had the medicinal virtue of healing any disease.*

But why all this at *Cæsarea Philippi*? whereas this occurrence of the womans healing by the touch of the hem of his garment was in *Capernaum*: for *Matthew* tells, that when *Jesus* came back out of the Country of the *Gadarens*, *he came into his own City.* Matth. 9. 1. which was *Capernaum*: and there was *Matthews* house, in which he was when *Jairus* came to him. *See* Sect. 23.

Before he comes to *Jairus* his house, his daughter is dead, and there he finds minstrels and piping in a mournful tone, for the bewailing of her. This was the custom of the Jews in such cases, as is to bee seen in *Talm. Jeruf. in Beracoth. fol* 5. *col.* 4. *Maymony in* אישות *cap.* 14, &c. *vid etiam Jeruf. Moed Katon. fol.* 83. *col.* 4.

A good while ago he had denounced a sad doom against *Capernaum*, Matth. 11.23. at Sect. 52. *O thou Capernaum which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell*, &c. which was spoken as to the generality of the City, who for the things they had heard and seen, were exalted to heaven, as that being *Christs* own City, or the place of his habitation, yet they believed not. And this may be some reason why when he had raised this dead girle, he bids her parents keep the matter close: for that City had justly forfeited all such revelations of him: Yet for all the denouncing of that sad fate against her, he oft resorteth thither, and forsaketh not his habitation there; partly because he had some there, who for all the unbelief of the generality, belonged to him, and believed in him; and partly because he had no reason to remove his habitation for their unbelief, or to pass off his dwelling for other mens wickedness; for where could he go to reside, but he should reside among some of the same temper?

SECTION XLII.

MATTH. Chap. IX. *from* Ver. 27, *to* Ver. 35.

Two blind men, and a poſſeſſed dumb man healed.

THe order is cleer from theſe two paſſages of connexion: *When Jeſus departed thence, ver.* 27. And *As they went out*, ver. 32.

Jeſus from *Jairus* his houſe returned to his own home, *ver.* 28. and there two blind men come to him, whoſe eyes he toucheth, and ſaith, *According to your faith be it to you:* urging this upon them the rather, becauſe of the general untowardneſs and unbelief of the place where he now was, *Capernaum*: and becauſe of the *Phariſees* that were now preſent, *ver.* 34. that he might magnifie faith.

As theſe blind men went out, they brought in a man poſſeſſed with a dumb Devil, and he alſo was healed, which the Phariſees ſtill aſcribe to magick, *&c.*

SECTION XLIII.

MARK Chap. VI. Ver. 1,2,3,4,5,6.

MATTH. Chap. XIII. Ver. 54,55,56,57,58.

CHRIST *at Nazaret, and offence taken at him.*

IT is ſaid by *Matthew*, that when *Jeſus* returned back out of the land of the *Gadarens*, he came into his own City, *Matth.* 9.1. that is, to *Capernaum*, where he himſelf dwelt, and *Matthew*, and *Jairus*; and the three laſt Sections relate ſtories done in their three houſes: Now *Mark* ſaith, that *from thence he went out and came into his own Country*, that is to *Nazareth*: which title is uſed of that City again, *John* 4.44.

In that Synagogue he had been abuſed a good while ago, and his life endangered, *Luke* 4. 29. and thither he is come now to try them again, and finds not much better entertainment then before, but only not ſo full of danger: therefore he did not many great works there becauſe of their unbelief, which *Mark* uttereth, *He could do no mighty works there* ver. 5. which meaneth not any want of power, but it relateth to his will, and to the rule by which he went in doing his works: ſuch another phraſe *ſee* Gen 19.22.

When it is ſaid by the ſame Evangeliſt, *He marveled at their unbelief:* it meaneth not, that he marvelled becauſe they had not ſaving faith, but he marvelled becauſe they believed no more then they did.

SECTION XLIV.

MATTH. Chap. IX. Ver. 35,36,37,38.

Another perambulation of Galilee.

MATTHEW himſelf joyns this portion to the ſtories in *Sect.* 42. and the laſt words of *Mark* in the Section preceding, *he went round about the villages teaching*, are concurrent with the firſt words in this, and ſo do aſſert the connexion.

CHRIST at his former rejection at *Nazaret*, begins to go abroad preaching through their Synagogues as in *Sect.* 18. and ſo he doth now: and ſo great multitudes reſort unto him, that he now reſolveth upon ſending forth his Diſciples to preach abroad alſo.

SECTION XLV.

MATTH. Chap. X. *all the Chap.* And V. 1. *of Chap.* IX.

MARK Chap. VI. V. 7,8,9,10,11.

LUKE Chap. IX. Ver. 1,2,3,4,5,6.

The twelve Apoſtles ſent out to preach.

THe order in *Matthew* and *Mark* ſhews and clears it ſelf.

The twelve had been ordained for Apoſtles a great while ſince, and all that while, had been with *Chriſt* as probationers, to ſee his works and to learn his Doctrine: and ſince their pointing out to be Apoſtles it is obſervable, how much Chriſt hath applied himſelf to Doctrine, that they might learn the Goſpel of the Kingdom, and be ſtored with what to preach, when he ſhould ſend them forth. Hitherto they had been learners

and as for the gifts of the Spirit they as yet differed nothing from the reſt that followed him, but now he gives them power of healing and caſting out devils, [and now is the power of miracles reſtored.] So that they cured diſeaſes by the Spirit, but they preached not by the Spirit, but taught that only which they had learned from the mouth of *Chriſt*.

He ſendeth them out *by two and two*, and ſo it is like the twelve ſpies divided themſelves when they went to ſearch the Land. It may be the Apoſtles went in theſe couples that *Matthew* had reckoned them in.

What *Chriſt* forbiddeth them to take with them for their journey, was 1. to inure them to depend upon his protection and not upon their own carefulneſs: And 2. He hereby intimates that they ſhould find ſuch good entertainment in their Miniſtry, that they ſhould find ſafety and maintenance whereſoever they came. Therefore when in *Luke* 22.6. *Now take purſe and ſcrip*, &c. he thereby would not ſignifie that his care of them was any whit abated of what it was now, but that they ſhould meet with worſe times and worſe entertainment then they had had now.

Whereas in *Matthew* and *Luke* they are forbidden to take ſtaves, in *Mark* it is ſaid, *they ſhould take nothing for their journey ſave a ſtaffe only:* not ſtaves for weapons or for their defence, but a ſtaff for their reſting on for their eaſe in the journey: as *Gen.* 32.10.

They are confined to preach to *Iſrael* only, [though many Gentiles dwelt intermixedly with them in their Cities] becauſe the Lord would own the peculiarity of the Nation in the firſt preaching of the Goſpel, as he had done all along in the Oeconomy of the Law: when they had forfeited their priviledge of being a peculiar people, by crucifying him that ſent the Goſpel amongſt them, then is the Apoſtles commiſſion inlarged to go to the Gentiles. *Matth.*28.

SECTION XLVI.

MARK Chap. VI. *from* Ver. 14. *to* Ver. 30. | MATTH. Chap. XIV. *from the beginning to* Ver. 13. | LUKE Chap. IX. Ver. 7,8,9.

JOHN *beheaded: his Diſciples come into Chriſt.*

MARY and *Luke* do juſtifie the order, for both of them have laid this ſtory next to the ſtory of *Chriſts* ſending forth his Diſciples. *Matthew* when he ſaith *At that time*, he uſeth the word in its latitude, as it is often uſed in Scripture, not preciſely or determinately for the very day or ſeaſon when a thing was done, but in the current of time then in being. And yet in this expreſſion he ſeemeth alſo to have reſpect to the ſtory that he had related next before, though that were ſome reaſonable ſpace of time before this: For there he had told that *Chriſt* coming into his own Country, was ſlighted and undervalued, and they were offended in him, yet *Herod* was amazed at the wonders that he heard of him.

Here are two times regardable in this Section, namely the time of *John Baptiſts* death, and the time of *Herods* hearing of the fame of *Jeſus*: and the juncture of the ſtories is very cloſe. As the Diſciples were preaching up and down according to *Chriſts* miſſion, *Herod* beheaded the Baptiſt: and by their preaching in the name of *Jeſus*, the fame of *Jeſus* cometh to *Herods* hearing; and the Diſciples again hearing of the murder of *John*, get in to their maſter. So that the ſtory of *Johns* death, is related here in the proper place and time when it did occur. And from one paſſage in *John* the Evangeliſt in the next following Section, there is the ground of a fair conjecture of the time of his beheading: For we ſhall ſee in the beginning of the next Section, that all the four do ſpeak of *Chriſt* departing privately into a deſert place: *Matthew* particularly gives the reaſon, namely becauſe he had newly heard, by *Johns* Diſciples, of the death of their maſter. Now *John* the Evangeliſt in giving that ſtory of *Chriſts* retiring, hath inſerted this paſſage, *And the Jews Paſover was nigh*, whereby we may conclude that the *Baptiſts* death was a little before the time of the Paſover. And from hence we may take up the whole ſpace of his Miniſtry and impriſonment. He began to Preach and Baptize in the year of Chriſt, 29, at the ſpring of that year or about *Eaſter*. Half a year after *Jeſus* is baptized by him, about the Feaſt of *Tabernacles*. Till after the Feaſt of Tabernacles come twelve month, *viz.* in the Year of *Chriſt* 30, he is ſtill abroad baptizing in *Bethabara* and *Ænon*: About *October* in that Year he is impriſoned, and ſo lieth in reſtraint till almoſt *Eaſter* twelve month, which was in the Year of Chriſt 32. And ſo his ſtory is of three years ſpace, the better half of which he preached at liberty, and the other half he lay in priſon.

Herod

Herod upon the hearing of the fame of *Jeſus*, is ſtruck with horror of conſcience upon thought of the murder of *John*: and if the *leaven of Herod* was *Sadduceiſm*, his horrour makes him deny his *Sadducaical* principles, and to think that *John* was Riſen from the dead.

SECTION XLVII.

MATTH. Chap. XIV. *from* Ver. 13. *to the end of the Chapter.* | JOHN Chap. VI. *from beginning of Chap. to* V. 22. | MARK Chap. VI. *from* V. 30. *to the end of the Chap.* | LUKE IX. *from* V. 10 *to* Ver. 18.

Five thouſand fed miraculouſly: Chriſt walketh on the Sea.

ALL the four ſpeak the ſame ſtory of *Chriſts* miraculous feeding many thouſands in a Deſert: *Mark* and *Matthew* do plainly link this ſtory to the preceding, as is conſpicuous to the eye of whoſoever ſhall view in them the laſt verſe of the foregoiug Section, and the firſt of this,

Johns Diſciples with the tidings of their Maſters death, and *Jeſus* Diſciples from their Preaching abroad, came in to *Jeſus* much about the ſame time: and it may be *Johns* Diſciples clave to him and depart no more from him. Upon the tidings *Jeſus* withdraws into a deſart place, *over the Sea of Galilee*, Joh. 6. 1. not over to the other ſide beyond *Jordan*, but he coaſted by Sea from one place to another on the ſame ſhore; namely from *Capernaum* to the Deſart of *Bethſaida*: for it is ſaid, *the people followed him afoot* and came up to him: and when his Diſciples return by Sea again, they are ſaid to go over to *Bethſaida*, Mark 6. 45. and from thence over to *Capernaum*, John 6. 17. coaſting ſtill upon the ſame ſide.

John in this ſtory hath mention of the Paſover neer at hand, *verſ.* 4. becauſe he only of all the four hath undertaken to give account of all the Paſovers, betwixt *Chriſts* Baptiſm and his death, for the better reckoning of the time of his publick Miniſtry. It may be the coming on of the Paſover had brought all the Apoſtles in, to attend their Maſter thither. They fall in at *Capernaum* his own City whether it is like he had appointed them to come in at ſuch a time.

The third PASSOVER ſince Chriſts Baptiſm.

When *Chriſt* intends to feed the multitude, he propounds to *Philip* among all the Diſciples, *Where ſhall we buy bread?* for this was in the Deſert of *Bethſaida*, which was *Philips* City, *John* 1. 44.

SECTION XLVIII.

JOHN Chap. VI. *from* Ver. 22. *to the end of the Chapter.*

Jeſus teacheth in Capernaum Synagogue, concerning eating his fleſh, &c.

THE firſt words in the Section, *The day following*, aſſerts the order.

Divers of thoſe that had been feed by *Chriſt* miraculouſly in the Deſert of *Bethſaida*, remained upon that ground all night, expecting *Jeſus* to come again among them, who was departed away from them, but, as they ſaw, not with his Diſciples; therefore they the next morning follow him to *Capernaum*, and there find him. It was Synagogue day there, namely either the ſecond or fifth day of the week, and in the Synagogue *Chriſt* ſpeaketh of eating his fleſh and drinking his blood, which ſeemeth a Doctrine ſo monſtrous to many, that divers that had followed him, do now depart from him.

What would theſe people have? They had been fed miraculouſly yeſterday, and yet to day they ſay to him. *What ſign ſheweſt thou that we may ſee and believe?* ver. 30. *Our fathers did eat manna in the deſert*, &c. ver. 31. They looked for a continued miraculous feeding as *Moſes* fed *Iſrael* with *Manna* in the wilderneſs: and to that the words of *Chriſt* refer, *ver.* 26. *Ye ſeek me, not becauſe ye ſaw the miracles, but becauſe ye ate of the loaves.*

It is ſaid, *When they had ſeen the miracle that Jeſus did, they ſaid This is of a truth the Prophet that ſhould come into the world, and they went about to make him King*, ver. 14, 15. They thought they ſaw in this miracle the ſign of the *Meſſias* they looked for, who ſhould feed his people miraculouſly as *Moſes* had done, and therefore when they now require a ſign to be ſtill ſhewed in that nature, *Chriſt* tells them they muſt expect no other food to be provided for them by him, then his own fleſh and blood: which ſounds ſo coldly in ſome of their ears, that they will follow him no more.

SECTION

SECTION XLIX.

JOHN Chap. VII, Ver. 1.

After theſe things Jeſus walked in Galilee, for he would not walke in Jury, becauſe the Jews ſought to kill him.

BEtween the time of this Section and that preceding, we are to imagine the Paſsover to have paſſed, of which there is mention, *John* 6, 4. So that after this paſſage in *Capernaum* Synagogue, *Chriſt* goeth up to the Paſsover at *Jeruſalem*, and there the *Jews*, that is the *Sanhedrin* ſought to kill him. At the paſsover the laſt year they convented him before them, to anſwer for his violation of the Sabbath in healing the man at *Bethesda*. John 5. and he plainly affirms and proves himſelf to be the *Meſſias*, and he comes off with ſafety, but after what manner is not expreſſed.

But now the increaſe of his Diſciples, the ſpreading of his frame and Doctrine by the preaching of the twelve, and it may be the example of the murdering of *the Baptiſt*, had ſo ſtirred them up to ſeek his life, that he perceiving it, gets away from *Jeruſalem* into *Galilee*, and will not yet come into *Judea* again.

SECTION L.

MARK Chap. VII. *all the Chapter. And* Chap. VIII. *from begin. to* Ver. 22.

MATTH. Chap. XV. *all the Chap. And* Ch. XVI. *from the begin. to* V. 13.

Scribes and Phariſees impious traditions: The Woman of Canaans Daughter, healed. A man Dumb and Deaf healed. Four thouſand fed miraculouſly. Phariſees. require a ſign, &c. Leaven of Phariſees, &c.

THeſe two Evangeliſts joyn this portion to the end of Sect. 47. Now what we have laid between in Sect. 48. & 49. is of ſo plain ſubſequence and order, that no more needeth to be ſaid of this or them.

Certain Scribes and Phariſees that were ſent purpoſely from *Jeruſalem*, [as may be conjectured, becauſe the *Sanhedrin* there ſought to deſtroy *Jeſus*] ſeeking to intrap and oppoſe him, and to make a party againſt him, quarrel his Diſciples for not waſhing before meat. Their preciſeneſs about this matter may bee ſeen in Talmudick Treatiſe *Jadaim*, and in *Maymony* in his Tract *Mikvaoth*, and occurſorily almoſt in every place in the Jewiſh Writers, where they have occaſion to ſpeak of their meales and of their manner of eating.

1. *Waſhing of the hands or dipping of them, is if the inſtitution of the Scribes*: they are the words of *Maymony* in *Mikvaoth*, per. 11.

2. *Hillel and Shammai decreed about waſhing the hands: But R. Joſe the ſon of R. Ben ſaith, The tradition about it had come to their hands, but they had forgot it. Theſe therefore decreed but according to the mind of thoſe that had gon before them.* Talm. Jerus. in Schabb. fol. 3. *col.* 4.

3. אכילת חולין בטהרה *The eating of their common meat in cleanneſs*, is very much ſpoken of in their Writings and moſt highly extolled: Inſomuch that the Gloſs upon *Chagigah* per. 2. doth determine a man of Religion by this, that *He eats his common meals in cleanneſs*: and the *Gemariſts* in the place of the *Jeruſalem Talmud* laſt cited have this saying, *Whoſoever hath his dwelling in the Land of Iſrael, and eats his common meals in cleanneſs, and ſpeaks the Holy tongue, and ſaies over his Phylacteries morning and evening, that man may be confident that he ſhall obtain the life of the world to come.*

And again in *Challah*. fol. 58. col. 3. *R. Feſi in the name of R. Shabeai and R. Cajaſhin the name of Simeon Ben Lachiſh ſay thus, A man ſhould walk four miles to the waſhing of his hands. It is a tradition, that waſhing before meat is arbitrary, but after meat it is duty. Only that at his waſhing before, he ſaies over ſome prayer, but after, not. R. Jacob bar. R. Iſaac, hereupon retorted, Doſt thou ſay he waſheth and ſaith over a prayer, and yet doſt thou ſay that waſhing is arbitrary? It is ſaid he ſhould go four miles to the waſhing of his hands, and yet doſt thou ſay it is arbitrary?*

How they prized this and other traditions of the Elders above the word of God, and ſo by and for them made that of no weight, may be read too numerouſly in them, in ſuch like blaſphemous paſſages as theſe: *The words of the Scribes are more lovely then the words of the Law, and more weighty then the words of the Prophets.*

And,

And, *He that ſaith there are no Phylacteries, and in ſo ſaying tranſgreſſeth againſt the words of the Law, he is not guilty: but he that ſaith there is five Phylacteries, and in ſo ſaying, addeth to the words of the Scribes, he is guilty.* Jerus Beracoth fol.3.col.2.

The written Law is narrow, but the traditional is longer then the earth and broader then the ſea. Tanchum,fol.4.col.4.

Our Saviour damning theſe curſed Traditions, doth inſtance only in that unnatural tenet of theirs, that extinguiſheth all filial aſſiſtance to needy Parents: as if a ſon ſaid to his father or mother, *It is Corban*, &c. Their Canons ſet down the duty of a ſon to his father,as,*to give him meat and drink if he ſtood in need,and to cloath him, to waſh his hands, feet and face, and if he need, to lead him in and out.* Toſapht.in Kidduſhin per 1. And yet with this ſuperinduced Tradition, they deſtroyed all ſuch duty. About the word *Corban* in the ſenſe in which it is uſed here, the Talmudick Treatiſes, *Nedarim* and *Nazir* and the *Toſaphtoth* upon them, are good explications, where it is often uſed.

His reſolving the caſe about meats not defiling the man, overthrew a great part of *Phariſaiſm*: for this waſhing before meat was meerly out of their Traditions, and it was a great part of their ſanctimony. *Moſes* indeed had forbidden divers things as unclean to be touched, and by the touching of which the perſon was legally defiled,but that with this reference, that he was unclean as to Gods ſervice, or to the Congregation, but this pretended uncleanneſs of theirs, for which they appointed waſhing before meat, had reſpect ſimply neither to the one nor the other.

Chriſt to a Heathen woman that begged the diſpoſſeſſing of her daughter,calls the Heathens *Dogs*, and ſhe readily underſtands his meaning, as that being a common title that the Jews put upon them, *Midr. Till. fol. 6. col. 3.* אומות עולם נמשלו ככלבים *The Nations of the world are compared to Dogs.*

No ſign given to the *Phariſees* when they demand one, but the ſign of *Jonah* the Prophet: whereby *Chriſt* doth not only intimate his own burial and reſurrection, but he chiefly intendeth to hint the calling of the Gentiles after his reſurrection, as the *Niniviteſ* were after *Jonahs*, which was a thing the Jews could not endure to hear of.

SECTION LI.

MARK Chap. VIII. Ver. 22,23,24,25,26.

A blind man reſtored to ſight at Bethſaida.

MARKS authority warrants the connexion here: eſpecially it being conſidered that in the preceding Section *Chriſt* and his Diſciples are croſſing over the Sea, and here they are arrived at *Bethſaida*. A journey by ſea thither they had, when *Jeſus* fed the the five thouſand in Sect 47. and now being come up to that place where that miracle was wrought, it was a ſtrange conſtruction the Diſciples made of the words of their maſter, *Beware of the leaven of the Phariſees*, when they thought he blamed them for not bringing bread: the very place where they were, might have confuted their miſpriſion.

Chriſt openeth the eyes of a blind man, but will not do it in *Bethſaida*, but leads the man out of the Town,nor will he ſuffer him to go into the Town when he is cured, nor to tell it there. He had a good while ago, as hath been ſaid,denounced wo againſt *Bethſaida*, Matth. 11. 21. and for her perverſeneſs he will no more ſtrive with her for her good: He had gathered out of her thoſe that belonged to himſelf.

SECTION LII.

MATTH. Chap. XVI. *from* Ver.13,*to the end of the Chapter.*

MARK Chap. VIII. *from* Ver. 27. *to the end of the Chapter. And* Chap.IX.Ver. 1.

LUKE Chap. IX. *from* Ver. 18. *to* V. 28.

The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven given to Peter, &c

MATTHEW and *Mark* eſtabliſh the order.

Upon *Peters* confeſſion that *Jeſus* was *The Chriſt the Son of the living God:* 1.He promiſeth to build his Church upon the Rock of that Truth, and the Rock confeſſed in it, from *Iſa.*28.16. *Pſal.*118.22,&c. 2. He promiſeth *the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven* to *Peter only*, of all the Apoſtles: meaning thereby,that he ſhould be the man that ſhould firſt unlock the door of faith,and of the Goſpel unto the Gentiles,which was accompliſhed in *Act.* 10. And 3. he giveth him power of *binding and looſing*, and this power the other Diſciples had common with him, *Matth.*18.18.

Binding

Binding and looſing in the language and ſtile moſt familiarly known to the Jewiſh Nation [and it can little be doubted that *Chriſt* ſpeaketh according to common and moſt familiar ſenſe of the language] did refer more properly to things then to perſons: Therefore he ſaith, ὅ ἐαν δήσης, and not ὃν. And in *Matth.* 18. 18. ὅσα ἐαν δήσητε, not ὅσους.

The phraſe לאסור ולהתיר *To bind and to looſe* in their vulgar ſpeech, meant, to prohibit and to permit, or to teach what is prohibited or permitted, what lawful, what unlawful, as may appear by theſe inſtances; a few produced, whereas thouſands might be alledged out of their writings.

Talm. in Peſachim per. 4. halac. 5. *Our wiſe men ſay that in Judah they did work on the Paſſover eve till noon, but in Galilee not at all: And as for the night* בש אוסרין *The School of Schammai bound it*, that is, forbad to work on it, or taught that it was unlawful: ובה מתירין *but the School of Hillel looſed it till ſun riſing*, or taught that it was lawful to work till ſun-riſe.

Jeruſ. in Shabb. fol. 6. col. 1. They are ſpeaking about waſhing in the Bathes of *Tiberias* on the Sabbath: and they determine how far this was lawful, in theſe words, אסרו להן רחיצה והיתירו להן ויעח *They bound waſhing to them, but they looſed ſweating:* meaning they taught that it was lawful to go into the Bath to ſweat, but not to bathe for pleaſure.

Ibid. fol. 4. col. 1. *They ſend not letters by the hand of a Gentile on the eve of the Sabbath, nor on the fifth day of the week: Nay on the fourth day of the week* בש אוסרין *The School of Schammai bound it* ובה מתירין *But the School of Hillel looſed it.*

Ibid. fol. 7. col. 4. *Women may not look in a Looking glaſs on the Sabbath: but if it were faſtned upon a wall* רבימתיר וחכמים אוסרין *Rabbi looſed the looking into it, but the wiſe men bound it.*

Id. in Jom. tobh. fol. 60. col. 1. *R. Jochanan went from Tſipporis to Tiberias, he ſaith, Why brought ye to me this Elder* דאנא שדי הוא אסר ואסר הוא שדי *For what I looſe he bindeth, and what I bind he looſeth.*

Maym. in Hhamets umatſah. per. 4. חמץ סופרים אסרוהו *The Scribes have bound leaven*, that is, they have prohibited it.

Tanchum. fol. 1. *col.* 3. מדוחק התירו שאלת שלום בשבת *They have upon neceſſity looſed ſalutation on the Sabbath*: that is, they have permitted it, or taught that it was lawful.

Thouſands of inſtances of this nature might be produced, by all which it is clear that the Jews uſe of the phraſe was of their Doctors or learned mens teaching what was lawful and permitted, and what unlawful and prohibited. Hence is that definition of ſuch mens office and work, in *Toſaphta ad Jebamoth per.* 4. חכם שרן את הדין טימא וטיהר אסר והיתיר *A wiſe man that Judgeth Judgment, maketh unclean and maketh clean, bindeth and looſeth:* that is, teacheth what is clean and unclean, what is permitted and prohibited. And *Maymony in Sanhedr. per.* 4. giving the relation of their ordaining of Elders, and to what ſeveral imployments they were ordained, ſaith thus, *A wiſe man that is fit to teach all the Law, the Conſiſtory had power to ordain him, To Judge, but not to teach Bound and loos, or power to teach Bound and loos, but not a Judge in pecuniary matters: or power to both theſe, but not to Judge in matters of mulct*, &c. So that the Ordination of one to that Function which was more properly Miniſterial, or to teach the people their duty, as what was lawful, what not, what they were to do, and what not to do, was to ſuch a purpoſe, or in ſuch a tenour as this, *Take thou power to bind and looſe, or to teach what is bound and looſe*, for they uſe both the expreſſions לאסור ולהתיר and לחודרי באיסור והתר

By this vulgar and only ſenſe of this phraſe in the nation, the meaning of *Chriſt* uſing it thus to his Diſciples, is eaſily underſtood; namely that he firſt doth inſtate them in a Miniſterial capacity to teach, what bound and looſe, what to be done and what not, and this as Miniſters, and thus all miniſters ſucceſſively to the end of the world. But as they were Apoſtles of that ſingular and unparelled order, as the like never in the Church again, he gives them power *to bind and looſe* in a degree above all Miniſters that were to follow: namely, that whereas ſome part of *Moſes* Law was now to ſtand in practice, and ſome to be laid aſide, ſome things under the Law prohibited, were now to be permitted, and ſome things then permitted, to be now prohibited, he promiſeth the Apoſtles ſuch aſſiſtance of his Spirit, and giveth them ſuch power, that what they allowed to ſtand in practice ſhould ſtand, and what to fall ſhould fall: *what they bound in Earth ſhould be bound in Heaven*, &c.

SECTION

SECTION LIII.

MATTH. Chap. XVII. *from the beginning to* Ver. 24. | MARK Chap. IX. *from* Ver. 2. *to* Ver. 33. | LUKE IX. *from* V. 28. *to* Ver. 46.

CHRIST *Transfigured.* *A Devil cast out of a Child.*

MATTHEW and *Mark* link this story to the preceding with this link, *After six days &c.* which *Luke* hath uttered, *About an eight days after*, which is but the same in sense: Six days compleat came between the day that *Christ* had spoken the words before and the day of his transfiguration: So that the day of his Transfiguration was the eight day from the day when Christ said, *There are some standing here that shall not taste of death till they have seen the Kingdom of God come with power.*

This story of *Christs* Transfiguration relateth to that prediction concerning *the great Prophet*, Deut, 18. 18. *I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren like unto thee*, &c. *And it shall come to pass that whosoever will not hearken to my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him. A Prophet*, that is, a succession of Prophets till *the great Prophet* should come who should seal Vision and Prophesie.

Christ had been sealed for *the great Priest* at his Baptisme, when entring into his Ministry at the same age that the Priests entred into their Office, he is attested from Heaven, *This is my wellbeloved Son in whom I am well pleased.* He is sealed for *the great Prophet* here, by the like attestation from Heaven, with the same words, *This is my wellbeloved Son in whom I am well pleased*, but withal it is added *Hear him*, answerable to those words, *Whosoever will not hearken*, &c. *Deut* 18.19.

Moses the first Prophet had all his Oracles out of a Cloud: and a Cloud of Glory that lead *Israel* in the Wilderness, departed at his death: think of that when you see a cloud here overshadowing and a Divine Oracle given out of it, at the sealing of the Prophet greater then he.

Moses was the first Prophet of the Jews, and *Elias* the first Prophet of the Gentiles, and they both now appear to attend their Master. *Christ* and the three Disciples were in this mount of his Transfiguration all night: for *Luke* saith, *It came to pass the next day when they were come down*, &c. *ver.* 37. Compare Christ transfigured and his face shining with the shining of *Moses* his face, and so compare that first Prophet and this great Prophet again together.

The Disciples that had authority and power given them over all Devils, *Luke* 9. 1. are not able here to cast one out: and their Master sheweth a double reason why, namely, because of their unbelief, and because that kind went not out but by Fasting and Prayer: Now, that their unbelief should be any more then it had been before [for they had cast out Devils before this, *Matth.* 6. 13.] it might seem strange, but that here were some concurrents towards that, more then they had met with before now: and that we may observe especially in these two things: 1. There were divers diseases, which in their own nature, were but natural diseases, which yet the Jews did commonly repute as seizure and possessing by the Devil, especially those that distempered the mind, or did in more special manner convulse the body: and according to this common language and conception of the Nation, the language of the Gospel doth speak exceeding frequently: Examples of this kind of Dialect among the Jews we might produce divers: as that in *Maym. in Gerushin.* per. 2. *A man which is troubled with an evil spirit, and saith when the sickness* [חולי] *begins upon him, Write a bill of Divorcement to my Wife, he saith as good as nothing, because he is not* compos sui: *And so likewise a drunken man, when he comes neer the drunkenness of* Lot, *&c.* He calls the evil spirit [חולי or] a sickness, and by it he means Lunacy or Distractedness that had its *lucida intervalla.*

So the Jews speak of a man שאחוז קורדיקוס *that is possessessed by Cordicus:* which they interpret to be *a spirit that seizeth on him that drinketh too much Wine out of the Winepress. Talm. in Gittin. per.* 7. *Vid. R. Sol.* and *Nissim ibi.* And to spare more, because the story in hand is of a Child, take but this example of an evil Spirit which they conceived did seize upon Children: שיבחא *Shibta*, say they, *is an evil spirit that seizeth upon Children by the neck, even upon the sinnews behind the neck, and drieth them up from their use and strength till it kill him. And the time of it is from the Childs being two months old, and the danger of it is till the Child be seven years old.* Aruch in שיבחא Which seemeth to mean nothing else but Convulsion fits or shrinking of sinnews, or some such like thing, a natural malady.

Now in this Child there were not only these fits of Convulsions or the Falling sickness and the like, but he was really possessed with the Devil indeed. So that though the Disciples had healed several persons of maladies, which the Jews in their language and con-

ceptions called possessings with evil Spirits, and the Evangelists speak their language, yet this is a subject to work upon of a further difficulty by far, the devil being bodily in this Child indeed. 2. Granting [for we dare not deny] that they had cast out Devils indeed before, yet this case carried some extraordinary matter in it above other times. They were then preaching up and down, and their Commission gave them power to cast out Devils to confirm their Doctrine, but now they were not in that imployment. They were also now set upon by the Scribes and Pharisees, with a possessed person of an extraordinary example, as being possessed from an Infant, purposely that they might puzzle them, and that in the fairer opportunity, when their Master and three of the chief of their company, *Peter* and *James* and *John* were absent. Therefore if by all these concurrents of disadvantage, their Faith were somewhat shaken, it is to be the less wondred at, by how much the more the case was more strange and unusual to them, and they had not been put to such a trial before.

SECTION LIV.

MATTH. Chap. XVII. Ver. 24,25,26,27.

CHRIST *payeth money miraculously gotten.*

MARKS words in the beginning of the next Section, laid to the first verse of this will be evidence sufficient for the order of both.

Christ is demanded the half shekel that every *Israelite* was bound by the Law annually to pay for the redemption of his life, *Exod.* 30. 13. The word Δίδραχμα speaks that. Now the proper time of collecting that began a little before the Passover, as we have observed before out of the Treatise *Shekalim.* And though it were now almost half a year past the Passover, yet is this the first time that *Jesus* had been at his own house in *Capernaum*, since the time of gathering that Money had come in. This half shekel that every *Israelite* paid yearly, went to the repair of the Temple, and to the buying of things needful for the service there; *Christ pays his Church Duties*, therefore here, though, as his own words argue, he being the Son of the great King for whom that Tribute was demanded, might have pleaded immunity: for Kings take Tribute of strangers, not of their own Children. His paying it by a miraculous compassing of it out of a Fishes mouth, sheweth at once his Divine power that could make all things serve his ends, and his great care to discharge his due paymentss and to avoid offence; and withal, his poverty, when he is put to a Miracle for such a little sum of money, for he would not work Miracles where there was not need. His paying for *Peter* with him, was because he was of the same Town, and so was under the same demand of payment, and he knew that he was in the same want of money. The other Disciples were to pay in the places of their several houses. When *Jerusalem* was destroyed by the *Romanes*, Δίδραχμον ἐτάχθη τοὺς τὰ πάτρια αὐτῶν ἔθη περιστέλλοντας τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ Διὶ κατ' ἔτος ἀποφέρειν. *The Jews were commanded to pay this half half shekel yearly to* Jupiter Capitolinus, *Xiphilin. apud Dion. lib. 66. Joseph. de Bell. lib. 7. cap. 27.*

SECTION LV.

MARK Chap. IX. *from* V. 33. *to the end of the Chapter.* MATTH. Chap. XVIII. *all the Chapter.* LUKE Chap. IX. *from* Ver. 46. *to* Ver. 51.

A dispute who greatest; One casting out Devils, and yet not following Christ: Dic Ecclesiæ, *&c.*

THe order needeth no demonstration: the seeming difference between *Matthew* and *Mark* in the beginning of the Section needeth animadversion rather: *Mark* saith their dispute who should be greatest, was as they went in the way towards *Capernaum*, and when *Christ* asked them at *Capernaum* what their discourse had been, they held their peace. But *Matthew* saith, *At the same time*, namely while *Christ* was at *Capernaum*, the Disciples came to him and asked him, *Who is the greatest*, &c. in which relation he briefly coucheth the two stories that *Mark* speaketh of into one, namely, their talking by the way who should be greatest, and this question coming before *Christ*.

It may be *Christs* so lately taking *Peter* and *James* and *John* into the mount apart from the rest, gave occasion to this debate, which he determineth by setting a Child in the middest, *&c.* They that have held this Child to have been *Ignatius* in his infancy, who was afterward the Martyr, [as see *Niceph. lib. 2. c. 3. Baron. ad Annum Christi* 71. *Marg. de la Bign. in Ignat. in Biblioth. Patr. tom.* 1.] sure did not well observe his own words, if they be his own, in his Epistle to the Church of *Smyrna*, Μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτὸν οἶδα.

Vide. *And I do not only know that Christ is come in the flesh, by his being born and being crucified, but I saw him in the flesh after his resurrection.* For so the Latine renders it, *Vidi eum in carne:* or be it, *I knew him in the flesh after his resurrection*, it may seem very strange, that he that was so very a Child as Christ to take him in his arms this year almost at the feast of Tabernacles, and the next year at *Easter*, which was but within half a years space, to become so intelligent as to take notice of his being risen.

Upon Christs speaking of receiveing those that come in his Name, *John* propounds a dubious case of one that they had met with that went about indeed in his Name, and in his Name cast out Devils, and yet would not own himself his Disciple, nor follow him: which raiseth to us a further scruple, How this man came to this miraculous power? for that it was so, and not Magical exorcizing in the Name of Jesus, as divers enemies of the Gospel used afterward, may be gathered by Christs answer, who calls it doing a Miracle in his Name, and speaks of this man as not being against him but for him. Whether he did these Miracles in the Name of *Messias* or of *Jesus* we will not question: the original of this power to him, we may resolve much into the same principle from whence *Caiaphas* propheſied, *John* 11. 51. *This he spake, not of himself, but being Highpriest that year he propheſied*: There is an emphasis in *That year*: For now was the fulness of time, the year of expectation, and accomplishment of Vision and Propheſie, and the time of the powring out of the Spirit as never before: and if in that full meal of this provision that Christ had made for his own, some crumbs fell besides the table that others gathered up, or were partakers of, it doth the more magnifie the diffusion, and doth so much the more point out and give notice to observe the time. For Christ did so little leave himself without witness, and did give so clear evidence that this was the great and signal time spoken of by the Prophets in all generations, that Miracles wrought not only by himself and his Disciples, but even by the Jews own Children, as *Matth.* 12. 27. give abundant testimony to it.

Matthews text in this Section runs parallel with the other to *ver.* 10. and so far the Reader may take them up together: then goeth he on with *Christs* speech and the story alone.

The number of a hundred divided into *ninety nine and one*, *ver.* 12. is according to the usual and ordinary manner of the Jews speech, with whom this very division is very common.

Talm. in Peah. per. 4. halac 1. & 2. *When a man is dividing nuts among the poor, though ninety nine call on him to divide them, and one call on him to scatter them, to him they must hearken. With Grapes and Dates it is not so, though ninety nine call on him to scatter them, and one to divide them, to him they must hearken*, &c.

Jerus. in Shab. fol. 14. col. 3. *Rabh, and R. Chaijah Rabbah, both of them said, If ninety nine dye by an evil eye, and one by the hand of Heaven. R. Chaninah and Samuel both of them said, if ninety nine dye by cold and one by the hand of Heaven*, &c.

The rules that *Christ* giveth about dealing with an offending brother, were very well known in the Nation, and such as were practised, at least prescribed in their own Discipline.

1. *Admonition privately* betwixt the party offended and the party offending. Of such *Maymony* speaks in his Treatise Deah. *per.* 6.

2. *Admonition, two witnesses being present.* Jerus. in Joma fol. 45. col. 3. *He that sinneth against his fellow, it is necessary that he say unto him, I have offended against thee. If he receive him, well: If not, he must bring two men and appease him before them*, &c. Only *Christ* raiseth his lesson to a higher charity, namely for the offended party to try the amendment of the offending. So the jealous Husband admonisht his Wife before two. *Sotah. per.* 1. and the *Sanhedrin* by two Scholars of the wise admonished an *Israelitish* City that fell to Idolatry, before they made war upon it. *Maym in Avodah Zarah. per.* 4.

3. *If he will not hear them, tell the Church.* They used the open proclaiming of an incorrigible person in the Synagogue, *A woman that is rebellious against her husband, that she may vex him, and says, Behold I will thus vex him because he did so and so to me: they send to her from the Judicatory or Bench, and say to her, Know thou that if thou persist in thy rebelliousness, though thy Joynture be a hundred pound, thou hast forfeited it; and afterward they make Proclamation concerning her in the Synagogues and in the Schools every day for four Sabbaths together, saying, such a Woman rebels against her Husband*, &c. Maymony in אישות per. 14. And likewise *Ibid. cap.* 12. *If a man will not provide for his Children, they rebuke him, and shame him, and are urgent with him; and if yet he will not, they proclaim him in the Synagogue saying, Such a one is cruel and will not nourish his Children*, &c. Here was *telling the Church*, by open Proclamation.

SECTION LVI.

CHRIST. XXXIII.

JOHN Chap. VII. *from* Ver. 2. *to* Ver. 10.

The Feast of Tabernacles.

MATTHEW and MARK both relate *that when Jesus had ended these sayings*, which are contained in the preceding Section, *he departed from Galilee, and came into the coasts of Judea beyond Jordan*, Matth. 19. 1. Mark 10. 1. which is not to be understood as if he departed thither presently, but they say no more of his actions till his departure thither: and so pass over almost half a years story in silence, which *Luke* and *John* do make up. These bring *Jesus* out of *Galilee* beyond *Jordan*, and presently back to *Jerusalem* to his passion: but these as we shall see, bring him twice to *Jerusalem*, before his last coming up, namely this to the feast of Tabernacles, and another to *the Feast of Dedication*.

The Brethren, that is, the kinsmen of *Jesus* urge him to go up to the feast of Tabernacles, that his *Disciples in Judea* might see his works, *ver.* 3. remember here *John* 3. 22. & 4. 1. His brethren themselves believed not on him, *ver.* 5. and that the rather, because they thought his privacy that he desired to keep in, was not answerable to the port and state of the *Messias*: therefore they desire that he would appear in the power of his miracles in *Judea* the center of the Nation, that if he were the *Messias*, he might carry it out there, as they expected the *Messias* should do.

SECTION LVII.

LUKE Chap. IX. *from* Ver. 51. *to the end of the Chapter.* JOHN Chap. VII. Ver. 10.

CHRIST *going towards the Feast of Tabernacles.*

THat this journey of *Christ* towards *Jerusalem* that *Luke* speaketh of in this Section, is the same with this in *John*, namely his going up to the *Feast of Tabernacles*, is plain by this, that *Luke* mentioneth two journeys of his to *Jerusalem* more; namely in *Chap.* 13. 22. which was to the *Feast of Dedication*, and *Chap.* 17. 11. which was to the Passover and his Passion.

The words of *Luke* then, *When the time was come that he should be received up, he stedfastly set his face to go to Hierusalem*, mean, that now being come within half a year of the time of his death, he resolved to be more constant at *Jerusalem* then he had been; having avoided the place and Country, once and again, because the Jews sought to kill him.

The stories of several men in this Section, that take upon them to follow *Christ*, but they had something else to do first, have been spoken to before, at *Sect.* 38.

SECTION LVIII.

LUKE Chap. X. *from the beginning to* Ver. 17.

The seventy Disciples sent forth.

AS to the order of the story, First, It is to be observed, that *Luke* saith, It was *after these things* mentioned in the former Section; that is, after *Christ* was sent out from *Galilee* towards the feast of Tabernacles. Secondly, that it is said *John* 7. 10. *That Jesus went up to that Feast, not openly, but as it were in secret*, whereupon it may be concluded, that he had dispatched the seventy Disciples away before he came there. He giveth them the same instructions that he had given the twelve, and the same power to heal the sick: only whereas the twelve went at large to any of the Cities of *Israel*, these were to go to those places where *Christ* himself should come, to make way for him, and to prepare the places for the receiving of him against he came: so that now *Christ* disposeth for the full revealing of himself for the *Messias*, the Seventy beforehand proclaiming him and preaching in his Name, and he afterward coming and shewing himself to be he of whom they preached. The numbers 12, and 70, cannot but call to mind the Twelve Tribes and the seventy Elders of *Israel*. The Seventy were but a little while abroad [for thirty five couples would soon dispatch a great deal of work:] and they return again to their Master before he departs from *Jerusalem*, Luke. 10. 17, 38.

He

He again accuſeth *Chorazin*, *Bethſaida* and *Capernaum*, which he had done before at *Sect.* 32. for having at any time occaſion to ſpeak of contempt of the Goſpel, they may juſtly be introduced as having the moſt tender of it, and yet deſpiſed it.

SECTION LIX.

JOHN Chap. VII. *from* Ver. 11, *to the end of the Chapter.*

CHRIST *at the Feaſt of Tabernacles.*

THe pregenancy of the order here, ſpeaks it ſelf: In the two preceding Sections, *Jeſus* was in the way up to the Feaſt, and now he is come there.

Now is the year of the World 3960, and the year of *Chriſt* 33 begun: both entring in this very month in which the Feaſt of Tabernacles was. The great year of the world, the fulneſs of time, the year of redemption and powring down of the Spirit. It was indeed the year of Jubilee, however the Jews would jumble their account [as ſee *Maymon in Shemiatah veiobel. per.* 10.] whether ignorantly or wilfully let them look to it. For count from the *7th.* year of the rule of *Joſhua*, when the wars of *Canaan* ended, and Jubilees began, and you have 1400 years to this preſent year that we are upon, juſt eight and twenty Jubilees: this year the laſt that *Iſrael* muſt ever ſee. It is the confeſſion of *Zohar* in *Lev.* 25. *that the Divine glory ſhould be freedom and redemption in a year of Jubilee.* Compare the ſending out of the ſeventy Diſciples neer upon the very inſtant when this Jubilee began, with the ſounding of the Trumpet for the proclaiming of the Jubilee, *Lev.* 25. 9. and there is a fair equity and an anſwerableneſs to that type, in that very thing.

From this Feaſt of Tabernacles to the Paſover at which time *Chriſt* ſuffered, was that laſt half year, of the laſt half ſeven mentioned *Dan.* 9. which compare with the laſt half year of *Iſraels* being in *Egypt*, in which time *Moſes* did his Miracles, and which ended alſo at the Paſover.

Among the many varieties of ſolemnity and feſtivity uſed at the Feaſt of Tabernacles, of which we have given account at large in another volume, there was the powring out of water fetched out of the fountain *Siloam*, with the wine of the drink-offering, and at night their moſt tranſportant joyfulneſs, expreſſed by their ſinging, dancing and the like jocund geſtures, for that powring out of water: which by ſome, *in Jeruſ. ſuccah. fol.* 55. *col.* 1. is interpreted to ſignifie *the powring out of the holy Ghoſt*: The conſideration of this illuſtrates *ver.* 37, 38. where it is ſaid, that *in the laſt and great day of the Feaſt, Jeſus cried, If any thirſt*, &c. *He that believeth on me, out of his belly ſhall flow rivers of water*, &c. Upon which words many believed him, becauſe they had ſeen already ſo fair evidence of the gifts of the Spirit, in the powerfull works of himſelf and his Diſciples: and yet the text ſaith here, *The holy Ghoſt was not yet given, becauſe Jeſus was not yet glorified*: a far greater gift of that being yet behind.

The *Sanhedrin* would fain have been medling with him to have tried him for a falſe Prophet, as may be gathered from their words *ver.* 52. but his hour was not yet come.

JOHN Chap. VIII.

A Woman taken in Adultery, &c.

IT is ſaid in the concluſion of the former Chapter, that *every one* [of the *Sanhedrin*] *went home*, and here, *Jeſus went into the Mount of Olives*: which joyns the ſtory plain enough. Not that he lodged in mount *Olivet* in the open fields, but that he went to *Bethany*, and lodged in the Houſe of *Lazarus*, of which we ſhall find confirmation in the next Section.

In the morning he comes to the Temple, and in the treaſury, or the Court of the women, he ſitteth down, and teacheth the people: For it was the cuſtom for the Teachers of the people to ſit when they taught, and thoſe that were taught to ſtand about them. As he thus ſits teaching, the Scribes and Phariſees bring a Woman to him taken in the act of Adultery, *&c.*

The *Syriack* wants this ſtory: and *Beza* doubts it [a man always ready to ſuſpect the text] becauſe of the ſtrangeneſs of *Chriſts* action, writing with his finger on the ground. *Mihi ut ingenue loquar* [ſaith he] *vel ob hunc ipſum locum ſuſpecta eſt hæc hiſtoria.* Whereas it ſpeaks the ſtyle of *John* throughout, and the demeanor of the Scribes and Phariſees, and of *Chriſt* moſt conſonantly to their carriage all along the Goſpel. The ſnare that they laid for him in this matter, was various. That he ſhould condemn the adultereſs, but where was the adulterer? why brought they not him too? If he condemned her, he ſeemed to aſſume Judicial power: if he condemned her not, he ſeemed a contemner

ner of the Law. But he in his divine wiſdom uſed ſuch a mean, as condemned their baſeneſs, and confounded their machination againſt him. His writing with his finger upon the ground, may rather be conſtrued from alluſion to *Numb.* 5. 23. or from *Jer.* 17. 13. or from a paſſage in *Tal. Jeruſ. in Megillah. fol* 74. *col.* 2. or from ſeveral other illuſtrations, then for that action roughly and rudely to deny the authenticknes of the ſtory. The cenſuring and judging of this Woman, belonged to a Judicial bench at the leaſt of twenty three Judges, and it would have carried a fair accuſation againſt him, had he gone about to judge in ſuch a matter. The Woman was eſpouſed and not yet married, as ſee *Deut.* 22. 24. for their Judicials puniſhed him that lay with an eſpouſed maid, with *ſtoning*, *Sanhedr. per.* 7. *halac.* 4. but him that lay with a married wife, with *ſtrangling*, *Ibid. per* 11. *halac.* 1.

Chriſts words at *ver.* 25. *I am even the ſame that I ſaid to you from the beginning*, refer to his open and manifeſt aſſerting himſelf for the *Meſſiah* a year and a half ago before the *Sanhedrin.* Joh. 5.

Their words to him, *ver.* 57. *Thou art not yet fifty years old*, mean, Thou art not yet come within the compaſs of old age, no not to the firſt skirts of it, for fifty years was the beginning of ſuperannuation to the Levites at the Temple, *Numb.* 4. and the Jews had a common opinion, that whoſoever died before fifty, or at leaſt fifty two, died untimely, and as it were by *cutting off.*

SECTION LX.

LUKE. Chap. X. *from* Ver. 17. *to the end of the Chapter.*
And Chap. XI, *and* XII, *and* XIII, *to* Ver. 23.

THe obſerving of the beginning and end of this Section, will cleer the ſubſequence of this to the preceding, and the order of all the ſtories comprehended in it. It begins with the ſeventy Diſciples returning from the imployment upon which their Maſter had ſent them. Now that they returned to him at *Jeruſalem* whither he was gone to the Feaſt of Tabernacles, appears by this, that after they are come up to him, he is in *Bethany* in the houſe of *Mary* and *Martha*, Luke 10. 38, 39.

The Section ends with this relation, *And he went through the Cities and Villages teaching and journeying towards Jeruſalem*, Luke 13. 22. So that in *Chap.* 10. 17. he is at *Jeruſalem*, having come thither to the *Feaſt of Tabernacles*, And in *Chap.* 13. 22. He hath been abroad and is now travelling up to *Jeruſalem* again to *the Feaſt of Dedication.* Therefore this whole Section is the ſtory of his actions from the one Feaſt to the other.

Chap. X. Upon the Diſciples relating that the Devils were ſubject to them in his Name, he anſwers, *I ſaw Satan fall from Heaven like lightning.* Which referreth partly to his death ſhortly to be, by which *Satan* was overthrown, and partly [if *Heaven* mean the Church of the *Jews*, and the ſtate of Religion there as it means not ſeldome] to the power of the Goſpel this very year and forward, among them, caſting him out. With theſe words of *Chriſt*, and the conſideration of the time they refer to, we may fitly compare ſeveral places which give and receive light mutually with it: As *Matth.* 12. 45. where *Satan* caſt out of this nation returns again, 1 *Cor.* 6. 3. *Rev.* 12. 9. & *Rev.* 20. 1, 2. *&c.*

Unto a Lawyer *Chriſt* defineth who is *a Neighbour*, by the Parable of the wounded man and the good *Samaritan*, vaſtly differing from the Doctrine of the Phariſees in that caſe. Take theſe two or three aſſertions of their own Schools for ſome illuſtration of this Parable.

1. They accounted none under the term *Brother*, but an Iſraelite by blood, and none under the term *Neighbour*, but thoſe that were come into their Religion. *Aruch in voce* בנבריות. *By uſing the word Neighbour are excluded all the Heathen.* Maym. in Retſeah per. 2. *An Iſraelite that ſlayeth a ſtranger ſojourning among them, is not to be put to death by the Sanhedrin for it, becauſe it is ſaid, If a man come preſumptuouſly upon his Neighbour:* By which it is apparent they accounted not ſuch a one *a Neighbour.*

2. They have this bloody and deſperate tenet: *Hereticks, that is, Iſraelites that follow Idolatry, or ſuch as commit provoking tranſgreſſions, as to eat a carcaſs, or to wear linſeye woolſey for provocation, this is an Heretick. And Epicurians, which are ſuch Iſraelites as deny the Law and Prophets, it is commanded that a man kill them if he have power in his hand to kill them; and he may boldly kill them with the ſword: but if he cannot, he ſhall ſubtilly come about them till he can compaſs their death. As if he ſee one of them fallen into a well, and there was a ladder in the well before, let him take it up and ſay, I muſt needs uſe it to fetch my Son from the top of the Houſe, and then I will bring it thee again. But Heathens betwixt whom and us there is no war, as alſo the feeders of ſmall Cattle in* Iſrael, *and ſuch like, we may not compaſs their death; but it is forbidden to deliver them, if they be in danger of death.*

[Obſerve

[Obſerve this] *As if one ſee one of them fall into the Sea, he ſhall not fetch him up, for it is ſaid, Thou ſhalt not ſtand up againſt the blood of thy Neighbour. But ſuch a one is not thy Neighbour.*

3. Of all other people in the World they abhorred *Samaritans*, as appeareth by *John* 4. 9. & 8. 43. and by exceeding many expreſſions to that purpoſe in their own writings: and therefore our Savious urging for cleer and free charity in this Parable, exemplifieth in a *Samaritan* the unlikelieſt man in the world to do any charitable office for a Jew: and he *a Neighbour*, though ſo remote in blood, religion and converſe.

Chriſt is at *Bethany*, ver. 30. in the houſe of *Mary* and *Martha*. *Martha* was an uſual Womans name in the Nation. *Joſhua the Son of* Gamla *married* Martha *the Daughter of* Baithus, *Juchaſ. fol.* 57. Abba *the Son of* Martha. *Id. fol.* 72. and Aruch in נחם. *Iſaac bar Shemuel, bar Martha.* Jeruſ. in Shab. fol. 3. col. 4. &c. And now let the Reader caſt his eye back from hence, and calculate, when or how it was, that *Chriſt* came ſo acquainted with this family, and he will find no time or occaſion ſo likely, as when the Woman-ſinner waſhed his feet, *Luke* 7. which we proved there was *Mary*, the ſiſter of *Lazarus*, who was alſo called *Magdalen*.

Chap. XI. ver. 2. The Lords prayer rehearſed: *Chriſt* had taught it, almoſt a year and a half ago, in his Sermon in the Mount, and now being deſired to teach them to pray, he gives the ſame again. They that deny this for a form of prayer to be uſed, either know not, or conſidered not, what kind of prayers the eminent men among the Jews taught them: *John* had taught his to pray, after the ſame manner and uſe of the Nation; and *Chriſt* being deſired to teach the Diſciples as *John* had taught his, rehearſeth this form which he had given before. They that again deny this Prayer is to be uſed by any but real Saints, becauſe as they ſay, none but ſuch can call God *Our Father*; either know not or conſider not, how uſual this compellation was among the Nation in their devotions, and *Chriſt* ſpeaketh conſtantly according to the common and moſt uſual language of the Country.

At *ver.* 14. and forward, there is a ſtory of caſting out a Devil, ſo like that in *Sect.* 35. the Jews cavil, and our Saviours words about it are the very ſame: and yet the current of the hiſtory evinceth them for two ſeveral ſtories: for as the Jews always carried the ſame malicious conſtruction of his Miracles, ſo doth he juſtly always return them the ſame anſwer, as hath been obſerved already.

At *ver*, 27. there is a link that chains the time and ſtories, *As he ſpake theſe things*: and another at *ver.* 29. If compared with *ver.* 16. and again at *ver.* 37. where his denouncing wo againſt the Phariſees, although it be much the ſame for ſenſe with that in *Matth.* 23. yet that they were uttered at two ſeveral times and upon two ſeveral occaſions, will appear by that time that we come to that Chapter.

In *Chap.* XII. He rehearſeth many things that he had ſpoken before: the ſame doctrine being needful to be inculcated over and over, though to the ſame audience: much more when new auditors were ſtill coming in. Therefore *Chriſt* towards his latter end, did like *Moſes*, making his *Deuteronomium* rehearſe the doctrine that he had taught before.

Chap. XIII. The firſt verſe beareth this link of connexion, and continuance of ſtory: There were preſent *at that ſeaſon*, &c. *Pilates* bloody Act in mingling ſome *Galileans* blood with their ſacrifices, cannot be looked for ſo properly in any place, as at the Temple. *Joſephus* his ſtory in *Antiq. lib.* 18. *cap.* 5. is far from it. *Siloam was in the midſt of the City, Jeruſ. in Chagigah fol.* 76. *col.* 1. a place of great concourſe, where the fall of the Tower ſlew eighteen men.

SECTION LXI.

JOHN Chap. IX, *and* Chap. X. *all the Chapters.*

A blind man from his bearth healed. Chriſt the good ſhepherd: The Feaſt of Dedication.

THat this healing of the blind man was at *Jeruſalem*, appeareth by this, that *Chriſt* ſends him to the pool of *Siloam* to waſh, *ver.* 7. which lay upon the weſtern part of the City. For Chriſt was now come up to *the Feaſt of Dedication*, Chap. 10. 22. ſo that this cleers the order and time.

He cures blind eyes on the Sabbath, by putting clay upon them made of his ſpittle, a ready way one would have thought to have put ſeeing eyes out. *Maym. in Shabb. per.* 21. *Faſting ſpittle is forbidden to be put ſo much as upon the eye on the Sabbath.*

Maladies of Children that were extraordinary, the Jews did very much aſcribe to ſome ſin of the Parents: and the traditionaries uſed this conceit as a means to awe men to the obſervance of their traditions. So they conceit of this man. *Chap.* 9. 2, 34. *Thou waſt altogether born in ſins.* We alledged before, their fancie about *Shibta an evil ſpirit that ſeized*

ſeiſed upon Children by the neck and ſhrunk up their ſinnews: And whence, ſay they comes this? And they give this anſwer. *If the mother come from the houſe of office and give the Child ſuck preſently*, &c. A fetch meerly to awe women to waſh after ſuch occaſions, and to put the more repute upon their traditions about waſhings.

The man upon whom the miracle is wrought taketh Jeſus to be a Prophet upon it, but as yet doth not know him for *Meſſias*. ver. 17. And when he ſaith to the Jews, *Will ye alſo be his Diſciples?* ver. 27. he ſpeaketh it ſeriouſly and from a good heart, urging them to own him for a Prophet as he did: And when he was vehement with them in this pious aſſerting, they caſt him out of the Synagogue. *For they had agreed already, that if any man did confeſs that he was the Meſſias, he ſhould be caſt out of the Synagogue*, ver. 22. A paſſage very well worth obſerving, both towards ſome diſcovery of the nature of their excommunication, and for illuſtration of ſeveral matters in this divine hiſtory.

Chap. X. Chriſt from *Ezek.* 34. and *Zech.* 11. aſſerteth himſelf the great Shepherd, and condemneth the evil ſhepherds that undid the flock: eſpecially *the three that his ſoul loathed.* Zech. 11. 8. *The Phariſees, Sadduces and Eſſeans*: He feeding his flock with two ſhepherds ſtaves, called *Beauty* and *Bands*: at the laſt breaketh them: His ſtaff *Beauty*, diſſolving the Covenant of Peculiarity, once made with *Iſrael*, by which they alone were his people, but that peculiarity now gone, and the Gentiles taken in. And his ſtaff *Bands*, diſſolving the brootherhood twixt *Iſrael* and *Judah*, that now there is a difference betwixt a true Iſraelite and a Jew; and Iſraelites owning *Chriſt*, and they that own him not are no more brethren.

It was at Jeruſalem the feaſt of the Dedication, ver. 22. *Under the ſecond Temple when the Grecian Kings decreed decrees againſt* Iſrael, *and aboliſhed their Law, and ſuffered them not to practiſe the Law and Commandments, and laid their hands upon their goods and upon their daughters, and went into the Temple and made breaches in it, and defiled the pure things, and* Iſrael *was in exceeding great ſtraits becauſe of them, and they afflicted them with great affliction, untill the Lord God of their Fathers had pitty on them, and delivered them out of their hand: and the Aſmonean high Prieſts prevailed againſt them, and ſlew them, and delivered* Iſrael *out of their hands: and ſet up a King of the Prieſts, and the Kingdom returned to* Iſrael *more then two hundred years, even to the ſecond deſtruction: And when* Iſrael *prevailed againſt their enemies and ſlew them, it was the five and twentieth day of the month Ciſleu: and they went into the Temple, and found not of pure Oyle in the Sanctuary but only one bottle, and there was not in it ſo much as to light above one day: yet they lighted the Lamps with it for eight days, untill they had beaten their Olives and got pure Oyle. And becauſe of this, the wiſe men that were in that generation, ordained that thoſe eight days, beginning from the* 25 th. *of Ciſleu, ſhould be days of rejoycing and thanksgiving: and they light up Candles on them in the evening at the doors of their houſes, every night of the eight, for the declaring and ſetting forth of that miracle: and thoſe days are called the Dedication*, &c. *Maym. in Channuchah. per.* 1. See 1 *Maccab.* 4. 59. Theſe eight days of *Ciſleu* fell about the middle of our *December.* And ſo by this intimation *John* hath kept the Clock of time going, that we may tell how the ſtory goes. Since *Chriſts* being at the Feaſt of Tabernacles hitherto, was about two months and ſomewhat more.

The three laſt verſes of this tenth *Chapter*, which mention *Chriſts* going beyond *Jordan*, ſpeak the ſame thing with *Matth.* 19. 1. and *Mark* 10. 1. and might very properly be ſet collateral with thoſe texts, but ſince it was ſomewhat longer after *Chriſts* departure from *Jeruſalem* to his arival beyond *Jordan*, theſe may be taken in here, and underſtood, as ſpoken of his ſetting forth from *Jeruſalem*, and ſhewing whether he intended to go.

SECTION LXII.

LUKE Chap. XIII. Ver. 23. *to the end of the Chapter.* *And* Chap. XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, *to* Ver. 15.

THE order here is ſomewhat obſcure, and that eſpecially from theſe two things. 1. Becauſe of the firſt verſe of all the Section, which may ſeem to be linked to the time of the verſe preceding it in *Luke. He went thorow the Cities and Villages teaching and journeying towards Jeruſalem. Then ſaid one to him*, &c. 2. Becauſe of that paſſage in *Chap.* 17. 11. *And it came to paſs as he went to Jeruſalem, he paſſed through the mids of Samaria and Galilee*, which might ſeem to be the ſame journey with that *Chap.* 13. 22. and that all the occurrences in theſe Chapters were in that journey.

But for the proof and cleering of the order, to be as we have laid it, theſe things are to be obſerved. 1. That this ſtory wherewithall this Section beginneth, *One ſaid to him Lord, are few to be ſaved?* &c. was on the ſame day that he crieth out, *O Jeruſalem, Jeruſalem*, &c. ver. 31. 34. Now that this was when *Chriſt* was no more to come up to *Jeruſalem* till his laſt coming up thither, is evident from his words, *ver.* 35. *Ye ſhall no more*

ſee

see me till the time when ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord: So that this was after his coming up to the *Feast of Dedication.* And those words were spoken, whilst he was yet at *Jerusalem*, before he went away thence from the Feast to go beyond *Jordan*: The word *Then* therefore wherewith this Section beginneth in our English translation, doth not enforce the necessary conjunction of the times, for in the Original it is not τότε but δέ. 2. Whereas it is said, in *Chap.*17.11. That *as he went to Jerusalem, he passed through Samaria and Galilee*, it is to be understood his last journey thither: and the manner of expression doth help to confirm of our order, as we shall see there. *Herod* was now at *Jerusalem*, as compare *ver.* 31. and 34. and it may be, he being Ruler of *Galilee*, had helped forward the death of these *Galileans* whom *Pilate* had slain as they were Sacrificing: and an intimation of such like danger from him is given *Jesus*: And this may be conceived one cause that sets him out of the City, and to go beyond *Jordan*, which is recorded in the last verses of the preceding Section, *John* 10.40. and how the order of story is to be cast in the readers thoughts it is easie to see. *Christ* being at the Feast of Dedication at *Jerusalem*, one comes and asks him, *Lord, are few to be saved*: Luke 13.23. And *the same day*, ver.31. some Pharisees tell him of danger from *Herod.* He answers, that it was true indeed that he was to die at *Jerusalem*, for a Prophet could not be tried but by the great Council there [*Talm. in Sanhedr. per.* 11.] but he had yet some time to walk and work miracles before, and so he goes away from *Jerusalem.*

Chap. XIV. He healeth the Dropsie on the Sabbath, and pleadeth the lawfulness of the action, from their own pity to their beasts, to pull them out of a Pit on the Sabbath, of which *Maym. in Schabb. per.*25.

R. Abuhabh *in præfat. ad Ner.* 7. hath a Parable somewhat like that passage at *ver.*8. and forward. *Three men*, saith he, *were bidden to a feast, A Prince, a wise man, and an humble man: The Prince sate highest, next him the wise man, and the humble man lowest. The King observed it, and asked the Prince, why sittest thou highest? He said, Because I am a Prince. To the wise man, Why sittest thou next? He said, Because I am a wise man. And to the humble man, Why sittest thou lowest? Because I am humble. The King seated the humble man highest, and the wise man still in his place, and the Prince lowest.*

Chap. XV. By three eminent and feeling Parables, is set forth Gods readiness to receive sinners, *&c.* in the last of which is a cleer intimation of the calling of the Gentiles.

Chap. XVI. The Parable of the unjust steward, of the rich man and *Lazarus*, from *Psal.* 49. *Lazer* is used constantly in the Jerus. Talm. for *Eleazer.* The word signifies *God help me*, or *God is my help*, a fit name under which to personate a begger. *Abrahams bosome*, a phrase used by the Jews. *That day that Rabbi died, R. Ada ben Ahava said, This day he sits in Abrahams bosome*, Juchasin fol. 77.col. 4. That the tongue of the damned in hell thirst for water, as *ver.* 24. is also their conception. *Talm. Jerus. in Chagigah. fol.* 77. *col.* 4. is relating a story of a good man and a bad man that died: And the good man לא איתנמל ליה חסד, had no burial rites, but the bad man had. Afterward one in a vision saw the good man walking in gardens, and among pleasant fountains of waters: but the bad neer a river, and his tongue reach after water, but could not reach it.

Chap. XVII. At *ver.* 11. it is said, *As he went through Jerusalem, he passed through Samaria and Galilee.* This meaneth his last journey thither; but the expression is somewhat strange: Had it been *as he went to Jerusalem he passed through Galilee and Samaria*, this had set his face towards *Jerusalem*: but uttered as it is, it seems to set his back upon it: But by this passage the Evangelist helpeth to explain what *John* and the other Evangelists speak of his journey from *Jerusalem beyond Jordan*, but that he went not to *Jericho*, and so the next way to the next place beyond *Jordan*, namely that he went through *Samaria* up into *Galilee*, and there crossed over *Jordan* to *Bethabara*, which was over against *Galilee.*

From *ver.* 20. and forward, there is a speech of *Christ* much like that in *Matth.*24. which still giveth us occasion to observe how *Christ* rehearsed things over and over.

Chap. XVIII. By two Parables he sheweth the needfulness and efficacy of fervency, constancy and humility in prayer. In the Pharisees prayer *ver.* 11. we may observe what kind of Faith in God the Judaick Faith was. He waited for good from God, but grounded this in himself, because of his *own righteousness.* But in the Gospel *the righteousness of God is revealed*, and that *from faith to faith.* In the Publicans posture in his prayer, two of their Canonical gestures in prayer are exhibited; *standing and looking downward.* Maym. in Deah per. 7. ת״ח מסתכל למטה כמו שהוא עומד בתפילה *A scholar of the wise must look downward when he stands praying.* The Pharisees *fasting twice a week*, may be explained from *Jerus. Taanith fol.*64.3, *& Maym. Taanith per.*1.

SECTION LXIII.

MATTH. Chap. XIX. *from the beginning to* Ver. 13.

MARK Chap. X. *from the beginning to* Ver. 13.

CHRIST *beyond Jordan. Concerning Divorce.*

MATTHEW saith, *When Jesus had finished these sayings, he departed from Galilee, and came into the coasts of Judea beyond Jordan.* Which sayings that he speaketh of, were finished a long while ago, at *Sect.* 55. but because he setteth down nothing betwixt that time and this journey over *Jordan*, therefore he thus joyneth their stories together: The time and actions that he hath omitted, we have seen how *Luke* and *John* have supplied.

Were there any *Coasts of Judea beyond Jordan*? Either the conjunction *And* is to be understood, *He came into the coasts of Judea and beyond Jordan*, as it is understood *Psal.* 133. 3 *Acts* 7. 16, &c. or by *Fines Judææ trans Jordanem*, is meant *Fines Judæorum*, because the *Syrians* also dwelt in the coasts beyond *Jordan*.

Moses at the very same instant of time gave a Law to put an adulterous Wife to death, *Deut.*22.22. and a Law to divorce her, *Deut.*24.1. in the former shewing the desert of the fact, in the latter permitting to mitigate of the rigour of that Law, and as our Saviour here interprets it, to prevent those cruel effects that their hardness of heart might have produced, had there been no mitigation. They brag of that Law of divorce as if it favoured them, as a peculiar priviledge, *Jeruſ. kidduſhin fol.* 58. 3. *R. Chaijah Rabbah said, Divorces are not granted to the nations of the world*, meaning not to the Gentiles as they were to the Jews: whereas truth here informs us, that it was permitted only because of the hardness of their hearts and to avoid greater mischief. When permission of divorce was given, after a Law to punish adultery with death, for a mitigation of it, it requires most serious weighing, whether a Law to punish adultery with death should be undispensable now, after the Law of Divorce given, and continued by our Saviour in case of Fornication.

SECTION LXIV.

MATTH. Chap. XIX. *from* Ver. 13. *to the end of the Chapter.*

MARK Chap. X. *from* Ver. 13 *to* Ver. 32.

LUKE Chap. XVIII. *from* Ver 15. *to* Ver. 31.

Infants brought to Christ. A rich man departs sorrowful.

MATTHEW and *Mark* do evidence the order, and as *Luke* hath helped out their briefness before, so do they also again help us out about his order.

Whose Children were these that were brought to *Christ*? Not unbelievers doubtless, but the Children of some that professed *Christ*: Why did they bring them? Not to be healed of any disease doubtless, for then the Disciples would not have been angry at their coming: for why at theirs, more then at all others, that had come for that end? Their bringing therefore must needs be concluded to be in the name of Disciples, and that *Christ* would so receive them and bless them: And so he doth, and asserteth them for Disciples, and *to whom the Kingdom of Heaven belonged*; taking *the Kingdom of Heaven* in the common acceptation of the Gospel.

Observe *Mark* 10. 19, *&c.* that mention being made by Christ of *the Commandments*, as if he spake of the whole Law, yet he instanceth only in the second table. And see the like again, *Rom.*13.8, *&c. James* 2.8,9,10, *&c.* The demeanour of men toward the second table is a sure trial how they stand to the first.

It is easier for a Camel to go through the eye of a needle. An expression common in the Nation. *Talm Bavamenia fol.*3 '. *facie* 2. *It may be thou art of Pumbeditha where they can bring an Elephant through the eye of a needle.*

SECTION

SECTION LXV.

MATTH. Chap. XX. *from the beginning to* Ver. 17.

Labourers in the Vineyard, &c.

THe first word *For* makes plain the order and connexion, joyning this speech to that before.

The *Jeruſ. Talm. in Beracoth* hath a Parable somewhat like to this, but wildly applied to a far different purpose: *A King hired many workmen, and there was one of them hired for his work, for more then what was enough: What did the King? He took him and walked with him up and down. At the time of the evening the workmen came to receive their wages, and he also gave him his full wages with them. The workmen repined and said, We have laboured all the day and this man laboured but two hours, and thou hast given him full wages with us: The King said to them, This man hath laboured more in two hours then you have done all day. So R. Bon laboured more in the Law in twenty nine years, then another in a hundred,* &c. fol. 5.

SECTION LXVI.

JOHN Chap. XI. *from the beginning to* Ver. 17.

Tidings come to Christ of Lazarus ſickneſs.

AT Sect. 63. *Chriſt* goeth beyond *Jordan*: the occasion of his coming back, was the message of *Mary* and *Martha* to him, to desire his help to their sick brother: The story of this therefore is necessary to be related before the story of his coming thence, which is the next thing that the other three Evangelists fall upon, after they have done with what is set down in the preceding Sections.

The words of the second verse, *It was that Mary which anointed the Lord with oyntment, and wiped his feet with her hair*, are most generally construed as pointing to that story in the next Chapter, *Joh.* 12. 3. Then *took Mary a pound of Oyntment of Spikenard very coſtly, and anointed the feet of Jeſus, and wiped his feet with her hair*: Which seemeth very improper and unconsonant upon these reasons. 1. To what purpose should *John* use such an anticipation? It was neither material to the story that he was entring on, *Chap.* 11. to tell that *Mary* anoynted *Chriſts* feet a good while after he had raised her brother: nor was it any other then needless to bring in the mention of it here, since he was to give the full story of it in the next Chapter. 2. The word ἀλείψασα is of such a tense as doth properly denote an action past, and is so to be rendred, if it be rendred in its just propriety, It was *Mary which had anointed*. 3. Whereas no reason can be given why *John* should anticipate it here, if he meant it of an anointing that was yet to come, a plain and satisfactory reason may be given, why he speaks of it here, as referring to an anointing past, namely because he would shew what acquaintance and interest *Mary* had with *Chriſt*, which did imbolden her to send to him about her sick brother, for she had washed and anointed his feet heretofore. The words of *John* therefore point at an action past, and indeed they point at that story of the woman-sinner washing the feet of *Chriſt* with teares, and anointing them with Ointment, and wiping them with her hairs, *Luke* 7. It is true indeed that *John* who useth these words that we are upon, had not spoken of any such anointing before, whereunto to refer you in his own Gospel, but the passage was so well and renownedly known and recorded by *Luke* before, that he relateth to it as to a thing of most famous notice and memorial.

SECTION LXVII.

LUKE Chap. XVIII. Ver. 31,32,33,34.	MARK Chap. X. Ver. 32,33,34.	MATTH. Chap. XX. Ver. 17,18,19.

CHRIST *foretelleth his ſuffering.*

THe message from *Mary* and *Martha*, about their sick brother, inviteth *Chriſt* from beyond *Jordan* into *Judea* again. He staies two days after he had received the message in the same place where the messenger found him, and in the story of this Section he is set forward. And being now upon his last journey to *Jeruſalem* he foretelleth to his Disciples what should become of him there: They followed him with fear and amazement

before, foreſeeing that he went upon his own danger, and yet when he had ſpoken the thing out to them at the full they underſtood him not.

SECTION LXVIII.

MATTH. Chap. XX. *from* Ver. 20. *to* Ver. 29.

MARK Chap. X. *from* Ver. 35. *to* Ver. 46.

The requeſt of Zebedees ſons. They are told of their Martyrdom.

THe order is plain of it ſelf: and yet the connexion is ſomewhat ſtrange: for in the laſt words before, *Chriſt* had foretold of his death, yet the Sons of *Zebedee* here deſire to ſit on his right hand and left in his Kingdom. *Galatius* reſolves it thus, *Diſcipuli in errore aliquando fuerunt, credentes Chriſtum illico, poſt reſurrectionem terreni regni ſceptro potiturum: unde & quidam eorum, ſuper cæteros primatum ambientes*, &c. *The Diſciples ſometimes were miſtaken, conceiving that Chriſt preſently after his reſurrection ſhould obtain the ſcepter of an earthly Kingdom, whereupon ſome of them ambitious of priority above the reſt, deſired to ſit on his right hand and left*, &c. *lib.* 4. *cap.* 1. It is true indeed that the Jewiſh Nation, and the Diſciples with them erred in judging about *Meſſias* his Kingdom, *Act.* 1. but they erred as far alſo about *Meſſias* his Reſurrection, till experience had informed them better. Therefore it cannot well be imagined, that the Wife and Sons of *Zebedee* thought of *Chriſts* Reſurrection in this their requeſt, but conceived of his temporal Kingdom according to the notions of the reſt of the Nation about it: What therefore our Saviour had ſpoken inſtantly before of his being ſcourged, crucified, killed, and Riſing again, they underſtood in ſome figurative ſenſe or other; but the Evangeliſts plainly tell us, they underſtood it not in the ſenſe that he ſpake it. It may be his naming theſe two *The ſons of thunder*, gave them ſome blind incouragement to ſuch a requeſt. *Chriſt* foretels his own death and their ſuffering Martyrdom under the title of *Baptiſm*, in which ſenſe the Apoſtle alſo uſeth the word 1 *Cor.* 15.29. The Jewiſh baptizings or dippings in their purifications, was a very ſharp piece of Religion, when in froſt and ſnow and wind and weather they muſt over head and ears in cold water, from which the phraſe was uſed to ſignifie death and the bittereſt ſufferings. The *Jeruſalem Gemariſts* do tell us, that the Women of *Galilee* grew barren, by reaſon of the cold in their purifyings. *R. Aha* in the name of *Tanchum bar R. Chaia* ſaith, *In the days of R. Joſhua ben Levi, they ſought to aboliſh this dipping, becauſe of the women of Galilee which were made barren by reaſon of the cold. R. Joſhua ben Levi ſaith, Do ye ſeek to aboliſh a thing that feneeth Iſrael from tranſgreſſion?* &c. Beracoth fol. 6. col. 3.

SECTION LXIX.

LUKE Chap. XVIII. Ver. 35. *to the end.*

MATTH. Chap. XX. *from* Ver. 29. *to the end.*

MARK Chap. X. *from* Ver. 46. *to the end.*

Blind healed.

CHRIST in his journey from beyond *Jordan* to *Bethany* for the raiſing of *Lazarus*, paſſeth through *Jericho*: and he healeth one blind man as he entreth into *Jericho*, of which *Luke* ſpeaketh, and another as he goeth out, of which the other two. *Matthew* indeed ſpeaketh of two healed as he came out of *Jericho*; comprehending it may be, the ſtory of him that was healed on the other ſide of the Town, and this together in one ſtory, for briefneſs ſake: Or if there were two healed on this ſide of the Town, *Mark* only mentions one, becauſe he rather aimeth at ſhewing of the manner or kind of the miracle, then at the number: as we have obſerved the like before, at *Sect.* 39.

SECTION LXX.

LUKE Chap. XIX. *from the beginning to* Ver. 29.

Zaccheus a Publican converted.

THe order lies plain in *ver.* 1. *Chriſt* was paſſed through *Jericho* before he met with *Zaccheus*, &c. *Rabban Jochanan ben Zaccai*, hath made the name *Zaccai* or *Zaccheus* renowned in Jewiſh writings: his Father *Zaccai* might very well be now alive, and for any difference of the times might well enough be the *Zaccheus* before us, but that ſome other

other circumſtances do contradict it. Whoſoever this man was, it is obſervable, that though his name *Zaccheus* ſpeak him a Jew, yet *Chriſt* reputes him not a Child of *Abraham* till he believe, *ver.* 19.

Ver. 11. *They thought that the Kingdom of Heaven ſhould immediately appear.* Obſerve this: this they had learned from *Dan.* 9. where the time is ſo punctually determined, that they that looked for the conſolation of *Iſrael* could not but obſerve it, and they that obſerved, could not but ſee it now accompliſhed.

SECTION LXXI.

JOHN Chap. XI. *from* Ver. 17. *to the end of the Chapter.*

Lazarus raiſed. Caiaphas Prophecieth.

NOw is *Chriſt* come up to *Bethany.* Whether בית התיני mentioned by *Talm. Bab. Paſachin fol.* 53. *facie* 1. [where they ſpeak *of the figs of Bethhene, and the dates of Tubni*] be the ſame with this *Bethany*, we ſhall not diſpute here: Both a Town, and ſome ſpace of ground about it was called by this name *Bethany.*

As he had ſtaied in the place where he was when he heard of *Lazarus* ſickneſs, purpoſely that he might die before he came to him, that God might be the more glorified by his raiſing, *ver.* 15. ſo did he make ſure to ſtay long enough after he was dead before he came, that the glory might be the more. *He had been four days dead*, ver. 39. Compare with this theſe ſayings of the Jews. *Maym. in Geruſhin. per.* ult. *If one look upon a dead man within three days after his death he may know him, but after three days his viſage is changed.*

Jeruſ. in Moed Katon fol. 82. col. 2. *Three days the Soul flies about the body as if thinking to return to it: but after it ſees the viſage of the countenance changed, it leaves it and gets it gone.*

Upon the miracle wrought, the Jews ſeek to kill *Jeſus* and *Lazarus* both: whereupon *Jeſus* goeth to a City called *Ephraim*, ver. 54. *Talm. Bab. in Menachoth* fol. 85. fac. 1. *Juchne* and *Mamre* [*Jannes* and *Jambres*] *ſaid to Moſes, Doſt thou bring ſtraw to Ephraim?* Gloſſ. Ibi. *Juchne and Mamre were the chief Sorcerers of Egypt: they when Moſes began to do miracles thought he had done them by magick: they ſaid, Doſt thou bring ſtraw to Ephraim? Ephraim was a place that exceedingly aboundeth with corn, and dareſt thou bring Corn thither?* meaning, *Doſt thou bring Sorceries into Egypt that abounds ſo with Sorceries?*

Aruch in יחבי *Ephraim was a City in the Land of Iſrael where there was abundance of Corn. Where is the chieſeſt proviſion for Offerings? The chieſeſt for fine Flower are Micmaſh and Zanoah, and next to them Ephraim in the Vale.*

JOHN Chap. XII. *from begin. to* Ver. 12.

A Supper at Bethany: Jeſus his feet anointed.

THe connexion of this ſtory to the preceding Chapter, is plainly made by the Evangeliſt himſelf: Compare *ver.* 55. of *Chap.* 11. and *ver.* 1. of this.

Though there were a Proclamation out againſt *Jeſus* for his life, *Chap.* 11. 57. yet cometh he for *Jeruſalem*, and *Lazarus* at *Bethany* is not afraid to entertain him. He may well venture his life for him who had received it from him. It was their Sabbath day at night when he had this Supper, a time that they uſed to have extraordinary cheer. *Mary* who had anointed his feet before, *Luke* 7. 38. doth the like again.

There is a groundleſs and a ſtrange opinion of ſome, that the Supper in *Matth.* 26. 6, 7. and *Mark* 14. 3. was the ſame with the Supper in *John* 12. An imagination, that I cannot enough admire at, ſeeing there are ſo many things plainly to gainſay it: but the diſcuſſion of it ſhall be deferred till we come to thoſe Chapters. Only one particular here may not be omitted without obſervation, and which will make ſomething at preſent toward the confutation of that opinion, and that is our Saviours anſwer in the vindication of *Maries* act, *Let her alone, againſt the day of my burial hath ſhe kept this:* or rather, *She hath kept it:* Not that he meaneth that this anointing of his feet, was her anointing him againſt his burial, but that ſhe had kept ſome of this oyntment yet for that purpoſe hereafter. *Judas* repined at the expence of the oyntment that ſhe uſed for the anointing of his feet, and pleaded that it had been better beſtowed upon charitable uſes for the poor: Why? ſaith *Chriſt*, ſhe hath kept it yet and not ſpent all, that ſhe may beſtow it upon a charitable uſe, the anointing of my body to its burial. For 1. neither the text doth any whit aſſert that ſhe ſpent the whole pound that ſhe brought, nor indeed in reaſon was ſo great a quantity needful. 2. It was not ſo proper to apply it to his burial now, when

as

as he was to ride in triumph to *Jeruſalem* to morrow, as it was two daies before the Paſſover [when the other Supper and anointing was] which was the very night when *Judas* compacted for his betraying. 3. Then *Chriſt* ſaith ſhe poured it *upon his body*, *Matt*, 26. 12. which cannot be of the ſame ſenſe with pouring it upon his feet only. She therefore ſix days before the Paſſover anointed his feet, which was an ordinary uſe among the Jews to have their feet anointed, and the Talmudiſts give ſome rules about it in *Talm. Jeruſ. Sanhedr. fol.* 21. *col.* 1. and this ſhe doth in dear love and affection to him: But two daies before the Paſſover, ſhe doth not ſo much anoint his head, as pour the Ointment upon his head that it might run all over his body, and this ſhe did towards his burial, not only in his conſtruction, but in her own intention: ſhe being the firſt we read of that believed his death, as ſhe was the firſt that ſaw him after his reſurrection. Her faith and fact he foreſaw, and therefore ſaith now at the anointing of his feet, that ſhe *yet kept it* for the anointing of his body, which when ſhe did, he extols the fact with this *encomion*, that whereſoever the Goſpel ſhould be preached, that action of her, the example of the firſt faith in his death, ſhould be publiſhed in memorial of her. Thus did this *Mary*, [who as hath been ſhewed was *Mary Magdalen*] anoint *Chriſt* three ſeveral times, his feet at her firſt converſion, and his feet again at this time, ſix daies before the Paſſover, and his head and body two daies before the Paſſover, even that night that *Judas* firſt went about to make his bargain for betraying him.

SECTION LXXII.

MATTH. XXI. *from the beginning to* Ver. 17.	MARK XI. *from the begin. to the middle of* Ver. 11.	LUKE XIX. *from* Ver. 29. *to the end.*	JOHN XII. *from* Ver. 12. *to* Ver. 20.

CHRIST *rideth upon an Aſs into Jeruſalem.*

JOHN maketh the connexion plain, when he ſaith, *On the next day*, &c. And ſheweth that as Chriſt went up at this time, in the evidence and accompliſhment of that Propheſie, *Zech.* 9.9. ſo he alſo went up in the equity and anſwering of that Type, of taking up the Paſchal Lamb on the tenth day, *Exod.* 12. 3. for this was on that very day: and *the Lamb of God* doth now go in, as giving up himſelf for the great Paſchal.

John telleth us that he lay at *Bethany* the night before this, and yet the other Evangeliſts have related it, that *when he came to Bethpage and Bethany*, he ſent two of his Diſciples for the Aſs, *&c.* The Jews Chorography will here help us out: They tell us

1. אלפיים אמה מגרש העיר *Two thouſand cubits was the Suburbs of a City.* Maym. in Schabh. per. 27.

2. אלפיים אמה תחומים השבת *Two thouſand cubits were the bounds of a Sabbath*, or a Sabbath days journey. *Talm. in Sotah per.* 5.

3. *Bethpage* was of this nature: it was not a Town upon mount *Olivet* as it hath been very generally ſuppoſed, and accordingly placed in the moſt Maps, but it was ſome buildings and that ſpace of ground that lay from *Jeruſalem* wall forward towards mount *Olivet*, and up mount *Olivet* to the extent of two thouſand cubits from the wall, or thereabout; and hereupon it was reputed by the Jews of the ſame qualification with *Jeruſalem*, as a part of it, in divers reſpects.

Talm. Bab. Peſachin fol. 63. fac. 2. *He that ſlays a Thanksgiving Sacrifice within, while the bread belonging to it is without the wall, the bread is not holy.* What means *without the wall?* *R. Jochanan* ſaith, *Without the wall of Bethpage.* The Gloſs there ſaith, *Bethpage was an outer place of Jeruſalem.* And the ſame Gloſs uſeth the very ſame words again upon the ſame Tract, fol. 91. fac. 1. And again in the ſame Treatiſe fol. 95. fac. 2. the *Miſhna* ſaith thus, *The two loaves and the ſhewbread are allowable in the Temple Court, and they are allowable in Bethpage.* Nay the Gloſs in *Sanhedr. fol.* 14. *fac.* 1. ſaith, *Bethpage was a place which was accounted as Jeruſalem for all things.* So that the place ſo called, began from *Jeruſalem* and went onwards to and upon mount *Olivet*, for the ſpace of a Sabbath daies journey or thereabout, and then began the coaſt that was called *Bethany.* And hence it is that *Luke* ſaith that *Chriſt* when he aſcended into Heaven, led forth his Diſciples as far as *Bethany*, Luke 24. 50. which elſewhere he ſheweth was the ſpace of *a Sabbath days journey*, Acts. 1. 12. which cannot be underſtood of the Town *Bethany*, for that was fifteen furlongs, or very neer two Sabbath daies journey from *Jeruſalem*, but that he led them over that ſpace of ground which was called *Bethpage*, to that part of *Olivet* where it began to be called *Bethany*, and at that place it was where *Chriſt* began his triumphant riding into the City at this time.

It

It is obſervable that he is entertained with *the ſolemnity of the Feaſt of Tabernacles*: for carrying of Palm branches and crying *Hoſanna* was never uſed but only at that Feaſt, but now tranſlated to this occaſion: which may help ſomewhat to the explaining of *Zech.* 14.16.

Count from hence the daies to the Paſsover, as the Evangeliſts have reckoned them, and you will find that this was the firſt day of the week [the Lords day afterward] and this day ſeven night he roſe from the dead.

In the midſt of his triumph he weepeth over the City, though he knew that within five daies ſhe would be his death.

SECTION LXXIII.

JOHN Chp. XII. *from* Ver. 20. *to the end of the Chapter.*

Greeks would ſee Jeſus. A voice from Heaven.

THe order is plain in the Text of *John*, and needeth no illuſtration.

Chriſt was thrice atteſted from Heaven, according to his threefold Office, King Prieſt and Prophet. At his Baptiſm, for the great Highprieſt, when he was anointed and entred into his Miniſtry. At his Transfiguration for the great Prophet to whom all muſt hear. And now for the great King, when he had newly fulfilled this Prophecy, *Rejoyce O Sion, behold thy King cometh*, &c.

The *Bath Kol* or heavenly voice that the Jews commonly ſpeak of, is in the moſt, if not all the inſtances that they give of it, but a fiction of their own brain, to bring their Doctors and their Doctrines into credit.

SECTION LXXIV.

MARK Chap. XI. *from the middle of* Ver. 11. *to* Ver. 27.

MATTH. Chap. XXI. *from* Ver. 17. *to* Ver. 23.

The fruitleſs Figtree curſed,

THe order is clear in *Mark* ver. 11.12.

Chriſt after his riding into *Jeruſalem*, having ſpent all the day there, goeth at even to lodg at *Bethany*: and in the morning going for *Jeruſalem* again and hugring ſeeth a Figtree, and finding no Figs on it curſeth it, and yet the Evangeliſt telleth that *the time of Figs was not yet.*

Why then ſhould *Chriſt* look for Figs, when he knew the time of the year was not yet for them?

Anſw. He looked not for any Figs that he thought could be grown ripe and fit to eat, that ſpring, it being now at the furtheſt but about our *April*, but he looked for thoſe that grew the laſt ſummer, and had hung on the trees all winter, It is true indeed that ſome trees had ſhot forth their fruit by Paſsover time, for ſo *Maymony* tells us in *Kidduſh Hhodeſh* per. 4. but neither to ripeneſs; nor was the Figtree any of them. For to thoſe words of our Saviour, *Matth.* 23.32. *When the Figtree putteth forth her leaves ye know Summer is nigh*, lay theſe of *Jeruſ. in Sheviith fol.* 35. *col.* 4. *Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel* ſaith, *From the putting forth of the Figtree leaf to the green Figs appearing are fifty daies: and from the firſt appearing of the Fig to the fall of the bloſſom fifty daies, and from thence to the ripe Figs fifty daies more:* five months in all.

There were ſeveral kinds of Figtrees in that Land, as the Jews tell us in the Treatiſes *Demai* and *Sheviith*, where they have ſpecial occaſion to treat of that matter, [beſides thoſe Figtrees that were in their Orchards and Vineyards.] As 1. שיחין which they ſay were *Figs of the Wilderneſs*. 2. בנות שקמות which were baſer Figs likewiſe. 3. פרסאות Figtrees that brought their fruit to ripeneſs but once in two years. And 4. בנות שוח which they ſay grew in the fields and bare white Figs לשלש שנים from three years to three years. The *Gemariſts* diſpute, *What? Do they bear their fruit every year, or only once in three years? They bear their fruit every year, but it is not ripe till three years end. How doth a man know its time*, or what year it is with it? *R. Jonah* ſaith, *by binding a liſt about it. It is a tradition of Samuel, that he hung ſome pendants upon it.* The meaning of the matter is this: There was a Figtree growing in the fields of this nature, that the Figs that it ſhot forth one ſummer, it was two ſummers more before they came to ripeneſs, ſo that they hung upon the tree [unleſs hands or wind hindred] three ſummers and two winters before their maturity: Now becauſe the ſtrange nature of this tree, different from others, cauſed that the ſeventh year, or year of releaſe could not ſo eaſily be

remembred and obſerved concerning it as concerning other trees, therefore they tied ſome coards or liſts about it, or hung ſomething upon it, that might give notice, and keep in remembrance what year it was with it, and whether the fruit, if any, were of the firſt, ſecond or third years growth. So likewiſe the figtrees mentioned before, called פגים were two ſummers in ripening their fruit. So that of ſuch a tree as one of theſe *Chriſt* might well look for figs of the laſt years growth, old figs under new leaves, if ſo be the leaves were new. Yet could not this properly be called καιρὸς σύκων [as there are that would change the reading of the original, and inſtead of ὁ γὰρ ἦν, *for the time of figs was not yet*, would have it read (but I queſtion whether with the conſent of any one copy in the world) ὃ γὰρ ἦν, *For where he was, was the time of figs.*] For that phraſe, *The time of figs*, meaneth the common time that generally figs were ripe, which was ordinary and commonly known, and which was not of well near five months after Paſsover time.

Chriſt cometh to the Temple and caſteth out buyers and ſellers as he had done three years before: this was four daies before the Paſsover. At Even he goeth and lodgeth in *Bethany*.

In the morning he cometh again to *Jeruſalem*. This was three daies before the Paſsover. As they came, the Diſciples obſerve the figtree withered, whereupon he ſaith, *Have faith in God, for verily I ſay unto you, that whoſoever ſhall ſay unto this mountain, Be thou removed and caſt into the ſea, and ſhall not doubt in his heart but believe that thoſe things which he ſaith ſhall come to paſs, he ſhall have whatſoever he ſaith.* In which words he neither warranteth nor encourageth any to look for a faith that ſhould remove mountains; but 1. He ſpeaketh Hyperbolically for the magnifying of the power and excellency of faith, as *Mark* 9. 23. *Hyperboles*, with which the Scripture abounds, are not to be taken according to the letter, but the thing intended is to be taken at the higher pitch. As to inſtance but in one example, and that about this very mountain that *Chriſt* pointed at, *Zech.* 14. 4. which meaneth not literally *Olivets* cleaving indeed or removing, but great concuſſions to the people, and open way made for the enemy. 2. *Chriſt* in this expreſſion ſpeaks the Jews own language, and by the very phraſe that they ordinarily uſed to magnifie their own abilities by, he magnifieth faith. When they would ſpeak of the high parts and qualities of their great ones, they uſed to ſay, *He is a remover of mountains*, Tal. Bab. Beracoth. fol. 64. fac. 1. *Sinai and the Remover of mountains, whether of them ſent firſt*, &c. *Now Rabh Joſeph was Sinai, and Rabbah was The remover of mountains.* Why ſo named? The Gloſs upon the place reſolves us thus, *They called Rabh Joſeph Sinai, becauſe he was moſt expert in deep explications. And they called Rabbah bar Nachmani A remover of mountains, becauſe he was moſt acutely learned*, &c. The ſame Talmud alſo in Erubhin fol. 29. ſaith thus, *Rabba ſaith, Behold I am like ben Azzai in the ſtreets of Tiberias.* The Gloſs thereupon ſaith thus, *Ben Azzai taught profoundly in the ſtreets of Tiberias, and there was no man in his daies that was a remover of mountains like him.* By *removing of mountains* meaning how able men they were, and how they could overcome the greateſt difficulties in Divinity. Which common phraſe *Chriſt* uſeth to face that wretched boaſting of theirs of their own parts and worth, and to ſet up faith in its proper dignity, as that that is only able for all things.

SECTION LXXV.

MATTH. Chap. XXI.	MARK Chap. XI. *from* V. 27. *to the end:*	LUKE Chap. XX.
from Ver. 23. *to the and of the Chapt.*	*And* Chap. XII. *from the beginning to* Ver. 13.	*from the begin. to* Ver. 20.

CHRIST *in the Temple poſing them about* Johns *Baptiſm. The parable of the Vineyard*, &c.

THe continuation of the order is apparent.

Chriſt cometh again from *Bethany* into the Temple, and there being queſtioned by what authority he did what he did, he ſtops their mouth by propoſing a queſtion again, What they thought of *Johns* authority by which he made that great change in Religion that he did, and intraps them in ſuch a *dilemma* as they are not able to get out of.

He propoſeth the Parable of the Vineyard and Husbandmen, and by it ſheweth the priviledges, and yet the perverſneſs of the Jewiſh Nation, and their deſtruction, from *Iſa.* 5. &c. *See R. Tanchum. fol.* 54. *col.* 4.

SECTION

SECTION LXXVI.

MATTH. Chap. XXII. *from the beginning of the Chapter to* Ver. 15.

The Parable of the Wedding Supper.

THE order is plain of it self. The Parable setteth forth the Jews despising of the means of grace and evil usage of those that were sent unto them, *ver.* 5, 6. and for this, their destruction and ruine of their City, and the calling of the Gentiles, *&c.*

SECTION LXXVII.

MATTH. Chap. XXI. *from* Ver. 15. *to the end, And* Chap. XXIII. *all the Chapter.* MARK Chap. XII. *from* Ver. 13. *to* Ver. 41. LUKE Chap. XX. *from* Ver. 26. *to the end of the Chapter.*

Tribute to Cesar. The Resurrection asserted in the Law.
The great Commandment. Christ how Davids Son.
Wo against the Scribes and Pharisees.

THE Evangelists are so clear in their order, both here and a good way forward, that there can be no scrupling in it.

The question proposed, Whether it were lawful to give tribute to *Cesar*, proceeded from that old *maxime* among them, upon mistake of *Deut.* 17. 15. *that they ought not to be subject to any power or potentate, which was not of their own blood or Religion*: the holding to which *maxime*, cost them the ruine of their City and Nation.

His answer from the Image of *Cesar* upon their coin, was according to their own concessions. The *Jerusalem Talmud* doth personate *David* and *Abigail* talking thus. *Abigail said, What evil have I done or my Children, or my Cattel? David saith to her, Because thy Husband vilified the Kingdom of David, She saith, Art thou a King then? He saith to her, Did not Samuel anoint me King? she saith to him.* עדיין טוניטח דמו ן שאול קיים *The Coin of our Lord Saul is yet current:* In Sanhedr. fol, 20. col. 2. Maym. in Gezelah per. 5. *A King that cuts down the trees of any owner, and makes a bridge of them, it is lawful to go over it,* &c. *How is this to be understood? Of a King whose Coin is current in these Countries, for the men of the Country do thereby evidence, that they acknowledge him for their Lord and themselves his servants: But if his coin be not current, then he is a robber,* &c.

The topick from whence he argueth the Resurrection against the *Saduces*, is also acknowledged by the Writers of that Nation: *Tanchum. fol.* 13. *col.* 3. *The holy blessed God doth not joyn his Name to the Saints while they are alive, but when they are dead: as it is said, To the Saints which are in the earth,* &c. *But behold we find that he joyns his Name to Isaac* [meaning, he calls himself the God of *Isaac*] *while he was alive,* &c. Jerus. in Beracoth fol. 5. col. 4. *Whence is there proof that the righteous are called living when they are dead,* &c.

He poseth the Pharisees in their very Catechism: they used it as a common name for the *Messias* to call him *the Son of David*, and yet when they are put to it to observe that *David* calls him *Lord*, they are so far nonplust, that they have not only not what to answer, for the present, but this silenceth them from future disputes. Now therefore he falls upon them with their deserved character and doom, and as in *Matth.* 5. he had pronounced beatitudes, so here in *Matth.* 23. he denounceth woes, and curseth these men from *Isa.* 65. 15, *&c.*

This Chapter as it is a speech to and of the Scribes and Pharisees, and treateth of their doctrines and demeanours, so from their own Pandects and Authors may it be explained from point to point: those speaking out their doctrines and practises to the full.

Their *sitting in Moses chair*, ver. 1. meaneth them as Magistrates, to whom *Christ* injoyneth all lawful obedience. *Vid. Sanhedr. per.* 1. *halac.* 6.

Their *heavy burdens*, ver. 4. translates their חומרי חורה of which they speak so much and so highly.

Their *Tephillin* are called *Phylacteries*, ver. 5. which meaneth not only *Obſervatives*, becauſe they were memorials of their duty and devotions [being four portions of the Law written in two parchments, and the one worn upon their forehead and the other upon their left arm] but *Preſervatives*, as being reputed by them a fence againſt evil ſpirits, *Jeruſ. Beracoth fol.* 2. *A man hath need to ſay over his Phylacteries every evening in his houſe, to fright away evil ſpirits.*

They loved to be called Rabbi Rabbi, ver. 7. *R. Akibah ſaid to Eliezer, Rabbi Rabbi*, Jeruſ. Moed. Katon fol. 81. 1. And yet they had this rule againſt it, *Love the work, but hate the Rabbiſhip*, Maym. in Talm. Torah. per. 3.

Call no one Father, ver. 9. in that ſenſe as they owned their Doctors by the title אבותנו relying upon the authority of humane doctrines.

Their permitting and practiſing to ſwear *by the Temple*, ver. 16. came into a common cuſtom, Juchaſ. fol. 50. col. 1. *Baba ben Bota ſwear by the Temple, and ſo did Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel, and this was a cuſtom in Iſrael.*

Their *tithing mint, anniſe and cummin*, ver. 23. explained in the Talmudick treatiſes *Demai*, *whited Sepulchers*, ver. 27. Shekalim per. 1. halac. 1. *In the month Adar they whited the Sepulchers.* And the reaſon is given by the *Gemariſts*, that people hereby might have the better diſcovery of them, the better to avoid defilement by them: which well obſerved, ſets on *Chriſts* invective againſt theſe wretches the more. *Gemar. utriuſq: Talm. in loc. & Jeruſ. in Maaſar. Sheni. fol.* 55. 3.

Their decking of Sepulchers in honour of thoſe that lay in them, *ver.* 29. handled in *Jeruſ. in Moed Katon fol.* 80. *col.* 3, & 4.

He concludeth his ſpeech with the intimation of what ſhame and guilt lay upon them for the blood of the former Prophets ſlain by their Fathers, filled up by their own wickedneſs in perſecuting thoſe that he did or ſhould ſend to them. He calleth them *Serpents* from *Gen.* 3. 15. and teacheth us to look upon them as *the* ſeed of the Serpent in an eminent degree, if any degree of that nature may be called eminent. He dooms all the Prophets blood to be required of that generation, becauſe they by their tranſcendent abuſe of thoſe whom God ſent, even of *Meſſias* himſelf, did juſtifie and exceed all the evil their Fathers had done againſt the Prophets: Yea all the blood ſhed before the blood of *Zacharias*, and his, though they held that to have been ſatisfied for, by the deſtruction, ſlaughter and captivity by the Babyloniſans, *Jeruſ. in Taanith fol.* 69. *col.* 2. He changeth the name of his Father, and ſo doth *Targ. in Lament. cap.* 2. *ver.* 20. And concludes with a ſad denunciation of deſtruction, and that they ſhould no more ſee him till they ſhould ſay, *bleſſed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord*: which very words he had uttered alſo a great while before this, *Luke* 13. 34, 35. and the multitude had ſaid, *Bleſſed be he that cometh*, &c. when he rode into *Jeruſalem* upon an Aſs. But the ſame words now uttered by him, are of ſomewhat doubtful interpretation, whether they mean, their no more ſeeing of him till the night and time of the Paſſover, [for at the Paſchal meal every company rehearſed this ſaying, *Bleſſed be he that cometh*, &c. in their great Hallel as they called it] or that they ſhould no more ſee him at all, becauſe they had not learned to entertain him, as coming from God. *See* Joh. 5. 43.

SECTION LXXVIII.

MARK Chap. XII. Ver. 41, 42, 43, 44.

LUKE Chap. XXI. Ver. 1, 2, 3, 4.

The poor Widows Mites.

THE Jews before their prayers in the Temple, or their Synagogues, uſed to give ſomething by way of alms of offering, that Charity and piety might go together. *Maym. in Mattanath Anijim. per.* 6. Now in *the Court of the Women* at the Temple [as we have obſerved elſewhere in the diſcription of that place] there were ſeveral cheſts, which the Jews call *Shoperoth*, into which the people put the money they offered, ſome to buy one thing for the ſervice of the Temple, ſome another, &c.

SECTION

SECTION LXXIX.

MATTH. Chap. XXIV. *all the Chapter.* MARK Chap. XIII. *all the Chapter.* LUKE Chap. XXI. *from* Ver. 5. *to the end of the Chapter.*
And after these MATTH. Chap. XXV. *all the Chapter.*

CHRIST *foretelleth the destruction of Jerusalem, the signs and miseries preceeding and accompanying it.*

THe *Talmud* tells us that there was a place upon mount *Olivet*, just in the face of the Temple, where the Priest slew and burnt the red Cow into the ashes of purification and as he sprinkled the blood, he looked directly upon the Temple door. *Middoth per.* 1. *&c.* This was the last Sermon that Christ made upon mount *Olivet*, and he makes it as he sits upon that mount, just facing the Temple, *Matth.* 24. 3. And that text that he had taken in tears but two or three days ago, weeping over the City and foretelling the destruction of it, *Luke* 19. 44. he now preacheth upon at large, declaring the misery and foreshewing the forerunners of that destruction.

The aim of his speech, or, to what time and purpose it refers, may be discerned by the question of the Disciples, to which it is an answer. *When shall these things be, viz.* that one stone of the Temple shall not be left upon another? *Mark* 13. 4. *Luke* 21. 7. and so it relates plainly to the destruction of the Temple and City. But *Matthew* hath added; *And what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world?* from whence it is conceived by some, that the speech doth aim at the end of the world, and *Christs* last coming unto judgment. It is true indeed that the close of his speech in *Matth.* 25. doth speak plainly of the last judgment, and that many of those terrible things mentioned, *Matth.* 24. may very well typifie the terrours of the last day, but the prime and proper scope of the speech in that 24*th.* Chapter, is to set forth the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the rejection and misery of the Jewish nation; as may be observed by these particulars.

1. Because in *Matth.* 24. 15, 16. He points directly to time and place, when and where these things shall be, *viz.* when the Temple shall be profaned, then these things come, *&c.*

2. Especially consider *ver.* 34. *Verily I say unto you; this generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled. This generation*, not meaning *Generatio Evangelica*, as some do harshly interpret it, but as it means in *Matth.* 23. 36. *Luke* 11. 31, 32. and abundance of other places in the New Testament, *the generation then in being.*

3. The destruction of *Jerusalem*, is phrased in Scripture as the destruction of the whole world, *Jer.* 4. 23. *Isa.* 65. 17. and *Christ coming* to her in judgment, as his coming to the last judgment, *Matth.* 17. 28. *John* 21. 22. *Math.* 19. 28. *Rev.* 1. 7, *&c.*

Therefore those dreadful things spoken of in *ver.* 29, 30, 31. are but borrowed expressions to set forth the terrors of that judgment the more. *Ver.* 29. *The Sun shall be darkened*, &c. shews the decay of all glory, excellency and prosperity in that Nation, and the coming in of all sadness, misery and confusion: as *Isa.* 13. 10. *Joel.* 2. 10. *Ver.* 30. *Then shall they see the sign of the Son of man*, &c. Not any visible appearance of *Christ*, or of the cross in the clouds [as some have imagined,] but whereas the Jews would not own *Christ* before for *the Son of man*, or for the *Messias*, then by the vengance that he should execute upon them, they and all the world should see an evident sign, that he was so. This therefore is called *his coming*, and *his coming in his kingdom*, Matth. 17. 28. because this did first declare his power, glory and victory on that nation that had despised him. *Ver.* 31. *He shall send his Angels with a great sound of a Trumpet*, &c. that is, his Ministers with the Trumpet of the Gospel, to fetch in his elect from among the Gentiles when the Jews were now destroyed and cast off. And the false Christs, and false Prophets that should arise, *ver.* 5. 24. arose in that Nation in those *last days* of it, as is abundantly evident both in the New Testament, and in *Josephus*: And those *wars and rumors of wars, and Nation rising against Nation*, &c. ver. 6, 7. were accomplished not only in the horrid civil wars among the Jews, but also in the great concussions in Roman Empire, in the wars betwixt *Otho* and *Vitellius*, and betwixt *Vitellius* and *Vespasian*, [of which the Roman Historians, especially *Tacitus* is very large] the like to which, there had not been before, even to the sacking of *Rome* it self, and the burning of the *Capitol.*

SECTION LXXX.

MATTH. Chap. XXVI. *from the beginning to* Ver. 14. MARK Chap. XIV. *from the beginning to* Ver. 10. LUKE Chap. XXII. Ver. 1, 2.
And after these portions read JOHN Chap. XIII. *from the beginning to* Ver. 27.

CHRISTS *head anointed at a supper at Bethany two nights before the Passover: At the same supper he washeth his Disciples feet: giveth Judas the sop and the Devil entreth into him.*

THe proof of the proper order here will require some dispute, not so much in regard of any obscurity or difficulty of the order it self, but in regard of needless and groundless difficulties that are put upon it. There are two strange opinions we meet with here: The one is, that holdeth that this supper mentioned by *Matthew* and *Mark*, was the same supper which is mentioned in *John* 12. which was *six days before the Passover*. And the other is, that holdeth, that this supper in *John* 13. was the Supper on the Passover night: so that for the shewing and asserting of the order as we have laid it, these three things are to be done.

First, It is to be proved, that the supper in *John* 12. and the supper in *Matth.* 26. and *Mark* 14. were not one and the same supper, but two suppers at some daies distance. Secondly, That the supper in *John* 13. was not on the Passover night, but before the Passover night. And thirdly, That the supper in *John* 13. was the same supper with that in *Matth.* 26.6. and *Mark* 14.3. two daies before the Passover.

First, That the supper in *John* 12. and the supper in *Matth.* 26. and *Mark* 14. were two different suppers [to which something hath been said before,] appears by these observations. 1. The supper in *John* 12. was in the house of *Lazarus* [unless we will unwarrantably strain the construction of the story,] but the supper in *Matth.* 26. and *Mark* 14. was in the house of *Simon the Leper*. 2. At the supper in *John* 12. *Christs* feet were anointed, but his head was anointed at the supper in *Matth.* 26 and *Mark* 14. 3. The supper in *John* 12. was *six days* before the Passover, but the supper in *Matth.* 26. and *Mark* 14. was but *two days* before: For observe *Mark* 14. 1. *After two days was the feast of the Passover*: and then *ver.* 3. *And Jesus being at Bethany, &c.* Here they that hold the opinion that we are confuting, will not acknowledg the order of the Evangelists direct, but say there is a dislocation, so that though *two days* be mentioned before, yet the story following was six days before the Passover. But the method of *Matthew* and *Mark* hath been so direct hither through the story of *Christs* actions, since his last coming to *Jerusalem*, that no reason possible can be given why they should invert the order here. They had punctually mentioned his actions, five, four, three days before the Passover, and now they come to speak of two days before, and under that account bring in this supper, and what sense or reason can there be to surmise that it was six days before? They had shewed you *Christ* five days before the Passover, at *Bethany*, John 12. 1, 12. *Mark* 11. 1, 11. And four days before the Passover, at *Bethany*, Mark 11. 12, 15, 19, 20. And three days before the Passover, at *Bethany*, Mark 11. 20, 27. and 13. 3. And then they come and speak of two days before the Passover, and they speak also of *Christs* being at *Bethany*, and yet would the opinion under confutation apply the reckoning of the *two days* only to point at the high-Priests assembling: and *Christs* being at *Bethany*, to be jumped backward over all the story before, even to beyond *Matth.* 21. *Mark* 11. An opinion that by its improbability is confutation enough to it self.

A second thing to be cleared is, that the supper in *John* 13. was not on the Passover night but before: which may be evidenced by these arguments instead of more. 1. Because *John* saith expresly *ver.* 1. that it was πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς, *before the festival of the Passover*, for so the word ἑορτὴ constantly signifies, not the meal of the Paschal, as some would construe it here, but the whole festival. 2. The Disciples when *Jesus* said to *Judas*, *What thou doest, do quickly*, though he spake about buying something against the feast, *ver.* 29. by which it appears that the feast was not yet come.

Thirdly, *Luke* sheweth, that the entring of *Satan* into *Judas* [which was at the supper, *John* 13.] was before the Passover day came: for observe his order, *Luke* 22.3. *Then entred Satan into Judas, and he went and communed with the chief Priests*, &c. and then *ver.* 7. *Then came the day of unleavened bread*: Upon all which considerations, it is apparent, that this supper in *John* 13. at which *Satan* entred into *Judas* [whereupon he went and compacted for his Masters betraying] was not on the Passover night, but some space before the Passover day came. There is indeed a passage in *John* 13. 38. which may seem to bring that supper to the Passover night, which is, when *Christ* saith at the supper to *Peter*, *The Cock shall not crow till thou hast denied me thrice*, which seemeth to carry it, as

as if this ſupper were on that very night when *Peter* denied him. For anſwer to which, let it be obſerved: 1. That *Peter* denied *Chriſt* but once before the Cock crew. *Mark* 14. 68, 69, 70. and it will teach us to expound the words of *Chriſt*, *John* 13.38.and *Matth.* 26. 24. not as meaning that he ſhould deny him three times over before any Cock crew, but that he ſhould deny him thrice in the time of Cocks crowing, which time was a fourth part of the night, *Mark* 13. 34. And that it meaneth in ſuch a ſenſe is yet more apparent by *Mark* 14.30. where he utters it, *The Cock ſhall not crow twice.* 2. Let it be obſerved, that in *John* 13. 38. it is only ſaid, *The Cock ſhall not crow*, but in *Matth.* 26. *Mark* 14. when the ſpeech refers to the very night when his denial was, it is ſaid,*This night*, before the Cock crow; And, *This day, even this night* before the Cock crow, *&c.* And ſo it is underſtood that *Chriſt* uſeth that ſpeech to *Peter* twice over,and in it he doth twice refute his preſuming upon his own ſtrength which *Peter* twice ſhewed: Firſt at the ſupper in *John* 13. which was two daies before the Paſsover, and there the *emphaſis* of the ſpeech lieth eſpecially in the word *Thrice*; as if he had ſaid to him, Art thou ſo confident of thy ſtrength and ſtanding for me? I tell thee the time will be, when thou ſhalt deny me *thrice* in the time of Cocks crowing. The ſecond was at the Paſsover ſupper, and then Chriſt puts the *emphaſis* upon the word *This night*: Art thou ſo confident? I tell thee *this night* thou ſhalt deny me,*&c.*

Thus having ſhewed that that ſupper in *John* 13. was not on the Paſsover night, but before; a third thing is to ſhew, that it was two daies before the Paſsover, and the ſame with that ſupper mentioned by *Matthew* and *Mark* in *Bethany*: And for the proof of this we need go no further then this obſervation: That both the Evangeliſts *Matthew* and *Mark*, do begin the treaſon of *Judas* from that ſupper in *Bethany*, Matth. 26.13,14. Mark 14. 9, 10. for as ſoon as they have related the ſtory of that ſupper, they preſently tell, *Then one of the twelve called Judas went to the chief Prieſts*,&c. Now it is apparent that he began the acting of his treaſon from the time of *Satans* entring into him with the ſop which was at that ſupper *John* 13.and ſo it concludeth that to be the ſame ſupper with that in *Matth.*26.6.

The texture of the ſtory then lieth thus: Six daies before the Paſsover *Chriſt* ſuppeth and lodgeth in *Bethany*: five daies before the Paſsover he rideth in triumph to *Jeruſalem*, and at even cometh and lodgeth in *Bethany* again, four daies before the Paſsover he goeth to *Jeruſalem* again, and at night cometh to *Bethany* again to lodge. The third day before the Paſsover he goeth again into the City; and at even cometh to *Bethany* again: And that night he ſuppeth in the houſe of *Simon the Leper*, it being now two daies to the Paſsover; As he ſits at ſupper, *Mary the ſiſter of Lazarus*, called alſo *Mary Magdalen*, anoints his head, *&c.* And he before the table was taken away, ariſeth from the table and waſheth the Diſciples feet, and after ſits down and gives *Judas* the ſop.

SECTION LXXXI.

JOHN Chap.XIII. V.27,28,29,39. | MATTH. Chap.XXVI. Ver.14,15,16. | MARK Ch. XIV. Ver. 10,11. | LUKE Ch.XXII. Ver.3,4,5,6.

Satan entreth into Judas: he compacts for the betraying of his Maſter.

THe continuation of the ſtory in *John* cleereth the connexion. *He dipped the ſop and gave it to Judas, And after the ſop Satan entred into him.* This was at a ſupper in *Bethany* two daies before the Paſsover, as hath been ſhewed: From thence, though it were night, *Judas* trudgeth to *Jeruſalem*, acted intirely by *Satan*, and agreeth with the *Sanhedrin* for his Maſters betraying. They had met purpoſely to contrive the apprehenſion and death of *Chriſt*, but had reſolved, that it muſt not be at the feaſt,for fear of tumult: but *Judas* coming in, undertakes to deliver him up, though at the feaſt, yet quietly enough in the abſence of the people: And they bargain to give him thirty pieces of ſilver; the price of a ſervant, *Exod.*31.22. Maym. in Nizkei Mamon per. 11. *The price of ſervants whether great or little, whether males or female, is thirty Selas of good ſilver; be he a ſervant worth a hundred pound,or be he a ſervant but worth a peny.*Now the ſame Author in *Shekalim per.*1. rateth *Sela* at 384barly corns weight in ſilver.

SECTION

SECTION LXXXII.

JOHN Chap. XIII. *from* Ver. 31. *to the end.*
and Chap. XIV. *all the Chapters.*

CHRISTS *ſpeech to comfort his Diſciples*, &c.

THe firſt words, *Therefore when he was gone out*, continue the ſtory: When *Judas* was gone out about his curſed work, and the hour was now come when *Chriſts* Paſſion was beginning, [for we may juſtly take his being ſold, for a part of his ſufferings] he giveth his Diſciples divers leſſons, ſome of admonition, ſome of inſtruction, ſome of comfort. For the better judging of the time of this ſpeech [beſides the connexion which joyns it to *Judas* his going forth upon the devils entring into him with the ſop] theſe two things are obſervable. 1. That the laſt words of the 14*th. Chapter* are, *Ariſe, let us go hence*, by which it is plain, that the ſpeech contained in this preſent Section, and the ſpeech in *Joh.* 15, & 16, and 17. were ſpoken at two ſeveral times and in two ſeveral places, That, at the Paſsover ſupper, for *John* tells, *Chap.* 18. 1. that when Jeſus had finiſhed that ſpeech, he went over the brook *Kidron*: but this, before, and in another place, becauſe upon the ending of it it is plain Jeſus removed to another place, by his ſaying, *Ariſe let us go hence.* 2. That *Chriſt* ſaith, *Yet a little time I am with you*, Chap. 13. ver. 33. *Yet a little while and the world ſeeth me no more*, Chap. 14. v. 19. *Hereafter I ſhall not talk much with you*, ver. 30. which intimate ſome ſpace of time yet to come, and not ſo ſuddain a parting, as the ſpace was betwixt his riſing from his laſt ſupper, and his apprehenſion. This ſpeech therefore was ſpoken at *Bethany* after *Judas* his going out: and the Section contains the ſum of Chriſts diſcourſe with his Diſciples, while he ſtaied there, which was the night that *Judas* received the ſop, and the next day and night, and till towards the evening of the day after: And the laſt words, *Ariſe, let us go hence*, intimate his removal from *Bethany* to *Jeruſalem* on the Paſsover day. *Judas* either that night that he had received the ſop, or the next day, layeth the plot with the high-Prieſts for the delivering up of his Maſter at the feaſt, and having ſo done, he returneth to his Maſter to *Bethany* again. And the next day which was the Paſsover day, *Chriſt* ſendeth *Peter* and *John* from thence to prepare the Paſsover for him, and when he ſaw time, he calls, *Ariſe, let us go hence*, and ſo he ſetteth for *Jeruſalem* with the reſt of the Diſciples and *Judas* in the company.

SECTION LXXXIII.

MATTH. Chap. XXVI. *from* Ver. 17. *to* Ver. 30.
MARK Chap. XIV. *from* Ver. 12. *to* Ver. 26.
LUKE Chap. XXII. *from* Ver. 7. *to* Ver. 24.

CHRIST *eateth the Paſsover: ordaineth the Lords Supper*, &c.

PETER and *John* who were ſent to prepare the Paſsover, had this work to do. They were to get a room fitting; to that their Maſter directs them by a ſign. They were to get a Lamb, and to bring him into the Temple, and there to have him killed and his blood ſprinkled, under the name of a Paſchal for thirteen perſons. For no Lamb could be eaten for a Paſchal, whoſe blood was not ſprinkled at the Altar, and that לשם פסח in the name of a Paſchal, and למנוי by count for ſuch a number of perſons as had agreed to be at the eating of him. *Talm. in Peſachin.* per. 5. [as Chriſt died but for a certain number.] Which ſhews [had not the Evangeliſts done it otherwiſe] that *Chriſt* ate his Paſsover on the ſame day that the Jews did theirs [which ſome, upon miſunderſtanding of *Joh.* 18. 28. have denied] nay that it was not poſſible otherwiſe, for how impoſſible was it to get the Prieſts to kill a Paſchal for any, upon a wrong day?

Having got the Lamb thus ſlain at the Temple, they were to bring him home to the houſe where he was to be eaten, to get him roaſted, and to get bread and wine ready, and what other proviſion was uſual and requiſite for that meal.

At Even *Jeſus* cometh and ſitteth down *with the twelve*: and as he ate, he gave intimation of the Traitour, who was now at the table and eating with him. Which might ſeem to make this ſtory the ſame with that in *John* 13. 21, 22. and ſo might argue, that this and that were but one and the ſame Supper. But herein is an apparent difference in the ſtories. 1. At the Supper in *John* 13. *Chriſt* giveth only a private ſignification of the Traitour by a token given ſecretly to *John*, but here he points him out openly. 2. There he gives him a ſop, here he only ſpeaks of dipping with him in the diſh. Only there is ſome diverſity in the Evangeliſts, in relating this ſtory: *Matthew* and *Mark* have laid this taxation and diſcovery of the Traytour before the adminiſtration of the Lords Supper, but *Luke* after.

And

And there is the like variety in their relating the time of these words of *Christ*, *I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine*, &c. for *Luke* hath brought them in as spoken before the Sacrament, but the other two after. In both which, first the main intent of the relation is to be looked after, and then may we better state the time. The intent in the former, is to shew *Judas* at the Table, and at the Table all the time both of the Paschal and the Lords Supper, those symboles of love and communion, yet he such a wretch as to communicate in both, and yet a Traitour. The two, *Matthew* and *Mark* would shew that he was at the Table, and so the mention of that they bring in upon *Christs* first sitting down and beginning to eat: and *Luke* makes the story full, and shews that he was at the Table all the time, both at Passover and Sacrament, and the words of *Christ* upon the delivering of the Cup, *But behold the hand of him that betrays me*, &c. cannot possibly be mitigated from such a construction. As to the later, the meaning of *Christ* in the words, *I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine*, &c. is, that the Kingdom of God was now so near, that this was the last meat and drink, or the last meal that he was to have, before that came. By *the Kingdom of God*, meaning his resurrection and forward, when God by him had conquered death, *Satan* and Hell. And whereas he saith, *Till I drink it new with you in the Kingdom of God*, he did so, eating and drinking with them after his resurrection. This therefore being the aim of his speech, it was seasonable to say so, any time of the meal, *This is the last meal I must eat with you till I be risen again from the dead.* and hereupon the Evangelists have left the time of his uttering of it at that indifferency, that they have done. And indeed these two passages had such reference one to another, that the one might bring on the other, and both of them might very well be spoken by *Christ* twice: The observing of the direct order of *Christs* actions at this meal, which the Evangelists have related, will help to clear this matter.

When he was set down with them, he first saith, *I have desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer*, for this is the last I must eat with you before the Kingdom of God be come. And thereupon he taketh the first cup of wine that was to be drunk at that meal, and drinks of it and gives it them, and bids, *Divide it among your selves, for I shall not drink of the fruit of the vine*, &c. meaning, this is the last time I shall eat and drink with you, *&c.* And this speech properly brought in the other, *One of you shall betray me*: as paraphrased, speaking thus, I shall no more eat with you, for there is one now at the Table with me, hath compassed my death. Hereupon they question who it should be, *&c.* After this passage they eat the Paschal Lamb after its rite, and after it, he ordaineth the Lords Supper: bread to be *his Body* henceforward, in the same sense that the *Paschal Lamb had been his Body* hitherto, and *the Cup to be the New Testament in his Blood* now under the Gospel, as *the blood of Bullocks had been the Old Testament in his Blood*, Exod. 24. And after the administring of the Cup, he tells them again, that that was the last that he must drink, for the hand of him that betrayed him was at the Table.

SECTION LXXXIV.

LUKE Ch. XXII. *from* Ver. 24. *to* Ver. 39.

A contest among the Disciples about priority.

LUKE himself is a clear warrant of the order. And withall, the joynt consideration of the story before will help to confirm it. The question among themselves about the Traitour, helpeth to draw on this other question about priority: an unseasonable and a very unreasonable quarrel: To which their Master giveth closely this twofold answer, besides proposing his own example of humility. 1. That let not them stand upon priority, for he would equally honour them in his Kingdom, *&c.* 2. That this was not a time to stand upon such business as seeking to be preferred one before another, for this was a time of sifting, and a time when all the care they could take for their safety should be little enough: therefore they had now something else to do then to look after precedency.

SECTION LXXXV.

JOHN Chap. XV, XVI, XVII.

CHRISTS *laſt words to his Diſciples and a Prayer for them.*

JOHN in *Chap.* 18. 1. informs us that when *Jeſus* had ſpoken the words contained in theſe Chapters, he went over the brook *Kidron*: by which it appeareth that they were ſpoken at his laſt Supper inſtantly before he roſe and went to the garden where he was apprehended. At their Paſsover Suppers they uſed large diſcourſes ſeaſonable and agreeable to the occaſion: and eſpecially in commemorating what God had done for that people. Whatſoever *Chriſt* had ſpoken upon that ſubject, is not recorded, but this which was more needful for the Diſciples preſent condition, were agreeable to the great occaſion now at hand, and moſt beneficial for the Church in time to come.

SECTION LXXXVI.

MAT. Ch. XXVI. *from* V. 30. *to the end,* & Ch. XXVII. *all.*	MAR. Ch. XIV. *from* Ver. 26. *to the end,* & Ch. XV. *all.*	LUKE Ch. XXII. *from* V. 39. *to the end.* & Ch. XXIII. *all.*	JOH. Ch. XVIII. & Ch. XIX. *all the Chapters.*

CHRISTS *Apprehenſion, Arraignment, Death and Burial.*

THrre is no difficulty in the connexion of the beginning of this Section to the preceding, but only this, that the reſt of the Evangeliſts make mention of *Chriſts* ſinging of *an hymn*, as the laſt thing he did, before his ſetting out for the mount of *Olives*; but *John* maketh his ſpeech and prayer to be laſt, and ſpeaketh not of his ſinging a hymn at all. Which indeed is neither contrariety nor diverſity of ſtory, but only variety of relation for the holding out of the ſtory more compleat. The three former Evangeliſts have recorded how *Chriſt* did celebrate the Paſsover and ordain the Sacrament at the end of it, and therefore they properly ſpeak of his ſinging an hymn, for that was ever an unſeperable piece of ſervice at the Paſsover Supper, and conſtantly uſed at the concluſion of that meal: But *John* had made no mention of the Paſsover Supper or Sacrament at all, and therefore it was not only not needful, but alſo not proper, that he ſhould mention the ſinging of any hymn at all: But he relateth the laſt ſpeech and prayer of *Chriſt*, which the other had omitted. And whether this ſpeech recorded by him, or the hymn mentioned by them, were laſt done by *Chriſt*, is not much material to the order of the ſtory. I ſuppoſe the ſpeech was later. The hymn that they ſung was *Pſ.* 115. & 116. & 117. & 118. which was the later part of *the great Hallel* as they called it, which was conſtantly ſung at the Paſsover and their other great Solemnities, and with this later part was this Solemnity concluded.

His Prayer in the Garden.

CHRIST riſing from Supper, goeth forth of the City over the brook *Kidron* to the mount of *Olives*. [Compare *Davids* caſe and journey, 2 *Sam.* 15. 23.] *Judas* when they roſe from the Table, ſlips away into the City, and there hath his cut-throats laid ready by the chief Prieſts, for the curſed deſign that they had compacted about. As *Chriſt* goeth along he telleth the eleven that were with him, of their trouble that night by his apprehenſion, and their ſcattering from him: but he would be in *Galilee* before them, and there they ſhould meet again. And ſo he directeth them which way to betake themſelves after the Feaſt, and what to do when their Maſter ſhould be taken from them by death. He foretelleth *Peter* again of his denial of him that night: which *Peter* now armed with a ſword cannot hear of, but promiſeth great matters.

He cometh to *Gethſemany*, *A place of Oyl Preſſes*, at the foot of *Olivet*, into a Garden. The *Talmudiſts* ſpeak of the Gardens here, and tell how the Gardiners uſed to fatten their grounds with the ſcouring of the ſink that carried the blood and filth of the Temple Court into that valley. Leaving eight Diſciples behind, he taketh *Peter* and *James* and *John* with him, and imparteth to them the fears and ſorrows that now ſeized upon him, and leaving them alſo about a ſtones caſt behind, charging them to watch and pray: He prays thrice for the removal of this Cup if poſſible, *&c.* and in an Agony he ſweats drops like blood. [Remember *Adams* fall in a Garden, and the firſt doom, *In the ſweat of thy brows*, &c.] Now was *the power of darkneſs*, Luke 22.23. all the power of hell being let looſe againſt *Chriſt*, as it was never againſt perſon upon Earth before or ſince

and

and that from the pitching of this field of old, *Gen* 3. 15. *Thou ſhalt bruiſe his heel.* So that it was not ſo much for any pangs of Hell that *Chriſt* felt within him, as for the aſſaults of Hell, that he ſaw inlarged againſt him, that he was ſo full of ſorrow and anguiſh. His deſiring the removal of the Cup was *puræ humanitatis*, but his ſubmitting to the will of God *puræ ſanctitatis*: As when a gangrened member is to be cut off, *pura natura* reluctſ againſt it, but right reaſon yields to it. He prayed thrice, and after every time came to his three Diſciples, and ſtill found them ſleeping.

His apprehenſion.

He had ſcarce awakened them at the third time, when the Traytour and his Aſſaſines are upon him to apprehend him. At their firſt approach *Judas* according to the ſign given, that his fellow-villains might know *Jeſus* from the reſt, ſteppeth to him and kiſſeth him. And thereupon the reſt draw up near him. *Jeſus* ſteppeth forward to meet them, and asketh, *Whom ſeek ye?* They ſay, *Jeſus of Nazareth*: he ſaith, *I am he*: and thereupon they went backward and fell to the ground: And his thus confounding them with a word, ſhewed, that none could take his life from him, unleſs he laid it down of himſelf. While they lie on the ground, and he hath them thus under him, he indents for the diſmiſſion of his Diſciples, and having agreed for their ſafety and diſcharge, he yields himſelf. So up they got, and lay hold upon him: and *Peter* to ſhew ſome of his promiſed ſtoutneſs cuts off *Malchus* ear, but *Chriſt* heals the wound. With this wretched crue that apprehended him, there were ſome of their Maſters that ſet them on, *Luke* 22. 52. To all together he telleth, that it was plain it was now their *hour the and power of darkneſs*, for that they had him ſo oft among them in the Temple, that they were never able to lay hands on him till now: Upon theſe words the Diſciples think it time to ſhift for themſelves: And one flees away naked.

His appearance before Annas.

Beſides the ill account that theſe men could give of this nights Paſsover [no ſooner eaten, but their hands in blood] and beſides the horrid offence they committed againſt the Lord and againſt his *Chriſt* in this fact that they were upon, they doubly tranſgreſſed againſt their own Canons: namely in arraigning and condemning a perſon upon a holiday, for ſuch a day was now come in: and arraigning and judging a perſon by night, both which are directly forbidden by their Law. *Tal. in Jom. tobh per.* 5. *halac.* 2.

They firſt bring *Chriſt* to *Annas*, And why? For he was neither chief Magiſtrate, but *Gamaliel*; nor the Highprieſt, but *Caiaphas*: He was indeed *Sagan*, and Father in Law to *Caiaphas*, but by neither of theſe relations had he Judicial power as a ſingle man. But as the Chief Prieſts had a ſpecial hand in this buſineſs, and *Annas* was chief among them by his place and relation to *Caiaphas*, and ſo had had no doubt a ſingular ſtroke in contriving this buſineſs that was now tranſacting, ſo upon his apprehenſion he is firſt brought thither, to ſhew that they had the man ſure whom he ſo much deſired to be ſecured, and to take his grave advice what further to do with him. He was brought bound to him, and ſo bound he ſends him to *Caiaphas*.

His Arraignment before the Sanhedrin.

At *Caiaphas* his houſe was the *Sanhedrin* now aſſembled: Whether we take this for his lodgings in the Temple, or his houſe in the City it is not much material. *Peter* follows thither, and by another Diſciple that was acquainted there, he is helped into the Hall, and ſits with the Servants by the fire. The Chief-Prieſt and Elders were buſie to find out Witneſſes that might accuſe him, and though many *falſe Witneſſes* [זוממים in *Talmudick* language] come in, yet all will not do: for it was not poſſible to touch him of any offence. He all this while ſtanding ſilent (*Iſa.* 53. 7.) *Caiaphas* adjures him to tell whether he were the *Chriſt* or no, he confeſſeth it, and withal tells them that the time ſhould come that they ſhould find the truth of this by experience, when he ſhould ſhew his power and vengeance in his judgment againſt them, and their City, *coming in clouds*, &c. This confeſſion and words they account blaſphemy: and that they might have the ſurer impreſſion of ſo conſtruing them, *Caiaphas rent his garments*, and by that action would, as it were, force them to agree with him that it was ſo, when his garments had paid ſo dear, for the confirming of it. Their cuſtom and reaſon of renting their clothes upon the hearing of blaſphemy, is handled in *Jeruſ. in Sanhedr. fol.* 25. *col.* 1. & 2. and in *Maym. in Avrdah Zarah. per.* 2. where thoſe two Canons being obſerved, *Every one that hears Gods Name blaſphemed, is bound to rent his garments*: And *the Judges hearing blaſphemy muſt ſtand upon their feet, and muſt rent their clothes and may not ſew them up again.* It

will cauſe us to obſerve ſomething in it, that the Highprieſt only rent his clothes, and not the reſt of the Bench with him. Which though they did not, yet they vote with him, that it was blaſphemy, and therefore he was guilty of death: which had it been executed, muſt have been by ſtoning. *Sanhedr. per.* 7. *halac.* 4. And now they begin to ſpit on him, to buffet him and abuſe him.

Peters denial.

Here *Peter* firſt denies him: for being challenged as he ſate by the fire, by the damſel porter, for one of his company, he denies it, and ſhrinks away into the porch, and then the firſt Cock crew. *Luke* ſaith that the maid came to him as *he ſate by the fire*: *Matthew* and *Mark*, that he was now *beneath in the Palace*, and *without in the Palace*, meaning, beneath or without from that place or room where the Bench ſate. Betwixt this firſt denial and the ſecond, there was but a little while, *Luke* 22. 55. In the ſpace between, the Highprieſt is queſtioning *Jeſus* of his Diſciples and Doctrine, and becauſe he anſwers, *Ask them that have heard me*, &c. an officious Officer ſmites him, as if he had not anſwered with reverence enough. *Peter* this while was in the porch, where he was when the Cock crew after his firſt denial: and there another maid ſees him and brings him to the company that ſtood by the fire, and challenges him for one of his Diſciples, and now he denies with an oath. And about an hour after, *Luke* 22. 59. [which ſpace of time the Bench took up in examining *Chriſt* about his Diſciples and Doctrine] a kinſman of *Malchus* challengeth him, and tells the company he ſaw him with *Jeſus* in the Garden, and he pleading the contrary, is diſcovered to all the company to be a Galilean by his Dialect, but he denies with execrations: and preſently the ſecond Cock crew: And Jeſus looking back upon him, he remembers what he had done and goes out and weeps bitterly. And ſo preſently after the ſecond Cock the Bench riſeth and leaveth *Jeſus* in the hands of their Officers, by whom he is taunted, ſtricken and ſhamefully uſed.

His being delivered up to the Roman power.

In the morning the *Sanhedrin* met formally in their own Council chamber, and again queſtion *Jeſus* [brought there before them, and they reſolved to put him to death] Whether he were the *Meſſias* or no? he giveth the ſame anſwer as before, that though they would not believe him if he told them he was, which was the truth, yet the time was coming when they ſhould find it true: They queſtion him again, *Art thou the Son of God?* which he not denying, they judge him a blaſphemer again and deſerving to die, and ſo deliver him up to the ſecular power. It is obſervable in both theſe queſtionings of him upon this point, both in the night, and now in the morning, how convertible terms *the Son of God*, and *the Son of man* are made. In the night they queſtion him, *Art thou the Son of God?* He anſwers, *Ye ſhall ſee the Son of man*, &c. *Mat.* 26. 63,64. And now in the morning again he ſaith, *Ye ſhall ſee the Son of man ſitting on the right hand of power*: and they reply, *Art thou then the Son of God?* Luke 22.69,70.

Judas his Recantation and Ruine.

Judas unquiet in mind for what he had done in betraying, attends the trials, and waits the iſſue: and when he now ſaw that he was condemned by the Bench to be delivered up to the Heathen power, he ſteps in, and offers his money again, and confeſſeth he had betrayed innocent blood, and this probably as *Chriſt* ſtood by. Having received a ſurly anſwer again from them, he flings down his money in the Temple where they ſat [*Gazith* or *Hhanoth*, it is not ſeaſonable to queſtion here] and departing, is ſnatched by the devil who was bodily in him, into the air, and there ſtrangled, and flung down headlong to the earth, and all his bowels burſt out, With the thirty pieces of ſilver, his wages of iniquity, the Prieſts conſult to buy the Potters field. And here a quotation of *Matthew* hath troubled Expoſitors ſo far, that divers have denied the purity of the Text. His words are theſe, *Then was fulfilled that which was ſpoken by Jeremy the Prophet, And they took the thirty pieces of ſilver*, &c. *Matth.* 27. 9. Whereas thoſe words are not to be found in *Jeremy* at all, but in *Zechary* they are found, *Zech.* 11.13.

Now *Matthew* ſpeaks according to an ordinary manner of ſpeaking uſed among the Jews, and by them would eaſily and without cavil be underſtood, though he cited a text of *Zechary* under the name of *Jeremy*: For the illuſtration of which matter we muſt firſt produce a record of their own. The *Babylon Talmud in Bava Bathra, fol.* 14. *facie* 2. is diſcourſing concerning the order in which the Books of the Old Teſtament were ordered and ranked of old. And firſt they ſhew that there was this general diviſion of it, into אורייתא נביאים כתובים *The Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa.* By the laſt meaning

meaning The *Pſalmes*, *Proverbs*, *Eccleſiaſtes*, *Canticles*, *Job*, *Ruth*, *Eſther*, &c. Then do they tell, that the Books were particularly thus ranked: The five Books of *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, *Judges*, *Samuel*, *Kings*: and then the Prophets, among whom *Jeremy* was ſet firſt, and then *Ezekiel*, and after him *Eſay*, and then the twelve. But they object, was not *Eſay* long before *Jeremy* and *Ezekiel* in time? Why ſhould he then be ſet after them in order? And they give this anſwer, *The laſt Book of Kings ends with deſtruction, and Jeremy is all deſtruction. Ezekiel begins with deſtruction and ends with comfort, and Eſay is all comfort.* סמכינן חודבנא לחודבנא ונחמתא לנחמתא *Therefore they joyned deſtruction and deſtruction together, and comfort and comfort together.* And thus in their Bibles of old *Jeremy* came next after the Book of *Kings*, and ſtood firſt in the volume of the Prophets. So that *Matthews* alleadging of a Text of *Zachary*, under the name of *Jeremy*, doth but alleadge a Text out of the volume of the Prophets, under his name that ſtood firſt in that volume: And ſuch a manner of ſpeech is that of *Chriſt*, Luke 24. 44. *All things muſt be fulfilled which are written of me in the Law, and the Prophets and the Pſalmes*: in which he follows the general diviſion that we have mentioned, only he calleth the whole third part, or *Hagiographa*, by the title *the Pſalms*, becauſe the Book of *Pſalms* ſtood firſt of all the Books of that part. In that ſaying *Matth.* 16. 14. *Others ſay Jeremy, or one of the Prophets*, there is the ſame reaſon why *Jeremy* alone is named by name, *viz.* becauſe his name ſtood firſt in the volume of the Prophets, and ſo came firſt in their way when they were ſpeaking of the *Prophets*.

CHRISTS *Arraignment before Pilate.*

The chieſt Prieſts and Elders bring *Jeſus* to *Pilate*, but would not go into his Houſe [the Houſe of a Heathen] *leſt they ſhould be defiled, but that they might eat the Paſſover. John* 18. 28. Why? They had eaten the Paſsover over night, at the ſame time that Jeſus ate his [and well they had ſpent the night after it.] But this day that was now come in, was ראויה וחגיגה *their day of preſenting themſelves in the Temple, and offering their Sacrifices and peace offerings*, of which they were to keep a ſolemn feaſting, and this *John calls the Paſſover*: In which ſenſe *Paſsover Bullocks* are ſpoken of, *Deut.* 16. 2. 2 *Chron.* 30. 24. and 35. 8, 9. *The School of Shammai ſaith, their appearing was with two pieces of ſilver, and their chagigah with a Meah of ſilver. But the School of Hillel ſaith, their appearing was with a Meah of ſilver, and their chagigah with two pieces of ſilver. Their burnt offerings at this ſolemnity were taken from among common cattel, but their peace offerings from their tithes. He that keepeth not the chagigah on the firſt day of the feaſt, muſt keep it all the feaſt*, &c. Chagigah per. 1.

Pilate conceives him brought to him as a common malefactor, and therefore he bids them take him back and Judge him by their own Bench and Law: and in theſe words he meant really and according as the truth was, that it was in their power to judge and execute him, and needed not to trouble him with him. And when they anſwer, *We may not put any man to death*, Joh. 18. 31. They ſpeak truly alſo, and as the thing was indeed, but the words of *Pilate* and theirs were not *ad idem*: חגי קודם מ׳ שנה עד שלא חרב הבית ניטלו דיני נפשות *It is a tradition that fourty years before the Temple was deſtroyed capital Judgments were taken away from them.* Jeruſ. in Sanhedr. fol. 18. col. 1. But how? Not by the *Romans*, for they permitted them the uſe of their Religion, Laws, Magiſtracy, capital and penal executions and judgments in almoſt all caſes, as freely as ever they had: and that both in their *Sanhedrins* within the Land, and in their Synagogues without, as far as the power of the Synagogues could reach at any time: as might be proved abundantly, if it were to be inſiſted on here.

The words then of theſe men to *Pilate* are true indeed, *That they could put no man to death*, but this was not, as if the *Romans* had deprived the *Sanhedrin* of its power, but becauſe theeves, murderers and malefactors of their own Nation were grown ſo numerous, ſtrong and heady, that they had overpowred the *Sanhedrins* power, that it could not, it durſt not execute capital penalties upon offenders as it ſhould have done. And this their own Writings witneſs. Juchaſin fol. 21. *The Sanhedrin ſlitted fourty years before the deſtruction of the Temple, namely from that time that the Temple doors opened of their own accord, and Rabban, Jochanan ben Zaccai rebuked them and ſaid, O Temple, Temple, Zechary of old prophecied of thee ſaying, Open thy doors O Lebanon that the fire may enter*, &c. *And alſo becauſe that murderers increaſed, and they were unwilling to judge Capital matters, they ſlitted from place to place, even to Jabneh*, &c. which alſo is aſſerted in *Schabb. fol.* 51. *Avodah Zarah fol.* 8.

When they perceive that *Pilate* no more received the impreſſion of their accuſation of him as a malefactor like others, they then accuſe him of Treaſon, as forbidding to pay Tribute to *Ceſar*, and as ſaying that he himſelf was a King: and this they thought would do the buſineſs. *Pilate* hereupon takes him into his Judgment Hall [for hitherto

the Jews conference and his had been at his gate] and queſtions him upon this point,and *Jeſus* plainly confeſſeth that he was a King,but his Kingdom not of this world [and therefore he needed not from him to fear any prejudice from the *Romane* power] and ſo well ſatisfies *Pilate*, that he brings him out to the gate again, where the Jews ſtood, and profeſſeth that he found no fault in him at all. Then the Jews lay in freſh accuſations againſt him, to which he anſwereth not a word.

Brought before Herod.

Pilate by a word that dropt from them, underſtanding that he was of *Galilee*, *Herods* Juriſdiction, ſent him to *Herod*, who was now at *Jeruſalem:* partly becauſe he would be content to have ſhut his hands of him, and partly becauſe he would court *Herod*, towards the reconciling of old heart-burnings between them. And now *Jeſus* ſees the monſter that had murthered his forerunner. *Herod* was glad to ſee him, and had deſired it a long time, and now hoped to have got ſome miracles from him, but he got not ſo much as one word: though he queſtioned him much, and the Jews who followed him thither did vehemently accuſe him. The old Fox had ſought and threatned his death before, *Luke* 13. 31, 32. and yet now hath him in his hands, and lets him go [only abuſed and mocked and gorgeouſly arraied] and ſo ſends him back to *Pilate*, that ſo he might court him again, more then for any content he had that he ſhould eſcape his hands. *See Acts* 4. 27.

Before Pilate again.

Pilate at his gate again talks with the Jews, and motions the releaſe of the Priſoner, and whether him or *Barabbas*: and leaves it to their thoughts and goeth to his Judgment ſeat again. By this time is his Lady ſtirring,and underſtanding what buſineſs was in hand, ſhe ſends to him about her dream. He goes to the gate again, inquires what is their vote about the Priſoners releaſe: they are all for *Barabbas*. He puts it to the vote again, and they are the ſame ſtill: he urgeth a third time, and pleadeth the innocency of *Jeſus*, but they ſtill urge for his crucifying. Then calls he for water, and waſheth his hands, but inſtantly imbrues them in his blood.

By this time it was *the third hour of the day*, or about nine a clock, the time of the beginning of the morning Sacrifice. Hence *Mark* begins to count, *Mark* 15. 25. namely, from the time that *Pilate* delivered him up. He is whipped by *Pilate*, led into the *Prætorium* by the ſouldiers,Crowned with thorns [remember the Earths firſt curſe, *Gen.* 3.18.] arraied in ſcarlet,,and a reed put into his hand for a Scepter,and in this garbe *Pilate* brings him forth to the gate to them again, and publiſheth again that he found no fault in him. They urge that he ought to die becauſe he ſaid he was *the Son of God*. This ſtartles *Pilate*, and in he takes him again and re-examines him, but he would give him no anſwer, but only, *Thou couldſt have no power over me, unleſs it was given thee from above*, &c. Hereupon he goes out to the gate again, and urgeth for his releaſe more then ever. They anſwer, *Then he is no friend of Ceſar*, and this knocks the buſineſs dead. In therefore he goes again and brings out *Jeſus* and ſits down upon another Tribunal in publick, and *Jeſus* ſtanding before him in his ſcarlet Robes and thorny Crown, he tells the Jews, *Here is your King: Our King?* ſay they, *Away with him, crucifie him.* What? ſaith he, *Shall I crucifie your King?* They anſwer, *We have no King but Ceſar.* Compare *Zech.* 11. 6. where their deſtruction is threatned to be by their King *Ceſar*: as it was by *Veſpatian.*

Then he delivers him up to be crucified: and *it was the preparation of the Paſsover, and about the ſixth hour*, Joh. 19. 14. *John* ſeemeth the rather to have added this circumſtance, not only to ſtate the time [which indeed was of weighty concernment] but alſo to brand theſe Jews impiety, and neglect of their Religion for the ſatisfying of their malice. This day was a very high day, of their appearance in Temple and their *Chagigah* [as we touched before] and in the morning they durſt not to go into *Pilates* Palace for fear of defiling,and leſt they ſhould be prevented of theſe great devotions,and yet the day is thus far ſpent, and nothing done but only they have purchaſed the ſhedding of ſo innocent blood.

But *John* in this paſſage laies two viſible ſcruples before us: *Queſt.* 1. How is it poſſible to reconcile him and *Mark* together, when *Mark* ſaith, *It was the third hour and they crucified him*, Mark 15.25. whereas he tells us, *It was the ſixth hour when Pilate delivered him up? Anſw.* 1. If we caſt up in our thoughts how many things were done this day before his nailing to his Croſs, it cannot be imaginable that they were all done before the *third hour* of the day. The *Sanhedrin* meet, ſit in Counſel, examine the priſoner and vote him guilty; Bring him to *Pilates* Palace, there have manifold canvaſes with

Pilate

Pilate pro and *contra* about him; Bring him to *Herod*, where he is queſtioned about many things; his garments changed and gorgeous Robes put upon him, and ſent back to *Pilate* again. Then a freſh canvaſs about him or *Barabbas* to be releaſed, and *Pilate* puts them to a three-times deliberation upon it. Then overcome with their importunity, waſheth his hands, ſcourgeth him, and delivers him up to them to be abuſed. The Souldiers lead him into the Hall, make a Crown of Thorns, diveſt and veſt him anew, and make ſport with him at pleaſure. *Pilate* again brings him forth, and anew ſeeks and labours his releaſe: brings him in again and enters a new ſerious examination of him, hearing mention of his being *the Son of God*: Goes out again and labours all he can for his deliverance, but being taxed that then he could not be *Ceſars* friend, he goes to the bench and formally paſſeth ſentence upon him, writes the title of his Croſs, the Jews in the mean while abuſing him. Then he is lead forth out of the City bearing his Croſs, and brought to the place of execution, which was a good way off, ſtript, hath wine mingled with myrrh given him to drink, which he refuſeth, is nailed to the Croſs, his garments parted, and then *Mark* brings this in, *And it was the third hour, and they crucified him.* Now this great multitude of various paſſages can hardly be conceived poſſible to have been gone through by the third hour of the day or nine of the clock in the morning, no not though the Jews had bent themſelves to diſpatch before that time, which was far from their thoughts. 2. *Mark* therefore in that calculation of the time, takes his date from the firſt time that *Pilate* gave him up to their abuſings: and his Phraſe may be taken of ſo comprehenſive an intimation, as to ſpeak both the time of his firſt giving up, *at the third hour* of the day, and the time of his nailing to his Croſs, *the third hour* from that. And much after the ſame manner of account that our Saviours ſix hours ſufferings, from *Pilates* firſt giving him up, to his dying, are reckoned: So the 430 years of ſojournying of the Children of *Iſrael* in *Egypt*, Exod. 12. are computed, namely, the one half before they came into *Egypt*, and the other half after. *Queſt.* 2. But it may juſtly move a ſecond *quære*, How *Chriſt* could be on his Croſs and darkneſs begun from the ſixth hour, as the other Evangeliſts record it, when *John* ſaith that it was but *about the ſixth hour* when *Pilate* delivered him up? Which words of *John* as they raiſe the ſcruple, ſo they may give the anſwer: For it might very properly be ſaid, and that according to the uſual ſpeech of the Nation, that it was *about the ſixth hour*, when the ſixth hour was but now beginning, and by the time that it was compleated all that might be diſpatched, that paſſed betwixt his ſentencing and his being raiſed upon the Croſs.

Crucified.

Sentence of death was paſſed upon him as he ſtood in his ſcarlet Robes and thorny Crown: and when the Jews have now their deſire, they mock him, ſuddenly ſtrip him, and put on his own clothes: Then taking him away to the place of Execution, they lay his Croſs upon him [ſuch engines of death doubtleſs lay alwaies ready about the Judgment Hall] and ſo as *Iſaac* in the figure, he firſt bare the wood, that afterward muſt bear him, *Gen.* 22. 6, 9. The place of execution was without the City, חוץ לג׳ מחנורת as the Talmudiſts do determine in *Talm. Bab. Sanhedr. fol.* 42. 2. [See how the Apoſtle applies this to his ſuffering for the *Gentiles*, Heb. 13. 12.]

By the time he was come out of the City gates, they obſerve that he is overburdened with his Croſs, and thereupon they force *Simon a Cyrenian* [ſome noted Diſciple belike] to bear the end of it after him.

They come to the place of Execution commonly called *Golgatha* [not the place of graves, but] *the place of ſculs*: where though indeed there were ſome burial of the executed, yet was it in ſuch a manner that the place deſerved this name rather then the other: *for they buried not an executed perſon in the grave of his Fathers, but there were two places of burial for ſuch: one for them that were ſlain with the ſword and ſtrangled, and the other for them that were burnt and ſtoned: and when the fleſh was waſted, the bones were gathered and buried in the graves of their Fathers*: Talm. ubi ſup. fol. 46. 1. The proper writing and pronunciation of the word had been *Golgolta*, but uſe had now brought it to be uttered *Golgotha*, which very pronunciation the *Samaritan* Verſion uſeth in *Num.* 1.

They firſt ſtrip him, and then offer him intoxicating wine, which when he taſted he refuſed to drink. חיוצא ליהרג משקין אתו קורט של לבונה בכוס של יין כדי שתטרף דעתו *When any perſon was brought forth to be put to death, they gave him to drink ſome frankincense in a Cup of Wine, that it might ſtupifie him: as it is ſaid, Give ſtrong drink to him that is ready to periſh, and wine to thoſe that be of heavy hearts. And there is a tradition, that the Gentlewomen of Jeruſalem afforded this of their good will*, &c. *Tal. Bab. ibid. fol.* 43. 1. And let it not be impertinent to add that which immediately follows in the ſame page: *A crier went before him that was to be executed, which proclaimed, N. the Son of N. is going to execution becauſe he hath committed ſuch a fact, and N. and N. are witneſſes againſt him if*

if there be any that can clear him, let them ſpeak. And inſtantly after: *There is a tradition that they hanged Jeſus on the eve of the Paſſover, and a Crier went before him fourty days, Such a one goes to be put to death, becauſe he hath bewitched, deceived, and perverted Iſrael: if any one can ſay any thing for his clearing, let him come and ſpeak: but they found no clearing of him, therefore they hanged him upon the eve of the Paſſover*, &c.

He is nailed to his Croſs hands and feet, and ſo the Jews themſelves confeſs *Abel* [his figure] to have been wounded by *Cain*, Tanch. fol. 3. col. 4 and *Iſaac* to have been bound on the Altar: *Idem fol.* 12. *col.* 2. And with him are crucified two malefactors, [compare *Joſeph* betwixt two offenders, *Gen.* 40.] ληϛαὶ in *Joſephus* his conſtruction, will help us to underſtand the ſenſe of the word here. Four ſouldiers part his garments and caſt lots for his coat and ſit down to watch him.

Over his head was his cauſe written, in the expreſſion of which the variety of the Evangeliſts ſhews their ſtile, and how where one ſpeaks ſhort another inlargeth, and what need of taking all together to make up the full ſtory. *Mark* hath it, *The King of the Jews. Luke, This is the King of the Jews. Matthew, This is Jeſus the King of the Jews. John, Jeſus of Nazareth the King of the Jews*: Where the main thing regarded is, that he was condemned for taking on him to be *King of the Jews* as they pretended, which was alſo pretended to be Treaſon againſt *Ceſar*: and to this point all the Evangeliſts ſpeak alike, and their variety is only in wording this for the readers underſtanding: and he that ſpake ſhorteſt ſpake enough to expreſs the matter of his accuſation: and the reſt that ſpeak larger are but a comment upon the ſame thing. The three tongues in which this was written, *Hebrew, Greek, and Latine*, are thus ſpoken of in Midras Tillin fol. 25. col. 4. *R. Jochanan ſaith, There are three tongues. The Latine tongue for war, The Greek tongue for ſpeech, and the Hebrew for prayer.*

All ſorts of people had followed him to the execution: Some openly wept for him and bewailed him, which was not a thing uſual in ſuch caſes. In the Talmudick Tract laſt cited *fol.* 46. 2. there is this ſtrange doctrine, לא היו מתאבלין אבל אונגין שאין אנינות אלא בלב *They bewailed not him that went to be executed, but only mourned inwardly for him.* And what think you was the reaſon? The Gloſs tells you thus, *They bewailed him not, becauſe his diſgrace might be his expiation*: meaning, that whereas they accounted, that the more ſhame and puniſhment a condemned perſon ſuffered, the more theſe tended to his expiation, they therefore would not openly bewail him, for that would have been ſome honour to him, and ſo would have abated of his expiation; but none lamenting for him, it was the greater diſgrace, and the greater the diſgrace the better was his ſin [as they thought] expiated, and atoned for. This ſtrange cuſtom and opinion, doth ſet forth this publick bewailing of *Chriſt* the more remarkably.

Others, when he was now raiſed upon his Croſs reviled him, among whom were the chief Prieſts, Scribes, and Elders: who had ſo little to do, or rather their malice ſo much as to attend the execution. They were at firſt in ſome heſitancy whether he would not deliver himſelf by miracle: but when they ſaw he did not, then they triumph and inſult at no meaſure. Nay, the theeves that were crucified with him ſpared him not, for ſo *Matthew* and *Mark* tell us, but at laſt one of them becomes a convert and receives aſſurance of being that day with him in Paradiſe. [בגן עדן a phraſe very uſual with them.] Compare the caſe of *Joſephs* fellow priſoners, *Gen.* 40. the one deſiring him to remember him and eſcaping, and the other not.

It may be, the darkneſs now begun, in an extraordinary and dreadful manner, was ſome means of working upon this thief for his conviction that *Jeſus* was the *Meſſias*: For inſtantly upon his raiſing upon his Croſs, it was now *the ſixth hour* or high Noon compleat, and the darkneſs began, and continued till three a clock afternoon: the very ſpace of time of the day that *Adam* lay in darkneſs without the promiſe, from the time of his fall till God came and revealed *Chriſt* to him.

By the Croſs ſtood the Mother of *Jeſus* now a Widdow, and as it ſeemeth, deſtitute of maintenance, therefore he commendeth her to the care and charge of his beloved Diſciple *John*. אלמנה ניזונית לנכסי יורשין *A widdow was to be maintained out of the eſtate of her husbands heirs untill ſhe received her dowry.* Maym. in אישות per. 18. But the poverty of *Joſeph* and *Mary* afforded neither heritage, nor dower, nor had they any Children but *Jeſus* who was now dying. If thoſe that are called *the brethren of Jeſus* were the ſons of *Joſeph* by another wife, as ſome have thought them, they had been fitteſt to have been charged with the maintenance of the widdow.

About the ninth hour *Jeſus* crieth out, *Eli, Eli lama ſabachthani*, that is, *My God, my God, why haſt thou left me?* Not *forſaken* him, as to the feeling of any ſpiritual deſertion, but why *left* to ſuch hands and to ſuch cruel uſage? Some ſaid hereupon he *called Elias*: but was this ſaid in mockery? or indeed did they think his words *Eli, Eli* meant *Elias*? Two things might make them really think ſo: the unuſualneſs of the word *Eli* or *Elohi* in their Syriack tongue, the word *Mari* being it by which they commonly expreſſed

preſſed the ſenſe of that. And 2. the common opinion and legends that they had of *Elias* his coming to comfort and reſolve men in diſtreſs and perplexity, of which their *Talmuds* give not a few examples.

Complaining of thirſt he had vinegar given him, which having taſted, and feeling the pangs of death come upon him, he ſaith, *It is finiſhed*, and giving up a great cry, and committing his Spirit to God, he dieth [at the time of the evening ſacrifice.] At which inſtant there was an Earthquake which rent the rocks: and the vail of the Temple was then alſo rent in the middle: The Prieſt that offered Incenſe that evening ſacrifice time, could bring an amazed teſtimony of this, when he came forth. The renting of the rocks light in ſuch a place as where were the graves of many Saints hewn out, which now were opened [and ſhewed the conqueſt over the grave] and at another Earthquake at which *Chriſts* grave was opened on the morning of his reſurrection, the mouldred bodies of theſe graves revived, and after his riſing they came out of the graves alſo and came into *the holy City.* Obſerve that *Matthew* calls *Jeruſalem The holy City*, when it hath now murdered *Chriſt*, chap. 27. 53. How great a matter muſt it be that muſt unchurch a Nation?

The Centurion and the company preſent, at the ſight of what ſtrange things had occurred, return much affected and full of thoughts about what was done: As the evening grew on, the Jews deſire and obtain that the legs of them might be broken ſo to haſten their end, that they might not hang on the Croſs all night. This diſpatcheth the penitent thief [howſoever it did the other] as we may conclude from the words of *Chriſt* that told him of being that day in Paradiſe: But *Chriſt* being dead already they brake no bone of him, but one with a Spear pierceth him, and out of his ſide cometh water and blood diſtinct and diſcernable the one from the other.

At Even *Joſeph of Aramathæa* [*Samuels* Town, 1 *Sam.* 1. 1.] a Prieſt or a Levite, one of the לשכת בולו ושא Council-chamber of the Temple, begs the body of *Jeſus*, which otherwiſe ſhould have been buried in the common graves of Malefactors, and intombs it in his own Tomb, *Nichodemus* joyning with him, and the Women obſerving where he was laid, go and prepare ſpices for his further imbalming when the Sabbath was over: all ſhewing their love to him, but in this very action ſhewing their little expecting his Reſurrection.

SECTION LXXXVII.

MATTH. Ch. XXVIII.	MARK. Ch. XVI.	LUKE Ch. XXIV.	JOHN. Ch. XX.
from the beginning	*from the begin.*	*from the begin.*	*from the begin.*
to Ver. 16.	*to* Ver. 12.	*to* Ver. 13.	*to* Ver. 19.

CHRISTS *Reſurrection, his firſt appearing*, viz. *to Mary Magdalen.*

AS for the ſubſequence of this Section to the preceding, there can be no ſcruple, but it requires ſome heedfulneſs, to lay the ſtory in it, in its proper currency, becauſe of ſome ſeeming diverſities in the four in their relating the ſtory of it.

The Lord of life was under death about 36 hours: and ſo long was that day wherein the Sun ſtood ſtill in the time of *Joſhua*: as *Kimchi* ſaith, it is the acknowledgment of the Jews: on *Joſh.* 10.

Chriſt himſelf calleth this ſpace three daies and three nights, *Matth.* 12. 40. whereas it was but two nights and one whole day, and two ſmall parts of two more. And yet herein he ſpeaketh warrantably even by the known and allowed Dialect of the Nation. Both the *Talmuds* in the Treatiſe *Shabba per.* 9. do diſpute about the *three daies* that *Iſrael* ſeparated from their Wives before the giving of the Law, *Exod.* 19. 15. and among other things they have theſe paſſages: *R. Akibah made the day a* עונה *and the night a* עונה *And ſo did R. Iſmael. But this is a tradition, R. Eliezer ben Azariah ſaith,* יום ולילה עונה ומקצת עונה ככולה *A day and a night make a* עונה, *and a part of a* עונה *is accounted as the whole.* Obſerve theſe laſt words to the purpoſe that we are upon: Three natural daies by this rule were three עונות, and any part of any of theſe, was accounted as the whole of it.

The Evangeliſts ſeem to differ ſomewhat in the mention of the time of the Womens coming to the ſepulchre. *John* ſaith *Mary Magdalen* came *while it was yet dark.* Matthew, *when it began to dawn:* whereas *Mark* ſaith, ſhe and the other women came thither *at Sunriſing*: All which together ſpeak the ſtory to the full to this tenour. That at the dawning, and while it was yet dark, the Women as ſoon as they could ſee [at the leaſt *Mary Magdalen*] ſet out to go to the Sepulchre: and that was at the very inſtant of *Chriſts* riſing, when there was a great Earthquake and an Angel came and rolled away the Stone. *Mary Magdalen* came from *Bethany*, from her brother *Lazarus* his houſe [if ſhe came from

from her own home] and the other Women were at their ſeveral lodgings, and to get them all together [for they were to go about this work all together] would ſpend ſome time: ſo that though *Mary* were ſo early ſtirring, yet before they were all got together to the Sepulchre it was Sunriſing. Theſe Women little knew of the watch that was ſet over the grave, and the ſealing of the ſtone [which was done on the morning of the Sabbath] for all their care is how to get the ſtone rolled away. When they come there, they find that done already [and the Watch was fled] and the Angel that had rolled it away ſitting on it on the right hand of the entring in, and when they were entred in they ſaw another Angel, which both told them of his being riſen. And thus *Matthew* and *Mark* that mention but one Angel, are to be reconciled to *Luke* who ſpeaketh of two.

The Women return and tell the Diſciples what they had ſeen, *but their words ſeemed to them as idle tales:* yea, *Mary* her ſelf yet believed not that he was riſen: It is worth ſtudying upon the faith of the Diſciples: it was a ſaving faith in *Chriſt*, and yet they believed not that he ſhould die till he was dead, nor believed that he ſhould riſe again, no not when he was now riſen.

Peter and *John* run to the Sepulchre, and *Mary Magdalen* follows them: They ſee the body gone and the clothes lying there [and *John* proves the firſt that believes his reſurrection] and they return home, but *Mary* ſtaies there weeping ſtill: And looking in, ſhe ſees two Angels, the one at the head and the other at the feet where the body had lain [like the two *Cherubins* at either end of the Ark:] And looking behind her ſhe ſeeth *Jeſus*, and thought it had been the Gardiner, but preſently knew him, and comes away to bring the Diſciples word. Here *Matthew* ſpeaks ſhort: for he mentioneth but one journey of the Women to the grave and back, and ſaith that as they came back *Jeſus* met them. Whereas *Mary* had two journeys, and it was ſhe alone that met him, and that in her ſecond return. As ſhe returned now the Watchmen are come into the City, and bribed to deny that he was riſen, and ſo the Chief Prieſts and Elders give money to hire the Nation into unbelief.

SECTION LXXXVIII.

LUKE Chap. XXIV. *from* Ver. 13. *to* Ver. 36. — MARK Chap. XVI. Ver. 12, 13.

His ſecond appearing: viz *to Peter and Alpheus going to Emmaus*

THE ſame day in the afternoon two of them went to *Emmaus* a Town ſixty furlongs, or ſeven miles and a half from *Jeruſalem*. *Joſephus* placeth it at the very ſame diſtance *De Bello lib. 7. cap.* 27. calling it there *Ammaus*, and relating how *Veſpaſian* after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, gave it for the habitation of ſome of the *Roman* ſouldierry left there. But in *Antiq. lib.* 17. *cap.* 12. he calls it *Emmaus*, and relates how it was fired by *Varus*, &c. It lay in the way towards ſome part of *Galilee*, and it may be theſe two men were now returning home thither, and intended to lodge at *Emmaus* the firſt night: but now they ſtop their journey and return thence the ſame night to *Jeruſalem*. The two were *Peter*, and *Alpheus* the Father of three Apoſtles, who alſo was called *Cleopas*. See *ver.* 18. & 34. of this appearance to *Peter*, *Paul* ſpeaks, 1 *Cor.* 15. 5.

And that *Alpheus* and *Cleopas* were but one and the ſame perſon, may not only be conjectured from the nearneſs of the ſound, and from their being written in Hebrew with the ſame letters, חלפי but it is made plain in *John* 19.25. Where ſhe is called *Mary the Wife of Cleopas*, who in the other Evangeliſts is clearly evidenced to be *Mary the Wife of Alpheus*. the mother of *James* and *Joſes*, &c. *Mat.* 27. 56. *Mar.* 15. 40.

SECTION LXXXIX.

LUKE Chap. XXIV. *from* Ver. 36. *to* Ver. 49. — JOHN Chap. XX. *from* Ver. 19. *to* Ver. 26. — MARK Chap. XVI. Ver. 14.

His third appearing: viz *to the Eleven.*

THE connexion is plain in *John* and *Luke*: for the former ſaith, *The ſame day at evening being the firſt day of the week*, &c. And the other, that as they were ſpeaking of his appearing to the two at *Emmaus*, he came in among them. *The firſt day of the week* is an ordinary Judaick phraſe אחד בשבת; and ſo they reckon the daies forward שני בשבת *The ſecond day of the week*. שלשי בשבת *The third day of the week*, &c. They that are now ſo very punctual to have the days ſo named and no otherwiſe, miſtake that for a phraſe purely Evangelical, which indeed is a phraſe purely Judaical.

As

As they ſat at Supper *Jeſus* cometh in among them: ſhews them his hands and ſide: eateth with them: openeth the Scriptures and their underſtandings: breatheth upon them, and ſaith, *Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt*, &c. *Whoſoever ſins ye remit*, &c. This was to intereſt them in a power and priviledge peculiar and diſtinct from any they had received yet, and diſtinct from that they were to receive on Pentecoſt day, *viz.* this inveſted them in power of life and death, to inflict death, or corporal plagues miraculouſly upon the enemies or diſgracers of the Goſpel, or to ſpare them as they ſhould be directed by the Holy Ghoſt, which they here received. The death of *Ananias* and *Saphira* was a fruit of this power, as is obſerved at that ſtory.

Thomas was not preſent at this time, and yet *Mark* ſaith, *He appeared unto the eleven as they ſat at meat*: and ſo *Luke* 24. 33. *Peter and Cleopas found the eleven gathered together*, &c. Nay 1 *Cor.* 15. 5. *He was ſeen of the twelve*: The title of the whole *Chorus* being uſed, though all were not preſent.

SECTION XC.

JOHN Chap. XX. *from* Ver. 26. *to the end.*

His fourth appearing: Thomas now preſent.

JOHN ſaith this was *After eight daies*, which [reckoning the daies current] was that day ſevennight, or the firſt day of the week again: a ſecond eſtabliſhment of that day for the Chriſtian Sabbath. *Thomas* upon ſeeing, believes, but *bleſſed are they that have not ſeen yet have believed.* See 1 *Pet.* 1. 8.

Tanchum. fol. 8. col. 1. *R. Simeon ben Lachiſh ſaith, A Proſelyte is more lovely in the ſight of God then all that company that ſtood at mount Sinai: Why? Becauſe they if they had not ſeen the thunders and lightnings and fire, and the mountains trembling, and the ſound of the Trumpet, they would not have received the Law: but a proſelyte though he ſee none of theſe things, yet he comes and gives up himſelf to God, and takes upon him the Kingdom of Heaven.*

SECTION XCI.

JOHN Chap. XXI. *all the Chapter.*

MATTH. Chap. XXVIII. Ver. 16. *Then the eleven Diſciples went away into Galilee.*

A fifth appearing: To ſeven of the Apoſtles at the ſea of Tiberias, &c.

CHRIST before his death had told them of his meeting with them in *Galilee* after his reſurrection: and when he was riſen, he appoints them to a mountain there. They are now come up into the Countrey, and while they wait the time of his appointment, *Peter* and ſix other of the Apoſtles go a fiſhing: not as their trade now, for they never had been all of them fiſhers before, but either for a preſent ſupply of proviſion for themſelves, or for preſent imployment till their Maſter ſhould diſpoſe of them. He had at firſt revealed himſelf to three of theſe ſeven [nay four, if *Andrew* were here] by a miraculous draught of fiſhes, and ſo he doth to them all now: and who can tell whether they had not ſome thoughts of that, and ſome expectation of the like appearing now, which did the rather urge them to this work?

At ſea he helpeth them to a marvelous draught of 153 great fiſhes [ſo many thouſands were the proſelytes that wrought for the Temple, only 600 over, 2 *Chron.* 2. 17.] and at land he had provided them a dinner againſt they came aſhore, and dines with them. And *this*, ſaith *John*, *was the third time that he ſhewed himſelf to his Diſciples*: which aſſerts the order of this Section, and ſheweth that this was before his appearing to the whole number at the mountain where he had appointed them: The two times that he had appeared to them before this, this Evangeliſt giveth account of before, namely one time when *Thomas* was not preſent, and another time when he was.

After dinner he putteth *Peter* to a threefold confeſſion, anſwerable to his threefold denial, and foretelleth his Martyrdom, but telleth that *John* ſhould live *till he ſhould come*: meaning in that ſenſe, as his coming and coming in glory is oft uſed in the Goſpel, namely his coming to take vengeance of the unbelieving Jewiſh Nation: *Peter* ſhould be Martyred by them, but *John* ſhould live to ſee them receive their deſerts.

SECTION XCII.

MATTH. Chap. XXVIII. *from* Ver. 16. *to the end* | MARK Chap. XVI. Ver. 15, 16, 17, 18. | LUKE Chap. XXIV. Ver. 49.

A sixth appearing: at the mountain in Galilee to all the eleven: and 500 more.

HIs appointing them into *Galilee* to such a mount [it is like to that mount near *Capernaum* where he had chosen the Apostles and made his Sermon, *Matth.* 5.] was not barely to appear to the eleven, for that had he done before, and that could he have done at *Jerusalem*, but it was an intended meeting, not only with the eleven, but with the whole multitude of his *Galilean* and other Disciples, and therefore he published this appointment so oft, before and after his Resurrection: and we cannot so properly understand his being *seen of above five hundred brethren at once*, of which the Apostle speaketh, 1 *Cor.* 15. 6. of any other time and place as of this: He had appointed the place, and the concourse argueth that he had appointed the time too, or at least this concourse waited at the place till his time should come. And here may we conceive that he kept the Lords day or the first day of the week for the *Christian Sabbath* with this multitude of his Disciples; revealing himself clearly to them, and preaching to them of the things that concerned the Kingdom of God.

Particularly he gives command and commission to *go and Disciple all Nations*: For whereas hitherto he had confined them to preach only to *Israel*, now must they preach to *every creature*, Mark 16. 15. πάσῃ κτίσει [See *Colos.* 1. 23.] לכל חבריות is the Jews ordinary language, that is, *to all men.* מודיע לבריות עיון ומעשרין *Solomon in his Proverbs makes known Theory and Practice to the creatures*, Kafvenaki in *Prov.* 1. משרה דוח הקדש על הבריות *He causeth the Holy Ghost to dwell upon the Creatures*, Midr. Til. in *Psal.* 135. *Nimrod made Idols* ומטעה הבריות *and caused the creatures to erre*, Tanch. fol. 8. 4. *The Lord requires that* ברות *the creatures should pray before him*, Id. fol. 16. 4. In which and an hundred other instances that might be given, the word *Creatures* signifieth only *Men*: and their charge and commission to preach the Gospel to *every creature*, means *to all men*, the Gentiles as well as the Jews.

Warrant then and charge is given for the fetching of them in [the great Mystery, *Ephes.* 3. 4, 6.] who had lain subject to vanity of Idolatry, and under the bondage of all manner of corruption ever since their casting off at *Babel* 2203 years ago. They had been taught of the devil, his oracles and delusions, *&c.* but now *they must all be taught of God*, *Isa.* 54. 13. by the preaching of the Gospel. They had in some few numbers in this space been taught by *Israel* to know the Lord and proselyted into their Religion, but now such proselyting should not need, for all must come to the knowledge of God, *Heb.* 8. 11. the Gospel carrying the knowledge of him, and it being carried through all Nations. Those of them that had come into the Church of *Israel* and the true Religion, had been inducted and sealed into it, by being baptized. *Talm. in Jebam. per.* 4. &c. And so that proselyte Sacrament [as I may so call it] must be carried and continued among all Nations, as a badge of homage and subjection to Christ, to whom *all power is given in Heaven and earth*; and of the profession of the true God, *The Father Son and Holy Ghost*, against all false Gods and false worship. Infants born of Christian Parents are to bear this badge, though when they undertake it, they understand not what they do, because none in Christian Families should continue without the note of homage to *Christs* soveraignty, and this distinctive mark against Hetheniſm that worshippeth false Gods, as no male among *Israel* after eight daies old must be without the badge of Circumcision.

Discipling was not of persons already taught, but to that end that they should be taught, and if the Disciples understood this word in *Christs* command after any other sense, it was different from the sense of the word, which the Nation had ever used and only used: For in their Schools a person was made תלמיד *a Scholar* or *Disciple*, when he gave in himself to such a Master to be taught and trained up by him: and in the Disciping of Proselytes to the Jews Religion, it was of the very like tenour. That sense therefore that many put upon these words, *viz.* that none are to be baptized but those that are throughly taught, is such a one as the Apostles and all the Jewish Nation had never known or heard of before.

That wretched and horrid opinion that denieth the Godhead of *Christ*, and the Godhead of *the Holy Ghost*, little observeth, or at least will not see why the administration of Baptism among the Gentiles must be in the Name of *the Father, Son and Holy Ghost*, whereas among the Jews it was only in the Name of *Jesus*, Act. 2. 38. namely for this reason, that as by that among the Jews, *Jesus* was to be professed for the true *Messias* against all other, so by this among the Gentiles who had worshipped false Gods, *The Father*,

ther, Son and holy Ghoſt ſhould be profeſſed the only true God. And it would be but a wild, as well as an irreligious Paraphraſe that that opinion would make of this paſſage, *Go preach the Goſpel to every Creature*, and Baptize them in the Name of the Son a Creature, and the holy Ghoſt a Creature.

He promiſeth the miraculous gifts of the holy Ghoſt to them that ſhould believe: [not to all, but to ſome for the confirmation of the Doctrine:] and chargeth the Diſciples to return to *Jeruſalem* and there to ſtay till he ſhould pour down the holy Ghoſt upon them, to inable them for this Miniſtry among all Nations to which he had deſigned them. *Mark* and *Luke* do briefly add the ſtory of his aſcenſion, becauſe they will diſpatch his whole ſtory, but that is related more amply, *Act.* 1.

A ſeventh appearing: To James.

After the appearing to above five hundred Brethren at once, which we ſuppoſe and not without ground to have been that laſt mentioned, the Apoſtle relateth that *he was ſeen of James*, 1 Cor. 15.7. *and then of all the Apoſtles*: which doth plainly rank this appearance to *James* between that to the five hundred Brethren on the mountain in *Galilee*, and his coming to all the Apoſtles when they were come again to *Jeruſalem*. Which *James* this was, *Paul* is ſilent of, as all the Evangeliſts are, of any ſuch particular appearance. It is moſt like he means *James the leſs*, of whom he ſpeaks oft elſewhere, and ſo doth the ſtory of the Acts of the Apoſtles as one of the ſpecialer note in the time of *Pauls* preaching among the Gentiles. We read oft in the Goſpels, of *Peter* and *James* and *John* three Diſciples of ſingular eminency in regard of the privacy that *Chriſt* vouchſafed to them at ſome ſpecial times, more then to the other Apoſtles, and in that he badged them with a peculiar mark of changing their names, and did not ſo by any of the other. But that *James* was the Son of *Zebedee*, : Now when he was Martyred, *Act.* 12. you find that *James the Son of Alphæus* called *James the leſs*, came to be ranked in the like dignity with *Peter* and *John*, and was Miniſter of the Circumciſion, in ſpecial manner with them, *Gal.* 2. 9. they to the Jews ſcattered abroad, and he reſidentiary in *Judea*. See *Act.* 15.13. & 21.18. *Gal.* 2.13. If we queſtion how he of all the reſt of the Apoſtles came in, to make up that triumvirate when the other *James* was gone, we cannot tell where ſo pregnantly to give an anſwer as from hence; in that *Chriſt* vouchafed thus particularly to appear to him, which was not only an argument, but might carry the virtue of a command, to bring him into that rank, Office and Imployment, when the other *James* had run his courſe.

THE CHRONICLE AND ORDER OF The Acts of the Apostles: THE EPISTLES, AND THE REVELATION.

The Second Part.

CHRIST. XXXIII.

ACTS Chap. I.

FROM *Galilee* where *Christ* had last appeared to his Disciples, he remandeth them back to *Jerusalem*, and there cometh again to them. Where among other conference, they question him, Whether he would *at that time restore the Kingdom to Israel?* His summoning them again to that place, the *Metropolis*, it may be gave them occasion to move that question; they as yet, with the rest of the Nation conceiting the *Messias* a temporal Deliverer; and possibly not fully understanding what he meant by *the promise of the Father.* His answer, *It is not for you to know the times and seasons*, intimates not that ever there should be such a restauration, but it smartly checketh their curiosity, as erroneous and needless; and sets them to look off earthly longings, to mind the business they had to do, *viz.* to preach him through the world. He leadeth them out as far on mount *Olivet*, as where it began to be called *Bethany*, and there, about the place where he had begun his triumphant riding upon an Ass into *Jerusalem*, he now rides triumphantly into Heaven in a cloud.

The Disciples having seen his Ascension, and two Angels that told them of his coming again in like manner as he went, return to *Jerusalem*, and there go up into an upper room, and their number is summed up an hundred and twenty. עלייה *An upper room* was ordinarily chosen by the Learned of the Jews for their meeting place to discuss and determine matters of Learning and Religion. Schab. per. 1. halac. 4. *These are the articles that the Schools of Shammai and Hillel discussed* בעליית *in the chamber, or upper room of Chananiah ben Hezekiah*, &c. Jerus. Pesachin. fol. 30. col. 2. עלייה בית אדומים בלוד *The upper room of Beth Arum in Lydda*, &c.

An hundred and twenty were not all the present professors in *Jerusalem*, but these spoken of were they that were of *Christs* constant retinue, and *companied with him all the time that he went in and out among them*, ver. 21. and who being constant witnesses of his actions,

ons, and auditors of his doctrine, were appointed by him for the Miniſtry. Theſe are they that the ſtory meaneth all along in theſe paſſages: Chap. 2. 1. *They were all together.* Chap. 4. 21. *They went to their company.* Chap. 6. 3. *Look ye out among your ſelves.* Chap. 8. *They were all ſcattered abroad except the Apoſtles.* Chap. 11. 19. *They which were ſcattered abroad, preached,* &c The Jews ſay, *Ezras great Synagogue ... was of a hundred and twenty men.* Avoth R. Nathan per. 4. Juchaſin fol. 13. And their Canons allow not the ſetting up of a *Sanhedrin of three and twenty Judges*, in any City, but where there were an hundred and twenty men fit, ſome for one Office and imployment, ſome for another. *Talm. in Sanhedr. per. 1.* and *Maymony* in his Treatiſe of the ſame name, *per.* 1.

The activity of *Peter* in the work of the Goſpel, mentioned more along this ſtory, then of any of the others, was not only injoyned, but alſo inlivened, by that ſaying of his Maſter, *When thou art converted Strengthen thy brethren:* and he that had fallen ſo foul, as he had done, had need of all induſtry to evidence his recovery, and to get ground again.

The Phraſe in ver. 25. *Judas is gone to his own place*, may properly be compared with the opinion of the Nation, about a traytour, *He that betrayeth an Iſraelite, either body or goods, into the hands of the Heathen, hath no portion in the world to come*, Maym. in chobel Umazzik per. 8. And with the Gloſs of *Baal Turim* upon theſe words in *Num.* 24. 25. *Baalam went to his own place, They mean,* ſaith he, *that he went to Hell.*

ACTS Chap. II.

THE expectation of the Nation grounded from *Dan.* 9. that the *Meſſias* ſhould appear about this time, *Luke* 19. 11. had brought multitudes of *Jews* out of all Nations to ſee the iſſue: And *Pentecoſt* having brought up alſo all the Country of *Judea* to celebrate that Feaſt; in this double conflux of people, the holy Ghoſt is given and cometh down upon the hundred and twenty Diſciples, in the likeneſs of fiery tongues: At which very time of the year, and in fire, the Law had been given 1447 years ago. The *Jeruſ. Gemariſts* in *Taanith.* fol. 65. col. 3. have a ſaying, *That as Jeruſalem was deſtroyed by fire, ſo ſhould it be rebuilt by fire.* And in *Jom tobh* fol. 61. col. 3. and *Chagigah* fol. 78. col. 1. they ſay *that David died at the Feaſt of Pentecoſt.* Both paſſages regardable at this place.

As the confuſion of tongues at *Babel* had cauſed the caſting off of the Gentiles, [by ſevering them from the participation of the true Religion [which was only profeſſed and known in the *Hebrew* tongue] ſo was the gift of tongues, to be a needful means, to bring them in to Religion again; when every one may hear of the things of God in his own language. The Diſciples were doubly indowed by this gift, as to the matter of language; for they were hereby inabled to ſpeak to every Nation in their own tongue: and not that only; but they were inabled to underſtand the *Originals* of Scripture, which they underſtood not before. Their birth and breeding had not allowed them ſo much learning as to underſtand any Bible that was then extant, either *Hebrew* or *Greek*, but here is the firſt operation of this gift of the Spirit upon them, that they are firſt made able to underſtand the Originals of Scripture, and then able to unlock them to any one in their own tongue. And here ſhould they begin that take on them to expound the Scriptures by the Spirit, namely to unlock the difficulties of the Original languages, [for therein the maineſt difficulty of the Scripture lodgeth] according as was the method of the Spirits operation in the Apoſtles.

Pentecoſt was a time of rejoycing, and at all ſuch feſtivities the Jews had ever good ſtore of wine ſtirring: ſo that theſe men conclude that they had drunk too much and ſpake as men diſtract: which *Peter* confutes by telling them it was *not yet the third hour of the day*, or nine a clock. For upon their Sabbaths and holidaies they uſed not to eat or drink till their Synagogue ſervice was done. *Maym. in Schab. per.* 30. which was not of a good while after nine a clock.

His alleadging of *Joel*, *In the laſt daies I will pour out my Spirit*, &c. teacheth us how to conſtrue the phraſe, *The laſt daies*, in exceeding many places both of the Old Teſtament and the New, as *Iſa.* 2. 1. 1 *Tim.* 4. 1. and 2 *Tim.* 3. 1. 1 *Pet.* 4. 7. 1 *Joh.* 2. 19, &c. namely for the laſt daies of *Jeruſalem* and the Jewiſh State. For to take his words in any other ſenſe [as ſome do for *the laſt daies of the world*] is to make his allegation utterly impertinent and monſtrous.

Three thouſand converted, are Baptized *In the Name of the Lord Jeſus*, ver. 38. which no whit diſagreeth from the command, *Baptize in the Name of the Father and of the Son*, &c. *Matth.* 28. 19. For the form of Baptiſm in thoſe firſt daies of the Goſpel, of which the New Teſtament giveth the ſtory, may be conſidered under a threefold condition. 1. *John the Baptiſt* baptized in the Name of *Meſſias*, or *Chriſt* that was then ready to come, but that *Jeſus of Nazareth* was he, he himſelf knew not till he had run a good part of

of his course, *Joh.* 1.31. as was observed before. 2. The Disciples baptizing the Jews, baptized them *in the Name of Jesus*: upon this reason, because the great point of controversie then in the Nation about *Messias* was, Whether *Jesus of Nazareth* were he or no. All the Nation acknowledged a *Messias*, but the most of them abominated that *Jesus of Nazareth* should be thought to be he: therefore those that by the preaching of the Gospel came to acknowledge him to be *Messias*, were baptized into his Name, as the critical badge of their imbracing the true *Messias*. But 3. among the Gentiles where that question was not afoot, they baptized *in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* And so that baptizing *in the Name of Jesus*, was for a season for the setling of the evidence of his being *Messias*, and when that was throughly established, then it was used no more, but Baptism was in the Name *of the Father, and Son*, &c. Of the same cognizance were those extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, evidences of *Jesus* his being the *Messias*, and means of conveying the Gospel through the world, and when both these were well established then those gifts ceased for ever.

All that believed were together and had all things common, ver. 46. The Children of those that believed, must come under the title of *Believers* too, or they must famish. For this community of goods being for the relief of the poor, as we shall shew at the fourth Chapter, the Children, Babes and Infants of believing Parents that were poor, must be taken in under this expression, *All that believed*, &c. or how did they for support? if the community of goods reacht them as well as their Parents, the title must reach them too: When a Master of a Family was baptized, his Children were they never so young were baptized with him, and hence the mention of baptizing *whole houshold*s Act.16.15.33. They that pleading against Infants Baptism, do cavill, that it may be, there were no Infants in those Families that are mentioned, bewray that they little understand the manner of administring Baptism in its first use. For the stress of the business lies not in this, whether it can be proved that there were Infants in those Families, where it is recorded, that *whole houshold*s *were baptized*, but the case is this, that in all Families whatsoever, were there never so many Infants, they were all baptized, when their Parents were baptized. Thus was the constant custom among the Jews for admission of Proselytes, and thence this Canon, *That a Woman proselited and baptized when she was great with child, her Child needed not then to be baptized when it was born.* Maym. in Issure biah per. 13. For if he had been born before she was baptized, he must have been baptized with her. And the New Testament gives so little evidence of the altering this custom, at those first baptizings under the Gospel, that it plainly on the contrary shews the continuance of it, when it speaketh of the Apostles baptizing *whole households.*

ACTS Chap. III, IV.

PEntecost Feast lasted eight daies, as well as their other Feasts, Passover, Tabernacles, and Dedication did. *Jerus. in Moed Katon*, and *Chagigah at large.* The occurrences of the very day of *Pentecost* it self, are related already: Now whether the healing of the Creeple, and the consequences upon that, contained in the third Chapter, befell upon the same day in the afternoon, or on the next day after, which was the day when all the males appeared before the Lord in the temple, or further in the Feast, is not certain, but that they were within the compass of the Feast, is more then probable, by the great multitude that was converted at one Sermon.

Peter and *John* go into the Temple at *the ninth hour, the hour of prayer.* Talm. in Pesachin. per. 5. *The dayly sacrifice of the evening was killed at the eight hour and a half, and offered at the ninth hour and an half.* Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 8. Δὶς τῆς ἡμέρας περὶ τε τὴν ἕω καὶ ἐννάτην, &c. *Twice a day, namely in the morning and about the ninth hour, they offered on the Altar.* There, as they go in, at the East-gate, that led into *the Court of the Women*, they find and heal a Creeple, which had been so from his birth. The Jews looked upon this miracle, as wrought by their own holiness, as appears by the Apostles answer to them, *ver.* 12. For such a conceit walked among the Nation, that extraordinary holiness might attain to miraculous workings. R. *Phineas ben Jair* saith, *Industry bringeth to purity, Purity to cleanness, Cleanness to holiness, Holiness to humbleness, Humbleness to fear of sin, Fear of sin to partaking of the Holy Ghost.* Jerus. Schab. fol. 3. col. 3.

Yet are they imprisoned that night, and the next morning convented before the Council. Among others which are named of the Council, which were Priests, *Alexander* and *John*, mentioned *ver.6.* seem to be *Alexander Alabarcha*, or his Son, and *Rabban Jochanan ben Zaccai*, the latter, Vice-president at this time under *Rabban Gamaliel.*

They dismissed, come to their own company, and related what had occurred, and upon joynt prayer the place is shaken, and they are again filled with the Holy Ghost. Why? What could be added to them they having been so filled with the Holy Ghost before? In their prayer they petitioned these two things, That God would give them boldness

boldneſs to ſpeak his Word, and that Healings and Signs and Wonders might be done in the name of *Jeſus*: And the power of both theſe falls now upon them: and eſpecially, it may be conceived that Wonder of Wonders, upon the twelve, power to beſtow the Holy Ghoſt.

The community of goods, with the mention of which the ſecond and the fourth Chapters conclude, may be conſidered under theſe two animadverſions: 1. That although perſecution as yet for the Goſpel, had brought none to poverty, yet it is manifeſt that there were poor amongſt them. And ſome come to the more poverty for the Goſpel ſake too. For if they were poor before they received the Goſpel, then the Synagague of which they were, provided for them: but now they were deſtitute of that proviſion, they having forſaken the Synagogue; or a the leaſt the Synagogue them, becauſe of their forſaking of their Judaiſm. For the Evangelical Church therefore, that was now begun, to provide for her poor, it had not only the Synagogue for an example, but would have had it for a reproach, if they had neglected ſo needful a duty, which that took care for ſo conſtantly and tenderly. 2. This having of all things common therefore, was not an extinction of propriety and of *meum & tuum*, as if one rich man ſhould have as good intereſt in another rich mans eſtate as himſelf, but it was intended mainly for the relief of the poor: Not to bring any that had eſtates to voluntary poverty, not to level eſtates, but to relieve thoſe which ſtood in need. *Chap.* 2.45. & 4. 35. Diſtribution was made *to every man as he had need*: To them that preached the word for their maintenance, and to the poor for their relief.

ACTS Chap. V.

Ananias and *Saphira* ſet up as everlaſting monuments to all generations of Gods juſt indignation againſt the deſpiſers of the *Spirit of Chriſt*. רוחו שׁל משיח *The Spirit of Meſſias* was in honourable mention and eſteem in the Nation, in their common ſpeech, though they would not know him when he was revealed. Now the ſin of this couple was firſt covetouſneſs, but eſpecially preſuming to play falſe, and yet thinking to go undiſcovered of that Spirit which wrought ſo powerfully in the Apoſtles. That curſed opinion that denies the Godhead of the Holy Ghoſt, runs parallel with this ſin of *Ananias* and *Saphira* to a hair.

Peters warrant for this execution we may read in that paſſage, *John* 20. 22, 23. *He breathed on them and ſaid, Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt, whoſe ſins ye remit they are remitted, and whoſe ſins ye retain they are retained*. How? To forgive ſins abſolutely? this belongs only to God. Was it to forgive them declaratively? This ſeem too low a conſtruction, and too reſtrained: It ſeemeth therefore the moſt proper meaning of this donation, that he now indued them with power, to avenge what ſins the Holy Ghoſt [now received] ſhould direct them, to avenge, with bodily plagues, giving up to Satan, or with death: and again to remit ſuch penalties as they ſhould be directed to remit, and they ſhould be remitted. The Holy Ghoſt whom they had received then with ſo peculiar a power, *Ananias* and *Saphira* do here plainly vilifie, and affront directly; therefore an execution of ſuch power upon them was as proper and direct. But be it whether it will, that *Peter* took his warrant originally from thence, or had it inſtantly by ſome immediate revelation, as the judgement was fearful, ſo his executing of it was remarkable, ſhewing at once his aſſurance of the pardon of his own lying againſt his Maſter, when he can and dare thus avenge a lye againſt the Holy Ghoſt: and alſo his juſt zeal and activity for the honour of his Maſter whom he had denied.

It is ſaid in *ver.* 12. *They were all in Solomons porch*, which was the Eaſt cloiſter of the mount of the Temple, and in part of it did the *Sanhedrin* now ſit, and the Apoſtles not afraid to act ſo near them: But at laſt they are apprehended and impriſoned, but miraculouſly inlarged, and preaching in the Temple again: and thereupon convented before the Council. *Gamaliel*, *Pauls* Maſter was now Preſident, and continued in this dignity till within eighteen years of the deſtruction of the City. He pleadeth here for the Apoſtles, not out of any love to their perſons or doctrine, for he lived and died a downright Phariſee: but partly becauſe he ſaw the *Sadduces* at preſent the chief agents againſt them, and chiefly becauſe the miracles they wrought were ſo plain and convincing, that he could move no leſs then what he did. And yet for all the fairneſs of this man at this time, yet did he afterward ordain and publiſh that prayer called מינים ברכת *The prayer againſt Hereticks*, meaning *Chriſtians*; framed indeed by *Samuel Katon*, but approved and authorized by this man, Preſident of the *Sanhedrin* [then at *Jabneh*] and commanded to be uſed conſtantly in their Synagogues, in which they prayed againſt the Goſpel and the profeſſors of it. *Taanith. fol.* 65. 3. *Maym. in Tephil. per.* 2.

ACTS CHAP. VI, VII.

THE ſeven Deacons [as they are commonly called] choſen by occaſion of the *Helleniſts* murmuring againſt the *Hebrews* about neglect of their widows. The *Hebrews* were Jews the inhabitants of *Judea*, and the *Helleniſts* thoſe Jews that lived in other Countries diſperſedly among the Greeks: Not only in *Greece*, but almoſt in all other Countries, which the conqueſts of *Alexander*, and the continuance of the *Syrogrecian* Monarchy after him had filled with Greeks, as all Countries alſo were filled with Jews.

In all the Jews Synagogues there were פרנסין *Parnaſin*, Deacons, or ſuch as had care of the poor, whoſe work it was to gather alms for them from the Congregation, and to diſtribute it to them. שני גבאי צדקה ועוד אחד כדי שיהיו נ׳ לחלק צדקה *There were two that gathered alms for them and one more added to diſtribute it to them.* Maym. in Sanhedr. per. 1. *R. Chelbe in the name of R. Ba bar Zabda ſaith, They appoint not leſs then three Parnaſin. For if judgment about pecuniary matters were judged by three, much more this matter which concerneth life is to be managed by three.* Jeruſ. in Peah fol. 21. col. 1. That needful office is here tranſlated into the Chriſtian Church: and the ſeven are choſen to this work out of the number of the hundred and twenty that are mentioned, *Chap.* 1. 15. and that company only was the chooſers of them, and not all the Believers in *Jeruſalem*. The reaſon why the *Hebrews* neglected the widows of the *Helleniſts* may be ſuppoſed, either becauſe they would ſtick to their old rule, mentioned once before, *That a widow was to be maintained by her husbands children.* Talm. in chetub. per. 11. Maym. in אישות per. 18. [compare 1 *Tim.* 5. 4.] or becauſe the *Hebrews of Judea* had brought in more into the common ſtock for the poor, by ſale of their Goods and Lands, then thoſe that had come from forrain Countries had done, they not having Goods and Lands ſo ready to ſell. All that had been brought in hitherto, had been put into the Apoſtles hands, and they had been burdened with the care and trouble of the diſpoſal of it: but now they transfer that work and office to the ſeven, ſolemnly ordaining them by Impoſition of hands into it, and here only, the Impoſition of the Apoſtles hands confers not the Holy Ghoſt, for theſe men were full of the Holy Ghoſt before.

Stephen an eminent man among them, is quarrelled by certain of the *Libertines*, and the *Helleniſts* Synagogue. *Libertini* משוחררים are exceeding frequently ſpoken of in the Jews Writings. And the *Alexandrian Synagogue* [one of the *Helleniſts*] is mentioned in Jeruſ. in Megillah. fol. 73. col. 4. and Juchaſ. fol. 26. who tell, that *R. Eliezer bar Zadoc took the Synagogue of the Alexandrians that was at Jeruſalem, and imployed it to his own uſe.*

When they are not able to overpower him by argument and diſputation, they take a ready way to do it, by falſe accuſation, and conventing him before the *Sanhedrin*: where being accuſed of vilifying *Moſes*, and ſpeaking of the deſtruction of that place, he is vindicated, even miraculouſly, before he pleadeth his own cauſe, by his face ſhining like the face of *Moſes*, and bearing an Angelical aſpect and Majeſty; for indeed he ſpake but what was ſpoken by the Angel *Gabriel*, Dan. 9. 26, 27.

In his Apology, he ſpeaketh to the heads of his accuſation, but ſomewhat abſtruſely; yet ſo as to them to whom he ſpake to be well underſtood, his diſcourſe being according to their own Rhetorick and Logick: To what was laid to his charge, for vilifying *Moſes*, and ſaying, his cuſtoms ſhould be changed, he rehearſeth in brief the whole hiſtory of *Moſes*, and ſhews he was Orthodox to him; but yet he driveth all to this, that as the times before *Moſes* were ſtill moving and growing on to ſettlement in *Moſes*, ſo when *Moſes* himſelf had ſetled all he had to do, yet he pointed them to a Prophet yet to come, to whom they ſhould hearken as the ultimate Oracle, which was this *Jeſus* that he preached to them. And whereas he was accuſed for ſpeaking of the deſtruction of the Temple, he firſt ſhews, that fixedneſs to this or that place, is not ſo much to be ſtood upon, as appears by the flitting condition of the Patriarchs [whoſe flittings he giveth the ſtory of at large] and by the moving condition of the Tabernacle before the Temple was built: And when the Temple was built, it was not becauſe God would confine himſelf to one place, for *the moſt High dwelleth not in Temples made with hands*, ver. 48. *&c.*

He inſerteth two or three ſharp and true accuſations of them, whereas theirs of him had been but falſe and cauſeleſs. As, that their fathers had perſecuted thoſe that foretold of *Chriſt*, as they did him for now preaching him, and they followed their fathers ſteps; nay went further, for they had murdered *Chriſt*, whereas their fathers had but murdered his Prophets. And whereas they were ſo punctual, about the Ceremonious rites given by *Moſes*, they neglected the moral Law, which was given by the diſpoſition of Angels.

This cuts them to the heart, that they paſs a rancourous and furious ſentence of death upon him: but he hath a ſight of the high bench of Heaven, God and Chriſt at his right hand, their judge and his: A moſt fit proſpect for the firſt Martyr.

They caſt him out of the City and ſtone him for blaſphemy. For *theſe were to be ſtoned. He that went in to his mother, or to his fathers wife, or to his daughter in Law, or to a male, or to a beaſt: and he that blaſphemed, or that committed Idolatry*, &c. And *the place of ſtoning was out from the place of Judgment*, [nay out of the City, as the *Gemariſts* reſolve it] *becauſe it is ſaid, Bring him that curſed, out of the Camp.* And *A crier went before him, that was to die, proclaiming his fault.* Sanhedr. per. 6. & 7.

When he was come within four cubits of the place of ſtoning, they ſtript him naked: only covered his nakedneſs before. Ibid.

And being come to the very place, firſt the witneſſes laid their hands upon him, *Maym. in Avodah Zarah per.* 2. and then ſtripping off their coats that they might be more expedite for their preſent work, firſt one of them daſheth his loins violently againſt a ſtone that lay for that purpoſe: if that killed him not, then the other daſheth a great ſtone upon his heart, as he lay on his back: and if that diſpatched him not, then all the people fell upon him with ſtones. *Talm. ubi ſup.*

Steven in the midſt of all this their fury, and his own anguiſh, gets on his knees and prays for them: and having ſo done *he fell aſleep.* The Jews do ordinarily uſe the word רמך to ſignifie *Dying*, which properly ſignifies *ſleeping*, eſpecially when they ſpeak of a fair and comfortable death: which word *Luke* tranſlates here. כל הנסקלין נתלין *All that were ſtoned were alſo hanged up upon a tree.* Talm. *ubi ſup.* Whether *Steven* were ſo uſed is uncertain, but it is evident that he had a fair burial, and not the burial of a malefactour.

CHRIST. XXXIV.

ACTS CHAP. VIII.

A Great perſecution followeth the death of *Steven:* in which *Saul* was a chief agent, Scholar of *Gamaliel* [Preſident of the *Sanhedrin*] and it may be the buſier for that. In Talm. Bab. Sanhedr. fol. 43. col. 1. they ſay, *Jeſu had five Diſciples, Mathai, Nakai, Netſer, Boni and Thodah*, and they are urging reaſons there, why they ſhould all be put to death, *&c.*

All the hundred and twenty Miniſters mentioned, *Chap.* 1. 15. are ſcattered abroad [only the twelve ſtay at *Jeruſalem* as in the furnace to comfort and cheriſh the Church there in ſo ſad a time] and they preach all along as they go, and ſo *Satan* breaks his own head by his own deſign, for by perſecution by which he had contrived to ſmother the Goſpel, it ſpreads the more.

The firſt plantation of it mentioned, is in *Samaria*, and that according to *Chriſts* own direction, and foretelling, *Act.* 1. 8. *Ye ſhall be witneſſes to me, both in Jeruſalem and in all Judea, and in Samaria*, &c. He had forbidden them before, *Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any City of the Samaritans do not enter*, Matth. 10. 5. but now that partition wall that had been between, is to be broken down. Of all Nations and people under Heaven the *Samaritans* were the moſt odious to the Jews, and a main reaſon was, becauſe they were Jews Apoſtates. For though the firſt peopling of that place, after the Captivity of the ten Tribes, was by Heathens, 2 *King.* 17. yet upon the building of the Temple on mount *Gerizim*, ſuch multitudes of Jews continually flocked thither, that generally *Samaritaniſm* was but a mongrel *Judaiſm.* They called *Jacob* their father, expected *Meſſias*, had their Temple, Prieſthood, Service, Pentatuch, &c. And to ſpare more, take but this one paſſage in Talm. Jeruſ. Peſachin fol. 27. 2. *The Cuthæans all the time that they celebrate their unleavened bread feaſt with Iſrael, they are to be believed concerning their putting away of leaven: If they do not keep their unleavened bread feaſt with Iſrael, they are not to be believed concerning their putting away of leaven. Rabban Gamaliel* ſaith, *All the Ordinances that the Cuthæans uſe, they are more punctual in them then Iſrael is.* It is an unhappy obſcurity that the *Hebrew* Writers have put upon the word *Cuthæans*, for though it moſt properly ſignifie *Samaritans*, yet have they ſo commonly given this name to *Chriſtians*, as the moſt odious name they could invent to give them, that in the moſt places that you meet with it, you cannot tell whether they mean the one or the other. In the place cited, it ſeemeth indeed moſt likely that it means the *Samaritans*, becauſe it ſpeaks of their keeping the feaſt of unleavened bread, and uſing the Ordinances of *Iſrael:* unleſs it ſpeak of thoſe Jews that had received the Goſpel and become Chriſtians, and were fallen to their Judaiſm again, and joyned that with their Chriſtianity, which very many did, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve hereafter.

Simon Magus taketh upon him to believe and is baptized: The naming of him calls to mind the mention of one *Simon a Magician* that *Joſephus* ſpeaks of, *Antiq. lib.* 20. *cap.* 5. who

who was a means to intice *Drusilla* from her former husband to go and marry *Felix* the Governour of *Judea*, this might very well be that man. And it minds of a passage in *Tal. Jerus. in Jebamoth fol.* 13. *col.* 1. בני סימונייא אתון לגבי רבי I cannot but render it, *The Simonians came to Rabbi, and said to him We pray thee give us a man to be our Expositor, Judge, Minister, Scribe, Traditionary, and to do for us all we need.* I know what סימוניא ראגמא is in *Tal. Bab. in Cholin. fol.* 15. But certainly בני סימונייא means some people; but whence so named, there is no disputing here.

Philip baptized *Samaria*, and did great wonders among them, but could not bestow the Holy Ghost upon them: that power belonged only to the Apostles; therefore *Peter* and *John* are sent thither for that purpose. *They laid their hands upon them and they received the Holy Ghost:* Not upon all, for what needeth that? Or what reason was there for it? The gifts of the Holy Ghost that were received, were these miraculous ones, of Tongues, Prophesie, &c. *Acts* 10. 46. & 19. 6. Now of these there were but these two ends, 1. For the confirmation of the doctrine of the Gospel, such miraculous gifts attending it. And 2. for instruction of others: for Tongues were given indeed for a sign, 1 *Cor.* 14. 22. but not only for a sign, but for edification and instruction, as the Apostle also sheweth at large in the same Chapter. Now both these ends were attained, though they that received the Holy Ghost were not all, but only a few and set number: nay the later not conceivable of all, for if all were inabled miraculously to be Teachers, who were to be taught? The Imposition therefore of the Apostles hands, mentioned here and elsewhere, and those passages, *These signs shall follow those that believe, they shall cast out Devils, they shall speak with Tongues, &c.* Mark 16. 17. *Repent and be baptized every one of you, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost*, Act. 2. 38, &c. were not upon all that believed the Gospel, and were baptized: but upon some certain number, whom they were directed by the Holy Ghost to lay their hands upon, as those men that God had appointed and determined for Preachers and Ministers to the people, and who by the Imposition of the Apostles hands, receiving the Holy Ghost, were by those gifts inabled to understand the language and sense of Scripture, and to be instructers of the people, and to build them up.

Candaces Eunuch, having been at *Jerusalem* to worship, and returning back is converted by *Philip*. [Of *Candace Queen of Meroe* in *Æthiopia*, see *Strabo lib.* 17.] He met with him in the way that lead from *Jerusalem* to *Gaza the desert*. Of this place *Strabo* again *lib.* 16. speaketh thus, *Then is the haven of the Gazæans: above which, some seven furlongs, is the City, once glorious, but ruined by Alexander* καὶ μένουσα ἔρημος *and it remaineth desert. Diodorus Siculus* calls it Γόζα παλαιὰ *The old Gaza*, lib. 19. for another was built at the haven by the Sea side, called sometimes *Maiuma*. Sozom. Eccles. hist. lib. 5. cap. 3. and afterward *Constantia*, named so by *Constantine* after the name of his sister: as saith *Euseb. de Vit. Constant. lib.* 4. *cap.* 28. or as *Sozomen*, of his son *Constantius*.

Whether this Eunuch were a Jew or a Proselyte is scarce worth inquiring: his devotion is far more worth spending thoughts upon, which brought him so long a journey, and imployed him so well in his travail, as in reading the Scripture. He is baptized in the name of *Jesus*, ver. 37. and [as it may well be conceived] takes ship at *Gaza*, and is the first, that we find, that carried the profession of *Jesus* into *Africk*. The mention of which, may justly call our thoughts to consider of the Temple built in *Egypt* by *Onias*, and the vast numbers of Jews that were in that and the Countries thereabouts, and yet how little intimation there is, in the New Testament Story, by whom or how the Gospel was conveyed into those parts.

Philip is rapt by the Spirit from *Gaza* to *Azotus*, which were 270 furlongs, or 34 miles asunder, as *Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra*, measures.

ACTS CHAP. IX. *from the beginning to* Vers. 23.

THE conversion of *Paul:* A monument of mercy, 1 *Tim.* 1. 14, 16. A Pharisee, a persecutor, a murderer, yet become a Christian, a Preacher, an Apostle.

He consented to *Stevens* death: and after that he gets a Commission from the chief Priests, and makes desperate havock in *Jerusalem*, Act. 8. 2. & 22. 4. & 26. 10.

We find all along this Book, that the chief Priests are not only the busiest men in persecuting of the Gospel, but in many places it is related so, as if they were the only men and had intire power in their own hands, as a peculiar Court, to give Commissions, to judge, condemn and execute: as it hath been and is the opinion of some, that there was an Ecclesiastical *Sanhedrin* distinct from the Civil.

It is true indeed that there was in the Temple a Consistory only of Priests, which sat in the room called *Parhedrin*, and *Liscath Buleute*, *The Chamber of the Council:* but these sate not there, as Magistrates over the people, but only as a Consistory, to take care of the service and affairs of the Temple, that nothing should be wanting, nor nothing slacked

that was required about it, or that conduced to the promoting of the ſervice of it, and their power extended not beyond that virge. Any other *Conceſſus* or Conſiſtory of *Prieſts alone*, then this, I believe cannot be ſhewed in any records of that Nation, and this is far from the power and conſtitution of a *Sanhedrin*. The Talmud indeed in *Chetuboth per.* 1. *Halac.* 5. ſpeaketh of a *Beth din, or Conſiſtory of the Prieſts which required four hundred zuzims in dower or joynture for a virgin:* Which ſeemeth to aſſert this as a peculiar Court, inveſted with diſtinct power from the other. But the *Gemariſts*, eſpecially the *Babylonian* do make it plain, that no ſuch thing can be inferred from this action: for they tell us that the Prieſts determined this buſineſs of *four hundred zuzims dower to their own daughters*, only for the honour of their Tribe and blood: So that this was not any act of judicial power binding others, but an act of conſent among themſelves to keep up the credit of their Function and Families. But here is not time and place to diſcuſs this point [a matter of no ſmall Controverſie] further then what may give illuſtration to the ſubject before us.

How to underſtand therefore this judicial activity of the *chief Prieſts* throughout this book, the Evangeliſt hath given us a rule betime in the ſtory, *Chap.* 4. *ver.* 5. Where he ſhews that the whole *Sanhedrin* is to be underſtood, of which the Prieſts were a great, if not the greateſt part, and were in this cauſe the buſieſt men. In caſe of neceſſity, there might be a *Sanhedrin*, though never a Prieſt or Levite was of it, for ſo is their own Canon, namely if fit men of either rank were not to be found; but in common carriage, and experience they were the greateſt and moſt potent number, as whoſe profeſſion and Function beſpake ſtudiouſneſs and pleaded honour. In all the New Teſtament we meet but with theſe men by name, of all the *Sanhedrin*. *Annas*, and *Caiaphas*, and *John*, and *Alexander*, *Gamaliel*, *Nicodemus*, and *Joſeph of Arimathea*. And how many of theſe were not Prieſts? *Gamaliel* indeed was of the Tribe of *Judah*, and of the Progeny of *David*, being grandchild of *Hillel*. But as for all the reſt, ſome of them were undoubtedly of the Prieſthood, and the others more probably ſo too, then of any other Tribe: Of *Annas* and *Caiaphas* there is no queſtion: And if *John*, Acts 4.6. be the eminenteſt *John* that was then among them, it means *Rabban Jochanan ben Zaccai*, who was now Vicepreſident of the Council, and he was a Prieſt as *Juchaſin* tells us. And if *Nicodemus* be the ſame with the eminenteſt *Nicodemus* of thoſe times of whom *Avoth R. Nathan* per. 6. and *Talm. bab. in Cetubboth* fol. 66. make mention [as we have no cauſe to think otherwiſe] then was he by their plain deſcription a Prieſt likewiſe. And ſo was *Joſeph of Arimathea*, if his ſtile and title βουλευτὴς be to be underſtood according to the common ſpeech of the Nation, as there can be no reaſon why it ſhould not be ſo underſtood. And as for *Alexander*, of whom is leaſt evidence, it is not worth ſpending ſo much time upon as to diſcuſs, ſince theſe already mentioned may be witneſs enough.

In all the buſie ſtirring therefore of the Prieſts in this ſtory of the Acts of Apoſtles, as *Chap.* 7. 1. & 23. 2. and about this Commiſſion of *Saul*, we are not to take them as a diſtinct and ſeparate power from the *Sanhedrin*, but as a part of it, and ſuch as whoſe Function and intereſt, as they thought, did moſt of all the other urge them to look to the prevention of this growing evil of the Goſpel, as they did, as heartily, as erroneouſly repute it: and therefore the ſtory doth more eſpecially pitch upon them as the moſt ſtirring men. And ſo *Paul* himſelf doth help to interpret *Lukes* relation. For whereas *Chap.* 9.1,2. it is ſaid, *Saul went to the high Prieſt and deſired of him letters to Damaſcus*, he who beſt could tell how this ſhould be underſtood, explains it thus, *Chap.* 22. 5. *Of the High Prieſt, and of all the eſtate of the Elders I received letters to the brethren*, &c. The words *of all the eſtate of the Elders* determine the point we have in hand, and the other words *to the brethren*, call us to the conſideration of another: and that is, how far the *Sanhedrins* decrees and injunctions had power and command over the Jews in forrain Lands. By producing the words of one of their Acts we ſhall better judge of this matter and underſtand the words *to the brethren*, both at once.

In *Talm. Jeruſ. Sanhedr. fol.* 18. *col.* 4. they ſay thus, *For the three Countries they intercalated the year for Judea, and beyond Jordan and Galilee. For two of them together they did it, for one alone they did it not. There is a ſtory of Rabban Gamaliel and the Elders, that they ſate at the going up to the Temple, and Jochanan the Scribe ſate before them: Rabban Gamaliel ſaith to him, Write* לאחנא בני דרומא עילאה *To our Brethren that dwell in the upper South Country* ולאחנא בני דרומא ארעייא *And to our Brethren that dwell in the lower South Country, Peace be multiplied to you. We give you to underſtand that the time of ſetting forth your tithes is come*, &c. ולאחנא *And to our Brethren of Galilee the upper, and Galilee the lower, Peace be multiplied unto you. We give you to underſtand that the time of ſetting forth your tithes is come*, &c. ולאחנא *And to our Brethren of the captivity of Babel, of Media, of Greece, and the whole captivity of Iſrael, Peace be multiplied unto you: We give you to underſtand, that ſince the Lambs are yet little, and young Pigeons ſmall, and the time of the firſt ripe ears is not yet come, that it ſeemeth good to me and to my fellows to add thirty days*

unto

unto this year. And the very ſame is related again in *Maaſar ſheni* fol. 56. col. 3. By which we ſee that when *Luke* ſaith, that *Saul* had the *Sanhedrins* letters *to the brethren*, he ſpeaks but the very language that ſuch letters uſed to ſpeak in: and by this we ſee alſo, that their letters miſſive to their *brethren* in forrain Lands, were rather Declarations then Commands: For it was not ſo much the awe of the *Sanhedrins* power reaching to thoſe remote places, that kept the whole Nation to obedience of their decrees, as it was their innate and inured ambition to be held and kept a peculiar and diſtinct and conform people, and their devotedneſs to their Law and Worſhip, the great Oracle of which they held the *Sanhedrin* to be, in all ages. Such letters may we conceive were theſe to the Synagogues at *Damaſcus*, not imperious, but declarative and perſwaſive: which before *Saul* had delivered [who was now שליח סנהדרי גדולה *Apoſtolus Synhedrii magni*] he is converted and deſigned for an *Apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt.*

He ſaw *Chriſt*, *ver.*17. 1 *Cor.* 9. 1. though he ſaw him not: for as *Iſrael* at *Sinai* ſaw the Lord, not in any repreſentation, but only his glory, ſo did he *Chriſt* in his glory, and a voice. And ſo they that travelled with him heard the voice, *ver.* 7. in its terrible ſound, but they heard it not, *Acts* 22.9. in its artiçulate utterance, ſo as to underſtand it, [the like to that in *Joh.* 12.29.]

At three days end he receiveth his ſight, and Baptiſm, and was filled with the Holy Ghoſt, *ver.* 17, 18. but how he received the laſt is ſomewhat obſcure: whether before his Baptiſm or upon it, by immediate infuſion as they did *Chap.*10.45. or by impoſition of *Ananias* his hands; which if he did, as it was extraordinary for any beſides an Apoſtle to confer the Holy Ghoſt, ſo could not *Ananias* do, or think of doing this, without an extraordinary warrant: Whether way it was, he is now ſo compleatly furniſhed with all accompliſhments for his Miniſtry, that *he confers not with fleſh and blood*, that is, not with any men, nor *goes he up to Jeruſalem*, no not to confer with the Apoſtles, *Gal.*1.16,17. but hath the full knowledge of the Goſpel, and full aſſurance of his knowledge that it was right: And ſo he begins to preach in *Damaſcus.*

CHRIST. XXXV. XXXVI. Theſe two years *Paul* ſpendeth in *Damaſcus* and *Arabia*, and *Damaſcus* again, *Gal.* 1. 17.

CHRIST. XXXVII. ACTS CHAP. IX. *from* Verſ. 23. *to* Verſ. 32.

AFTER three years from his Converſion he cometh to *Jeruſalem*, being driven from *Damaſcus* by a machination of the *Jews*, who had wrought with the Governour to apprehend him, but he is let over the wall in a basket, 2 *Cor.* 11. 32, 33.

He goeth up to *Jeruſalem* to ſee *Peter*, Gal. 1. 18. but at his firſt coming thither, the Diſciples are afraid of him, till *Barnabas* makes way for his intertainment, *Act.*9.27. His going to ſee *Peter* is to confer with the Miniſter of the Circumciſion, himſelf being appointed Miniſter to the Uncircumciſed: And how *Barnabas* who was to be his fellow ſhould come to be acquainted with him before any of the reſt, we can hardly find out any other way to reſolve, then by conceiving he had ſome intimation from God of his own Apoſtleſhip among the Gentiles, and *Pauls* with him.

He ſtayeth at *Jeruſalem* but fifteen days and ſeeth none of the Apoſtles, but *Peter* and *James the leſs*, Gal. 1. 18, 19. He preacheth boldly there, and diſputes ſo vehemently with the *Helleniſts* that they go about to kill him, *Act.* 9. 29. But why him, rather then *Peter*, *James*, *Barnabas*, and others that were now at *Jeruſalem?* We may anſwer, Becauſe he himſelf was a *Helleniſt*, one once of their own Colledge, and the more zealous he was now againſt them, the more incenſed were they againſt him, for an Apoſtate, as they accounted him: and now he that with them had contrived the death of *Steven*, is forced by them to fly for his own life.

CHRIST. XXXVIII. XXXIX. XL. ACTS CHAP. IX. *from* Ver. 32. *to the end.* *And* CHAP. X. *all.* *And* CHAP. XI. *to* Verſ. 19.

THE Stories ſucceeding to *ver.*19. of *Chap.*11. as they are of a doubtful date, becauſe neither the Hiſtorian here, nor any other part of Scripture hath fixed the determinate time of their occurring, ſo is not the limiting of them to their year or time ſo very needful; if only it be ſecured, that they follow in time to thoſe preceding that we have

have ſpoken to; and that we may be aſſured of their order, though we cannot be of their preciſe time. And this is eaſie to reſolve upon, without much debate. The laſt verſe of the former Section, informs us of a peace and reſt come to all the Churches, and the beginning of this brings in *Peter* [as in this calm] paſſing through all quarters preaching and confirming them. And that this could not be but after the times of the ſtories mentioned hitherto, appeareth by this, that though it is true indeed, that *Peter* was abroad in *Samaria* upon the converſion of it, yet he was returned again to *Jeruſalem*, *Chap.* 8.25. and was there three years after, when *Paul* comes up thither.

This therefore is a new voyage, in which he doth three great things, healeth *Æneas* of a Palſie at *Lydda:* raiſeth *Dorcas* from the dead at *Joppa*; and openeth the door of the Goſpel to the Gentiles in *Cæſarea.*

Æneas is a name that we find in the Jewiſh Writers. רי שמואל בר אינייא *R. Samuel the ſon of R. Æneas*, is mentioned in *Jeruſ. Jebamoth fol.* 6.2. And *Lod* or *Lydda* they ſpeak exceeding frequently of, and produce remarkable ſtories and memorials of it. And indeed the quarters of *Peters* preſent walk, compared with the Hebrews records concerning theſe places, may well claim ſome obſervation. For when he is at *Joppa* he is in the middle, as it were, of thoſe places which in a little time after this [nay it may be at this very time] were two of their greateſt and eminenteſt Schools.

At *Jabneh* on the one hand of *Joppa* did the great *Sanhedrin* ſit long: both before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* and after: for when it began to be unſetled and to flit up and down fourty years before the deſtruction of the City, its firſt removal from *Jeruſalem* was hither: and here ſat *Gamaliel*, *Pauls* Maſter, with his *Sanhedrin* a good ſpace of time, and for ought can be ſaid to the contrary, it might very well be there at this time when *Peter* was at *Joppa.*

Now as the Jews called that place *Jabneh* ſo the Gentiles called it *Jamnia*, and how near it was to *Joppa* you may gueſs from theſe words of *Strabo*, lib. 16. *This place* [ſpeaking of *Joppa*] *was ſo populous that out of the neighbour Town Jamnia, and other places thereabout, it was able to raiſe* 40000 *men.*

At *Lydda* on the other hand of *Joppa*, were moſt famous Schools, and eminent men as well as at *Jabneh.* Λύδδα κώμη πόλεως τὸ μέγεθος ἔχ ἀποδέουσα. *It was a Town that wanted little of the bigneſs of the City.* Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 5. It lay Weſt of *Jeruſalem* a days journey off, as the *Talmud* ſeats it and meaſures, in *Maaſar Sheni per.* 5. *hal.* 2. It was in *Judea: And thereupon four and twenty of the School of Rabbi came thither to intercalate the year, but an evil eye came in upon them, and they died all at one time.* Jeruſ. Sanhedr. fol.18. col.3. For they might not intercalate the year but in *Judea*, Maym. in Kidduſh Hodeſh per. 4. but upon this miſchance they removed that buſineſs into *Galilee.* Here it ſeems the *Sanhedrin* ſat alſo ſometimes, or at leaſt they had a great Bench of their own, for there is mention of *ſtoning ben Satda at Lydda on the eve of the Paſſover*, Ibid. fol.25.4. To reckon the ſtories and eminent men belonging to this place were endleſs, at the leaſt it is needleſs here.

But the mention and gender of *Saron* which is alſo named with *Lydda*, Act. 9. 35. may plead excuſe if we alledge one or two Talmudick paſſages for the clearing of it, Jeruſ. in Sheviith fol.38.4. *From Bethoron to Emmaus was hilly, from Emmaus to Lydda plain, and from Lydda to the Sea vale.*

Idem in Sotah fol. 18.4. *R. Jochanan and R. Eliezer went from Jabneh to Lydda and met with R. Joſhua in* בקיעין *Bekin.*

Gittin per. 1. hal. 1. *He that bringeth a bill of Divorce from a Heathen Country muſt be able to ſay, In my preſence it was written and ſealed in my preſence: Rabban Gamaliel ſaith, Yea he that brings one from Rekam and Chagra. R. Eleazer* ſaith, *Yea he that brings one from Caphar Lodim to Lod.* Rabbi Niſſim upon the place ſaith thus: *Caphar Lodim was out of the Land, near to Lod, which was within the Land, and it was ſo called becauſe Lyddans were always found there.*

Jeruſ. in Beracoth fol. 3. 1. *They brought a cheſt full of bones from Caphar Tobi and ſet it openly at the entring in to Lod. Tudrus the Phyſician came, and all the Phyſicians with him,* &c.

Beſides obſerving, that *Tobi* is the name of a man [*Rabban Gamaliels* ſervant. Beracoth per. 2. hal.7.] as *Tabitha* is the name of a woman in the ſtory before us; the word *Saron* being of the maſculine gender, it plainly tells us that it is not the name of a Town, but of the plain or flat where divers Towns ſtood, and among others it may be theſe mentioned.

ACTS CHAP. X. *all the Chapter.*

LIttle inferiour to theſe places for Learned men, was *Cæſarea upon the Sea*, and beyond them for other eminencies. רבנין קיסרין *The Doctors of Cæſarea* are of exceeding frequent and exceeding renowned mention in both Talmuds: and by name *R. Heſhai the great*; *R. Achavah*, *R. Zeira*, *R. Ada*, *R. Prigori*, *R. Ulla*, *R. Tachalipha and ſeveral others.* It was antiently called πύργος Στράτωνος *Stratons tower*, but ſumptuouſly built and beautified by *Herod* the great, in honour of *Cæſar*, it was called *Cæſarea.* It was mixedly inhabited by Jews and Gentiles, and much of an equal number; and moſt commonly well fraught with *Roman* ſouldiers, becauſe the Governours reſidence was ordinarily here.

Of ſome of theſe Bands was *Cornelius* a Captain: a man come to an admirable pitch of piety, and it is hard to imagine how he came by it: For that he was not ſo much as a Proſelyte, is apparent, in that they at *Jeruſalem* cavil at *Peter* for going to him, as to a Heathen. And whether he were גר תושב *A ſojourning ſtranger* as they called ſome, is not much material, ſince by their own judgment גר תושב בנוי לכל דבר *A ſojourning ſtranger was as a Gentile to all purpoſes*, Jeruſ. Jebamoth fol.8. col.4. Whenceſoever he learned faith in *Chriſt*, his full knowledge of *Chriſt* he learned from *Peter:* he having a warrant by viſion to ſend for *Peter*, and he a warrant by viſion to go to him.

Here *the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven* committed to *Peter* ſo long ago, *Matth.*16. do their work: opening the door of faith firſt to the Gentiles, which never was ſhut ſince, nor ever will be whileſt there is a Church to be upon the Earth. *Jonah at Joppa*, and *Simon bar Jona* there, both ſent to the Gentiles, compare together.

Upon *Peters* preaching, the Holy Ghoſt falls upon thoſe Gentiles that were preſent, to the amazement of thoſe of the Circumciſion that had come with *Peter:* for they had not only not ſeen the like before, but had been trained up, while in their Judaiſm, under a *maxime* of a clean contrary tenour, which taught them *That the Holy Ghoſt would dwell neither upon any Heathen, nor upon any Jew in a Heathen Country. Cæſarea* was [as the Jews reputed] בין התחומות *between the borders:* that is, a place diſputable whether to account within the Land or without, or indeed both, *Juchas* fol. 74. And ſo were alſo other places upon this Weſtern border of the Land, the great Sea ſhore: as *Acon* or *Ptolemais*, *Jeruſ. challah* fol. 60. col. 2. *Aſcalon*, Idem *Sheviith* fol. 36. 3. and divers others, but all things computed, no fitter place in the Land could have been choſen for the beginning of this great work of bringing Jews and Gentiles together into one bound, then this: not only becauſe this City was both Jew and Gentile, within the Land and without, but alſo, becauſe here was the Roman Court the chief of the Gentiles: and the mentioning of *Cornelius* his being of the *Italian Band*, hinteth ſuch an obſervation.

The Holy Ghoſt at this its firſt beſtowing upon the Gentiles, is given in the like manner as it was at its firſt beſtowing upon the Jewiſh Nation, *Act.* 2. namely by immediate infuſion: at all other times you find mention of it, you find mention of Impoſition of hands uſed for it. But here it may be obſerved withal, that whereas the fruit of this gift of the Holy Ghoſt was, that *they ſpake with Tongues*, verſ. 46. it confirmeth that which we ſpake at *Chap.*2. *viz.* that the firſt fruit of this gift of Tongues was, that they that had it, were inabled to ſpeak and underſtand the Originals of the Scripture: And here it appeareth more plainly then there: And more plainly ſtill in thoſe twelve at *Epheſus*, Acts 19. 6. And thoſe that ſpake with Tongues in the Church of *Corinth*, 1 *Cor.* 14. For to what purpoſe was it for them to ſpeak there with Tongues where they all underſtood the ſame Language? It was not to gibber and talk in ſtrange Language that men might admire but not underſtand, but it was for edification of others, yea and for edifying of himſelf that ſo ſpake, 1 *Cor.* 14. 4. *He that ſpeaketh a Tongue edifieth himſelf:* How? What could he ſpeak in any ſtrange Language to his own edification, which he might not as much edifie himſelf by, had he ſpoken it in his own native Tongue? But only that this is meant, his ability by the gift of Tongues, to underſtand and ſpeak the Original language of the Scripture, was both for his own edification and the edification of others. Suppoſe one in the Church of *Corinth* could ſpeak *Perſick*, *Arabick*, *Ethiopick*, *&c.* and did chatter theſe Languages among them; he could not poſſibly ſpeak any thing in thoſe Tongues [though interpreted] that could edifie the people any more, then if he ſpake it in his mother Tongue: But if he ſpake and underſtood and uttered the Original language of Scripture, that if interpreted, would edifie: and he could not ſpeak in his mother Tongue, unleſs taken from thence, what he might ſpeak thence.

Peter

Peter returning to *Jeruſalem* is taken to task by ſome of the Circumciſion for going in to the Gentiles and eating with them: a thing of unſpeakable deteſtation to the Jews: Hence thoſe alluſions: *Let him be to thee as a Heathen*, Matth. 18. *With ſuch a one no not to eat*, 1 Cor. 5. We find not any ſuch quarrel at *Peter* and *John* for going down to *Samaria*, though the *Samaritans* were as odious to the Jewiſh Nation as people could be, but they were neither uncircumciſed, nor Idolaters: both which, eſpecially the latter, bred their deteſtation of the Heathen.

CHRIST. XLI.

ACTS CHAP. XI. *from* Verſ. 19. *to the end of the Chapter.*

AS *Cæſarea* the ſeat of the *Roman* Governour of *Judea*, firſt ſeeth the door of faith opened to the Gentiles, ſo *Antioch* the ſeat of the *Roman* Governour of *Syria*, firſt heareth the name *Chriſtian*. Theſe of the hundred and twenty Miniſters [mentioned, *Acts* 1. 15.] that had fled upon the perſecution raiſed againſt *Steven*, went preaching up and down firſt as far as the bounds of *Judea* extended: then ſome of them ſtepped out, as far as into *Phænice*, *Cyprus* and *Syria*, but all this while dealing with the Jews only. At laſt ſome of them at *Antioch* ἐλάλουν πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνιστὰς *ſpake to the Helleniſts* *ver.* 20. Here the word *Helleniſts* is of doubtful interpretation: only this is doubtleſs in it, that it means not *Jews*, as the word doth, *Acts* 6. 1. for it is ſet in oppoſition to them, *ver.* 19. Doth it mean Proſelytes then? That it cannot neither, for they were reputed as Jews to all purpoſes. Means it Heathens? Yes, that is undoubted it doth, both by the ſcope of the ſtory here, and by the quarrel urging theſe believers at *Antioch* to be Circumciſed, *Chap.* 15. But why then ſhould they be called *Helleniſtæ* rather then *Hellenes*? Some conceive, becauſe they were become גרי תושב *Proſelyte ſojournours*, meaning that they had forſaken their Idolatry: as *Cornelius* had done his, though he were not גר צדק *a Proſelyte circumciſed:* But what if theſe were native *Syrians* by pedegree and language, could they then for that be called *Helleniſts* or *Greeks*? The word therefore muſt mean, that they were ſuch as were *Syrogrecians*; *Antioch* it ſelf indeed having been once the head of the *Syrogrecian* Empire: *Hellenes* or purely *Greeks* they could not be called [though it will not be denied they ſpake that Language] becauſe they were not only no inhabitants of that Country, but not altogether of that blood: but ſuch as were of a mixture of *Syrian* and *Greek*; the progeny of the old plantations and infranchiſments of the *Syrogrecian* Monarchy. Whatſoever their title *Helleniſts* includeth, they being undoubtedly Heathens, it ſheweth that theſe Miniſters preached to them, underſtood of the liberty given to preach to the Gentiles, and the paſſage betwixt *Peter* and *Cornelius*, or they durſt not have been bold to have gone beyond the partition wall without their warrant: And the readineſs of the Church at *Jeruſalem* to ſend *Barnabas* to them, ſhews that they alſo were ſatisfied in this matter, and ſo this evidenceth that this ſtory was after that about *Cornelius*.

Their ſending *Barnabas*, and his fetching *Saul* to the ſame work with him, giveth ſome confirmation of that which was touched before, namely that it is very probable that *Barnabas* knew of his own being deſigned for a Miniſter to the uncircumciſion, and of *Pauls* being joyned with him in that work, a great while before they were ſent away from *Antioch* upon it: They now ſpend a whole year in the Church there, and there the Name *Chriſtian* is firſt taken up, and that in a Gentile Church. *Antioch* of old had been called *Hamath*, but now it bare the name of one that had been as bloody a perſecutor of the Church and truth: as the Church of *Iſrael* had ever ſeen, *Antiochus*. The very name of the place may raiſe a meditation.

ACTS CHAP. XII, XIII.

HERE we meet with ſome ſcruple in Chronology, and about the precedency of the ſtory in theſe two Chapters: for though the actions in *Chap.* 12. be laid firſt, and that very properly, that the ſtory of *Peter* may be taken up together, and concluded before the ſtory of *Paul* come in, which is to be followed to the end of the Book, yet there may be juſt queſtion whether, the ſending of *Paul* and *Barnabas* from *Antioch* to preach among the Gentiles, which is handled in the beginning of *Chap.* 13. were not before ſome, if not all thoſe things related in *Chap.* 12. And the queſtion ariſeth from theſe two ſcruples. 1. Becauſe it is doubtful, in what year of *Claudius* the famine was, that is ſpoken of *Chap.* 12. 28. And 2. becauſe it is obſcure, how long *Paul* and *Barnabas* ſtaid at *Antioch* after their return from *Jeruſalem*, Chap. 12. 25. before they were ſent away among the Gentiles. But about this we need not much to trouble our ſelves: ſince as to the underſtanding of the ſtories themſelves, there can be little illuſtration taken from their

their time: ſave only as to this, that the publick Faſt in the Church of *Antioch*, may ſeem to have ſome relation to ſome of the ſaid ſtories mentioned before, as coincident with them, or near to them; namely, either the famine through the world, *Chap.* 11. 28. or the perſecution in the Church, *Chap.* 12. We ſhall not therefore offer to diſlocate the order of the ſtories, from that wherein they lie, the Holy Ghoſt by the intertexture of them rather teaching us, that ſome of them were contemporary; then any way incouraging us to invert their order. Only theſe things cannot paſs unmentioned, toward the ſtating of their time and place, partly of coincidency, and partly of their ſucceeding one the other, and which may help us better to underſtand both.

1. That whereas *Dion* the *Roman* Hiſtorian *lib.*60. hath placed a ſore famine [at leaſt at *Rome*] in the time of *Claudius*, in his ſecond year: *Joſephus* carries it, *Antiq. lib.*12. *cap.*2. as if the bitternes of it at *Jeruſalem*, were in his fourth, which *Euſeb. in Chron.* determines poſitively; both may be true; for, for famines to laſt ſeveral years together is no ſtrange thing in Hiſtory, Divine or Humane, nor in experience in our own age.

2. That *Herod Agrippa's* murdering of *James*, and impriſoning of *Peter* could not be before the third year of *Claudius:* for *Joſephus* a witneſs impartial enough in this caſe, informs us, that *Claudius* in his ſecond Conſulſhip, which was indeed the ſecond year of his reign, made an Edict in behalf of the Jews, and ſent it through the world, and after that ſent *Agrippa* away into his own Kingdom: Now his Conſulſhip beginning the firſt of *January*, it was ſo next impoſſible that thoſe things ſhould be done at *Rome*, and *Agrippa* provide for his journey and travel it, and come to *Jeruſalem*, and murder *James* and apprehend *Peter*, and all before the Paſsover, (unleſs he haſted as it had been for a wager) that he that can believe *Peter* to have been impriſoned in *Claudius* his ſecond year of Conſulſhip and reign, muſt exceedingly ſtraiten the time of theſe occurrences, to make room for his belief.

3. In the third year of *Claudius*, therefore, are thoſe ſtories in *Chap.*12. to be reputed; only the laſt, about *Herods* death, in the beginning of his fourth, for a Paſsover in his fourth *Herod* lived not to ſee.

4. It may be obſerved that *Luke* hath placed the going up of *Paul* and *Barnabas* with the alms of the Church of *Antioch* to the poor of *Judea*, before the murder of *James*, *Chap.* 11. 30. but their return thence, not till after that, and *Herods* death, *Chap.* 12. 25. not that thereupon we are neceſſarily to think that they ſtaid there ſo long, as while all thoſe things in *Chap.*12. were acting, but that by that relation the ſtory of *Paul* and *Barnabas* is begun again, and we may very well conceive, for all that *poſtſcript* of *Luke* after the ſtory of *James* his Martyrdom, *Peters* impriſonment, and *Agrippa's* death, their return to *Antoich*, and going from thence among the Gentiles, *Chap.*13. to have been at that time while ſome of the things in *Chap.*12. occurred.

We will therefore take the Chapters up in the order in which they lye, and only carry along with us in our thoughts, a ſuppoſal that ſome of the ſtories in either might concur in time. And becauſe we have found here ſome need to look after the Years of the Emperour, which we have not had before, and ſhall have much more, forward, eſpecially when we come up to the times of *Nero*, it may not be amiſs to affix their Years alſo, as they went along concurrent with the Years of our Saviour.

CHRIST. XLII.	CLAUDIUS. II.

The famine begun: the Church of *Antioch* ſend relief into *Judea*.

CHRIST. XLIII.	ACTS CHAP. XII. *from the beginning to* Ver.20.	CLAUDIUS. III.

JAMES beheaded by *Herod*, for ſo doth the Jews Pandect help us to underſtand theſe words, *He ſlew James with the ſword.* Talm. in Sanhedr. per. 7. hal. 3. *They that were ſlain by the ſword were beheaded, which alſo was the cuſtom of the Kingdom*; that is, of the *Romans*.

The ceremonious zeal of *Agrippa* in the Jewiſh way, bending it ſelf againſt the Church, may be conſtrued as a Jewiſh act, wicked, as upon the ſcore of that Nations wickedneſs and guilt.

The underling condition in which they had lain all the time of *Cains* [he having no good affection to that people] being now got looſe and aloft knows no bounds: and being ſomewhat countenanced by the Edict of *Claudius*, they cannot be content with their

own immunities, unleſs they ſeek alſo the ſuppreſſion of the Chriſtian Church. Though *Claudius* his Proclamation had this ſpecial clauſe and caveat, μὴ πρὸς ἄλλων ἐθνῶν δεισιδαιμονίας ἰουδαΐζειν, *that they ſhould not go about to infringe the liberty of other mens Religion.* This unbounded incroaching of theirs did within a little time cauſe the Emperor, who had now made a Decree for them, to make another againſt them.

Peter deſigned by the murderer for the like butchery, eſcapes by miracle: and the Tyrant before that time twelve month, comes to a miraculous fearful end.

ACTS CHAP. XIII. *from beginning to* Verſ. 14.

THE Divine Hiſtorian having hitherto followed the Story of the Church and Goſpel as both of them were dilated among the Jews, and therein pitched more eſpecially upon the Acts of *Peter* and *John* the ſingular Miniſters of the Circumciſion, more peculiarly *Peters:* he doth now turn his Pen, to follow the planting and progreſs of the Goſpel among the Gentiles, and here he inſiſteth more eſpecially upon the Story of *Paul* and *Barnabas* the ſingular Miniſters of the uncircumciſion, more peculiarly *Pauls.*

There were now in the Church of *Antioch* five men which were both *Prophets and Teachers*, or which did not only inſtruct the people and expound the Scriptures, but had alſo the Prophetick ſpirit and were partakers of Revelations: For though *Prophets and Teachers* were indeed of a diſtinct notion, 1 *Cor.*12.28. *Epheſ.* 4.11. and their abilities to teach were according of a diſtinct original, namely the former by revelation, and the latter by ſtudy, yet κατὰ τὸν ἴσον ἐκκλησίαν, [which phraſe may not paſs without obſervation] according to the ſtate of the Church then being, they not only had prophetick Teachers, but there was a kind of neceſſity they ſhould have ſuch, till time and ſtuddy had inabled others to be Teachers, which as yet they could not have attained unto, the Goſpel having been ſo lately brought among them.

Among theſe five, the names of *Barnabas* and *Saul* are no ſtrangers to the Reader, but the other three are more unknown.

1. *Simeon who was called Niger:* If the word *Niger* were Latin, it might then fairly be conjectured, that this was *Simon of Cyrene*, the Mooriſh complexion of his Country juſtly giving him the title of *Simeon the black*; but ſince the Patrionymick, *Cyrenean*, is applied only in the ſingular number to the next man *Lucius*, and ſince the word נגר was then uſed among the Jews in ſeveral ſignifications, as may be ſeen in *Aruch*, we ſhall rather conceive this man a *Cypriot* from *Chap.* 11. 20. and as *Barnabas* alſo was, *Chap.*4. 36. and his ſurname *Niger* whatſoever it ſignified, uſed to diſtinguiſh him from *Simon Peter*, and *Simon the Cananite.*

2. *Lucius of Cyrene:* Held by ſome and that not without ſome ground to be *Luke* the Evangeliſt: which it is like hath been the reaſon, why antiquity hath ſo generally held *Luke* to be an *Antiochian:* true, in regard of this his firſt appearing there under this name *Lucius* though originally a *Cyrenian*, and educated as it may be ſuppoſed in the *Cyrenian* Colledge or Synagogne in *Jeruſalem*, Chap. 6. 9. and there firſt receiving the Goſpel. In *Rom.* 16.21. *Paul* ſalutes the *Roman* Church in the name of *Lucius*, whereas there was none then in *Pauls* retinue whoſe name ſounded that way but only *Luke:* as we ſhall obſerve there.

3. *Manaen, who had been brought up with Herod the Tetrarch. Juchaſin fol.*19. mentioneth one *Menahem* who was once Vicepreſident of the Sanhedrin under *Hillel*, but departed to the ſervice of *Herod* the great, with fourſcore other eminent men with him: of whom we gave ſome touch before: It may be this was his ſon, and was called *Manaen* or *Menahem* after the father, and as the father was a great favourite of *Herod the great* the father, ſo this brought up at Court with *Herod the Tetrarch* the ſon.

As theſe holy men were at the publick miniſtration with faſting and prayer, the Holy Ghoſt gives them advertiſement of the ſeparating of *Paul* and *Barnabas*, for the Miniſtry among the Gentiles. A miſſion that might not be granted, but by ſuch a divine warrant; conſidering how the Gentiles had always lain behind a partition wall to the Jews: For although *Peter* in the caſe of *Cornelius* had opened the door of the Goſpel to the Heathen, yet was this a far greater breaking down of the partition wall, when the Goſpel was to be brought into their own Lands and to their own doors: When God ſaith, *Separate them to the work whereunto I have called them*, it further confirmeth that it was and had been known before that they ſhould be Miniſters of the uncircumciſion.

The Romiſh gloſſaries would fain ſtrain *the Maſs* out of the word λειτουργούντων, and the *Rhemiſts* think they have done us a courteſie, that they have not tranſlated it to that ſenſe: whereas, beſides that the word naturally ſignifieth any publick miniſtration, the Holy Ghoſt by the uſe of it ſeemeth to have a ſpecial aim, namely to intimate to us, that this was a publick faſt, as well as another publick miniſtration. Publick faſts were not ordinary

ordinary ſervices, and they were not taken up but upon extraordinary occaſions, and what the preſent occaſion might be, had been a great deal better worth ſtudying upon, then how to make the Greek word ſpeak *the Maſs* which it never meant.

How publick faſtings and days of humiliation were uſed by the Jews, and upon what occaſions, there is a ſpecial Treatiſe in the *Talmud* upon that ſubject, called *Taanith*, and the like in *Maymony*, that beareth witneſs: and it was no whit unſuitable to the Goſpel, upon the like exigencies to uſe the like kind of ſervice and devotion: And the preſent famine that was upon all Countries might very well miniſter occaſion to this Church at *Antioch* at this preſent for ſuch a work, for we cannot but ſuppoſe that the famine was now in being.

Whatſoever the occaſion was, the Lord, in the midſt of their humiliation, pointeth out *Paul* and *Barnabas*, for an imployment of his own, who were but a while ago returned from an imployment of the Churches: And ſo the other three *Simeon*, *Lucius*, and *Menaen*, underſtanding what the Lord meant, and having uſed another ſolemn day in faſting in prayer, lay their hands upon them and ſet them apart by Ordination. According as the ordaining of Elders among the Jews was by a *Triumvirate*, or by *three Elders*. Sanhedr. per. 1. halac. 3.

This is the ſecond Impoſition of hands ſince the Goſpel began, which did not confer the Holy Ghoſt with it [for theſe two were full of the Holy Ghoſt before: and this is the firſt Ordination of Elders ſince the Goſpel, that was uſed out of the Land of *Iſrael*. Which rite the Jewiſh Canons would confine only to that Land. *Maym.* Sanhedr. per. 4. Which circumſtances well conſidered, with the imployment that theſe two were to go about, and this manner of their ſending forth, no better reaſon I ſuppoſe can be given of this preſent action, then that the Lord hereby did ſet down a platform of ordaining Miniſters in the Church of the Gentiles to future times.

Paul and *Barnabas* thus deſigned by the Lord and ordained and ſent forth by this *Triumvirate* and guided by the Holy Ghoſt, they firſt go to *Seleucia:* moſt likely *Seleucia Pieriæ*, of which *Strabo* ſaith, that *it is the firſt City of Syria from Cilicia*, Geogr. lib. 14. to which *Pliny* aſſenteth, when he meaſureth *the breadth of Syria, from Seleucia Pieriæ to Zeugma upon Euphrates*, Nat. hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 12. The reaſon of their going thither may be judged to be, that they might take ſhip for *Cyprus*, whither they intended, for that this was a Port, appeareth by what follows in *Strabo*, when he ſaith, *That from Seleucia to Soli is about a thouſand furlongs ſail:* and ſo it is plain in *Lukes* Text when he ſaith, *they departed unto Seleucia, and from thence they ſailed to Cyprus:* where let us now follow them.

Cyprus was a Country ſo exceeding full of Jews, that it comes in for one in that ſtrange ſtory that *Dion Caſſius* relates in the life of *Trajan*. *The Jews* [ſaith he] *that dwelt about Cyrene, chooſing one* Andrew *for their Captain, ſlew the Greeks and Romans, and eat their fleſh, and devoured their inwards, and beſmeared themſelves with their blood, and wore their skins. Many they ſawed aſunder from the head downward, others they caſt to wild beaſts: many they made to ſlay one another, ſo that there were two hundred and twenty thouſand deſtroyed in this manner. There was the like ſlaughter made in Egypt and Cyprus, where there alſo periſhed two hundred and fourty thouſand. From whence it is that a Jew may not ſince come into Cyprus: and if any by ſtorms at Sea be driven in thither, they are ſlain. But the Jews were ſubdued by others, but eſpecially by Lucius whom Trojan ſent thither.* This was the native Country of *Barnabas*, Act. 4. 36.

Although theſe two Apoſtles were ſent to the Gentiles, yet was it ſo far from excluding their preaching to the Jews, that they conſtantly began with them firſt in all places where they came.

They begin at *Salamis*, the place next their landing, *and there they preached in the Synagogues of the Jews, having John Mark for their Miniſter.*

From thence they travailed preaching up and down in the Iland, till they come to *Paphos* which was at the very further part of it, toward the Southweſt Angle. There they meet with a Magical Jew called *Barjeſus*, and commonly titled *Elymas*, which is the ſame in ſenſe with *Magus:* Such Jewiſh deceivers as this went up and down the Countries to oppoſe the Goſpel, and to ſhew Magical tricks and wonders, for the ſtronger confirming of their oppoſition. Such were the *vagabond Jews exorciſts*, Act. 19. 13. and of ſuch our Saviour ſpake, *Matth.* 24. 24. and of ſome ſuch we may give examples out of their own Talmudical Writers. And here we may take notice of a threefold practice of oppoſition that the Jews uſed in theſe times and forward againſt the Goſpel and the ſpreading of it, beſides open perſecution unto blood.

1. Much about theſe times was made the prayer that hath been mentioned which was called ברכת מינים *The prayer againſt Hereticks*, which became by injunction one of their daily prayers. *Maymony* ſpeaketh the matter and intent of it in his Treatiſe *Tephillah*, in theſe words: *In the days of Rabban Gamaliel, Hereticks increaſed in Iſrael* [by Hereticks he meaneth thoſe that turned from Judaiſm to Chriſtianity] *and they troubled*

Iſrael, and perſwaded them to turn from their Religion. He ſeeing this to be a matter of exceeding great conſequence, more then any thing elſe, ſtood up, he and his Sanhedrin, and appointed a prayer, in which there was a petition to God to deſtroy thoſe Hereticks: and this he ſet among the common prayers, and appointed it to be in every mans mouth, and ſo their daily prayers became nineteen in number. Perek. 2. So that they daily prayed againſt Chriſtians and Chriſtianity.

2. The Jews had their emiſſaries every where abroad, that to the utmoſt in them cried down the Goſpel, preached againſt it, went about to confute it, and blaſphemed it and *Chriſt* that gave it: Of this there is teſtimony abundant in the New Teſtament: and in the Jews own Writings.

And 3. they were exceeding many of them skilled in Magick, and by that did many ſtrange things, by ſuch falſe miracles ſeeking to outface and vilifie the Divine miracles done by *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles: and ſtriving to confirm their own doctrines which oppoſed the Goſpel, by backing them with ſuch ſtrange and wondrous actings. *Juchaſin* ſpeaks of *Abba Chelchia*, and *Chamin*, and *Chamina Ben Duſa*, גיסים בלומרים *men skilled in miracles*, fol. 20. And the *Jeruſ. Talmud* ſpeaks of their inchantings, and magical tricks in *Shabb.* fol. 8. col. 2. & 3. *Sanhedr.* fol. 25. col. 4. nay even of their charming *in the name of Jeſu.* Shabb. fol. 14. col. 4.

Paul miraculouſly ſtrikes *Elymas* blind, and inlightens *Sergius Paulus* with the light of the Goſpel. This was at *Paphos* where old ſuperſtition dreamed of the blind God *Cupid.* Doting *Elymas* grope for thy fellow. The firſt miracle wrought among the Gentiles is ſtriking a perverſe Jew blind, which thing may very well become an Allegory.

From *Paphos* they go to *Perga* in *Pamphilia*, and there *John* departs from them and returns to *Jeruſalem:* but what was the occaſion is hard to conjecture. Whether it were that he heard of *Peters* trouble and danger that he had been in at *Jeruſalem*, and deſired to ſee him, for that he had ſome ſpecial intereſt and familiarity with *Peter*, may be collected from 1 *Pet.* 5. 14. and in that *Peter* was ſo well acquainted at his mothers houſe, *Act.* 12. 12, &c. Or whether in regard of this his relation to *Peter* the Miniſter of the Circumciſion, he made it nice to go among the Gentiles into the thickeſt of which he ſaw they were coming every day more then other. For at *Paphos* where they had laſt been, was a Temple of *Venus*, and at *Perga*, where they now are, was a Temple of *Diana.* *Strab.* lib. 14. *Pomp. Mela.* lib. 1. cap. 14. Or whatſoever the matter was, his departure was ſo unwarrantable, that it made a breach betwixt him and *Paul* for the preſent, nay it occaſioned a breach betwixt *Paul* and *Barnabas* afterward. And ſo we leave him in his journy to *Jeruſalem*, whither when he came, he ſtaied there till *Paul* and *Barnabas* came thither again.

CHRIST. XLIV. | CLAUDIUS. IV.

ACTS CHAP. XII. *from* Ver. 20. *to* Ver. 24.

HERODS death was in the beginning of this year, the fourth of *Claudius* or near unto it, according as *Joſephus* helpeth us to compute, who teſtifieth that the third year of his reign was compleated a little before his death. *Vid. Antiq.* lib. 19. cap. 7. He left behind him a ſon of ſeventeen years old, in regard of whoſe minority, and thereby unfitneſs to reign, *Claudius* ſent *Cuſpius Fadus* to Govern his Kingdom. His daughters were *Berenice* ſixteen years old, married to *Herod* King of *Chalcis* her fathers brother: And *Mariam* ten years old, and *Druſilla*, ſix, who afterward married *Felix.*

CHRIST. XLV. XLVI. XLVII. XLVIII. XLIX. | CLAUDIUS. V. VI. VII. VIII. IX.

ACTS CHAP. XIII. *from* Ver. 14. *to the end of the Chapter.* *And* CHAP. XIV.

AT the fifteenth Chapter we have ſome faſtneſs of the time, *viz.* in what year the Council at *Jeruſalem*, as it is commonly called, did occur; which certainty we have not of the times of the occurrences henceforward thitherto: ſo that ſince we cannot determinately point any paſſage to its proper year, we muſt caſt them in groſs under this

this groſs ſum of years, and diſtribute them to their proper ſeaſons by the beſt conjecture we can.

From *Perga* in *Pamphilia*, *Paul* and *Barnabas* come to *Antioch* in *Piſidia*, and on the Sabbath day going into the Synagogue, are invited by the Rulers of the Synagogue, after the reading of the Law and Prophets to ſpeak a word of exhortation to the people: But how could the Rulers know that they were men fit to teach? It may be anſwered, By former converſe with them in the City, and it is very like that the Rulers themſelves had drunk in ſome affection to the Goſpel by converſe with them, which made them ſo ready to urge them to preach: For it is not imaginable that this was the firſt time that they had ſeen them: nor that they came to Town that very day, but that they had had ſome converſe before.

Paul preacheth: and the Synagogue broke up, and the Jews gone out, the Gentiles deſired that the ſame words might be preached to them in the week between, εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ σάββατον: namely on the *ſecond and fifth days of the week* following, which were Synagogue days, on which they met in the Synagogues as on the Sabbath day: And which days, their Traditions ſaid, were appointed for that purpoſe by *Ezra*. Talm. in Bava Kamah. per 7. *R. Sol.* and *Niſſim in Chetubboth* per. 1. in *Alphef.* Their preaching on thoſe days had ſo wrought, that on the next Sabbath almoſt all the City was gathered together to hear the word: and many of the Gentiles receive it, but the Jews ſtirred up ſome female unbelieving proſelytes againſt them, and ſome of the chief of the City, ſo that they drave them out of thoſe coaſts, and they ſhaking off the duſt of their feet againſt them go to *Iconium*. This Ceremony injoyned them by their Maſter, *Matth.* 10. 14. was not ſo much for any great buſineſs put in the thing it ſelf, as that even from a *tenet* of their own, they might ſhew how they were to be reputed of. It was their own *Maxime*, *That the duſt of a Heathen Country or City did defile or make a perſon unclean.* Toſaphta *ad Kelim per.* 1. hath this ſaying, *In three things Syria was like unto any Heathen Land: The duſt of it made a perſon unclean, as the duſt of any other Heathen Country did*, &c. So that their ſhaking off the duſt of their feet againſt them, was to ſhew that they reputed them and their City as Heatheniſh.

ACTS CHAP. XIV.

AT *Iconium* they continue long, and with good effect, but at laſt they are in danger of ſtoning, and thereupon they ſlip away to *Lyſtra* and *Derbe* Cities of *Lycaonia*, and *to the region that lieth round about:* That region *Strabo* deſcribeth *lib.* 12. where among other particulars he tels that *Derbe* lay coaſting upon *Iſauria*, and in his time was under the dominion of *Amyntas*. At *Lyſtra* or *Derbe Paul* converteth *Lois* and *Eunice*, and *Timothy*, and as ſome will tell you, here, or at *Iconium* he converteth *Tecla*. For healing a Creeple they are firſt accounted Gods, but preſently by perſwaſion of ſome Jews, *Paul* is ſtoned, but being reputed dead, recovereth miraculouſly. From thence they go to *Derbe*, and return to *Lyſtra*, *Iconium* and *Antioch*, and ordain Elders in thoſe Churches. χειροτονήσαντες, *ver.* 24. is unproperly rendred here *Per ſuffragia creantes Presbyteros:* for ſo they could not do; there not being a man in all theſe Churches fit to be choſen a Miniſter, or qualified with abilities for that Function, unleſs the Apoſtles by Impoſition of hands beſtow the Holy Ghoſt upon them, which might inable them: For the Churches being but newly planted, and the people but lately converted, it would be hard to find any among them ſo thoroughly completed in the knowledge of the Goſpel as to be a Miniſter: but by the Apoſtles hands they receive the Holy Ghoſt, and ſo are inabled. It is true indeed, the Greek word in the firſt ſenſe denoteth ſuffrages, but that is not the only ſenſe. And ſo doth the word סמך in the proper ſenſe ſignifie *laying on of hands*, yet there was סמוכות ordination that was without it. *Maym. in Sanhedr.* 4. כיצד הוא הסמיכה לדורות *How is ordination to be for perpetuity? Not that they lay their hands on the head of the Elder, but call him Rabbi, and ſay, Behold thou art ordained.* &c.

CHRIST. L. CLAUDIUS. X.

ACTS CHAP. XV.

WE are now come up to the Council at *Hieruſalem*. The occaſion of which was the buſie ſtirring of ſome, who would have brought the yoke of *Moſaick* obſervances upon the neck of the converted Gentiles. Multitudes of the Jews that believed, yet were zealous of the Law, *Act.* 21. 20. and it was hard to get them off from thoſe Rites, in which they had been ever trained up, and which had been as it were an inheritance

tance to them from their fathers: This bred this disturbance at the present, and in time an Apostacy from the Gospel of exceeding many. Antiquity hath held that *Cerinthus* was the chief stickler in this business; but whosoever it was that kindled it, it was a spark enough to have fired all, had it not been timely prevented.

Paul and *Barnabas* who had chiefly to deal in the ministration to the Gentiles, are sent from *Antioch* to *Jerusalem* to consult the Apostles about this matter. This is the same journy and occasion that is spoken of *Gal.*2. *Then fourteen years after I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas and took Titus with me. And I went up by revelation*, &c. Not but that he was sent by the Church as *Luke* hath asserted here, *vers.* 2. but that the Church was directed by revelation to take this course for the setling of the question, namely to send up to the Apostles at *Jerusalem*. And hence we may fix the time of this business, if it be resolved from whence the beginning of these fourteen years is to be dated, namely whether he mean fourteen years after his first conversion, or fourteen after his former journy to *Jerusalem*, mentioned *Gal.* 1.18. which he took three years after his conversion. The later is the more undoubted, upon these two observations. 1. It were exceeding obscure, and is exceeding unagreeable to Scripture accounting, to reckon the later sum of fourteen years from the time of his conversion, and not from the number or time that went next before, which was his being at *Jerusalem* three years after he was converted. 2. His scope in that his discourse is, not to shew barely what journies he took to *Jerusalem* after his conversion, but to shew how long he preached among the Gentiles and abroad out of *Judea* time after time, and yet when he came to the Apostles to *Jerusalem*, they found no fault with him, nor with the course he took in his Ministry. After I was converted I went not to *Jerusalem* to consult the Apostles, but went into *Arabia*, and back again to *Damascus*, and so preached up and down, one utterly unknown by face to the Apostles; yet when after three years thus doing I came up to *Peter* the Minister of the Circumcision, he was so far from contrarying the course that I had gone, that he gave me fifteen days entertainment. And after that time I went through *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and abroad among the Gentiles, yet after fourteen years imployment in this kind, when I went up to *Jerusalem* again, I found fair respect with the Apostles and they gave me the right hand of fellowship. This drift of the Apostle being observed in that place, which cannot be denied, if his main purpose through the whole Epistle be observed, it evidently stateth the time of this journy to *Jerusalem* to be seventeen years after his conversion.

* κατ' ἰδίαν. When *Paul* and *Barnabas* came to *Jerusalem*, they applied themselves * singularly to *Peter*, *James* and *John* the Ministers of the Circumcision, and imparted to them the doctrine, and manner of dealing that they had used among the Gentiles, *Gal.* 2.2. And this they did that they might clear themselves of all false rumours, that might be laid to their charge [as if they crossed the doctrine and mind of the Apostles] and that they might have their judgment and concurrence along with them. With *Paul* there was *Titus*, who hitherto had been uncircumcised, all along in his attending and accompanying *Paul*: and even now at *Jerusalem*, though he were before the Apostles of the Circumcision, yet was he not forced to be circumcised there neither; because there were some false Brethren who lay upon the catch to observe and scandal the liberty of the Gospel that the Apostles used, and they were unwilling to give way to them in any such condescension, lest they should have wronged the Gospel. For though *Paul* allowed the Circumcision of *Timothy*, and though even these Apostles perswaded *Paul* to use some of the *Mosaick* ceremonies, *Act.*21.24. for avoiding offence to the weak, and for the more winning of those that were well satisfied, yet would they not yield an inch in any such thing to these catchpoles that lay upon the lurch, to spy out something if it might have been whereby they might have disgraced the Gospel.

Well: the result of the Apostles conference is, that the three of the Circumcision, neither detracted from what the two of the uncircumcision had done already, nor added any more things to be done by them hereafter: But they agree that *Paul* and *Barnabas* should go to the Heathen, and they themselves to the Circumcision: desiring only that though they went among the Gentiles, yet they would remember the poor of the Circumcision, which they consented to, and all was well concluded betwixt them.

But they that urged for the imposition of *Moses* his yoke would not be so satisfied, but the matter must come to a publick canvass, and so the Elders also met together with those Apostles to consider of it.

Peter would have none of *Moses* burdens laid upon the Gentiles, because he himself had seen them to have been partakers of the Holy Ghost, in as free and full a measure, as they had been that had been most *Mosaical*. *Paul* and *Barnabas* affirmed that they had seen the like, and therefore what needed the Gentiles to be troubled with these observances, seeing they were so eminent in gifts of the Spirit as well as they of the Circumcision and what could these add to them. But *James* findeth out a temper betwixt those that would

would have all these yokes imposed, and those that would have none, that so the Jews might have the less offence, and the Gentiles no burden neither. And that was, that the Gentiles might be required to refrain from eating things offered to Idols, and strangled, and blood, and fornication. The three first were now become things indifferent [however strictly they had been imposed by the Law before] *Christ* having by his death done down the partition wall, and laid these things aside as useless when there was to be no distinction of meats or Nations any more: yet because the Jews were so glewed to these things that the tearing of them away suddenly, would in a manner have fetched up skin and flesh and all, therefore the whole Council upon the motion of *James* think it fit that the Gentiles should thus far Judaize, till time and fuller acquaintance with the Gospel might make both Jews and Gentiles to lay these now needless niceties aside.

The Jews about these things had these Canons among many others.

Avodah Zarah. per. 2. *These things of Idolatry are forbidden, and their prohibition meaneth the prohibition of their use. Wine and vinegar used in Idolatry which at first was wine*, &c. *And flesh that was brought in for Idolatry is permitted to be used* [*viz.* before it was offered] *but what is brought out is prohibited.*

And bottles and cans used in Idolatry, and an Israelites wine put in them are prohibited to be used.

Maymon. in Avoda Zarah per. 7. *A beast offered to an Idol is forbidden for any use: yea even his dung, bones, horns, hoofs, skin: yea though there were only a hole cut in the beast to take out the heart, and that alone offered.* Divers other things used in Idolatry are mentioned and prohibited.

The observing of all which helpeth to clear the distinction of the words used in the Text, namely ἀλισγήματα τῶν εἰδώλων & εἰδωλόθυτα, for these properly were not one and the the same thing, for every ἀλίσγημα τῶν εἰδώλων was not εἰδωλόθυτον, but *e contra*, every εἰδωλόθυτον was ἀλίσγημα. For divers things were used at an Idolatrous offering, which themselves were not offered, as knives, dishes and the like, which cannot be called εἰδωλόθυτα, and yet by these traditions were prophane and unclean, and prohibited to be used.

About not eating of blood, they expounded the prohibition of the Law in that point, unto this purpose, *He that eats blood to the quantity of an olive, if presumptuously, he is to be cut off, and if ignorantly, he is to bring a sin offering.* Talm. in Cherithuth per. 1. & 5. Maym. in Maacaloth Asuroth per. 6.

By *things strangled* their Canons understood any thing that died of it self, or that was not killed as it ought to be. *And he that eat to the quantity of an olive, of the flesh of any cattel that died of it self, or of any beast, or any fowl that died of it self, was to be whipt, as it is said, Ye shall eat no carcase: and whatsoever was not slain as was fitting, is reputed as if dying of it self.* Talm. in Zevachin per. 7. Maym. *ubi supra* per. 1. Therefore they had their rules about killing any beast that they were to eat, of which the Talmudick Treatise *Cholin* discusieth at large.

Now as concerning *fornication*, it is controverted, first whether it mean bodily or spiritual: and secondly, how it cometh to be ranked among things indifferent [as the other named were] it self being of no such indifferency, whethersoever is meant, the one or the other. The former certainly is not meant, for the word ἀλισγήματα εἰδώλων reacheth that to the full, and more needed not to be spoken to that point: The later therefore is meant: but why named here with things indifferent? Not because it was indifferent as well as they: Nor because it was so very offensive to the Jews as were the other: for they made but little of fornication themselves, according to the common taking of the word *fornication:* but *fornication* here seemeth to translate their word עריות that meaneth with them *marriages in degrees prohibited:* which the Gentiles made no matter about: and so the Apostles would bring the convert Gentiles under obedience of the Law, *Levit.* 18.

Before we part from this Council, as it is commonly called, we may thus far take notice of the nature of it as to observe, that it was not a convention premeditated, and solemnly summoned, but only occasional and emergent, and that it was only of those Apostles and Elders that were at *Jerusalem*, at the instant when the matter from *Antioch* was brought thither, and the other Apostles that were abroad were not fetched in, nor indeed needed any such thing: for the message from *Antioch* required not so much the number of voices, as the resolves of those Apostles that had especially to deal with the Circumcision: and whom the *Antiochian* Church doubted not to find ready at *Jerusalem.*

The matter being determined, Letters are dispatched, with the Decrees, unto the Churches by *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and *Judas* and *Silas:* they come to *Antioch* and there abide a while: and at last go their several ways, *Judas* to *Jerusalem*, and *Paul*, *Barnabas* and *Silas* away among the Gentiles.

It was the agreement between *Paul* and *Barnabas* on the one party, and *Peter*, *James* and *John* on the other, that those two should go among the Gentiles, and these three among the Circumcision, *Gal.* 2. 9. *James* abode at *Jerusalem* as the residentiary Apostle of that

that Country, *Gal.*2.13. *Act.* 21. 18. and there at last he suffered Martyrdom. *Peter* and *John* went abroad among the Jews dispersed in forreign parts, so that at last you have *Peter* at *Babylon* in the East, and *John* at *Patmos* in the West, and by this we may guess how they parted their imployment between them.

When *Paul* and *Barnabas* are to set forth, they disagree about *Marks* going with them. *Barnabas* being his uncle, would have had his company, but *Paul* denied it, because of his departure from them before. *Mark* it seemeth was at *Antioch* at this time [and it may be a *quære* whether *Peter* were not there also, *Gal.*2.11.] and when the contest twixt *Paul* and *Barnabas* was so sharp that they part asunder, *Barnabas* taketh *Mark* and *Paul Silas*, and go their several ways, and it is questionable whether they ever saw one anothers faces any more. Only *Paul* and *Mark* were reconciled again and came into very near society, as we shall observe afterward.

CHRIST. LI.

CLAUDIUS. XI.

ACTS CHAP. XVI.

PAul and *Silas* having travelled through *Syria* and *Silicia*, come to *Derbe* and *Lystra*: there he Circumciseth *Timothy*, whom he intended to take along with him and to breed him for his successor in the Ministry after his death. *Timothy* was a young man of very choice education, parts and hopes, and some remarkable Prophesies and predictions had been given concerning him, what an instrument he should prove in the Gospel, which made *Paul* to fix upon him, as one designed for him from Heaven.

They set forth and travel *Phrygia* and *Galatia*, and when they would have gone into *Asia* and *Bithynia* the Spirit forbad them, because the Lord would hasten them into *Macedonia* unto a new work, and such a one as they had not medled withal till now, and that was to preach to a *Roman* plantation, for so the Text doth intimate that *Philippi* was, *ver.*12. and *ver.*21. and so saith *Pliny*, lib.4. cap.11. He had indeed been always in the *Roman* dominions, but still among other Nations, as Jews, Greeks, Syrians and the like, but we read not that he was in any City of *Romans* till here. And his going to preach to that people is so remarkable, that the Text seemeth to have set two or three notable badges upon it. For that Nation lieth under so many sad brands in Scripture, and lay under so great an abominating by the Jews, that the Gospels entring among them, hath these three singular circumstances to advertise of it. 1. That the Spirit diverted *Paul* from *Asia* and *Bithynia* to hasten him thither. 2. That he was called thither by a special vision, the like invitation to which he had not in all his travels to any other place. 3. The Penman doth not joyn himself in the story till this very time. For hitherto having spoken in the third person, *he* and *they*, as *He came to Derbe*, ver.1. *They went through the Cities*, vers. 4. *&c.* he cometh now to joyn himself, and to use the word *We* and *Us*. After he had seen the vision immediately *we* indeavoured to go into *Macedonia*, assuredly gathering that the Lord had called *us*, vers.10.

Yet was this City mixed also of abundance of *Jews* living among them, as that people was now dispersed and sowed in the most places of the Empire, from *Rome* it self Eastward, however it was on this side: On the Sabbath, by a river side where the women it seemed used their bathings for purification, and where was a Synagogue, they preach and convert *Lydia* a proselytess, and she is instantly baptized and her household before she go home, for ought can be found otherwise in the Text: from whence we may observe what believing gave admission to Baptism to whole households. In this *Roman* Colony it is observable that the Synagogue is called *proseucha*, and that it is out of the Town.

Paul casteth out a spirit of divination, and is thereupon beaten and imprisoned he and *Silas*, but inlarged by an earthquake, and the Jaylour is converted: and he and his family instantly baptized. After a little while *Paul* and *Silas* depart, having laid the foundation of a very eminent Church as it proved afterward: from which *Paul* in his Epistle thither, acknowledgeth as many tokens of love received, as from any Church that he had planted: and to which he made as many visits afterward. When he departeth he had ordained no Ministers there for ought can be gathered from the Text, and it may be, he did not, till his return thither again, which was the course he had used in other Churches, *Acts* 14. 23. He speaketh of divers fellow-labourers that he had there in the Gospel, both men and women, *Phillip* 4. 3. which cannot be understood of preaching, but that these being converted, they used their best indeavour to perswade others to imbrace the same Religion, *&c.*

ACTS CHAP. XVII.

PAUL and *Silas* or *Silvanus*, and *Timothy* come to *Theſſalonica*, where they make many converts, but withal find very much oppoſition. In three weeks ſpace, or very little more, they convert ſome Jews, many Proſelytes, and not a few of the chief Gentiles: women of the City: which number, conſidered with the ſhortneſs of the time in which ſo many were brought in, and the bitterneſs they indured from the unbelieving, made their piety to be exceedingly renowned all abroad, 1 *Theſſ.* 1. 6, 7, 8.

Perſecution driveth the Apoſtles to *Beræa* another Town of *Macedonia*, Plin. *l.*4. *c.* 10. there they found perſons better bred and better learned then that rabble mentioned *ver.* 5. that they had met withal at *Theſſalonica*. The Jews called their learned men בני חורין *filii nobilium*: it may be *Lukes* εὐγενέστεροι, *ver.* 11. tranſlates that: The rabble from *Theſſalonica* brings the perſecution hither alſo, ſo that *Paul* is glad to depart to *Athens*, but *Silas* and *Timothy* abide at *Beræa* ſtill.

At *Athens* there was a Synagogue of Jews and Proſelytes, *ver.* 17. ſo that it is undoubted the Scholars of the Univerſity had heard from them the report of the true God; therefore *Paul* is not ſo much cried out upon, for telling them of the true God in oppoſition to the falſe, as for preaching of *Jeſus* crucified, riſen and glorified, which neither they nor even the Jews Synagogue there, had ever heard of before: for this he is convented before their great Court of *Areopagus*, where his diſcourſe converts one of that Bench, *Dionyſius*.

ACTS CHAP. XVIII.

FROM *Athens*, *Paul* cometh to *Corinth*. *Urbs olim clara opibus, poſt clade notior, nunc Romana colonia*, ſaith *Pomp. Mela.* lib.2. cap.3. A little view of the City may not be uſeleſs. It ſtood in the *Iſthmus*, or that neck of Land that lay and gave paſſage betwixt *Peloponeſus* and *Attica:* upon which *Iſthmus* the Sea pointing in, on either hand made *Corinth* a famous and a wealthy Mart Town, by two Havens that it had at a reaſonable diſtance from it on either ſide it, the one *Jochæum*, at which they took ſhipping for *Italy* and thoſe Weſtern parts: and the other *Cenchræa*, at which they took ſhipping for *Aſia:* Merchandiſe arriving at theſe Ports, from thoſe ſeveral parts of the World, were brought to *Corinth* which lay much in the middle between them, and ſo this City became the great Exchange for thoſe parts. It lay at the foot of a high promont called *Acrocorinthus*, or the *Pike of Corinth*. The compaſs of the City was ſome forty furlongs or five miles about, being ſtrongly walled. In it was a Temple of *Venus*, ſo ample a foundation, that it had above a thouſand Nuns [ſuch Nuns as *Venus* had] to attend upon it. The City was ſacked by *L. Mummius* the Roman General, as for ſome other offence that it had given to that ſtate, ſo more eſpecially for ſome abuſe ſhewed to the Roman Embaſſadors there. But it was repaired again by the Romans and made a Colony. *Vid. Strabo* lib. 8. *Plin.* lib.4. cap.4.

Paul coming hither findeth *Priſcilla and Aquila lately come from Italy*, becauſe of *Claudius* his Decree, which had expelled all the *Jews* from *Rome:* Of this Decree *Suetonius* ſpeaketh, as he is generally underſtood, *In Claudio* cap.25. *Judæos impulſore chreſto aſſidue tumultuantes Roma expulit. Claudius expelled the Jews out of Rome, who continually tumultuated becauſe of Chriſt.* In ſome copies it is written *Chriſto*, but ſo generally interpreted by Chriſtians in the ſenſe mentioned, that we ſhall not at all diſpute it. The ſame quarrel was got to *Rome* with the Goſpel, that did attend it in all parts of the world where it came among the Jews, they ſtill oppoſing it and conteſting againſt it, and ſo breeding tumultuouſneſs.

The Apoſtle here, in a ſtrange place, and out of monies, betaketh himſelf to work with his hands for his ſubſiſtence, as alſo he did in other places upon the ſame exigent. His work was to make Tents of skins ſuch as the Souldiery uſed to lodge in when they were in the field: Hence the phraſe, *Eſſe ſub pellibus*. This Trade he learned before he ſet to his ſtudies. It was the cuſtom of the Jewiſh Nation to ſet their children to ſome trade, yea though they were to be ſtudents. *What is commanded a father towards his ſon? To circumciſe him, to redeem him, to teach him the Law, to teach him a Trade, and to take him a wife. R. Judah ſaith, He that teacheth not his ſon a trade, does as if he taught him to be a thief. Rabban Gamaliel ſaith, He that hath a trade in his hand to what is he like? He is like to a Vineyard that is fenced.* Toſapht. in Kidduſhin per. 1. So ſome of the great wiſe men of *Iſrael* had been cutters of wood. *Maym.* in Talm. Torah. per. 1. And not to inſtance in any others, as might be done in divers, [*Rabban Jochanan ben Zaccai* that was at this inſtant Vice-preſident of the *Sanhedrin*, was a Merchant 4 years, and then he fell to ſtudy

the Law. *Juchasin* fol. 21.] *Paul* had power and warrant to challenge maintenance for preaching, as he intimateth many times over in his Epistles, but there was not yet any Church at *Corinth* to maintain him, and when there was, he would take nothing of the Gentiles for the greater honour and promotion of the Gospel. *See* 1 Cor.9.6, 11, 12.

He frequenteth the Synagogue every Sabbath, and there reasoneth and perswadeth divers both Jews and Greeks. *But when Silas and Timotheus were come from Macedonia, he was pressed in spirit and testified to the Jews that Jesus was the Christ*, they having brought him tidings of the great proficiency and piety of *Macedonian* Churches, namely the *Philippian* and *Thessalonian*. See *Act.* 17.14. 1 *Thess.* 1.8. & 3.6. upon whose example he was the more earnest to bring the Jews of *Corinth* on; but they oppose and blaspheme: whereupon he and *Silas* and *Timothy* set to work to build up the Gentiles there. The converts in this place were *Crispus* and *Gaius*, and the household of *Stephanas*, 1 Cor.1.14,&c. and *Epenetus*, Rom.16.5. He is called *the first fruits of Achaia*, and so is *the houshold of Stephanas*, 1 Cor.16.15. converted at his first coming thither. He now sets upon a new task having the Lords incouragement by a vision by night, and so he stayeth at *Corinth* a year and an half.

In the time of this his abode there, he writeth

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE *THESSALONIANS*,

which was the first Epistle that he wrote.

The *poscript* affixed to that Epistle doth date it from *Athens* [as it seemeth] because of that passage in *Chap.*3.1. *We thought it good to be left at Athens alone:* whereas 1. There was a Church in *Achaia* when *Paul* wrote this Epistle, *Chap.*1.7. now there was none there while *Paul* was at *Athens*, for from thence he went to *Achaia*, and began to plant the Church at *Corinth*. 2. *Timothy* and *Silas* were joynt Writers with the Apostle of this Epistle, *Chap.*1.1. now if they were with him at *Athens* whilst he abode there, which it may be they were, at the least one of them, 1 *Thess.*3.1. yet was not the Epistle then written, for it is questionable whether *Silas* was there, and *Timothy* went a messenger thither, and returned again before this was written, *Chap.* 3.6. The time of its writing therefore was when *Timothy* and *Silas* with him returned from *Macedonia* and came to *Paul* at *Corinth*, Act.18.5. and *Timothy* who had been sent thither purposely, gives a comfortable account of their faith and constancy. So that this Epistle was written from *Corinth*, somewhat within the beginning of the first year of *Pauls* abode there.

In it, among other things, he characterizeth the condition of the unbelieving Jews, *Chap.*2.15,16. for the *Thessalonian* Church from its first planting had been exceedingly molested with them.

He saith, *The wrath is come upon them to the utmost:* which whether it mean passively, that the wrath of God lay so heavy upon them, or actively, that in their vexation and anger against the Gentiles, that was come upon them, that was foretold for a plague to them, *Deut.*32.21. it sheweth that that Nation was now become unrecoverable: and so he looks upon it as the *Antichrist* in the next Epistle, as we shall observe there.

Paul abiding still at *Corinth*, a tumult is raised against him, and he is brought before the tribunal of *Gallio* the Proconsul, who refusing to judge in matters of that nature, [because the Jews themselves had power to judge such matters in their own Synagogue] the people become their own carvers, and beat *Sosthenes* even before the Tribunal. This *Gallio* was brother of *Seneca* the famous Court Philosopher, *Nero*'s Tutor: and of him *Seneca* giveth this high *Encomion* in the Preface to his fourth Book of natural Questions. *I used to tell thee* [saith he to his friend *Lucius*] *that my brother Gallio, whom no man loves not a little if he can love no more, is not acquainted with other vices, but this of flattery he hates. Thou hast tried him on all hands. Thou hast begun to praise his disposition--- He would go away. Thou hast begun to praise his frugality, He would presently cut thee off at the first words: Thou hast begun to admire his affability and unaffected sweetness--- For there is no mortal man so dear to any, as he to all--- And here also he withstood thy flatteries, insomuch that thou criedst out, that thou hadst found a man impregnable, against those snares that every one takes into his bosom.* And again in *Epist.*104. *Gallio*, saith he, *when he was in Achaia and began to have a fever, he presently took ship, crying out, that it was not the disease of his body but of the place.* To him he Dedicates his Treatise *de Beata Vita*. See more of this *Gallio*, Tacit. Annal. 15. Sect.11.

From *Corinth* in the time of his present abode there [but whether before this tumult before *Gallio* or after, is not much material] *Paul* writeth

THE

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE *THESSALONIANS*,

whileſt he and *Sylvanus* and *Timotheus* were there together, *Chap.* 1.1. as they had been at the writing of the firſt.

The exceeding much trouble and perſecution that this Church had ſuffered from the unbelieving Jews from its firſt planting, *Act.* 17.5, *&c.* 1 *Theſſ.* 1.6. & 2.14. & 2 *Theſſ.* 1.4. gave the Apoſtle juſt occaſion whileſt he was preſent with them to diſcourſe with them, and to inform them, concerning the condition and carriage and end of that Nation: that they might be ſetled and reſolved to bear all whatſoever they ſhould ſuffer from that accurſed people and generation: and here he taketh up the ſame diſcourſe again for their further eſtabliſhment.

Beſides outward moleſtation and affliction of their bodies, there were falſe teachers that troubled their minds, and eſpecially with theſe two puzzles. 1. To make them to doubt what became of them that died in the faith and profeſſion of *Jeſus*: for whereas the Apoſtle handles the matter of the reſurrection in the former Epiſtle, *Chap.* 4. 14. I cannot ſuppoſe that he doth it to them as to men of the *Sadducee* opinion, denying the reſurrection, or as to men that had never heard of the reſurrection before, for all the Jews, ſet the *Sadduces* aſide, did aſſuredly believe it: but becauſe that the oppoſers of the Goſpel had buzzed to them their loſt condition after death, for their revolting from the Jewiſh Religion, and becoming Apoſtates [as they reputed it] to the Goſpel. The tenth Chapter of the Treatiſe *Sanhedrin* that names certain ſorts of people that muſt not inherit the world to come, gives us good cauſe to ſuppoſe that this was no ſmall terror that thoſe envious oppoſers would perplex the minds of thoſe withal, who had forſaken the Jewiſh Religion, and betaken themſelves to the profeſſion of Chriſt. The Talmudick place cited ſpeaketh thus, *All Iſrael hath a ſhare in the world to come, as it is ſaid, Thy people ſhall all of them be righteous: But theſe have no ſhare in the world to come, He that ſaith, The reſurrection is not taught in the Law, and that the Law is not from God, and Epicurus.* Now by *Epicurus* they mean not *luxurious ones*, as the word *Epicure* is commonly uſed by us, but as the *Gemara* explains it there המבזה תח *One that deſpiſeth their Doctors:* and elſewhere they yoke it with משומדים *Apoſtates.* המשומדין והאפיקורוסין *Apoſtates and Epicures. Roſh. haſhanah* per. 1. and ſo they brought all that ſtarted from the vain doctrine of their traditionaries under this title, and under that terror of having no ſhare in the world to come. 2. They went about to perplex the mind of theſe converts with urging how near *the day of the Lord* was. The Scripture, and the Apoſtle had ſpoken of *the day of the Lords coming*, when he ſhould come to take vengeance of the Jewiſh Nation for their wickedneſs and unbelief: and theſe would terrifie this Church with inculcating the nearneſs of it, pretending for this, partly revelation, and partly the words or writing of the Apoſtle. The aim in this terror was to amaze the new believers and to puzzle them about what to hold, and what to do in that ſad time, which they pretended was ready to fall upon their heads. The Apoſtle reſolves that there was ſome good ſpace of time to be before, for there was to be *a falling away*, and *the man of ſin* to be revealed.

The phraſe *The man of ſin and child of perdition*, is plainly taken from that place, *Iſa.* 11.4. *With the breath of his lips he ſhall ſlay the wicked one:* and the Apoſtle makes it clear that he referreth to that place, by uſing the very words of the Prophet, at *ver.* 8. *Whom the Lord ſhall conſume with the breath of his mouth.* The Jews put an *Emphaſis* upon that word in the Prophet, *The wicked one*, as it appeareth by the *Chaldee* Paraphraſt, who hath uttered it ארמילום רשיעא *He ſhall deſtroy the wicked Roman:* And ſo the Apoſtle puts an *Emphaſis* upon it, and tranſlates it *the Man of ſin:* And in that *Chriſt* is introduced in the Prophet, as having a ſpecial quarrel and vengeance againſt him, he is called *the ſon of perdition*, or he that is ſo certainly and remarkably to be deſtroyed. It is true, this meaneth the *Roman*, as the *Chaldee*, and our Proteſtant Divines by the warrant of *John* in the *Revelation* do interpret it: but in the firſt place and ſenſe it meaneth the Jewiſh Nation, which proved *Antichriſt*, as well as *Rome* ever did, and as far as *Rome* ever did, and before *Rome* ever did, and as long and longer then *Rome* hath yet done. As *Jews* and *Rome* joyned in the murder of *Chriſt*, ſo are they joyned in this character of *Antichriſt*, but the Jews to be underſtood firſt: See *ver.* 7. *the myſtery of iniquity was already working* when the Apoſtle wrote this Epiſtle, which cannot poſſibly be underſtood but of the Jewiſh Nation, and ſo it is explained again and again, 1 *John* 2.18. & 4.3. & 2 *Joh. v.* 7, *&c.*

The ſeveral characters that the Apoſtle gives of *the Man of ſin*, agree moſt throughly to that generation and Nation, and ſo the Scripture plainly applies them to it.

1. There was *a falling away* in that Nation of multitudes that had imbraced the Goſpel. See *Matth.* 24.12. *Chriſt* foretelling it, and *Paul* from thence, 1 *Tim.* 4.1. by *the later times* that he there ſpeaks of, meaning the laſt days of *Jeruſalem* and the Jewiſh

ſtate, as the phraſe is uſed in that ſenſe abundantly. Such apoſtacy may be obſerved hinted in the Epiſtle to the *Galatians*, to the *Hebrews*, *Coloſſians*, *Rev.*2.4. 2 *Tim.*1.15. and to ſpare more, obſerve the concluſion of that Parable, *Matth.* 12.43,44,45. *So ſhall it be with this wicked generation.* The Devil once caſt out of it by the Goſpel, but returned by their Apoſtacy.

2. How this Nation was the ὁ Ἀντικείμενος, the great oppoſer of the Goſpel, needeth no inſtance to any that hath read the New Teſtament. And he that reads the Jewiſh Records, ſhall find evidence enough of it, of which we have given ſome brief account at *Acts Chap.* 13.

3. Ὑπεραιρόμενος ἐπὶ πάντα λεγόμενον θεὸν ἢ σέβασμα. *Which exalts himſelf againſt every thing that is called God or worſhipped:* were it ἐπὶ θεὸν, *Againſt God*, it were moſt true, to the very letter, their Scribes in the Temple of God it ſelf, ſitting and ſetting up their traditions above the commands of God, *Matth.* 15. 6. But how they exalted themſelves againſt every thing *called* God, or the Magiſtracy and thoſe that were ſet over them, we may obſerve in ſuch paſſages as theſe, 2 *Pet.* 2.10. *They deſpiſe government*, &c. *Jude* v.8. *They deſpiſe dominion, and ſpeak evil of dignities*, &c. and in their own ſtories to endleſs examples.

4. As for the fourth mark mentioned, *verſ.* 9. namely his *coming after the working of Satan* with all Magical power and deluſion, our Saviour had foretold it of that generation, *Matth.*24.24. compared with *verſ.* 34. of that Chapter: and it is abundantly aſſerted by Scripture, by *Joſephus*, and other of their own Writers, as we have given ſome examples before.

Now what the Apoſtle meaneth when he ſpeaketh of one *that letted* [*verſ.*6. *And now ye know what withholdeth*, and *ver.*7. *He who now letteth will let*] is of ſome obſcurity; we may without offence give this conjecture. As the term *The day of the Lord*, is taken in Scripture eſpecially in this double ſenſe, for *his day of judging the Jewiſh Nation*, and for *his day of judging all the world*; ſo are we to underſtand *a falling away*, and *a Man of ſin* of the Jewiſh Nation before the former, and *a falling away* and *Antichriſt*, betwixt the former and the later. This laſt is readily concluded upon, to be the Papacy, and *he that letted*, to mean the Imperial power: but what was he that letted in the former, that the *Antichriſt* among the Jews was not revealed ſooner? I ſhould divide this ſtake betwixt *Claudius* the Emperor [who by his decree againſt the Jews in *Rome*, Act. 18. 2. give a check by the appearance of his diſpleaſure, to all the Jews elſewhere that they durſt not tyrannize againſt the Goſpel whileſt he lived as they had done.] And *Paul* himſelf who by his unceſſant travelling in the Goſpel, and combatting by the truth every where againſt the Jews, did keep down very much their deluſions and Apoſtacy whileſt he was at liberty and abroad, but when he was once laid up, then all went to ruine, as ſee *Act.*20. 29. 2 *Tim.* 1. 15, *&c.*

Paul when he departs from *Corinth*, leaves a Church fairly planted there, but how ſoon and how miſerably it grew degenerate, we ſhall meet with cauſe to obſerve before it be long. He cometh to *Epheſus*, and ſtriving to get up to one of the Feaſts at *Jeruſalem*, he leaves *Priſcilla* and *Aquila* there. Thither, ere long, cometh *Apollos*, an excellent Scripture-man, but one that knew only the baptiſm of *John*, but they inſtruct him better. Not that theſe Tent-makers turned Preachers, but that having had ſo much converſe with *Paul*, they were able in private conference to inform him better then yet he knew, from what they had learned from *Paul*.

ACTS CHAP. XIX. *from* Verſ. 1. *to* Verſ. 19.

OThers at *Epheſus* there were, that were no further gone in Chriſtianity neither, then the knowledge of the Baptiſm of *John*: *Paul* asks them, *Have ye received the Holy Ghoſt?* They anſwer, *We have not yet ſo much as heard whether the Holy Ghoſt be:* In which words they refer to a common and a true tenet of the Nation, which was, that *after the death of* Ezra, Haggai, Zachary *and* Malachy, *the Holy Ghoſt departed from* Iſrael *and went up*: *Juchas. fol.*15. and they profeſs they had never yet heard of his reſtoring. And it is very probable, that they had never heard of *Jeſus*; whom when *Paul* had preached to them, they imbrace; and the Text ſaith, *they were then baptized in the Name of the Lord Jeſus.* Not that they were rebaptized, but that now coming to the knowledge of the proper end of *Johns* baptiſm, namely to believe in *Jeſus* as *ver.*4. they own their baptiſm to ſuch an end and conſtruction. For 1. What need had they to be rebaptized, when in that firſt baptiſm they had taken, they had come in to the profeſſion of the Goſpel and of *Chriſt*, as far as the doctrine that had brought them in could teach them? It was the change of their profeſſion from *Judaiſm* to *Evangeliſm*, that required their being baptized, and not the degrees of their growth in the knowledge of the Goſpel, into the profeſſion of which they had been baptized already. How many baptiſms muſt the Apoſtles have

have undergone, if every ſignal degree of their coming on to the perfect knowledge of the myſtery of *Chriſt*, might have required, nay might have admitted a new baptizing? 2. If theſe men were rebaptized, then muſt the ſame be concluded of all that had received the baptiſm of *John*, when they came to the knowledge of *Jeſus*: which as it is incredible, becauſe there is not the leaſt tittle of mention of ſuch a thing, ſo is it unimaginable in the caſe of thoſe of the Apoſtles that were baptized by *John*; for who ſhould baptize them again in the name of *Jeſus*, ſince *Jeſus* himſelf baptized none? *Joh.*4.3. 3. Theſe men had taken on them *the baptiſm of repentance*, and the profeſſion of *Chriſt*, in the baptiſm of *John*, that they had received: therefore unleſs we will ſuppoſe a baptiſm of faith, different from the baptiſm of repentance, and a baptiſm in the name of *Jeſus* different from the baptiſm in the name of *Chriſt*, it will be hard to find a reaſon, why theſe men ſhould undergo a new baptizing.

And if it ſhould be granted [which is againſt reaſon to grant,] that theſe men were really rebaptized, yet were not this a warrantable ground for rebaptization now, in regard of theſe main differences betwixt the caſe then and now. 1. That great controverſie then on foot, about, *Whether Jeſus were the true Meſſias or no*, which cauſed their rebaptization, if they were rebaptized. 2. The viſible conferring of the Holy Ghoſt upon them, upon their baptiſm if they were rebaptized: as being a main induction of ſuch a thing, if ſuch a thing were, that the name of *Jeſus* might be ſo apparently glorified, upon their being baptized in the name of *Jeſus*: which indeed was equally glorified, when they received thoſe gifts upon their acknowledging of *Jeſus*, and owning their baptiſm that they had of old been baptized with, as a badge of that acknowledgment, though not baptized again.

CHRIST.
LIII.
LIV.

CLAUDIUS.
XIII.
XIV.

ACTS CHAP. XIX. *from* Ver.9. *to* Ver.21.

THE Apoſtle hath a long time to ſtay at *Epheſus*: in which he firſt begins for the ſpace of a quarter of a year to diſpute in the Synagogue: and then when divers were hardened and believed not, he ſeparated the Diſciples, and diſputed daily in the School of *Tyrannus*: Hitherto what converts there were to the Goſpel, they reſorted ſtill to the publick ſervice in the Synagogue, where *Paul* reaſoned daily for the truth of the Goſpel: but finding dangerous oppoſition, he gets away the Diſciples from thence, and in the School of one *Tyrannus* they are a particular Congregation.

In theſe great Towns where there were many Jews, both in *Judea* and elſewhere, they had a Synagogue and a Divinity-School: This Divinity-School they called *Beth Midraſh*, and thither they uſed to go every Sabbath day, after they had been at the Synagogue: whereupon they had this for a common proverb, מבית מקרש לבית מדרש: *From the Synagogue to the Divinity-School.* In the Synagogue they had prayers and reading of the Law, and plain Sermons of Doctrine, exhortation and comfort: In the Divinity-School were diſcuſſed and taught, dogmatical and controverſial points concerning the difficulties of the Law, and other high matters. And hence it may be thoſe different titles and adminiſtrations of *Paſtor* and *Teacher*, Epheſ.4.11. and *He that teacheth, and he that exhorteth*, Rom.12.7,8. took their pattern: if *Paſtor* mean one of the Miniſterial function.

In the time of this ſtay of *Paul* at *Epheſus*, *He fought with beaſts there after the manner of men*, 1 Cor.15.32. which ſeemeth to be underſtood, of a proper θηριομαχία or fighting with wild beaſts in the Theater, as was the barbarous and beſtial cuſtom of the *Romans* and thoſe times. For 1. Obſerve in the hubbub of *Demetrius*, *Pauls* companions are haled preſently into the Theater, *ver.*29. as if there the people had that that would take a courſe with them. 2. Obſerve that the *Aſiarchæ* or *Theater-Officers* are *Pauls* friends, as having knowledge and acquaintance of him and with him before. 3. *Demetrius* his uproar which was the greateſt danger that *Luke* hath mentioned of him, was not till after he had written his Epiſtle to *Corinth*, in which, he ſpeaks of fighting with beaſts, and therefore that could not be meant. 4. The phraſe κατ' Ἄνθρωπον doth ſeem clearly to diſtinguiſh it from any combate in a borrowed ſenſe. 5. The trouble that befel him in *Aſia*, by which he was preſſed above meaſure, and even deſpaired of life, 2 *Cor.* 1.8,9. cannot be underſtood ſo well of the tumult of *Demetrius*, for we read not of any hand laid upon *Paul* in it, as of ſome other danger nearer dearth.

In the latter year of theſe two above written, which was part of *Pauls* laſt year at *Epheſus*, on the 13th day of *October* of that year, *Claudius* the Emperor dieth, and *Nero* ſucceedeth him: a wretch whoſe memory is not worth looking after, unleſs it be for deteſtation:

tion: yet must we in our further progress of viewing the actions of *Paul*, and ranking his Epistles, be beholden to the Chronical observation of his years.

Paul himself saith to the Elders of *Ephesus*, *By the space of three years* I ceased not to warn every one, *Acts* 20.31. And yet *Luke* in this Chapter specifieth only two years and a quarter, *ver.* 8.10. The comparing of which two sums together, doth help us to measure the time of his abode there mentioned from *ver.*20. and forward. Namely that he spent three months in disputing in the Jews Synagogue: and two years in the School of *Tyrannus*: and three quarters of a year after, in going up and down *Asia*. The expiration of his three years was about *Pentecost* in the first year of *Nero*.

CHRIST. LV. NERO. I.

ACTS CHAP. XIX. Vers. 21, 22.

After these things were ended, Paul purposed in spirit when he had passed thorow Macedonia and Achaia to go to Jerusalem, saying, When I have been there, I must also see Rome.
22. *So he sent into Macedonia two of them that ministred to him, Timotheus and Erastus, but he himself staid in Asia for a season.*

PAuls thoughts of going to *Rome*, do argue the death of *Claudius*, who had banished all the Jews from thence, *Acts* 18.2. and that by the coming in of *Nero*, a new Emperor, that Decree was extinct, and freedom of access to *Rome* opened to them again: For it can be little conceived that *Paul* should think of going thither, when he could neither find any of his Nation there, nor he himself come thither without certain hazzard of his life: as the case would have been if *Claudius* and his Decree were yet alive. It is therefore agreeable to all reason, that the death of *Claudius*, and the succession of *Nero* was now divulged, and *Paul* thereupon knowing that it was now lawful again for a Jew to go to *Rome*, intendeth to take a farewel journy and visit to *Macedonia*, *Achaiah* and *Jerusalem*, and then to go and preach there.

Claudius died the 13th day of *October*, as was said before, and *Nero* instantly succeeded him. A Prince of so much clemency and mansuetude in the beginning of his reign, that *Titus* the Emperour afterward used to say, that the best Princes exceeded not the first five years of *Nero* in goodness. And *Seneca*, if he flatter not the Prince, or his own tutorage of him, gives him this among many other *Encomiums* of him, *Lib. de Clementia*, which he dedicates to him: *Potes hoc Cæsar prædicare audacter, omnium quæ in fidem tutelamq; tuam venerunt, nihil per te, neque vi, neque clam, reipublicæ ereptum. Rarissimam laudem, & nulli adhuc principum concessam concupisti, innocentiam: Nemo unus homo uni homini tam charus unquam fuit quam tu populo Romano, magnum longumq; ejus bonum.*

It must be some space of time before *Claudius* death could come to be reported at *Ephesus*: it is like, the new year after the Roman account, might be stept in. Whensoever it was that *Paul* heard the news, and that a door of access to *Rome* was opened for the Jews again, he sets down his determination to stay at *Ephesus* till *Pentecost*, and then to set for *Macedon*, and back to *Jerusalem*, and then to *Rome*. Upon this resolution he sendeth *Timothy* and *Erastus* into *Macedon* before him: appointeth them to call at *Corinth* in the way, and intends himself to stay at *Ephesus* till they should come thither again to him, 1 *Cor.*16.10,11.

Between *Vers.* 22. and *Vers.*23. of this XIX CHAP. of the *ACTS*, falleth in the time of *Pauls* writing

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE *CORINTHIANS*.

He being now at *Ephesus*, and having set down the time of his removing thence, namely at *Pentecost* coming, 1 *Cor.*16.8. He had now been at *Ephesus* well towards three years, and had met with many difficulties; yet had so prevailed by the power of the Gospel, that not only all along hitherto many people were continually converted, but even now alate, many conjurers, and such as used magical Arts, devoted themselves to the Gospel and their books to the fire, and became the renewed monuments of the power and prevalency of the divine truth. This was that *great and effectual door* opened to him, of which he speaketh, 1 *Cor.* 16.9. and which occasioned his stay at *Ephesus* still, when he had sent *Timothy* and *Erastus* into *Macedonia*, Acts 19.21. In the time of which stay there, *Stephanas*, and *Fortunatus* and *Achaicus*, come from *Corinth*, 1 Cor. 16.17. with Letters from the Church to *Paul*, 1 Cor.7.1. and he upon their return, returns his answer in this Epistle sent by *Titus* and another, 2 *Cor.* 12.18. Some Postscripts have named *Timothy* for the the bearer, antedating his journy to *Corinth*, which was not in his going to *Macedon*, but in

in his return back, and when this Epiſtle had already given them notice of his coming that way, 1 *Cor.*16.10.

Apollos when *Paul* wrote this Epiſtle was with him at *Epheſus*, and was deſired by *Paul* to have gone along with the brethren to *Corinth*, but he would not, 1 *Cor.*16.11. it may be becauſe he would not countenance a faction there by his preſence, which was begun under his name. The Church was exceedingly broken into diviſions, which produced very doleful effects among them. Theſe ſeveral enormities raged in that Church, though ſo lately and ſo nobly planted, and all originally derived from this firſt miſchief of faction and ſchiſme.

1. A member of the Church had married his fathers wife, yea as it ſeemeth 2 *Cor.*7.12. his father yet living: which crime by their own Law and Canons deſerved death: *For he that went in to his fathers wife was doubly liable to be ſtoned, both becauſe ſhe was his fathers wife, and becauſe ſhe was another mans wife, whether he lay with her in his fathers life time, or after his death.* Talm. in Sanhed. per.7. & Maym, in Iſſure biah. per.1 & 2. And yet they in the height of the conteſtings they had among themſelves, did not only, not take away ſuch a wretch from among them, nor mourn for the miſcarriage, but he had got a party that bolſtered him up and abetted him: and ſo while they ſhould have mourned they were puffed up. His own party in triumph that they could bear him out againſt the adverſe, and the other in rejoycing that in the contrary faction there was befallen ſuch a ſcandal. Or both as taking this Libertiniſm as a new liberty of the Goſpel. The Apoſtle adviſeth his giving up to Satan, by a power of miracles which was then in being. So likewiſe did he give up *Hymeneus* and *Alexander*, 1 Tim. 1.20. The derivation of this power we conceived at *Act.* 5. [in the caſe of *Ananias* and *Saphira*] to be from that paſſage of Chriſt to the Diſciples, *John* 20.22. *He breathed on them and ſaid, whoſe ſins ye retain they are retained*, &c. and ſo were the Apoſtles indued with a miraculous power of a contrary effect or operation. They could heal diſeaſes and beſtow the Holy Ghoſt, and they could inflict death or diſeaſes, and give up to Satan. Now though it may be queſtioned, whether any in the Church of *Corinth* had this power, yet when *Pauls ſpirit with the power of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt* went along in the action, as *Chap.*5.4. there can be no doubt of the effect.

2. Their animoſities were ſo great, that they not only inſtigated them to common ſuits at Law, but to ſuits before the tribunals of the Heathen, which as it was contrary to the peace and honour of the doctrine of the Goſpel, ſo was it even contrary to their Judaick traditions: which required their ſubjection and appeals, only to men of their own blood, or of their own Religion. The Apoſtle to rectifie this miſdemeanour, firſt calls them to remember, that *the Saints ſhould judge the world*, and this he mentioneth as a thing known to them, *Chap.*6.2. and it was known to them from *Dan.*7.18,27. *And the Kingdom and Dominion, and the greatneſs of the Kingdom ſhall be given to the people of the Saints of the moſt High.* How miſerably this is miſconſtrued by too many of a fifth Monarchy, when Saints ſhall only Rule, is to be read in too many miſeries that have followed that opinion. The Apoſtles meaning is no more but this, *Do you not know that there ſhall be a Chriſtian Magiſtracy?* Or that Chriſtians ſhall be Rulers and Judges in the world, and therefore why ſhould you be ſo fearful or careleſs to judge in your own matters? Obſerve in what ſenſe he had taken the word *Saints* in the former verſe, namely for *Chriſtians* in the largeſt ſenſe, as ſet in oppoſition to the Heathen. And he ſpeaks in the tenour of *Daniel* from whence his words are taken, that though the world and Church had been ruled and judged and domineered over, by the four Monarchies which were Heathen, yet under the Kingdom of Chriſt under the Goſpel, they ſhould be ruled and judged by Chriſtian Kings, Magiſtrates and Rulers. Secondly, He minds them, *Know ye not that we ſhall judge Angels?* ver.3. Obſerve that he ſays not as before, Know ye not that *the Saints* ſhall judge Angels? But *we*. By Angels it is uncontrovertedly granted that he meaneth evil Angels the Devils: Now *the Saints*, that is all Chriſtians that profeſſed the Goſpel were not to judge Devils, but *we*, ſaith he, that is the Apoſtles and Preachers of the Goſpel; who by the power of their Miniſtry ruined his Oracles, Idols, deluſions and worſhip, *&c.* Therefore he argueth, ſince there is to be a Goſpel Magiſtracy to rule and judge the World, and a Goſpel Miniſtry that ſhould judge and deſtroy the Devils, they ſhould not account themſelves ſo utterly uncapable of judging in things of their civil converſe, as upon every controverſie to go to the Bench of the Heathens to the great diſhonour of the Goſpel. And withal adviſeth them, *to ſet them to judge who were leſs eſteemed in the Church*, ver.4. Not that he denieth ſubjection to the Heathen Magiſtrate which now was over them, or incourageth them to the uſurpation of his power: but that he aſſerteth the profeſſion of the Goſpel, capable of judging in ſuch things, and by improving of that capacity, as far as fell within their line, he would have them provide for their own peace, and the Goſpels credit. We obſerved before, that though the Jews were under the Roman power, yet they permitted them to live in their

their own Religion, and by their own Laws to maintain their Religion: and it may not be impertinent to take up and inlarge that matter a little here. As the Jews under the *Roman* ſubjection had their great *Sanhedrin*, and their leſs of three and twenty Judges, as appears both in Scripture, and in their Records, ſo were not theſe bare names, or civil bodies without a ſoul, but they were inlivened by their juridical, executive power, in which they were inſtated of old: So that though they were at the diſpoſal of the *Roman* Power, and Religion, and Laws, and all went to wrack when the Emperour was offended at them, as it was in the time of *Caligula*, yet for the moſt part, from the time of the *Romans* power firſt coming over them, to the time of their own laſt Rebellion, which was their ruine, the authority of their *Sanhedrins* and Judicatories was preſerved in a good meaſure intire, and they had adminiſtration of juſtice of their own Magiſtracy, as they injoyed their own Religion. And this both within the Land and without, yea even after *Jeruſalem* was deſtroyed, as we ſhall ſhew in its due place. And as it was thus in the free actings of their *Sanhedrins*, ſo alſo was it in the actings of their Synagogues, both in matters of Religion and of civil intereſt: For in every Synagogue as there were Rulers of the Synagogue in reference to matters of Religion and Divine worſhip, ſo were there Rulers or Magiſtrates in reference to Civil affairs, which judged in ſuch matters. Every Synagogue had *Beth din ſhel ſheloſhah*, a Conſiſtory or Judicatory, or what you will call it, of three Rulers or Magiſtrates, to whom belonged to judge between party and party in matters of money, ſtealth, damage, reſtitution, penalties, and divers other things which are mentioned and handled in both *Talmuds* in the Treatiſe *Sanhedrin per.* 1. Who had not power indeed of capital puniſhments, but they had of corporal, namely of ſcourging to fourty ſtripes ſave one. Hence it is that Chriſt foretels his Diſciples, *In the Synagogues you ſhall be beaten*, Mark 13.9. and hence had *Paul* his five ſcourgings, 2 *Cor.* 11.24. So that in every Synagogue there were *Elders that ruled* in Civil affairs, and *Elders that laboured in the Word and Doctrine.* And all things well conſidered, it may not be ſo monſtrous, as it ſeems to ſome, to ſay it might very well be ſo in thoſe times in Chriſtian Congregations. For ſince, as it might be ſhewed, that Chriſt and his Apoſtles in platforming of the model of Chriſtian Churches in thoſe times, did keep very cloſe to the platform of the Synagogues: and ſince the *Romans* in thoſe times made no difference betwixt Jews in Judaiſm, and Jews that were turned Chriſtians, nor betwixt thoſe Religions: for as yet there was no perſecution raiſed againſt Chriſtianity, why might not Chriſtian Congregations have and exerciſe that double Function of Miniſtry and Magiſtracy in them as well as the Jewiſh Synagogues? And if that much controverted place, 1 *Tim.* 5.17. ſhould be interpreted according to ſuch a ſenſe, it were neither irrational, nor improbable. Nor to interpret *Paul* ſpeaking to ſuch a tenour here. Only his appointing of τὰς ὲ τῇ ἐκκλησία ἐξουθενημένας, *the leſs eſteemed in the Church* to be appointed for that work is of ſome ſcruple: what if it allude to כת שלא מומחין *A Committee of private men?* Of which there is frequent mention among the Hebrew Doctors. See *Maymon.* in אישורי *fol.*253. *col.*1.

3. It was the old Jewiſh garb, when they went to pray, to hide head and face, with a vail, to betoken their aſhamedneſs and confuſion of face wherewithal they appeared before God: And hence is the conjunction of theſe two words ſo common in their Writings התעטף והתפלל *He vailed himſelf and prayed.* And this for a current rule, *The wiſe men and their ſcholars may not pray, unleſs they be vailed.* Maymon. in Tephillah *per.* 5. To which let us add that of *Sueton.* in *Vitell.* cap. 2. *Lucius Vitellius*, ſaith he, *had an excellent faculty in flattering: he firſt ſet afoot the worſhipping of Caius Cæſar for a God: when returning out of Syria, he durſt not go to him but with his head vailed, and then turning himſelf about, he fell proſtrate.*

Again it was the cuſtom of the Jewiſh women, to go vailed, or their faces covered, whenſoever they went into publick. *A woman*, ſaith *Maymony*, *may not go into publick* ואין עולה רדיד *if ſhe have not a vail on.* In אישורי *per.* 24. And this the Talmudiſts call דת יהודית *The Jewiſh Law:* and מנהג צניעות *The garb of modeſty.* Chetubboth per. 7. and *Alphef.* ibid. Where they ſay that *that thoſe women tranſgreſs the Jewiſh Law that go forth unvailed, or that ſpin in the ſtreets, or that talk with every man.*

Now in this Church of *Corinth*, the men retained the Jewiſh cuſtom that they prayed vailed, or with their head and face covered, but the women tranſgreſſed their Jewiſh Law, for they went unvailed and bare faced into the publick Congregation, and their reaſon was, as it ſeemeth by the Apoſtles diſcourſe, becauſe they, in regard of their beauty and comly feature, needed leſs to be aſhamed before God in his worſhip then the men. The Apoſtle reproves both, and argues that if the man pray vailed, who is the Image and glory of God, then much more ſhould the woman, who is but the glory of the man. But he cries down the mans praying vailed, as diſhonouring his head; and exhorts that *the woman have power on her head, becauſe of the Angels*, cap. 11.10. The word רדיד which we obſerved inſtantly before, out of *Maymony* ſignified a *womans vail*, doth alſo

alſo ſignifie *power* or *dominion*: and accordingly the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, Let the Woman have *power* on her head: But what means he by, *Becauſe of the Angels?* I ſhould anſwer, *Becauſe of the Devils:* for theſe he had called *Angels* alſo, a few Chapters before, *viz. Chap.* 6. 3. And his words may be conſtrued to this ſenſe, that Women ſhould not expoſe their faces openly in the Congregation, leſt the Devil make a bait of their beauty, and thereby intangle the eyes and hearts of the men, who ſhould be then better imployed, then gazing and longing after beauty. There are, that by *Angels* underſtood the Miniſters, and interpret it, that Women ſhould be vailed leſt the Miniſters eyes ſhould be intangled by their faces: which expoſition if it be admitted, it may ſpeak for the admiſſion of that alſo which we give, which provides for the eyes of the whole congregation as well as of the Miniſters.

4. In the ſame eleventh Chapter he alſo blameth their diſorder in receiving the Sacrament of the Lords Supper in the height of their heats and conteſtations. Wherein they did not only not diſcern the Lords body, a Symbole and tye of communion, but they even tranſgreſſed that rule now Chriſtians, which thoſe of them that were Jews would not have done in their Judaiſm. It was then a Canon current, and binding amongſt them, *that none ſhould eat and drink in their Synagogues, and none ſhould ſleep*, Jeruſ. in Megilla fol. 74. col. 1. *Maym.* in Tephillah per. 11. and Gloſſ. in *Maym.* in Shabb. 30. But now as they ate and drank the Bread and the Cup in the Sacrament, in their Churches, and that warrantably, ſo did they alſo preſume unwarrantably to eat their own common Suppers there, and that only in defiance one of another, the rich to outface the poor, and one party another with their good commons; ſome banketing and feaſting to the full, whilſt others ſat hungry by and looked on. [See how Μεθύει, *ver.* 21. ſignifies in the LXX, *Gen.* 43. 34. *Cant.* 5. 1.] Thus did they eat and drink judgement to themſelves in the Sacrament, whilſt they would receive the ſymbole of communion and yet ſhew ſuch ſigns and evidences of diſunion at the very inſtant: And the Lord accordingly overtook ſome of them with evident judgements, weakneſs, ſickneſs and death, avenging at once upon them the indignity done to his Sacrament, and the indignity done to their brethren. Much like ſurfeting *Nabals* caſe and end.

5. And as the people were thus irregular in this part of worſhip in their publick aſſemblies, ſo were their Miniſters faulty in others, namely about the managing of ſpiritual gifts there. The pretence to the Spirit [where indeed it was not] hath alwaies been the great uſherer in of all errour and deluſion: And to this the very unbelieving Jews pretended, and often backed their pretences with magical impoſtures: and of this the Apoſtle ſpeaks, *Chap.* 12. 3. *No man ſpeaking by the Spirit of God*, as theſe men took on them to do, *can call Jeſus accurſed*, as they called him. And on the other hand, ſome that had ſpiritual gifts indeed, failed in the uſing of them to the edification of the Church, but put them forth ſometimes for their own vain glory: and ſuch was their miſcarriage which he taxeth, *Chap.* 14. They that from that Chapter would ground a preaching by the Spirit now, ſure do little obſerve what they do to build upon an example which the Apoſtle reproveth: and they infer from a place much miſtaken.

There were indeed the extraordinary gifts of tongues and prophecying in the Church of *Corinth*, but who had them, and what had they in having them, and how uſed they them? 1. It was not every or indeed any *private* member of the Congregation that had them, but the Miniſters only, and by theſe very gifts and impoſition of the Apoſtles hands by which theſe gifts were conferred, they were inducted into the Miniſtry and inabled to it. The learned Reader will obſerve the difference that in *ver.* 16. is made betwixt him that ſpake with the tongues, and Ἰδιώτης, הדיוט *A private man*, that ſat by. 2. It was not to gabble with any tongue that is called *ſpeaking with a tongue* [for to what edification poſſible could it be for any Miniſter in *Corinth* to ſpeak Perſick, Coptick, Gallick or any other ſtrange language in that Congregation where all of them underſtood one and the ſame language?] but it was to underſtand and ſpeak the Originals of Scriptures, as was touched before, and to be able to unfold them, and ſo to propheſie or preach to the people. Obſerve theſe paſſages in the Chapter: *He that ſpeaketh with a ſtrange tongue edifieth himſelf*, ver. 4. And, *I would you all ſpake with tongues*: Now how could a man edifie himſelf by ſpeaking in ſome ſtrange remote language, when he might ſpeak or underſtand the very ſame thing in his own mother tongue? And what were they better, if they all ſo ſpake, unleſs it were, that thereby they were the fitter to look into all humane learning? But he or all of them that were able to underſtand and ſpeak the original language of Scripture, might thereby edifie themſelves, and therein ſpeak and underſtand what they could not in their mother tongue. 3. It appears by the Apoſtles diſcourſe that theſe men uſed theſe gifts irregularly, confuſedly and for their own vain glory, which he rebukes and rectifies.

6. There were alſo in or crept into this Church, thoſe that were either down right Sadduces in denying the Reſurrection, or that though with the Phariſees they acknowledged

ledged it, yet denied it of those that had forsaken their Judaism, and so would exclude all Christians from it: Upon this the fifteenth Chapter discourseth so fully and divinely that nothing can be more.

Those that this Church sent to visit *Paul* at *Ephesus*, brought with them a Letter from the Church, in the which they desired to be resolved about some doubts: as

1. About marriage, and a single life; what they should do in that case, since their Judaick Laws had always laid marriage upon them as a binding command. This they reckon the first command of the 613. *Vid. marg. ad tripl. Targ. ad Gen.* 1. And this their Canons did so strictly bind on as a duty, that they say that *he that lives to such an age and marries not, transgresseth a preceptive Law.* Maym. in אישות per. 1. In this case the Apostle saith, *Præceptum non habeo*; that he accounted it no such command, but every one was left to his liberty: according as he could contain, or not contain. And in his stating this case, how he speaks the language of his Nation, and how far he comes towards their opinions, or goes from them, the learned may observe, by comparing the beginning of this Chapter, with *Maymony* in his Treatise נשים especially fol. [*apud me*] 251. & 248. & 249.

2. About cohabitation of man and wife, when the one party was a Believer or a Christian, and the other party an unbeliever or an Heathen. And here he concludes that *the children*, if either parent were a Christian, *were holy*, ver. 14. that is, Christians, and not to be reputed as Heathen Children. It is the very phrase that his Nation used about the Children of Proselytes, that were born after they were proselyted; they were said to be born בקדושת *in holiness*, that is *within the Religion*, not in Heathenism.

3. About eating things sacrificed to Idols, and communicating in such things; a dangerous stumbling block of old, and particularly forbidden by the Council at *Jerusalem*: Of this he speaketh at large, and from the nature of Idol-sacrifices, and from the Nature of the Sacraments he sheweth how far they should be separate from such communion with Idolatry. He speaketh of all *Israels* being baptized unto *Moses* in the Cloud and Sea, and so separate from all *Egyptian* and other Idolatry and Prophaneness; and our baptism speaks the like separation. The Jews say *Moses was sanctified by the Cloud*, Jerus. in Joma fol. 28. col. 2. and *Paul* speaks here the same of all *Israel*, Chap. 10. 2.

4. About Ministers maintenance under the Gospel, *Chap.* 9. which he confirmeth, and sheweth that *Peter* and the rest of the Apostles and their Wives and Families were so maintained, *Chap.* 9. 5, *&c.*

He concludes the Epistle with a sad execration upon *Whosoever loveth not the Lord Jesus Christ, let such a one be Anathema, Maran Atha*, Chap. 16. 22. that is, *let him be accursed* or destroyed: *Our Lord cometh.* In which that he in the first aim and intention meaneth the unbelieving Jews, may be observed upon these four considerations. 1. Because the Jews of all men under Heaven were and are the greatest haters of Christ. *Pagans* indeed do not love the Lord *Jesus*, because they know him not, but again because they know him not they hate him not. The *Turks* love not *Christ* as Christians love him, but again they hate not *Christ* as the Jews hate him. The word *Jesus* here carries the *Emphasis* to level this execration at them: they pretended to love *Messias* or a *Christ*, but openly profess hatred of *Jesus*. 2. Because the Apostle here useth such Dialect, as that he speaketh in the very Jews language in the words *Maran Atha.* He had spoken in Greek all along the Epistle, and Greek all along his Epistles, and that here alone he should use a Syriack phrase and not translate it, it doth evidently shew, that his speech referreth more especially to the Jewish Nation. So *Jeremy* in *Chap.* 10. *v.* 11. threatning and cursing the *Chaldean* Idolatry, doth in the *Chaldean* language; one clause of which he useth not throughout his Prophesie beside. 3. The Jews of all men did chiefly or only call *Jesus Anathema*, as *Chap.* 12. 3. and as they are not ashamed openly to confess in their *Talmud*; therefore against them of all men first and chiefly is this *Anathema* aimed 4. This is agreeable to what the Scripture speaks copiously in other places: as *Isa.* 65. 15. *You shall leave your name for a curse to my chosen*, &c. *Malac.* 4. 6. *Lest I come and smite the Land with a curse*, &c. The most pious and charitable Apostle could wish himself to be *Anathema* for that Nation, on condition that they might believe and be saved, *Rom.* 9. 3. but since they will not believe, and do refuse salvation, and hate the Saviour, he forgets consanguinity for the love of *Christ*, and dooming and devoting all whomsoever, that loved not the Lord *Jesus Christ* to destruction, he intends them in the first place who were his chief haters.

The words *Maran-atha* are held by some to be of the form of the highest excommunication; *Sic signatur*, say they, *species extremi Anathematis*, *ac si diceretur*, *Maledictus esto ad adventum & in adventu Domini*: And withall that *Maran atha* is the same in sense with *Shammatha*: but this utterly without the warrant of any Jewish antiquity [whose language it is] at all. I believe it is impossible to shew *Maran atha* for a form of

of Excommunication or execration in any of their Writings, nay very hard if not next impossible to shew the words *Maran atha* in their Writings at all in any sense.

The phrase in the Apostle refers first to *Christs* coming in vengeance against *Jerusalem* and the Jewish Nation, as the execration is first to be pitched upon them: *Maran atha, Our Lord cometh.* Many and dreadful things are spoken of this his coming in the Scripture, of which we have spoken in several places as we have come along. So that in this sentence he doth both justly doom this unbelieving and wretched Nation to their deserved curse, and doth withall in this phrase intimate that the doomed curse was near approaching, in the Lords coming in vengeance against them. Now though we construe the words in such an application to the Jews, it is not exclusively, but that their sense reacheth also to every one that loveth not the Lord *Jesus* of what Nation soever, and the Lord will come in time to make him an *Anathema.*

There is some obscurity in a passage in *Chap.* 5.9. both of Sense and History: *I wrote unto you in an Epistle not to company with Fornicators:* 10. *Yet not altogether with the Fornicators of this world,* &c. Where first we have to inquire what it is that the Apostle doth here forbid them, and then, when it was that he wrote this Epistle that he speaketh of. There are two things that are here prohibited; one, when he wrote that which he speaketh of, namely, that they should *not company with Fornicators*; and the other now when he writes this Epistle, *viz.* that they should *not eat with such*: the latter he had permitted till now, though he prohibited the former, which let them well observe that understand by *eating* the receiving of the Sacrament.

Besides what communion was among the Jews *in sacris*, there was a twofold companying or communicating among them in civil things; the one more common, the other more neer and peculiar: Their more common was, eating together at the same common table: For even such eating they accounted of, as of a communion, under a rule: and hence no eating with Gentiles for any Jew, *Act.* 11. 3. nor with Publicans and sinners for any that were of the stricter sort of Religions: therefore *Christ* is cavilled at for it so oft in the Gospel. The other was that communion or associating, which they called שתוף and עירוב the former of which comprehended their near joyning in partnership, deputations and the like, of the which the triple Talmudick. Tract *Bava*, and *Maymonies* of *Shittuphin* and *Silluchin*, do treat at large. The later comprehended their combining in joynt interest and association, in the use of any common Court or Cloister where many dwelt together: of which the Treatise *Erubhin* is a large discourse and obscure enough. Now the Apostle in the former prohibition Μὴ Συναναμίγνυσθαι, seems to forbid this nearer communion: that if any that is called *a brother* or a Christian, be a Fornicator, *&c.* they should not associate with him in any such conjunction as partnership, deputation, imployment, cohabitation or common interest, *&c.* But upon the hearing of this horrid fact and example of the incestuous person, he heightens his prohibition, and now forbids, that they should not use so much as that common society with them, as to eat with them at common tables: which was to set them at the utmost distance, even at the same that the Jews did the very Heathens, for with them they might not eat.

Now how to understand ἔγραψα ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, is of some difficulty. Some conceive it means an Epistle, which was sent before this, and which was lost. Which is an exposition somewhat hard to digest. Certainly it is gentler and more warrantable, yea even by the rules of Grammer to render ἔγραψα to such a sense as this, I wrote, or had written, or was writing in this Epistle that you should not company with Fornicators, *&c.* but now hearing and weighing this high offence of the incestuous person, and the danger of such an example, I sharpen my style, and now forbid not only your near associating with such, but even the common fellowship of eating together at common tables, which was as much as that which is spoken, *Matth.* 18. 17. *Let him be to thee as an heathen man.*

ACTS Chap. XIX. *from* Ver. 23. *to the end of the Chapter.*

PAUL had determined to stay at *Ephesus* till *Pentecost*, because of a great and effectual door that was opened to him, and he was earnest to imbrace that opportunity, 1 *Cor.* 16. 9. but before his determined time of departure thence came, and as it seemeth not long before, *Demetrius*, with the rest of the Silversmiths raise a tumult against him as the great impairer of their profit, by crying down the worship of *Diana* and other Idols. These men used to make *silver temples of Diana*, Ναοὺς Ἀργυροῦς, or little models, as it seemeth, made after that Temple fashion: which they that came to *Ephesus* to worship, bought, either to consecrate to the Goddess, and to leave there in her Temple, or rather to take away with them home in memorial of that Goddess. *Tully* in *Verrem* speaks of *Ædes Minervæ posita in fano Apollinis.* And *Dion Cassius* lib. 36. of Νεὼς ἥραι βραχὺς, &c. *A little Temple of Juno set upon a Table looking toward the East, did of it self turn towards the North.* And in *lib.* 40. Ὁ γὰρ Ἄετος ὠνομασμένος [ὅτι δὲ νεὼς μικρὸς καὶ ἐν αὐ-

τῶ ἀετῶ χρυσῆς, &c.] *The Eagle* [ſaith he, meaning the *Roman* enſign] *was a little Temple, and in it was ſet a golden Eagle: ſuch a one pitched in every one of the Roman Legions, and it never ſtir'd out of the winter quarters, till the whole camp did remove: this Eagle fixed on the top of a ſpear one man carried: the lower end of the ſpear being ſharp that it might be ſtuck into the ground.* So that it ſeems the *Roman* Eagles were not flying Colours like ours, but a golden Eagle meddal wiſe incloſed in a little fabrick like a Temple: of ſuch a kind were theſe *ſilver Temples of Diana*, namely a little ſilver ſhrine made after the faſhion of the Temple and the Goddeſs in it.

The great Temple was reputed one of the ſeven wondrous fabricks of the world: It was hundreds of years in building at the charge of all *Aſia*, before it came to its laſt excellency and perfection. And as hither had been the conflux of the coſt of all *Aſia* toward the building of it, ſo when it was built, hither was the conflux of all *Aſia*'s ſuperſtition. And as from hence it may be gathered how great a work it was to plant the Goſpel in this center of Idolatry, ſo doth *Demetrius* readily obſerve, how great a detriment is like to accrew to him and his fellows by the Goſpels deſtroying that Idolatry, as daily it did. Hereupon they raiſe a tumult againſt *Paul*, which is not only promoted by the Idolatrous Heathen, but by the Jews alſo, though upon another ſcore. In the hubbub there is mention of *Alexander*, *whom they drew out of the multitude the Jews putting him forward. And he beckned with the hand and would have made his defence unto the People, but when they knew he was a Jew they would not hear him*, ver. 33, 34. And *Paul* in his ſecond Epiſtle to *Timothy*, who was at *Epheſus* when he wrote to him, ſaith, *Alexander the Copper-ſmith did me much evil*, 2 Tim. 4. 14. I think there is little queſtion to be made but that *Alexander* mentioned in both places is one and the ſame man: eſpecially if we conſider that he that *Paul* ſpeaks of was of *Demetrius* his Profeſſion a *Copper-ſmith*. Now whereas *Luke* ſaith the Jews put him forward, and he would fain have made a ſpeech in his defence to the people: it is eaſie to gueſs what the ſubject of this ſpeech would have been: Namely that whereas the Heathens every where looked upon the Jews as the great oppoſers and enemies of their Idolatry, and the Jews and *Alexander* were very apprehenſive, that the eyes of the *Epheſians* was on that Nation as the enemy of their *Diana*, and ſo they feared the tumult might have fallen upon them, they put forward *Alexander* to make their Apology, who if he had had liberty to have ſpoken would have laid load upon *Paul* and his company, and have excuſed the Jews: but thus it pleaſed God to provide for the Apoſtles ſafety, that the tumultuous people would not hear what *Alexander* would have ſaid: which would have laid all the blame on *Paul*.

ACTS CHAP. XX.

Ver. 1. *And after the uproar was ceaſed, Paul called unto him the Diſciples, and imbraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia.*

2. *And when he had gone over thoſe parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece.*

3. *And abode there three months: and when the Jews laid wait for him as he was about to ſayl into Syria, he purpoſed to return thorow Macedonia.*

IT was his reſolution to have ſtaied at *Epheſus* till *Pentecoſt*, had he had no diſquieture or diſturbance there, 1 *Cor.* 16. 8. Now though it be not certain how long it was before the time that he had fixed for his departure, that the tumult there did pack him away: yet this is apparent, that when he came thence, he had the whole ſummer before him, and in that ſummer he travelled theſe journeys, and thus was his progreſs.

1. From *Epheſus* he ſetteth for *Macedonia*, ver. 1 & 1 *Cor.* 16. 5. from whence though he had been driven ſome five years ago by perſecution, *Act.* 16. as he is now from *Epheſus*, yet had he received ſo many evidences of the *Macedonians* faith towards God, and pledges of their tenderneſs and love towards himſelf, *Philip.* 4. 15, 16. that he is not only reſolved to venture himſelf again amongſt them, but he holds himſelf ingaged to reviſit them, and to beſtow his pains again among them for their further proficiency in the Goſpel. At his departure from *Epheſus* he leaveth *Timothy* there behind him, though in a dangerous place and time, yet neceſſity by reaſon of falſe teachers that were ready to break out, ſo requiring it, 1 *Tim.* 1. 3, 4.

2. By the way as he goes he makes ſome ſtay at *Troas*: where though he had fair ſucceſs in his Miniſtry, yet not finding *Titus* whom he expected to have met withall from *Corinth*, he makes not long ſtay there, but ſets away again ſpeedily for *Macedonia*, 2 Cor. 2. 12, 13.

3. It was in his thoughts whilſt he was at *Epheſus*, to have touched at *Corinth*, in this his journey, and to have made ſome ſtay there, 2 *Cor.* 1. 15, 16. but thus miſſing of *Titus* at *Troas*, and neither from him, nor yet from any other receiving intelligence how his Epiſtle

Epiſtle that he had written thither took with them, he thought it beſt to go by, and not to call there at this time, becauſe he doubted he ſhould have a heavy and comfortleſs meeting with them, 2 *Cor.* 2. 1, 2.

4. Being come into *Macedonia* he finds ſome troubles there: *fightings without*, either from falſe brethren, or from open enemies: and fears and unquietneſs within leſt all ſhould continue at *Corinth*, as he had herd of it: but at the laſt *Titus* cometh and refreſheth him with the deſired and welcome tidings that all was well there, and that his Epiſtle had had that happy iſſue and effect among them that he longed for, 2 *Cor.* 7.5,6.

5. Whilſt he ſtaieth in *Macedonia* and thoſe parts, he preacheth eſpecially in thoſe places where he had been before, namely *Theſſalonica* and *Philippi*; and now was the time alſo that he diſperſed the Goſpel as far as to *Illyricum*, of which he ſpeaketh in *Rom.* 15. 19.

6. At this time whilſt he was imployed in theſe *Macedonian* climates, he writeth, as may be concluded upon theſe obſervations,

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO *TIMOTHY*;

1. It is apparent from 1 *Tim.* 1. 3. & 3. 15. that that Epiſtle was written after *Pauls* ſetting out from *Epheſus* for *Macedonia*, and yet when he was in ſome thoughts of returning ſhortly for *Epheſus* again.

2. Now it cannot be conceived to have been written when he was going towards *Macedonia*, for then was he but newly parted from *Timothy*, and it is not likely he would ſo write to him when he was but newly come from him.

3. Nor can it be conceived to be written when he was coming back again from *Macedonia* into *Greece*, for then he was going to *Epheſus* in his own determination, and might have been his own meſſenger, aud had needed no Epiſtle ſending at all. And beſides he intimates in *Chap.* 3. 16. that it might be, he might ſtay a little long before he came to him: Therefore it cannot but be concluded that this Epiſtle was written whilſt he was in *Macedonia* or the parts thereabouts, at this time that we are upon.

It is ſomething ſtrange that there ſhould be ſo various and roving conjectures about the time and place of the writing of this Epiſtle where there is ſo plain a demonſtration thereof in the Epiſtle it ſelf, if ſtudiouſly compared with theſe times and voyages of *Paul* that are before us. The *Arabick* dateth it from *Athens*: ſuppoſing it, belike, at the time of his perambulation of *Greece*, of which there is mention in *ver.* 3. of this Chapter: the Syriaek *from Laodicea*: ſome Greek copies add from *Laodicea Pacatiana*: which miſtake belike grew, becauſe there is mention of an Epiſtle from *Laodicea*, Coloſ. 4. 16. of which we ſhall ſpeak and ſhew the miſtake when we come to the time of that Epiſtle. The *Rhemiſts* ſuppoſe this Epiſtle to *Timothy* was written at *Pauls* firſt impriſonment in *Rome*, when he was diſmiſſed and ſet at liberty, but how erroniouſly, will appear when we come to obſerve the time of the ſecond Epiſtle.

Paul had beſtowed much pains and a long time with the Church of *Epheſus* being preſent with it: and he takes much care of it now he is gone thence: partly becauſe of the eminency of the place, and partly becauſe of the ficklenes of ſome, who were ready to warp from the ſound truth and doctrine received, to hereſie and fooliſh opinions. For the keeping down of theſe therefore that they ſhould not overgrow the Church, he leaveth *Timothy* there, when himſelf departeth; chooſing him for that imployment above all other his followers, becauſe [as was ſaid before] ſome prophetick predictions had ſealed him for a ſingular and extraordinary inſtrument in the Goſpel, 1 *Tim.* 2.14.

He had two works to do in that City: firſt to prevent riſing Errors and Heterodoxies, and ſecondly to direct and order the Orthodox aright in Worſhip and diſcipline: not as any Dioceſan Biſhop [for he ſtaied but a while there, and what he did, he did but by the Apoſtles direction,] but as one that *Paul* had found ſound, bold, blameleſs, painfull and faithful.

Among the Jewiſh Churches that received the Goſpel, there grew in time a very epidemical and dangerous Apoſtacy, either totally from the Doctrine of the Goſpel, or partially from the purity of it, as we have frequent occaſion to obſerve upon ſeveral paſſages that we meet withal as we go along: and this backſliding from the Doctrine and Profeſſion of Chriſt once received, was the topping up of the iniquity of that Nation, and was a forerunner and a haſtner of their deſtruction and caſting off.

The firſt principles whereby their falſe teachers did priſon them towards this recidivation, were, puzzling them with idle fables, intricate genealogies, and eſpecially nice curioſities, and needleſs obligations of the Law: Their fables that were likelieſt to ſerve their turn for this purpoſe [as near as one may gueſs upon view of the whole heap in their Talmudick Records] may be ſuppoſed to have been thoſe ſtrange legends that they related

related of the wondrous ſanctity, devotion and facts of ſome of their Phariſaical and legal righteous ones, and the wondrous gallantry and golden daies that they conceited in a carnal conſtruction of the times of *Meſſias*.

Their endleſs genealogies which the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of *Tit.* 3. 9. and mentioneth together with theſe fables, 1 *Tim.* 1.4. were not any of the genealogies of Scripture, holy and divine, but their long and intricate pedigrees that they ſtood upon, to prove themſelves Jews, Levites, Prieſts and the like, thereby to intereſt themſelves in claim to all thoſe brave things that they perſwaded themſelves belonged to a Jew as a Jew, upon that very account: And to theſe we may add the long genealogy and pedigree of their traditions which they derived by a long line of ſucceſſion through the hands of I know not how many Doctors: of which the Talmudick Treatiſe *Avoth*, is as a Herald. And if we will conſtrue the word יוחסין *Juchaſin*, *Genealogies*, in the עשרה יוחסין *Aſerah Juchaſin Ten linages*, that they ſpeak of that came out of *Babel* at the return of the captivity, I am ſure we may find endleſs queſtions wherewithal they puzzeled mens minds about them; as *Vid.* Talm. in Kidduſhin per. 4. Alpheſ. ibid, *&c.*

And as for their making their baits of the Law for the catching and withdrawing of ſimple ſouls either totally from the acknowledging, or at leaſt from the ſimplicety of the Goſpel, it is very obvious in the Epiſtles of *Paul* and the other Epiſtles how they wrought, and how they prevailed: the witchery of old cuſtoms and long uſe, and the gawdineſs of a Ceremonious Religion, helping them to ſpeed in their deſigns, and forwarding their deceivings.

Such canker began to break out in the Church of *Epheſus*: whoſe creeping and infecting, it is the firſt and great work of *Timothy* to prevent, and to fill the ears of his hearers with ſound doctrine and admonitions, which might keep ſuch deceit and infection out. And anſwerably it muſt be his care to ſettle the Church in ſuch a ſalubrious conſtitution of Worſhip, Miniſtry and Government, as that it ſhould not be ready to ſway and incline to ſuch dangerous ſeductions. Hereupon doth the Apoſtle lay a divine Directory before him, concerning their manner of praying, chooſing and ordaining of Miniſters, approving Deacons, admitting widows, and regulating the people, that nothing could be wanting to the healthfull temper of that Church if they receive and imbrace theſe applications: In the moſt of which preſcriptions he uſeth exceeding much of their Synagogue language, that he may be the better underſtood, and reflecteth upon divers of their own Laws and cuſtoms, that what he preſcribeth may imprint upon them with the more conviction. He calleth the Miniſter *Epiſcopus*, from the common and known title *The Chazan* or *Overſeer* in the Synagogue: Aruch in חזן. He preſcribeth rules and qualifications for his choice, in moſt things ſuitable to their own cautions in chooſing of an Elder: *Maym.* in Sanhedr. per. 4. He ſpeaketh of *Elders ruling only, and Elders ruling and labouring in the Word and Doctrine*: meaning in this diſtinction, that ſame that he had ſpoken of in *Chap.* 3. *Biſhops* and *Deacons*. Both theſe in the common language then beſt known, were called *Elders*, and both owned as *Rulers*. Yea the very title that they uſually termed *Deacons* by [*Parnaſin*] was the common word that was uſed to ſignifie *a Ruler*. The *Jeruſalem* Talmud in Peah. *fol.* 21.1. ſpeaking of the three *Parnaſin* or Deacons that were in every Synagogue, hath theſe two paſſages, which may be ſome illuſtration to two paſſages in this Epiſtle. *They appoint not leſs then three Pernaſin in the Congregation: for if matters of money were judged by three, matters of life much more require three to manage them.* Obſerve that the Deacons Office was accounted as an Office that concerned life, namely in taking care for the ſubſiſtance of the poor. According to this may that in *Chap.* 3. 12. be underſtood. *For they that have uſed the Office of a Deacon well, purchaſe to themſelves a good degree.* A good degree towards being intruſted with ſouls, when they have been faithful in diſcharge of their truſt concerning the life of the body. The other paſſage is this, *R. Haggai whenſoever he appointed Parnaſin* [Deacons] *he urged the Law upon the People, ſaying, All rule that is given, is given from the Law, &c.* And here you may likewiſe obſerve, that Deaconſhip is called Rule.

We obſerve before, that it were not ſo monſtrous as it might ſeem, if by *Elders that ruled only* we ſhould underſtand a Civil Magiſtracy or Bench in every Congregation, as there was in every Synagogue; but ſince the Apoſtle nameth only *Biſhops and Deacons*, his interpretation here is beſt taken from and within himſelf; and to underſtand the *Elders that ruled only* of the Deacons, which were called both *Elders* and *Rulers*, as well as the Miniſters: and in the Jews Synagogues were profeſſed Scholars: The Talmudick place now cited tells us that *R. Eliezer* one of their greateſt Rabbins *was a Parnas*, or Deacon in a Synagogue. The *Epiſcopi* or Miniſters are titled οἱ κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλία, *that laboured in the Word and Doctrine*: which moſt properly is to be underſtood diſtinctly thus, which laboured *in the Word*, and which laboured in teaching: and the former to denote their laborioufneſs in ſtudy to inable them to teach, and the latter their laborioufneſs in teaching. Κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ is but the common phraſe of the Jews turned

ed into Greek לעי בחורי [See the Syriack here] by which they mean a great ſtudent in the Law. Among multitudes of inſtances that might be alledged, I ſhall produce but this one out of *Jeruſ. in Maaſar ſheni fol.* 56. *col.* 2. *R. Jonah paid his Tithes to R. Acha bar Ulla, not becauſe he was a Prieſt* אלא משום רהורי לעי באורייתא *but becauſe he laboured in the Law*, that is, was a great ſtudent and an able teacher. They that ſuppoſe that the tithes under the Law were paid only at the temple, and to maintain the Prieſts in the ceremonious worſhip there, and upon this conceit look upon them only as Levitical, are far deceived: for as ſome were indeed paid at the Temple upon ſuch an account, ſo others and that the Greateſt part, were paid to the Prieſts and Levites in their 48 Univerſities, *Joſh.* 21. to maintain them whilſt they were ſtudying there, to inable them for the Miniſtry, and to teach the people, for which they were deſigned, *Deut.* 33. 10. *Mal.* 2. 7. and when they were diſperſed through the Land, into the ſeveral Synagogues to be Miniſters in them, tithes were alſo paid for their maintenance there.

He ſpeaketh of proviſion to be made for poor Widdows, even much according to the Jews own rules, that they went by in their Synagogues, which herein were good. The Talmudick Treatiſe *Jevamoth* ſpeaketh of this matter at large, and ſee *Maym* in אישות per. 18. & 20. The Widdows he allows to be taken in, to be maintained of the publick ſtock, he would have not to be Widdows by divorce, nor Widdows young; but of 60 years of age, and of grave and holy qualifications: Not that theſe were to vow the vow of continency [as ſee what a miſerable ado the *Rhemiſts* make upon the place] but that they muſt bee ſuch as were likely to bring no more charge then themſelves upon the Church, nor bring any ſhame or reproach by the lightneſs of their lives to it, and might be ſerviceable in their places, to attend upon ſtrangers, to waſh their feet, *&c.* But as for younger Widows, their age and thoſe times were dangerous, when the *Nicolaitan* doctrine without [which taught communicating with things of Idolatry and Fornication, and mixing and marriage indifferently with heathen] meeting with the heat of youth within, might make ſuch to wax wanton againſt *Chriſt*, and deny the faith and marry with heathens: or at leaſt to bring charge upon the Church if they continued in it.

He injoyns prayers to be made for all ſorts of men, whereas the Jewiſh cuſtom was, to curſe the Heathen, and to pray for none but themſelves and their own Nation. He cals the Church *the pillar and ground of truth*, Chap. 3. 15. the very title by which the great *Sanhedrin* was ordinarily ſtiled. *Vid.* Maym. in Mamrin. per. 1. the obſerving of which may be of good uſe for the explanation of it here.

After ſome ſtay in *Macedonia*, and preaching up and down in thoſe parts, *Paul* turns back again, and goes for *Greece*, Act. 20. 2. and by the way viſiteth *Creet* and there leaveth *Titus*, Tit. 1. 5. thinking that he ſhould preſently after a little ſtay in *Greece*, have ſet towards *Jeruſalem*, and that *Titus* ſhould have ſtaied there till further time: For if what hath been ſpoken lately concerning *Titus* be conſidered, how *Paul* ſent him with his firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, and that after their parting at *Epheſus* upon that occaſion, they never met till *Titus* cometh up to him, when he was come from *Epheſus* to *Macedonia*, 2 Cor. 7. 5, 6. it will readily reſolve, that in that firſt journey to *Macedonia* he left him not in *Creet*, for *Titus* and he were not yet met again ſince their parting at *Epheſus*. And that he left him not there at his ſecond coming up to *Macedonia* [namely after his travelling in *Greece*, and when he was prevented of his intended journey into *Syria*, Act. 20. 2, 3.] it is apparent alſo by this, that inſtantly upon his returning from *Greece* and from his prevented journey, he ſendeth for *Titus* to come to him upon warning, *Tit.* 3. 12. which two particulars joyntly obſerved do make it plain that he left *Titus* in *Creet* when he came back from *Macedonia* in his journey into *Greece*, and when he intended after his perambulation of *Greece* to have gone for *Syria*, but the lying in wait of ſome Jews for his life, turned him again to *Macedonia*.

In his return thither, or upon his coming there, he writeth

THE EPISTLE TO *TITUS*.

It is not much material to controvert whether he ſent this Epiſtle in the way as he went towards *Macedonia*, or when he was come up into *Macedonia*; it is enough to know, that it was in the ſcantling of time, either in his journey thither, or inſtantly upon his coming there. The *poſtſcript* hath dated it from *Nicopolis*, becauſe of his words in *Chap.* 3. 12. *Come unto me to Nicopolis, for there I have determined to winter*: from which words, as the affixer of the *poſtſcript* hath gathered ſome ground to date it thence, ſo others have gathered better ground, to hold that it was not dated thence, becauſe he ſaith not ἐντεῦθεν *Here*, but ἐκεῖ *There* I have determined to winter: as if he were not yet come thither.

Who firſt planted the Goſpel in *Creete* may be an endleſs inquiry: certain it is that ſome *Cretans* were preſent at the firſt pouring forth of the Holy Ghoſt in the gift of tongues, *Acts* 2. 8. but whether they imbraced the Goſpel and returned with it into their own Country,

Country, is an inquiry as endleſs: Whether *Barnabas* ever preached there we may queſtion alſo, but when we have done all we can never reſolve. It is more then probable that *Paul* was there himſelf, from that expreſſion *I left thee in Creete*, but his ſtay there when he left *Titus* could not be long, as is eaſily cleared from the time of his journeys lately mentioned.

Whether he had been there ſome time before, or whether he had ſent the Goſpel thither by ſome of his Miniſters, or however it came there, there wanted ſomething to the conſtituting of the Church, which he leaveth *Titus* to accompliſh: And his work is juſt the ſame that he left *Timothy* at *Epheſus* for, as is eaſily ſeen by laying together the two Epiſtles, *viz.* to ſtop the mouth of the Heterodox, and to direct and adviſe the Orthodox in Doctrine and Diſcipline, and to ordain Elders and Miniſters in the Churches.

This matter of ordaining Elders hath made the *poſtſcripts* of the Epiſtles to theſe two men to intitle them Biſhops, the one of *Epheſus*, and the other of *Creet*, who how little they ſtayed or ſetled in either of theſe places, he readeth but dimly that ſeeth not.

The Apoſtle in this Epiſtle urgeth him to diſpatch the buſineſs that lay before him, that upon notice from him, he might be ready to come up to him to *Nicopolis*: a City that bare the name and badge of the Victory that *Auguſtus* obtained againſt *Anthony*. Dion. Caſſ. *pag.* 426. & 443.

Titus according to his appointment came to him, and when winter began to draw over, and *Paul* began now to think of journying ere it were very long, he ſends him upon an imployment to another place: which becauſe it was when winter was going off, we muſt place it in another year.

CHRIST. LVI.	NERO. II.

A New year being now entred, and *Paul* intending for *Syria* as ſoon as the ſpring was a little up, he ſendeth *Titus* before hand to *Corinth*, to haſten their collections for the Saints in *Judea*, that they might be ready againſt *Paul* ſhould come thither. And with *Titus* he ſendeth two other brethren, and by them all he ſendeth

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE *CORINTHIANS.*

The proof that it was written and ſent at this time and in this manner, is plain by theſe places and paſſages in it: *Chap.* 9. 2, 3, 4. *I know the forwardneſs of your mind, for which I boaſt of you to them of Macedonia: Yet have I ſent the brethren, leſt our boaſting of you ſhould be in vain; leſt haply they of Macedonia come with me*, &c. *Chap.* 12. 14. *Behold the third time I am coming to you.* Chap. 13. 1. *This is the third time I am coming to you.* And *Chap.* 8. 16. *But thanks be unto God who put the ſame earneſt care into the heart of Titus for you.* 17. *Being more forward of his own accord he went unto you.* 18. *And with him we have ſent the brother whoſe praiſe is in the Goſpel.* 22. *And we have ſent with them our brother, whom we have often times proved diligent in many things*, &c.

Who theſe two nameleſs perſons ſhould be, will require ſome inquiry. The later I ſuppoſe was *Eraſtus*, both becauſe his diligence had been approved before, *Acts* 19. 22, *&c.* and alſo becauſe it is ſaid *Eraſtus abode at Corinth*, 2 Tim. 4. yet he not named among *Pauls* retinue when he ſet out for *Aſia*, Act. 20. 4. becauſe he was gone to *Corinth* before.

As for the other brother *whoſe praiſe* is ſaid to be *in the Goſpel*, that very phraſe and expreſſion hath cauſed many to conceive, that it was *Luke*, and that the words mean, *Who is famous in all the Churches for the Goſpel he hath written*: whereas [beſides that groundleſs ſtrictneſs that is put upon the words, limiting them to the writing of a Goſpel, which according to that moſt uſual manner of ſpeech, are rather to be underſtood of his renown *in preaching the Goſpel*] it is apparent by the words of *Luke* himſelf, that he went not either before *Paul* to *Corinth*, as this brother ſpoken of did, nor did he go before *Paul* to *Troas* as the reſt that are named by him did, but he went in *Pauls* company: for obſerve his ſpeech, *Theſe tarried for us at Troas: And we ſailed away from Philippi*, &c. The words *Us* and *We* do plainly aſſociate the penman himſelf with *Paul* at his ſetting out, and ſhew that he was none of thoſe that were ſent before.

Others therefore do gueſs that this brother that went along with *Titus*, was *Silas*, becauſe it is ſaid, *Who alſo was choſen by the Churches to travel with us*, &c. Which very thing which they uſe for an argument to prove it *Silas*, proves againſt it, for *Silas* was not choſen *by the Churches* to go with *Paul*, any more than *Timothy* or *Titus* were; but he was choſen by *Paul* alone, as they alſo were. *See* Act. 15. 40.

That

That clauſe then, *Who was alſo choſen of the Churches to travel with us*, doth deal the matter betwixt *Barnabas* and *Mark*, for none other can be named, to whom the words can be ſo properly applied as to one of them: and of the two, moſt properly to *Mark*; and he I doubt not, is the man that is here intended: For 1. the words *with us*, joyn *Paul* and *Barnabas* together in their travel, and the third man who was choſen to travel with them was none but *Mark*. For 2. he was choſen by the Church at *Jeruſalem* for that purpoſe, *Acts* 12. 25. and by the Church at *Antioch*, Acts 13. 5. as theſe words *he was choſen by the Churches* do well explain thoſe verſes. 3. It is true indeed that *Paul* had taken diſtaſt at *Mark*, and ſo bitter, that *Barnabas* and he had parted upon it, *Act.* 15. 39. yet in his ſecond Epiſtle to *Timothy* he deſires *Timothy* to *bring Mark to him, for that he is profitable to him for the Miniſtry*, 2 Tim. 4. by which it appears that he was not only reconciled to him, but alſo that he had made uſe of him and found him uſeful: When it was that they knit into amity and imployment again, is not diſcoverable, but that they had done ſo, the paſſage newly alledged, doth make paſt denial; and if his imployment of *Mark* were not now, or before, he can no more imploy him, before he himſelf become a priſoner. When we come to the time and order of the ſecond Epiſtle to *Timothy*, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak to this matter again, and ſhall find ſomething there to help the confirmation of this aſſertion, nay to raiſe it higher then yet it hath ſpoken, namely, that *Mark* was not only ſent by *Paul* to *Corinth* at this time, but alſo that he was at *Corinth* when *Paul* ſent for him to come to him to *Rome*. And thus if theſe words, *Whoſe praiſe is in the Goſpel*, were to be underſtood of one that had written a Goſpel, here is a ſubject to apply them to in that ſenſe, for this *Mark* wrote a Goſpel as well as *Luke*.

The Apoſtle in this ſecond Epiſtle to *Corinth*, doth firſt excuſe his not coming to them according as he had promiſed in his firſt Epiſtle, 1 *Cor.* 16. 5. clearing himſelf from all lightneſs in making, and from all unfaithfulneſs in breaking that promiſe, and pitching the main reaſon upon themſelves and their preſent condition: becauſe he had not yet intelligence when he went firſt into *Macedonia*, of any reformation among them of thoſe enormities that he had reproved in his firſt Epiſtle, therefore he was unwilling to come to them in heavineſs, and with a ſcourge. This his failing to come according to his promiſe, had opened the mouths of divers in his diſgrace, and falſe teachers took any other occaſion to vilifie him, which he copiouſly ſatisfies and vindicates himſelf all along the Epiſtle.

His exceeding zealous plainneſs with them, and dealing ſo home and throughly againſt their miſdemeanours as he did, was one advantage that falſe teachers and his illwillers took to open their mouth againſt him, and to withdraw hearts from him: and withal and mainly, becauſe he was ſo urgent againſt the works of the Law as to Juſtification, and thoſe rites which the Jews, even the moſt that were converted to the Goſpel, too much doted on. About the former, their taunt and ſcorn againſt him was, *His Letters are weighty and powerful, but his bodily preſence is weak and ſpeech contemptible*, *Chap.* 10. 10. A poor contemptible fellow [ſay they] to be ſo ſharp and ſupercilious in his Letters, this is more then he durſt ſpeak if he were here! *&c.* But let ſuch know, ſaies he, that what I am by Letters in abſence, I will be by words and in deed in preſence. Concerning both this and the latter named, they paſſed *Feſtus* his cenſure upon him, as *Acts* 26. 24. *that he was beſides himſelf.* This he mentions and anſwers, *Chap.* 5. 13. *Whether we are beſides ourſelves it is for God, or whether we be ſober it is for your cauſe. For the love of Chriſt conſtraineth us, becauſe we thus judge: that if one died for all, then were all dead*, &c. Since *Chriſt* died for all, that is, for Jews and Gentiles both, he could not but conclude that all were dead, the Jew as well as the Gentile; therefore he could not but ſo urgently call upon the Jew to look off his own righteouſneſs, and the works of the Law, and to look for Juſtification by faith in *Chriſt*. Another ſcandalous opinion and reproach they alſo took up of him, *That he walked after the fleſh* [a ſtrange ſlander of *Paul*] *Chap.* 10. 2. but this was but an appendix to that before: becauſe he was not Phariſaically preciſe about their trivial rites of the Law [which too many of them mixed with the Goſpel,] but cried them down; therefore they cried him up for carnal. His anſwer to this is, that his Miniſtry may witneſs the contrary for him, *ver.* 3, 4, 5. the end of which and the abundant effect of which was to beat down ſuch carnal affections and actions as were ſuch indeed: His expreſſion of the weapons of his warfare being ſtrong to pull down ſtrong holds, expounds that *Num.* 24. 17. *of Chriſts ſmiting the corners of Moab, and deſtroying all the Sons of Seth.* And he gives this for a ſecond anſwer, that if they would be but obedient, they ſhould ſee how his Apoſtolick power was ready to avenge diſobedience.

Since he hath ſuch back friends and open enemies in this Church, it is no wonder if he write ſo doubtingly of them how he ſhould find them: and that he ſtaied no longer with them when he came to them, as his ſtay was very little. His former Epiſtle, as it is apparent by ſeveral paſſages in this, had wrought them into a reaſonable good temper: but miſchief now was crept on them again, at leaſt there were ſome that were tampering to bring it on. In regard therefore of that vilifying that theſe falſe teachers, enemies of him

him and God did ſet him at, and ſought to make him odious and contemptible in the eyes of the Church, he is put to it to make his vindication, and that, as the matter required with much largneſs and earneſtneſs. He therefore copiouſly diſcourſeth, what God had done by him, what he had ſuffered for God, and what he had done for the Churches; in any of which things let any of theſe that reviled him, come near him if they could. In relating the paſſages of his life, he mentioneth many things, of which there is no mention in his ſtory in the Acts of the Apoſtles: and frequently in his diſcourſe, he ſpeaketh of his folly in boaſting, as *Chap.* 11. 1. *Bear with me a little in my folly*, and ſee *ver.*16,17. becauſe indeed mans boaſting of himſelf is folly, and they would be ready to cenſure his ſo, therefore he ſtyles his by that title, though it were not folly in him, but a needfull and an holy vindication of himſelf and of his Miniſtry.

After he had ſent away this Epiſtle, by *Titus*, *Eraſtus* and *Mark*, if our conjecture fail not, and had given notice to the *Corinthians* of his ſpeedy coming to them, and warning to get their Collections ready againſt he came, he provideth for his journey into *Syria*, which he had intended ſo long: partly to viſit the Churches in theſe parts, and partly to bring up the Collections that he had got for the poor of *Judea*: which he had promiſed to the three Miniſters of the Circumciſion. *Peter*, *James and John* that he would be carefull of, *Gal.*2.10.

CHRIST. LVI.	*NERO.* II.

ACTS Chap. XX.

Ver. 4. *And there accompanied him into Aſia Sopater of Berea: and of Theſſalonians, Ariſtarchus and Secundus: and Gaius of Derbe, and Timotheus: and of Aſia, Tychicus and Trophimus.*

5. *Theſe going before tarried for us at Troas.*

6. *And we ſet from Philippi, after the daies of unleavened bread.*

THE ſtory, as hath been ſaid, hath brought us to another year, the beginning of which, that is, from the entrance of *January* and forward, even till *Eaſter*, *Paul* ſpent in *Macedonia*, ſtill wintring there, *viz.* in *Nicopolis*, *Philippi*, &c. and after *Eaſter* he ſets for *Jeruſalem*, ver.6. Therefore we have ſuperſcribed it, The ſecond of *Nero*, and of *Chriſt* the *56th.*

When we come to ſpeak of the Epiſtle to the *Romans*, which we ſhall meet with in our way very ſhortly, we ſhall ſay ſomething of the names of theſe men [for many of them will meet us there:] only we cannot meet *Timotheus* here without ſome notice taken of him, and ſome *quære* how he came here. The laſt year *Paul* left him at *Epheſus* when himſelf came thence, and being come thence into *Macedonia* he ſends him an Epiſtle with his earneſt deſire in it, that he would ſtay there ſtill upon that needful imployment upon which he was left, 1 *Tim.* 1. how then is *Timothy* now got to him into *Macedonia*, ſo that he is with him at his ſetting away from *Philippi*? We have not indeed any intimation that *Paul* ſent for him away, as we have of his ſending for *Titus* whom he left in *Creete*, intendedly for a longer time: but it is very probable that *Paul* deſigning to have ſailed for *Syria*, came near to him: and there diſcovering the danger that was laid in his way by the Jews, which might alſo have infolded *Timothy*, he brought him away back again with him, and ſo both returned into *Macedonia*, and now winter is over, they are ſetting for *Aſia* again.

But when *Paul* and this his company are all going for *Aſia* together, why ſhould they not ſet out together, but theſe go before and tarry at *Troas*, and *Paul* and ſome other of his company come after? Nay they were all to meet at *Troas* as it appeareth, *ver.* 6. why might they not then have gone all together to *Troas*?

The reaſon of this was, becauſe *Paul* himſelf was to go by *Corinth*: and not minding to ſtay there but very little, becauſe he haſtned to *Jeruſalem*, he would not take his whole train thither, but ſends them away the next way they could go to *Troas*, himſelf promiſing and reſolving to be ſpeedily with them there. He had promiſed a long time to the Church of *Corinth* to come unto them, and he had newly ſent word in that Epiſtle that he had lately ſent, that now his coming would be ſpeedy, 2 *Cor.*12.14. *Behold the third time I am ready to come to you*: and *Chap.*13.1. *This is the third time that I am coming to you:* Not that he had been there twice before, for ſince his firſt departing thence [when he had ſtaied there a long time together, at his firſt planting of the Goſpel in that place] there is neither mention nor probability of his being there again, but this was the third time *that he was in coming*, having promiſed and intended a journey thither once before, but was prevented,

prevented, 2 *Cor.* 1. 15,16,17. But now he not only promiſeth by the Epiſtle that he will come, but ſtaketh the three Brethren that he had ſent thither, for witneſſes and ſureties of that promiſe, 2 *Cor.*13.1,2. that in the mouth of thoſe witneſſes his promiſe might be eſtabliſhed and aſſured.

Now the time is come that he makes good his promiſe, and whilſt the reſt of his company go directly the next cut to *Troas*, he himſelf and *Luke*, and whom elſe he thought good to retain with him, go about by *Corinth*.

And now to look a little further into the reaſon of their thus parting company, and of *Pauls* ſhort ſtay at *Corinth* when he came there, we may take into thoughts [beſides how much he haſtned to *Jeruſalem*] the jealouſie that he had that he ſhould not find all things at *Corinth* ſo comfortable to himſelf, and ſo creditable to them, before thoſe that ſhould come with him, as he deſired. He hath many paſſages in the ſecond Epiſtle that he wrote to them, that glance that way: For though as to the general there was Reformation wrought among them upon the receiving of his firſt Epiſtle, and thereupon he ſpeaketh very excellent things of them, yet were there not a few that thought baſely of him, 2 *Cor.* 10. 1,2. and traduced him and his Doctrine, *Chap.* 11. & 12. and gave him cauſe to ſuſpect that his boaſting of that Church to the Churches of *Macedonia* might come off but indifferently, if the *Macedonians* ſhould come with him to ſee how all things were there, 2 *Cor.* 9.4. And therefore it was but the good policy of juſt fear, grief, and prudence to ſend them by another way, and he had very juſt cauſe to ſtay but a while when he came there.

From *Corinth* in his ſhort ſtay there, he writeth

THE EPISTLE TO THE *ROMANS*,

as hath been well ſuppoſed by ſome of the Ancients, is aſſerted by the *poſtſcript*, and may be concluded from theſe Obſervations.

1. That he ſaith, that he is now going to *Jeruſalem* to bring to the Saints that benevolence that they of *Macedonia* and *Achaia* had collected for them, *Rom.* 15.26. The word *Achaia* tels us that he now was ſure of the *Corinthian* contribution, which he was not ſure of, till he came there.

2. That he commendeth to the Romans, *Phœbe* a ſervant of the Church of *Cenchræa*, *Rom.* 16. 1. which *Cenchræa* was a place belonging to *Corinth*, as was obſerved before, though at ſome few miles diſtance.

3. That he calleth *Eraſtus*, *Chamberlain of the City*, Rom. 16.23. of whom it is ſaid *Eraſtus abode at Corinth.* 2 Tim.4.

4. That he calleth *Gaius his hoſt*, or the man with whom he lodged, *and the hoſt of the whole Church*, or in whoſe houſe ſtrangers had their intertainment, *Rom.* 16. 23. who was a *Corinthian*, 1 Cor. 1. 14. And hence it appeareth that *Gaius* of *Derbe*, who was one of thoſe that were gone before to *Troas*, was one man, and *Gaius* of *Corinth* was another.

It is true indeed that the greetings of ſome men were ſent in this Epiſtle which were not with *Paul* at this preſent in *Corinth*: as *Timothies*, Rom. 16.20. who was gone to *Troas*: and *Soſipaters*, who was gone thither alſo [for he I ſuppoſe is the ſame with *Sopater* of *Berea*, Acts 20.4.] and this might ſeem to infringe the truth of this opinion that holdeth that this Epiſtle was written from *Corinth*: But when it is conſidered how lately *Paul* and theſe men parted, and that it is paſt doubt that he would acquaint them before their parting of his intentions to ſend to *Rome*, it is no difficulty to conceive how their ſalutations came inſerted into that Epiſtle.

There are indeed ſome that confeſs that it was written from *Corinth*, but not at this time but at another, namely in that time when *Paul* travelled *Greece*, of which journey there is mention *Act.*20. in which time, among other places, they conceive he came to *Corinth* and there wrote this Epiſtle. But 1. it may very well be queſtioned whether he were at *Corinth* in theſe three months travels or no. For whereas he had promiſed to call on them as he went to *Jeruſalem*, 1 Cor. 16.7. [which he intended when he travelled thoſe three months, but that he diſcovered that the Jews lay in wait for him] he excuſeth himſelf for not coming according to that promiſe, 2 *Cor.* 1. 16, 17. And if it were granted that he was at *Corinth* at that time, yet 2. he could not write this Epiſtle at that time, becauſe when he wrote it, he knew the contribution of the *Corinthian* Church was then ready, *Rom.* 15.26. which when he travelled *Greece*, either indeed was not ſo, or at leaſt he knew not that it was, as appeareth copiouſly in his ſecond Epiſtle to that Church.

The Apoſtle in this moſt ſublime Epiſtle, clears fully and divinely, the two great myſteries of the Goſpel, *Righteouſneſs by faith*, *and the calling of the Gentiles.* And in the handling of theſe he handles the great points Original ſin, Election, and caſting off of the Jews. He laies this poſition down concerning the firſt, *Chap.*1.17. That in *the Goſpel is revealed the Righteouſneſs of God* [*juſtifying*, as in the Law was revealed his righteouſneſs or juſtice *condemning*] and that from faith [of immediate inixion upon God as was

Adams before his fall, and as was that which the Jews owned in God] *to faith*, in the righteousnes of another: namely *Christ*. This way of justification he proveth first by shewing how far all men both by nature and action are from possibility of being justified of or by themselves, which he cleareth by the horrid sinfulnes of the Heathen, *Chap.* 1. [a large proof of which might be read at *Rome* at that very instant:] and little less sinfulnes of the Jews though they had the Law, *Chap.* 2. & 3. and therefore concludeth, *Chap.* 3. 30. that God justifieth the circumcision *by faith* [and not by works, as they stood upon it] and the uncircumcision *through faith* [for all their works that had been so abominable, and that seemed so contrary to justification.] In *Chap.* 4. he taketh up the example of *Abraham*, whom the Jews reputed most highly justified by his works, for they had this saying of him אברהם קיים את התורה כלה *Abraham performed all the Law every whit:* but he proveth that he found nothing by his own works, but by believing he found all. In *Chap.* 5. he proves the imputation of *Christs* righteousnes for Justification, by the parallel of the imputation of *Adams* sin for condemnation: Not at all intending to assert that as many as were condemned by *Adam*, were freed from that condemnation by the death of *Christ*, but purposely and only to prove the one imputation by the other.

It was a strange doctrine in the ears of a Jew to hear of being justified by the righteousnes of another, therefore he proves it by the like, mens being condemned for and by the unrighteousnes of another. Two close couched passages clear what he aimeth at: The first is in *ver.* 12. Διὰ τοῦτο ὥσπερ, &c. *Wherefore as by one man sin entred into the World, &c.* The word ὥσπερ *As*, properly requireth a *So* to follow it, as you may observe it doth, in *ver.* 15. 18, 19. but here there is no such thing expressed, therefore it is so to be understood; and the Apostles words to be construed to this sense. *Wherefore it is*, or the case is here as it was in *Adam*, *as by one man sin entred into the World*, &c. there imputation, so here. The second is *ver.* 18. in the Original *verbatim* thus. *As by the transgression of one, upon all men to condemnation, so by the righteousnes of one, upon all men to justification of life.* What, upon all men? Our Translation hath added some words to clear the sense, but the shortnes of the Apostles style doth better clear his intent: namely to intimate imputation: as speaking to this purpose, *As by the transgression of one there was that that redounded to all to condemnation, so by the righteousnes of one there is that that redoundeth to all to justification of life:* And to clear that he meaneth not that all that were condemned by *Adams* Fall were redeemed by *Christ*, he at once sheweth the descent of Original sin, and the descent of it for all the death and righteousnes of *Christ*, *Quæ tamen profuerunt antequam fuerunt.* Ver. 13. *For till the Law sin was in the World: but sin is not imputed where there is no Law. Nevertheless death reigned from Adam to Moses.* By what Law was sin sin and did death reign, when the Law was not yet given? Namely by that Law that was given to *Adam*, and he brake, the guilt of which violation descends to all.

Having to the end of the fifth Chapter stated and proved Justification by faith, in *Chap.* 6, & 7, & 8. he speaks of the state of persons justified, which though they be not without sin, yet their state compared with *Adams*, even whilst he was sinless, it is far better then his: He invested in a created, finite, changeable humane righteousnes; they in the righteousnes of God uncreate, infinite, unchangeable. He having the principles of his holiness and righteousnes in his own nature, they theirs conveyed from *Christ*: He having neither *Christ* nor the Spirit, but left to himself and his natural purity; they having both. *See* Chap. 8. 1, 2, 9, 10, *&c.*

At the nineteenth verse of *Chap.* 8. he begins upon the second mystery that he hath to treat upon, the calling of the Gentiles, whom he calls πᾶσα κτίσις *The whole Creation*, or *Every Creature:* by which title they also are called, *Mark* 16. 15. *Colos.* 1. 23. and he shews how they were subject to vanity of Idolatry and the delusions of the devil, but must in time be delivered from this bondage, for which deliverance they now groaned: and not they only, but they of the Jews also, which had received the first-fruits of the Spirit, longed for their coming in, waiting for the adoption that is, the redemption of their whole body: for the Church of the Jews was but the child-like body, and accordingly their Ordinances were according to child-like age of the Church: but the stature of the fulnes of *Christs* mystical Body, was in the bringing in of the Gentiles. Being to handle this great point of the Calling of the Gentiles and Rejection of the jews, he begins at the bottom, at the great doctrine of Predestination, which he handles from *ver.* 29. of *Chap.* 8. to *Chap.* 9. 24. and then he falls upon the other. That *Israel* stumbled at *Messias* and fell, seeking indeed after righteousnes, but not his, but their own; and that they are cast away, but not all; A remnant to be saved, that belonged to the Election of Grace: As it was in the time when the World was Heathen, some of them that belonged to the Election, came in and were proselyted to the worship of the true God; so some of these, while all the rest of their Nation lie in unbelief. And in this unbelief must they lie till the fulnes of the Gentiles be come in, and then all Gods *Israel* is compleated.

The

The moſt that he ſalutes in the laſt Chapter, appear to have been of the Jewiſh Nation and the moſt of them [though now at *Rome*] yet ſome time to have been of *Pauls* company and acquaintance in ſome other place. The expulſion of the Jews out of *Rome* by *Claudius* Decree, might very well bring many of them into his converſe, as well as it did *Priſcilla* and *Aquila* whom he names firſt among them. *Epenetus* was one of his own converts of *Achaia*; *Mary* had beſtowed much labour on him, yet he hitherto had never been near *Rome*. He that would diſpute the point of the firſt planter of the Goſpel at *Rome*, might do well to make the firſt muſter of his thoughts here: And whereas the Apoſtle ſpeaks of the faith of the *Roman* Church as ſpoken of throughout the World, *Chap.* 1. *ver.* 8. it is very queſtionable whether he look to the times before the Decree of *Claudius*, or thoſe ſince *Claudius* death, when all the ſcattered were returned again, and many of thoſe that had come out unbelieving Jews had returned Chriſtians thither; as I believe the caſe was of *Aquila* and *Priſcilla*: and ſome converted in other places had now taken up their reſidence there, as *Epenetus*, *Andronicus*, and *Junia*, &c.

Thoſe whoſe ſalutations he ſendeth thither, may be the better judged of, who they were, by obſerving who were of his retinue at this time, which are named, *Act.* 20. 4. as 1. *Timothy*, 2. *Lucius*, who ſeemeth to be *Luke*, called now by a Latine name, in an Epiſtle to the Latines. He was with *Paul* at *Corinth* at the ſending away of the Epiſtle: for having mentioned the others that were gone to *Troas*, theſe ſaith he ſtaied *for us*, joyning himſelf in *Pauls* company now going to *Corinth*. 3. *Jaſon* ſeemeth to be he that is called *Secundus*, Acts 20. 4. the one his Hebrew name, and the other the ſame in Latine, for *Secundus* is ſaid to be a *Theſſalonian*, and ſo was *Jaſon*, Acts 17. 7. 4. *Soſipater* here in all probability, he that is called *Sopater of Berea* there. 5. *Tertius* that wrote out the Epiſtle, it may be was *Silas*: an Hebrician will ſee a fair likelihood of the one name in the other, it being written in Hebrew letters שלש: and the Hebrew names to the *Romans* are rendred in the *Roman* Idiome. 6. *Gaius*, the ſame in Greek with the ordinary Latine name *Caius*: it appears that he was a *Corinthian*, 1 Cor. 1. 13. and in that *Paul* here calls him, *Mine hoſt, and the Hoſt of the whole Church*: to the underſtanding of which, the obſerving of a cuſtom of the Jews may give ſome illuſtration. *Maymony* in his Treatiſe concerning the *Sabbath*, ſpeaking about that rite that they uſed of hallowing the Sabbath with a ſet form of words at his coming in, *per.* 30. hath this ſaying: *This hallowing of the Sabbath may not be uſed, but only in the place where they eat: as for example, he may not uſe the hallowing words in one houſe, and eat in another. Why then do they uſe the hallowing word in the Synagogue; Becauſe of travellers that do eat and drink there.* Where the Gloſs upon the place comments thus, *It is evident that they did not eat in their Synagogues at all, as it is apparent in the eleventh Chapter of Maymonies Treatiſe of Prayer, but in a houſe near the Synagogue: and there they ſat at the hearing of the hallowing of the Sabbath*, &c. It may be obſerved from hence, that ſtrangers and travellers were intertained in a place near the Synagogue [compare *Acts* 18. 7.] which was a publick Xenodochion or receptacle of ſtrangers, at the charge of the Congregation: which laudable cuſtom is almoſt apparent was tranſplanted into the Chriſtian Churches in thoſe times: as compare ſuch paſſages as thoſe, *Heb.* 13. 2. *Acts* 15. 4. And poſſibly thoſe *Agapæ* or *feaſts of Charity* ſpoken of in the Epiſtles of the Apoſtles, are to be underſtood of theſe loving and charitable entertainment of ſtrangers. *Jude ver.* 12. *Theſe are ſpots in your feaſts of Charity, when they feaſt with you, feeding themſelves without fear.* Falſe teachers travelling abroad undiſcovered, and being intertained in theſe publick receptacles for ſtrangers, and at the publick charge, would find there a fit opportunity for themſelves to vent their errors and deceptions. In this ſenſe may *Gaius* very properly be underſtood *the Hoſt of the whole Church*, as being the officer or chief overſeer imployed by the *Corinthian* Church for theſe intertainments: In which alſo it was almoſt inevitable but ſome Women ſhould have their imployment: according to which cuſtom we may beſt underſtand ſuch places as theſe, *Phœbe a ſervant of the Church at Cenchrea, ſhe hath been a ſuccourer of many.* Ver. 6. *Mary beſtowed much labour on us.* And ſee 1 *Tim.* 5. 9, 10, *&c.* He ſpeaketh alſo of other Women of whom he giveth this teſtimony, that they laboured much in the Lord, as *Tryphena and Tryphoſa and Perſis*, ver. 12. which may either be underſtood in the like ſenſe: or if not ſo, of their great pains ſome other way for the honour and promotion of the Goſpel, and benefit of the Saints and themſelves: as by viſiting and relieving the poor and ſick, taking pains in following the Miniſters of the Goſpel, and venturing themſelves with them: hiding and cheriſhing them in times of danger, and ſo venturing themſelves for them: and ſo he ſaith *Priſcilla and Aquila* for his life laid down their own necks, *&c.* He ſalutes three of his own kinſmen *Andronicus* and *Junia* and *Herodion*: the two firſt were converted before him, and were of note among the Apoſtles: either being of the number of the 70 Diſciples, or eminent converts and cloſe followers of *Chriſt*, or of the Apoſtles in thoſe firſt times. He calls them his *fellow priſoners*: but if he had called them his priſoners, it had been eaſier to have told when and how. For they were in *Chriſt*, whilſt he was a perſecutor: but when they were impriſoned

ned with him,after his converſion,is hard to find out. Among all that he ſalutes ſo kindly, where is *Peter?* If he were now at *Rome* how was he forgotten?

ACTS Chap. XX. Ver. 6.

And we came to them to Troas in five daies: Where we abode ſeven daies.

And ſo to Ver. 17. *of* Chap. XXI.

FRom *Philippi* after Eaſter, he ſetteth away for *Corinth*, where he ſtaied ſo little, that he came to *Troas* within five daies after the company was come thither which had gone before: for ſo are the *five daies* to be underſtood: not that *Paul* in five daies went from *Philippi* to *Corinth* and *Troas*, but that his company which was ſet out with him,but ſet directly for *Troas*, had ſtaied but five daies at *Troas*, before he came up to them.

There he celebrates the Lords day and the Lords Supper,and preacheth and diſcourſeth all night [a thing not altogether ſtrange in the Jewiſh cuſtoms, *Jeruſ. Sota* fol. 16.4. *R. Mair was teaching profoundly all the night of the Sabbath in the Synagogue of Chamath*] So that *Eutychus* ſleeps and falls and is taken up dead, but recovered by miracle. The change and beginning and end of the Chriſtian Sabbath may be obſerved here.

When he goes now from thence, it is moſt likely it was the time when he left his Cloak, Pooks and Parchments with *Carpus*, 2 Tim. 4. 13. *His Cloak:* for he was now going among his own Nation in *Judea*: and there he was to wear his Jewiſh habit,and he left his *Roman* garb here, till he ſhould come into thoſe *Roman* quarters again. It may be,*the Parchments* were the Originals of thoſe Epiſtles that he had already written: for that he ſent tranſcripts, and reſerved the Original copies, may be collected from theſe paſſages, *I Tertius who wrote out this Epiſtle*, Rom.16. 22. *The ſalutation of me Paul with my own hand*,1 Cor. 16.21. Col. 4. 18. which was *the token in every Epiſtle*, 2 Theſ. 3. 17. for all the Epiſtle beſide was written with another hand.

From *Troas* by ſeveral journeys he cometh to *Miletum*: and thither he ſends for the Elders of the Church of *Epheſus*, which City was near at hand: But who were theſe? Not *Timothy* and *Trophimus*, for they were in his company already, and had been with him in his journey hither, but theſe twelve men upon whom he had laid his hands, and beſtowed on them the Holy Ghoſt, and ſo fitted them for the Miniſtry, *Acts* 19.6. and whomſoever beſides *Timothy* had ordained into the Miniſtry whilſt he was there.

Although the *Epheſian* and the reſt of the *Aſian* Churches, were but in an ill caſe at this time in regard of falſe doctrines and much Apoſtacy that had corrupted and cankared them, yet doth the Apoſtle foreſee that the caſe will be worſe and worſe with them ſtill, and that grievous Wolves ſhould yet break in upon them: And this he concludeth, not only from the boldneſs that he was aſſured falſe teachers would uſe and aſſume to themſelves when he was gone, but from thoſe predictions of *Chriſt* that had foretold what ſad Apoſtacy ſhould occur, and what falſe teachers ſhould ariſe before the great day of *Jeruſalem* came, which was now coming on apace.

ACTS Chap. XXI. Ver. 17.

And when we were come to Jeruſalem the Brethren received us gladly, &c.

PAUL is now got to *Jeruſalem*: And the firſt thing that we have to do about his ſtory there, is to calculate the time and conſider what Year it was when he came thither: and to prove if we can, that it was the ſecond Year of *Nero*, according as we have ſuperſcribed that Year: for this is of import, as to the fixing of thoſe Chronical Obſervations that we are to take up hereafter.

The common conſent in all times, hath fixed his coming to *Jeruſalem* and apprehenſion there to this Year, and yet amongſt all that have ſo concluded upon it, there is none that hath given any one clear proof or evidence at all for ſuch an aſſertion. *Euſebius*, *Ado*, *Caſſiodore*, *Baronius*, *Lorinus*, and divers others are of this mind, yet whereupon they grounded their opinion is hard to find, nay it is hard to find among many of them, any that goeth about to ſhew any groundwork for it at all. It would therefore ſave a great deal of labour to take their conſent without any more ado, and it might carry good credit with it, to go along with ſo general a tenet upon the word of ſo many Learned men: yet that we may not go altogether led blindfold by others, let theſe thing towards the proof of it be taken into conſideration. And firſt let us draw a Chronicle of *Nero*'s time.

NERO.
I.
II.
III.
IV. *Poppæa* becomes *Nero*'s Paramour.
V. *Nero* ſlaies his mother *Agrippina.*
VI.
VII.
VIII. *Poppæa* becomes *Nero*'s Wife. *Pallas* dieth.
IX.
X. *Albinus* is Governour of *Judea.*
XI. *Florus* cometh in Governour inſtead of *Albinus.*
XII. The firſt beginning of the Wars of the Jews.
XIII.
XIV.

Although theſe things affixed to the ſeveral Years of *Nero*, may ſeem very Heterogeneal to the thing we have in hand, yet we ſhall find them of good uſe when we have firſt cleared their truth and certainty.

1. That *Poppæa* became *Nero*'s Minion in his 4*th.* Year is apparent by *Tacitus* Annal. *lib.* 13. *Sect.* 12. where he placeth the beginning of their adulterous acquaintance *A.U.C.*811. under the Conſulſhip of *Nero* III. and *Valerius Meſſala.*

2. That *Nero* ſlew his mother *Agrippina* in his fifth Year, the ſame *Tacitus* alſo aſſerteth, *lib.*14. *Sect.*1. placing that fact *A.U.C.*812. under the Conſulſhip of *C. Vipſanius*, and *Fonteius Capito.*

3. The marrying of *Poppæa* to *Nero*, as his Wife, he placeth in his eighth Year. *Annal. lib.* 14. *Sect.* 9. viz. *A.U.C.* 815. under the Conſulſhip of *P. Marius*, and *L. Aſinius*: and in the ſame Year he placeth the death of *Pallas.*

4. The beginning of the Wars of the Jews in *Nero*'s 12*th.* and the entrance of *Geſſius Florus* into the Government, the Year before, is confirmed under this teſtimony of *Joſephus*, Antiq. lib. 20. cap. *ult.* Καὶ δὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν ὁ πόλεμος δευτέρῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς ὑπατείας Φλώρου· ἐνδεκάτῳ δὲ τῆς Νέρωνος ἀρχῆς. Out of which how *Baronius* can bring the beginning of *Florus* his Government to be in the tenth of *Nero*, as he doth, I underſtand not: for if the twelfth Year of *Nero* were *Florus* his ſecond, then the eleventh was his firſt.

And now let us take in ſome things more, which we muſt apply to theſe times mentioned, to help us in the inqueſt we are about.

1. *Joſephus* ſaith, that *when Portius Feſtus came into Felix room in the Government of Judea, the chief of the Jews of Cæſarea went to Rome to accuſe Felix; and he had been certainly puniſhed for his unjuſt dealing with the Jews, had not Nero been very favourable to him, at the intreaty of his brother Pallas, who was then very much in Cæſars eſteem.* Antiq. lib.20.cap.7.

2. The ſame *Joſephus* alſo ſpeaking of the Government of *Feſtus* in *Judea*, he firſt mentioneth how he found the Country infeſted with rebels and robbers whom he overthrew: then he relateth how King *Agrippa* built his palace ſo at *Hieruſalem*, as that it overtopt the Temple Courts: which the Jews diſliking built a counterwall to hinder the proſpect, that it ſhould not view their ſervice and actions in the Temple. At this *Agrippa* and *Feſtus* took diſtaſt, and *Feſtus* commanded that the wall ſhould be pulled down: but the Jews deſired they might ſend Agents to *Rome* about this matter, which they did. And when *Nero* heard the caſe, ὃ μόνον συνέγνω πρὸς τὸ παρεχθὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεχώρησεν, οὕτως ἐᾶν τὴν οἰκοδομίαν, τῇ γυναικὶ Ποππαίᾳ, Θεοσεβὴς γὰρ ἦν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων δεησομένῃ. *He did not only pardon the thing done: but he alſo conſented to ſuffer the building ſo to ſtand: vouchſafing this at the intreaty of his Wife Poppæa, for ſhe was devout*, &c. *Antiq.* lib. 20. cap. 8. Obſerve the laſt words, *At the intreaty of his Wife Poppæa.*

3. The ſame *Joſephus* again relateth a journey of his own to *Rome* in theſe words: *When I was ſix and twenty years old I went to Rome upon this occaſion. When Felix was Governour of Judea, he ſent certain Prieſts my near acquaintance, and very good men for a ſmall cauſe to Rome to appear before Cæſar. For whoſe deliverance I deſiring to find ſome means went to Rome, and there by the means of a certain Jew,* Ποππαίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος γυναικὶ γνωστὸς. *I came to be known to Poppæa Cæſars Wife.*

Baronius doth revile *Joſephus* here as if he had forgot his own age: *Videas in his* [ſaith he] *quæ ſuæ ætatis ſunt, ſuo ipſius teſtimonio convinci, annorum ſex turpiter errantem.* And wherein? *Quia affirmat ſe agentem annum ſupra vigeſimum ſextum ſub Fælice Judæa præſide Romam veniſſe.* But *Joſephus* ſaith no ſuch word. He ſaith indeed that he went to *Rome* to labour the deliverance of ſome men that *Felix* had ſent thither in the time of his Government, but that *Felix* was in his Government when he went thither he ſaith not at all.

And

And now to take up what we have to obſerve upon theſe things that have been ſpoken.

1. It is true indeed, as *Tacitus* witneſſeth, that *Pallas* the brother of *Felix*, who had been *Claudius* his great favorite, and ſo *Nero*'s alſo in *Claudius* time, did wane and decreaſe ſomewhat in his favour in a very ſhort time after his entrance into his reign: but he was not utterly laid flat, and out at all, till after *Poppæa* came into favour and amorouſneſs, who forwarded the death of *Agrippina*, and the bringing down of thoſe that were of her party as *Pallas* was. Therefore the power of *Pallas* with the Emperour ſeemeth to be expired in *Nero*'s fifth year, in which *Agrippina* was ſlain. And by this account we cannot extend *Felix* his eſcape for his brother *Pallas* his ſake, beyond *Nero*'s fourth Year. For conſidering *Poppæas* prevalency with the Emperour, when once ſhe became his Paramour, and conſidering her deteſtation of *Agrippina* and her faction of which *Pallas* was the chief, we cannot caſt *Felix* his diſcharge for *Pallas* his ſake, beyond *Nero*'s fourth.

2. *Paul* lay two years priſoner at *Cæſarea* under *Felix*: Acts 24. 27. *After two years Portius Feſtus came into Felix room.* Many are the conjectures about theſe two years. *Baronius* ſaith, it was *Expleto biennio Neronis. Magiſter Hiſtoriæ Scholaſticæ*, ſaith it was *Biennium ab accuſatione Felicis a Judæis. A Lapide* cares not to think that *Biennium hoc inchoandum a præfectura Felicis in Judæa, nam ante illud præfuerat Trachonitidi Batanææ & Gaulonitidi*, &c. But it is moſt proper to hold, that theſe *two years* mean the time of *Pauls* being a priſoner under *Felix* from the time of his apprehenſion under *Lyſias* the chief Captain, till *Felix* his going out of his Government: and ſo it is held by *Beda*, *Beza*, *Salmeron*, *Onuphrius* and others. And this is ſo proper and ſuitable to the intent and diſcourſe of *Luke*, that it needeth no illuſtration or proof of it: and it is moſt agreeable to the Scriptures manner of accounting in all other places.

Theſe two things then being thus concluded on, it will follow that *Pauls* apprehenſion was in *Nero*'s ſecond, and *Felix* went out of Office in *Nero*'s fourth, before *Poppæa* was yet got into her potency. And the accounting of *Pauls* two years impriſonment under *Felix* to be thus. At *Pentecoſt* in *Nero*'s ſecond he is apprehended, and at *Pentecoſt* in *Nero*'s third he had been a year priſoner: and at *Pentecoſt* in *Nero*'s fourth his two years are up: and that ſpring it was that *Felix* went out of Office, and went to *Rome* to make his anſwer, and *Pallas* his brother not yet utterly out of favour makes his peace. And now let us draw up the Chronology of *Nero*'s time to the full, according to theſe evidences, and as referreth to our occaſion.

CHRIST.	NERO.	
55.	1.	*Paul* at *Epheſus*: Goeth to *Macedonia*, *Creete*, *Greece*, to *Macedonia* again, and wintreth in *Nicopolis*.
56.	2.	*Paul* at *Macedonia* till *Eaſter*: then goeth up to *Jeruſalem*, and is apprehended at *Pentecoſt*, and from that time till the year go out, is a priſoner.
57.	3.	*Paul* a priſoner all this year under *Felix*.
58.	4.	*Felix* removed. *Feſtus* cometh in: *Paul* ſhipped towards *Rome*, but wintreth by the way. *Poppæa* in *Nero*'s eye, and becomes his Minion.
59.	5.	*Feſtus* Governour of *Judea*. *Paul* after wintering in his journey, cometh to *Rome*, and this is the firſt year of his impriſonment there. *Nero* killeth his Mother *Agrippina*.
60.	6.	*Feſtus* Governour of *Judea*. *Pauls* ſecond years impriſonment at *Rome*.
61.	7.	*Feſtus* Governour of *Judea*.
62.	8.	*Feſtus* Governour of *Judea*. *Nero* marrieth *Poppæa*.
63.	9.	*Feſtus* Governour: It may be *Albinus* came in ſometime this year: and then was *James the leſs* ſlain this year.
64.	10.	*Albinus* Governour of *Judea*.
65.	11.	*Florus* Governour of *Judea*.
66.	12.	*Florus* Governour of *Judea*. The Wars begin.
67.	13.	
68.	14.	*Nero* dieth, having reigned 13. years and 8. months.

ACTS Chap. XXI. *from* Ver 17. *to the end of the Chapter.*

PAUL cometh to *Jeruſalem* at the feaſt of *Pentecoſt*, when the City was now full of conconflux to that feſtival. He reſorteth inſtantly to *James* the reſidentiary Apoſtle of the Circumciſion, for holding correſpondency ſake; and there he ſhews him the manner and fruit of his Miniſtry among the Gentiles. Which both by *James* and the Elders that were with him is well approved of, as to the thing it ſelf: but they certifie him of what complaints they heard from the Jews againſt him, for crying down the rites of *Moſes*, eſpecially Circumciſion, *That thou teacheſt all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forſake Moſes, ſaying, that they ought not to circumciſe their Children*, ver. 21.. Now becauſe thouſands of the Jews which believed were yet zealous of the Law, this gave much offence. But did *Paul* teach thus or not? No doubt he did, and it behoved him ſo to do: nor does, nor can *James* except againſt the Doctrine: for though it is true that he and *Paul* and the other Apoſtles permitted compliance with ſome of the Jewiſh rites for peace ſake for a while, as there is an example in this very place, yea *Paul* himſelf circumciſed *Timothy* upon that reaſon; yet the uſe of Circumciſion, as theſe that ſtood upon it, uſed it, was utterly inconſiſtent with the Goſpel. Hear this Apoſtles Doctrine, *Behold I Paul ſay unto you, that if you be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profit you nothing. For I teſtifie again to every man that is circumciſed, that he is a debtor to the whole Law*, Gal. 5. 2. A converted Jew would have his Son circumciſed: *Paul* asks him a reaſon; what can he anſwer, but it looks after ſome juſtification by it? as their own Authors ſpeak their thoughts: *He that is circumciſed is perfect.* And, *He that is circumciſed ſhall not go to Gehinnom.* And, *I ſaid unto thee, in thy blood live, Ezek.* 16. 6. *This is the blood of Circumciſion*, &c. Tanchum. in *Gen.* 17. & 18, *&c.*

They looked indeed upon Circumciſion as an admiſſion into the Covenant: and thereupon the Father of the Child at his Circumciſion conſtantly uſed theſe words, *Bleſſed be thou O Lord our God who haſt ſanctified us by his Commandments, and commanded us to bring the Child into the Covenant of our Father Abraham. And they that ſtood by ſaid, As thou haſt brought him into the Covenant, ſo bring him into the Law and into the Bridechamber.* Jeruſ. in Beracoth. fol. 13. col. 1. But withall they looked upon this Covenant as a Covenant of works, for, as we obſerved before, they reputed *Abraham* himſelf ſo juſtified. Good cauſe therefore had *Paul* to ſtand out againſt the convert Jews Circumciſing their Children, as whereby the Doctrine of Juſtification by faith was utterly enervated and made of no effect. And here by the way let us conceive we heard *Paul* and one of theſe parents diſputing upon this point. Circumciſe not thy Child, ſaith *Paul*, for if thou doſt thou laieſt an obligation upon him to obſerve the whole Law: and this may note to us that the Sacrament carried an obligation with it, and obliged an Infant, though he knew not what Law or Obligation ment: Baptiſm is for Obligation as well as this, and a Child capable of the Obligation though he underſtood not what it means. I, but ſaies the Parent, I will not look upon it, as in way to Juſtification, I will only uſe it for the Childs admiſſion into the Covenant of grace. If Infants Baptiſm were not now in uſe for ſuch a purpoſe, let one that denies it, tell me, what *Paul* had to anſwer.

James urgeth not *Paul* at all to any publick recantation of his Doctrine, but adviſeth him, by purifying himſelf and Judaizing a little in the Temple, to give ſome publick teſtimony for their ſatisfaction, that he was not ſuch an enemy to *Moſes* as he was reported: which he agreeth to. For the Temple rites might have better plea, while the Temple ſtood, then Circumciſion, which was none of them. On the ſecond or third day of his Purification, ſome *Aſian* Jews raiſe a tumult againſt him. It is not ſo properly rendred, *And when the ſeven daies were almoſt ended*, ver. 27. as rather, *And as the ſeven daies were to have been accompliſhed*, the computing of theſe twelve daies mentioned *Chap.* 24, 11. inforce that they ſhould be ſo interpreted.

They found him in the ſecond Court of the Temple *the Court of the Women*, whither no Heathen came [though they might come into the outer Court, called *the mountain of the Houſe*] and thither they ſuppoſed and pretended that he had brought a Gentile, *Trophimus an Epheſian*: For which he is fallen upon with that they called מכות מרדות *The rebels beating* ſtripes without number, the people falling pell mell upon him. Which was the way [as the Jews records inform us] that the Prieſts were dealt withal, that came into the next court above this, when any of them was deprehended there in their uncleanneſs: they never ſtood upon it, to bring him to judicial trial, but his fellows fell upon him, with the fagot ſticks of the Altar, or what came to hand, and mawled him with blows without meaſure even unto death: And ſo had *Paul* been ſerved now had not the Roman Commander come and been his reſcue. Yet did he ſuppoſe him an offender, and queſtions him whether he were not that *Egyptian* that not long before that time had made an inſurrection. *Joſephus* giveth this ſtory, Antiq. *lib.* 20. *cap.* 6. thus. *It*

that time there cometh one to Jeruſalem out of Egypt, pretending himſelf to be a Prophet: and he counſelled the common people, that they ſhould go with him to Mount Olivet, and that there he would ſhew them how at his command the walls of Jeruſalem would fall: But Felix *underſtanding this, ſent ſome horſe and foot againſt them, and ſlew* 400 *of them* [our text here ſaies 4000.] *and took two hundred priſoners.*

ACTS Chap. XXII.

PAUL Apologizeth to the people: telleth his Education, Conſervation and Converſion: and relating how by a Divine Viſion he was appointed to go to the Gentiles, they begin a new commotion, which the chief captain again pacifieth; but yet thinks *Paul* ſome notable villain, or elſe that there would never have been ſo terrible cries againſt him: He would now have ſcourged him, but that he underſtood he was a *Roman*: therefore he turns to another courſe, and the next day brings him before the *Sanhedrin*. The ſitting of that Bench was little at *Jeruſalem* now: For as we have obſerved, they were unneſted from *Jeruſalem* divers years ago, and their moſt conſtant reſidence at preſent was at *Jabneh*: only they were now come up to the Feſtival.

ACTS Chap. XXIII. & XXIV. *to* Ver. 27.

RAbban *Simeon* the Son of *Rabban Gamaliel*, *Pauls* Maſter, was Preſident of the great Council at this time, for *Gamaliel* was dead ſome two or three years ago. Of him the Jews have this ſaying in *Sotah* per. 9. *From the time that old Rabban Gamaliel died, the honour of the Law ceaſed; for till then they read and learned the Law ſtanding, but after his death ſitting.* *Onkelos* the *Targumiſt* of the Law burnt a great quantity of frankincenſe for him at his Obſequies. *Juchaſin* fol. 53. Whether *Rabban Simeon* the Preſident were preſent at this Seſſion or no, *Ananias* the High-prieſt is as buſie as if he had been chief Preſident himſelf: But *Paul* cares for him as little, as he buſied himſelf much. He calls him *whited wall*, or arrant painted Hypocrite: And when he was checked for reviling Gods Highprieſt, *I know not brethren*, ſaith he, *that he is Highprieſt*: for if I took him for ſuch a one, I would not ſo have ſpoken to him, ſince it is written, *Thou ſhalt not ſpeak evil of the Ruler of my People.* It is not poſſible that *Paul* ſhould not know who and what *Ananias* was: but it is very indifferent, whether we underſtand this, as not owning this man for a lawful Highprieſt, or not owning any lawful Highprieſthood now at all. The man baſe and uſurping; and the Function of the Highprieſthood diſanulled by the great Highprieſt who had accompliſhed all that it typified, and the place of the Highprieſthood being become a common Merchandiſe, obtained by money and favour and diſpatching one another.

By a holy policy he divides the Council, and profeſſing himſelf by education a *Phariſee*, and of that belief in the point of the Reſurrection, he not only ſets *Phariſees* and *Sadduces* to a hot conteſtation between themſelves, but he makes the *Phariſees*, ſo far as to that opinion, to take his part: It had been poſſible to have ſet the *Hillelian* and *Shammæan* party together by the ears, by a bone handſomly caſt between them, for the Council had theſe factions in it, and their feud was as deadly; but *Paul* could own no article of their diviſions, that was worth his owning, they were ſo trivial and below his cogniſance. It is the confeſſion of the *Jeruſalem* Gemariſts in *Joma* fol. 38. col. 3. *That the fault of their great ones under the ſecond Temple was love of money, and hatred one of another.*

Paul in the hubbub is reſcued again by the Souldiery, and that night by revelation is warranted to appeal to *Cæſar*, by being informed he muſt go to *Rome*. A Conſpiracy of a pack of cut-throats to murder him, is prevented, and he is ſent to *Cæſarea* to *Felix*, where he lies priſoner two years. By ſuch packing and combining of murderers, it may eaſily be conjectured what temper the Nation was now in. *Joſephus* his character of it at theſe times is, *That the affairs of the Jews grew every day worſe and worſe, and that the Country was full of theeves and Sorcerers, but Felix was daily picking them up to penalty after their deſert*; the greater thief, the leſs; for his character yields him no better. *Tacitus* ſaies enough of him, when he ſpeaks but this, *Antonius Felix, per omnem ſævitiam ac libidinem jus regium ſervili ingenio exercuit*: Hiſtor. lib. 5. cap. 2. Upon which *Joſephus* will give you a large comment of his intolerable covetouſneſs, polling, cruelty, ſacriledge, murdering, and all manner of wickedneſs. His injurioufneſs to *Paul* in the ſtory before us, and the very naming of his wife *Druſilla* may be brand enough upon him: for her, by inticements and magical tricks, he allured to himſelf from her Husband and married her. And him he kept priſoner two years wrongfully becauſe he would not bribe him. In his pleading before him, he makes him tremble, but it is but a qualm and away.

CHRIST. LVII. NERO. III.

PAUL is a priſoner this year at *Cæſarea* under *Felix*. A great City of Jews and Greeks mixtly: the place where the firſt ſpark of Jews Wars kindled afterward. A famous Univerſity of Jews in time, if ſo be it was not ſo at this time.

CHRIST. LVIII. NERO. IV.

ACTS Chap. XXIV. Ver. 27.

PAUL ſtill a priſoner at *Ceſarea* under *Felix* for the firſt part of this year: Then cometh *Feſtus* into the Government, and *Felix* packeth to *Rome* to anſwer for his miſdemeanours.

ACTS Chap. XXV. & XXVI.

PAUL anſwereth for himſelf, firſt before *Feſtus* alone: then before *Agrippa* and his Siſter *Bernice*: this *Agrippa* was his Son whoſe death is related *Acts* 12. he by the favour of *Claudius* the Emperour ſucceeded his brother in Law-Uncle *Herod* [for ſuch relations did that Inceſtuous family find out] in the Kingdom of *Chalcis*. For *Bernice* his Siſter had married *Herod* King of *Chalcis* her Uncle and his, who was now dead, and this *Agrippa* ſucceeded him in his Kingdom, being alſo King of *Judea*. Of this *Agrippa*, as it is moſt probable, there is frequent mention among the Hebrew Writers: as particularly this, that King *Agrippa* reading the Law in the latter end of the year of releaſe, as it was injoyned, and coming to thoſe words, *Deut.* 17.15. *Thouſhalt not ſet a ſtranger King over thee which is not of thy brethren*, the tears ran down his cheeks [for he was not of the ſeed of *Iſrael*] which the Congregation obſerving, cried out. *Be of good comfort O King Agrippa, thou art our brother.* He was of their Religion though not of their blood, and well verſed in all the Laws and Cuſtoms as *Paul* ſpeaks, *Chap.* 26.3.

Berenice his Siſter, now a Widdow, lived with him, and that in more familiarity then was for their credit: afterwards ſhe fell into the like familiarity with *Titus* the Son of *Veſpaſian*, when he came up to the Jews Wars. There is mention in *Jeruſ. in Taanith.* fol. 66. col. 1. and again in *Megillah* fol. 70. col. 3. of *the Scribes or learned Jews of Chalcis, againſt whom the people roſe and tumultuated.* [In the one place it is written בולקוס in the other בלקוס.] It may be they were of this *Agrippa*'s planting there.

As *Paul* pleads for himſelf, *Feſtus* takes him to be beſide himſelf: but *Agrippa* better acquainted with thoſe kind of things that he ſpake of, was much moved: and concludes that had he not appealed to *Cæſar*, he might have been quit. What he did in this appeal was not a ſmall thing, and it is very queſtionable whether ever Jew had appealed from their own *Sanhedrin*, to the Heathen Tribunal before. But for this he had a Divine Warrant.

ACTS Chap. XXVII.

PAUL ſhipped for *Rome*: and *Luke* with him, and *Ariſtarchus* a *Theſſalonian*. *Paul* calls him his fellow-priſoner, *Coloſ.* 4.10. whether now or not till he came to *Rome* is a queſtion: *Trophimus an Epheſian* is alſo now with him, *Acts* 21.29. whom he leaves ſick at *Miletum*, as he paſſeth by thoſe coaſts of *Aſia*, *Acts* 27.2. 2 *Tim.* 4. 20. and there likewiſe he leaves *Timothy*. Who elſe of thoſe that went with him to *Jeruſalem*, Acts 20. 4. were now with him, is uncertain. It was now far in the year, and Winter entring, for the feaſt of expiation was over, ſo that they met with a tempeſtuous journey, and at laſt ſuffer ſhipwrack and ſwim for their lives, and do all eſcape. The Reader by the time of the writing of the ſecond Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, which he hath paſſed, will eaſily, ſee that what he ſpeaks there, *A day and a night have I been in the deep*, 2 Cor. 11.25. cannot be underſtood of his ſhipwrack now, but refers to ſome time a good while ago.

CHRIST. LIX. NERO. V.

ACTS CHAP. XXVIII. *from the beginning to* Ver. 30.

PAUL and his company are the three winter months in *Malta*: where he doth some miracles. And when winter was now drawing over, they put to sea again, in an *Alexandrian bottom, whose badge was Castor and Pollux:* or the Picture of two young men on white horses, with either of them a javelin in his hand, and by him half an egge and a star: whom Heathenish folly and superstition conceited to have been twins begotten by *Jupiter*, and Deities favourable to those that sailed on the sea. And this seemeth to have been the reason why *Luke* doth mention this circumstance, because he would intimate the mens superstition, as expecting better sailing under this badge then they had had.

From *Melita* they sail to *Syracuse* in *Sicilie*, and there abide three daies. Form thence to *Rhegium* in *Italy*, and from thence to *Puteoli*: there they find Christians and stay with them seven daies: and then set away for *Rome*. At *Appii Forum* about Fifty miles from the City, some of the *Roman* Christians hearing of their coming, come to meet them: and at the *Tres Tabernæ*, Thirty three from the City, they met with more: and so they injoy the society of one another some space together as they travel along, which was no small refreshing to *Paul*, who had desired so much and so long to see them.

SECTION XXVIII.

Ver. 30. *And Paul dwelt two whole years in his hired house, and received all that came to him.*

31. *Preaching the Kingdom of God and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ with all confidence, no man forbidding him.*

JULIUS the Centurion that had brought him and the rest of the Prisoners from *Judea*, had been his friend and favourer, from their first setting out, *Chap.* 27. 3. and so continued, even to the time of his setling in *Rome*: obtaining him this liberty, that he might take lodgings of his own, and there he was kept under a restraintless restraint: After three daies he sends for the Chief of the Jews, and laies open his case before them, and upon a day appointed he asserteth and expoundeth the truth and doctrine of the Gospel, whereupon some believe, but others do the rather become his enemies.

His accusers that were come from *Judea* to lay in his charge against him [for we can hardly suppose otherwise, but that some such were come] would be urgent to get their business dispatched that they might be returning to their own homes again; and so would bring him to trial as soon as they could: and that his trial was reasonable early this year, it appeareth by his own words in the second Epistle to *Timothy*, where he speaketh of his Answer that he had been at, and requireth *Timothy* to come to him before winter, 2 *Tim.* 4. 16.21.

As he appealed to *Nero* himself, so *Nero* himself heard his cause, *Phil.* 1. 13. 2 *Tim.* 4. 16. [and here it was possible *Paul* and *Seneca* might see each other] at which time all that had owned him before, withdrew themselves for fear, and durst not stand by him, or appear with him in this danger.

Tacitus mentioneth a case much like his, which had been tried two years before, namely of *Pomponia Græcina* a noble Lady of *Rome*, concerning a strange Religion. *Superstitionis externæ rea, mariti judicio permissa. Isque prisco instituto, propinquis coram, de capite famaque conjugis cognovit, & insontem nuntiavit.* This that he calleth *externa superstitio*, cannot well be understood of any Religion, but either Judaism or Christianity: for any Heathen superstition did relish so well with them, that it could hardly have brought her into danger. If her peril of life then were because of Christianity, as very well it might, it was a terrible example that lay before the Christians there: and if it were not, then this trial of *Paul* being of a doubtful issue and consequent and full of danger, it made poor *Pauls* friends to shrink aside in this his extremity, and to be to seek when he had most need of them. *At my first answer*, saith he, *none stood with me, but all forsook me.* In which words he doth not so much refer to what or how many more answers he was called to [as the *postscript* of that Epistle seemeth to construe it] as he doth intimate, that even at the very first pinch and appearance of danger, all that should have been his assistants started from him. It may be *Demas his imbracing of the present world*, 2 Tim. 4. 10. signifieth in this sense, that he forsook *Paul*, and shifted for himself and sculked to avoid the danger

or if it be taken, that he returned to his worldly imployment again, or that he returned to his Judaism again: mean it what it will, we shall see in the story of the next year, that he returned to *Paul* and to his station again. So that his failing was but as *Peters* denial of his Master, repented of and recovered. It was a hard case and a great trial with the Apostle, when in so signal an incounter, and so imminent danger of his life, none of the Church that was at *Rome*, not any of those that were of his own retinue, durst own him, or stand by him in his exigent: but the Lord was with him, and brought him off safe from the Lions mouth: He being assured by this providence of God to him, and for him, in his great danger, that he was reserved for the further benefit of the Church and propagating of the Gospel, applieth himself to that work the best way he can, considering his condition of imprisonment; and whereas he cannot travel up and down to the Churches to preach to them as he had done, he visiteth divers of them with his Epistles: And first he writeth

THE EPISTLE TO THE *GALATIANS*.

and sendeth it by *Crescens*, as may be conceived from 2 *Tim.* 4. 10. For though *Demas*, and *Crescens*, and *Titus* their departure from *Paul* be reckoned altogether in that verse, yet the reason of their departure cannot be judged to have been alike: for however *Demas* started upon some carnal respect, yet *Crescens* and *Titus* are not so branded, nor will the eminent piety of the later suffer us to have any such opinion of him, and the judging of him doth also help us to judge of *Crescens* who is joyned with him. The *postscript* of this Epistle both in the *Greek*, *Syriack*, *Arabick*, and divers other Translations, doth generally date it from *Rome*: *Beza* from *Antioch*: *Erasmus* from *Ephesus*, but all upon conjecture: for there is no intimation in the Epistle it self of the time or place of its writing: *Beza* upon these words in *Chap.* 1. *ver.* 2. *And all the brethren which are with me*, saith thus, *Puto sic totum Antiochenæ Ecclesiæ Presbyterium significari, & inde scriptam hanc Epistolam*, &c. *I think by this he meaneth the whole Presbytery of the Church of Antioch, and that this Epistle was written from thence, at that time that passed between Paul and Barnabas their return into Asia from their first journey forth, and the coming of those troubles to Antioch*, Acts 14.28. But that Apostacy in the Churches which the Apostle crieth out against in this Epistle and in others, was not then begun; and moreover it may well be questioned whether the Churches of *Galatia* were then planted. And the former answer, may likewise be given to the opinion that this Epistle was written from *Ephesus*: namely that at the time of *Pauls* being at *Ephesus*, the Apostacy which ere long did sorely and almost Epidemically infest the Churches, was but then beginning. And this is one reason why I suppose it written from *Rome*, at this time that we are upon, because that gangrene in the Eastern Churches was now come to ripeness, as it appears by the second Epistle to *Timothy*, which was written this same year: See 2 *Tim.* 1. 15.

False teachers had brought back the *Galatians* from the simplicity of the Gospel, to their old Ceremonious performances again, and to reliance upon the works of the Law for Justification: which miscarriage the Apostle taketh sharply to task in this Epistle. And first he vindicates his Apostleship as no whit inferiour to *Peter* and *James* and *John* the Ministers of the Circumcision, and those that chiefly seemed to be pillars, and he shews how those approved of him and it: And then he most divinely states the nature of the Law, at which was the great stumbling; and especially speaks to that point that they most stood upon, their *living in it*.

The Lord had laid a stone in *Sion*, which the Jews could not step over, but stumble at, even to this day: and that is that which is said in *Levit.* 18. 5. *Ezek.* 20. 11. and in other places, which the Apostle also toucheth in this Epistle, *Chap.* 3. 12. from whence they concluded that no living, no justification but by the works of the Law. The Apostle in the third Chapter of this Epistle laies down two conclusions that determine the case, and resolves all into faith. The first is in *ver.* 17. namely that the Law was not given to cross the Covenant of Grace, but to be subservient to it. The second in *ver.* 10. that the Law did plainly shew of it self that no man could perform it, but it left a man under the curse. Observe that he saith not, *As many as fail* of the works of the Law, but As many *as are* of the works of the Law: shewing that the Law did not only denounce a curse upon all that performed it not, but plainly demonstrated that none could perform it, and so left all under a curse: and these words, *Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things*, &c. conclude both. So that the Law was not given for justification, but to be subservient to the Covenant of Justification: not to cross the Covenant but to serve it, not purposely to leave under the curse, but to shew the curse, and to drive men to get from under it. So that men might live *in it*, but not *by it*. It was the way in which men were to go to seek for Justification, but it was not the cause or means whereby they were justified. See *Gal.* 3. 5. The Jews made the Moral Law cross to the Covenant of Grace, whilst they sought to be justified by works: and they made the Ceremonial

Law

Law croſs the Moral, whileſt they reſolved all duty into Ceremony: and ſo the Law which in it ſelf was holy and pure and good, they turned to death unto themſelves by their abuſe. They might have lived *in* the Moral Law [had they uſed it aright,] though not *by* it: for the more a man ſets himſelf to the exact performance of it, the more he ſees he cannot perform it, and therefore he is driven the more to Chriſt: But they reſolved all into Ceremonious performance, and ſo loſt ſincerity toward the Moral, and hereupon the Ceremonial Law good in it ſelf, became to them *Statutes not good, and Judgments wherein they could not live*, Exek. 20. 25.

From *Rome* alſo, and reaſonable early in this year, *Paul* wrote

THE EPISTLE TO *TIMOTHY*;

and in it urgeth *Timothy* to come to him before Winter.

Timothy was now at *Epheſus* when this Epiſtle was directed to him, as may be obſerved out of the Epiſtle it ſelf by theſe collections.

1. In that he willeth him to ſalute the houſhold of *Oneſiphorus*, Chap. 4. 19. who was an *Epheſian*, Chap. 1. 16, 18.

2. In that he biddeth him take *Troas* in his way as he comes to him, *Chap.* 4. 13. which had been the way that *Paul* himſelf had gone from *Epheſus*, 2 Cor. 2. 22. and to *Epheſus* again, *Acts* 20. 5.

3. In that he warneth him of *Alexander*, Chap. 4. 14. who was an *Epheſian*, 1 *Tim.* 1. 20. *Act.* 19. 33.

There is one paſſage in this Epiſtle, which hath cauſed ſome to doubt about the time of its writing [for about the place there is no doubt] and that is, what he ſaith, *Chap.* 4. 6. *I am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand*: which would make one think, that he was now ready to be martyred, and taken away, and it hath made ſome believe that this was the laſt Epiſtle that ever he wrote: but when we compare his own words again in ver. 17, 18. and *Phil.* 1. 25. and *Philem. ver.* 22. it maketh it paſt controverſie that he ſpeaketh not of his ſudden Martyrdoom, but that he is to be underſtood in ſome other ſenſe. But what is that? *Baronius* giveth this gloſs, *The words of Paul concerning his ſpeedy death, ſeem not poſſibly otherwiſe to be underſtood, then that God had revealed it to him, that he ſhould ſuffer death under Nero. For that time might very well ſeem near which was to be fulfilled under the ſame Prince.* I, but *Nero* for his age might have reigned 50 or 60 years after the Apoſtles writing of this Epiſtle, and ſo the laſt words of this gloſs, are but a very poor ſalving: And indeed the reſolution of the difficulty lieth open and conſpicuous in the text it ſelf. *Paul* looked upon *Timothy* as the prime and choice man that was to ſucceed him in the work of the Goſpel, when he himſelf ſhould be dead and gone: as being a young man, not only of ſingular qualifications for that work, but of whom there had been ſpecial Propheſies and predictions to ſuch a purpoſe, 1 *Tim.* 1. 18. as was obſerved before. He exhorts him therefore in this place, to improve all his pains and parts to the utmoſt, to do the work of an Evangeliſt, and to make proof of his Miniſtry to the full, for that he himſelf could not laſt long, being now grown old and worn with travel, and beſides all this, in bonds at preſent, and ſo in continual danger: therefore muſt *Timothy* be fitting himſelf daily to take his work up when he was gone.

With *Timothy* he deſires that *Mark may* come along with him to *Rome*, whom we obſerved to be at *Corinth* at *Pauls* laſt coming thither: and one clauſe in this Epiſtle ſeemeth alſo to ſpeak to that matter: *Chap.* 4. 20. *Eraſtus abode at Corinth, but Trophimus I left at Miletum ſick. Eraſtus abode at Corinth*; Why? that *Timothy* knew without any information, for he was with *Paul* all along that journey when *Eraſtus* went to *Corinth* and ſtaied there. *And Trophimus I left at Miletum ſick*: Why? *Timothy* could not but know that too, without *Pauls* telling him ſo from *Rome*, *Miletum* and *Epheſus* were ſo very near together, nay it is more than probable that *Timothy* was left at *Miletum* too when *Trophimus* was left there. But when was he left? Not when *Paul* went towards *Jeruſalem*, and ſent for the Elders of *Epheſus* to *Miletum*, Acts 20. for *Trophimus* went, and was with him at *Jeruſalem*, Acts 21. 19. But it was when *Paul* returned from *Jeruſalem* in bonds to *Rome*, as hath been ſaid, though it be not particularly mentioned that he touched there. Some would have the word *Miletum* to be read *Mileta*, among whom is *Beza*, who is ever one of the forwardeſt to tax the Text for corrupt, when he cannot clear it. *Potius conjicio legendum* ἐν Μελίτῃ [ſaith he] *quod vocabulum facile fuit in* Μιλήτῳ *depravare*. *Luke* ſaith plainly, that at *Pauls* coming away from *Judea* in his voyage to *Rome*, it was their reſolution to ſail by the coaſts of *Aſia*, *Act* 27. 2. which had been a far fairer ground to have concluded upon, that *Paul* was at *Miletum* in that voyage, ſince that was a part of thoſe *Aſian* coaſts, then to change *Miletum* into *Melita* upon no ground at all. And certainly the very ſcope of the Apoſtle in that paſſage will not admit of that change: for he is not telling *Timothy* of *Eraſtus* his abode at *Corinth*, or of *Trophimus* his ſick ſtay

at

at *Miletum*, as things unknown to him, but as things very well known, yet mentioned to him as making to the Apoſtles preſent purpoſe: He had ſent for *Timothy* and *Mark* to come away to him to *Rome*, and to forward them to that journey, he doth theſe two things. 1. He ſheweth how all his company was ſcattered from him, *ver.* 9. 10. and therefore he had need of them in that deſtitution. 2. He telleth how ſupply might be made in their places though they came away, for though *Mark* ſhould come from *Corinth*, yet *Eraſtus* might be a ſupply, for *Eraſtus abode there*. And *Timothy* come away from *Epheſus*, yet *Trophimus* is there ready to ſupply his place, for *Trophimus I left at Miletum ſick*.

By *Tychicus* who was the bearer of this Epiſtle to *Timothy*, Chap. 4. 12. *Paul* alſo ſendeth

THE EPISTLE TO THE *EPHESIANS*;

for it is apparent that he was in bonds when he ſent that Epiſtle, *Chap.* 3. 1. and that he ſent it by *Tychicus*, Chap. 6. 21. *That ye may know mine affairs and how I do, Tychicus a beloved brother, and faithful Miniſter in the Lord, ſhall make known to you all things, whom I have ſent unto you for the ſame purpoſe.*

In this Epiſtle he addreſſeth himſelf more eſpecially to the convert Gentiles of the *Epheſian* Church, to eſtabliſh and ſettle them in the truth, againſt that warping and wavering that was now too common: and he ſetteth himſelf to unfold the myſtery of the Goſpel in its full luſter, and diſcovery in a more ſpecial manner, and that eſpecially in the two firſt Chapters, as he himſelf profeſſeth in the third. *By revelation God made known unto me the myſtery, as I wrote afore in few words, whereby when ye read ye may underſtand my knowledge in the myſtery of Chriſt, ver.* 3, 4.

He ſpeaketh much of the myſtery of the Gentiles calling, and calleth the Jews and Gentiles knit in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Sone of God, *A perfect man, and the meaſure of the ſtature of the fulneſs of Chriſt*, Chap. 4. 13. In *Chap.* 5. 26, 27. ſpeaking of Chriſts waſhing the Church, that he might preſent it to himſelf *without ſpot or wrinckle*, &c. he ſeemeth to allude to the Jews exceeding great curiouſneſs in their waſhings for purification. *Maym. in Mikvaoth.* per. 1. *There muſt be nothing to interpoſe between the perſon that is waſhed and the water: for if there be any thing interpoſing betwixt him and the water, as if any clay or dough ſtick to his fleſh, he is unclean as he was, and his waſhing profits him nothing.* And a little after: *If there be upon the fleſh of a man or upon a veſſel, any of thoſe things that may interpoſe, as dough, pitch or the like, though it be no more then a grain of muſterdſeed, and he take it to thought, his waſhing profits him nothing.*

What he ſaith in *ver.* 29. *So ought Men to love their Wives even as their own bodies*, is agreed to even by the Jews doctrine. *Our Doctors teach, He that loves his Wife as his own body, and he that honours her more than his own body, and he that maketh his Sons to walk in a right way*, &c. *of ſuch a one the Scripture ſaith, Thou ſhalt know that peace ſhall be in thy Tabernacle*, &c. Alphef. in Gittin per. *ult.*

CHRIST. LX.

NERO. VI.

WE are now come to the ſecond year of *Pauls* impriſonment: in which he had the changeable and different occurrences, of loving viſits and ſalutes from ſome Churches abroad, and croſs dealing from ſome ill-willed at home: ſome ſadneſs of heart by the ſickneſs of *Epaphroditus* near unto death, but comfort and reviving again by his recovery. The Church of *Philippi* had ſent him to viſit *Paul* in their name, and to bring him ſome tokens of their love for his ſupport and maintenance in his impriſonment: and the good man fell ſick in *Rome* very like to die: upon his recovery and return home again, *Paul* ſendeth by him

THE EPISTLE TO THE *PHILIPPIANS*,

written in his name, and in the name of *Timothy*, who according to his appointment was now come to him. He ſheweth in this Epiſtle, that as there were ſome which preached the Goſpel of ſincerity, ſo were there other that preached of envy and contention, and ſo added affliction to his bonds: He was yet in bonds, but in ſome good hopes of deliverance, as he ſheweth in *Chap.* 2. 24. for he ſaith he hoped ere long to ſend *Timothy* to them, and himſelf to come with him: but we ſhall obſerve ere long, that when *Paul* hath got his liberty, *Timothy* is got into priſon, and ſo his journey for the preſent ſtopt.

He ſaluteth no Church in the platform of *Biſhops and Deacons*, but only this: not but that there were *Biſhops and Deacons* in other Churches as well as here, but it may be, he doth

he doth it here the rather, becauſe of the Contribution that the *Biſhops and Deacon*: had gathered for him and ſent to him: or becauſe he would ſhew the platform of Office and Order in this Church of *Philippi*, which was purely Gentile, agreeable to that of the believing Jews Churches.

He giveth warning to beware of the heretical and unbelieving Jews, whom he cals *dogs* and *the conciſion*: and now the name they uſed to give to the Gentiles [*Dogs*] is light upon themſelves. The very Talmudiſts ſpeak as evil of that generation in which *Meſſias* ſhould come as the Scripture doth, 2 *Tim.* 3. 1, &c. and among other things they ſay thus: *When the Son of David cometh, the Synagogues ſhall become ſtews: Galilee ſhall be deſtroyed: Gablah ſhall be deſolate* [the *Samaritan* Verſion of the *Pentateuch* doth conſtantly render *Seir*, *Gabla*] *and the men of the border of Iſrael ſhall go from City to City, and the wiſdom of the Scribes ſhall be abominated, and Religious perſons ſhall be ſcorned: And the faces of that generation ſhall be as dogs.* Talm. bab. in Sanhedr. *fol.* 97. He calls them Κατατομὴν *The conciſion*: The word ſignifies ſuch ſuperſtitious and vain and impious cuttings in the fleſh as Heathens uſed: as 2 *King.* 18.28, &c. No more doth he make of their Circumciſion: the Greek word is uſed by the LXX. *Levit.*21.5.

He ſpeaketh of one in *Philippi* whom he calleth his *true yokefellow*: alluding it may be either to the word חבר by which the Jews did ordinarily expreſs great profeſſors of Religion: חבריא דרבנין a moſt ordinary phraſe in the *Jeruſalem Talmud*: Or the word זוגות *yokes* or *couples* whereby they expreſſed the Preſident and Vicepreſident of the *Sanhedrin*, thoſe famous couples *Shemaiah and Abtalion, Hillel and Shammai*, &c. Of whom it is that he ſpeaketh, is undeterminable. *Barnabas* or *Silas* might beſt bare the title. Whoſoever it was, it ſeemeth it was ſome worthy perſon who was at this time in that Church, whom he intreats to compoſe ſome differences that were then afoot; and to be helpful in ſome occaſions and caſes that he knew needful. It is not to be doubted but *Epaphroditus*, had acquainted him particularly with the ſtate of the Church, and he applies his exhortations accordingly.

As the Church of *Philippi* had ſent *Epaphroditus* to viſit him, ſo did the Church of *Coloſſi* ſend *Epaphras* one of their Miniſters to do the like, *Coloſ.* 1. 7, 8. whereupon, by *Tychicus*, who had been the laſt year at *Epheſus* to fetch *Timothy*, and returned with him to *Rome*, Col.4.7. and by *Oneſimus* a *Coloſſian*, Col.4.9. *Paul* and *Timothy* ſend

THE EPISTLE TO THE *COLOSSIANS.*

The naming of *Mark* now with him, *Chap.* 4. 10. doth ſtate the time of writing this Epiſtle, and fixeth it to this year; or elſe it would be eaſier for *Tychicus* his travel, to have ſuppoſed that he brought it the laſt year when he came to *Timothy* to *Epheſus*, and *Coloſſe* was not far off: but the obſerving of *Marks* being now at *Rome*, puts the matter out of doubt. And whereas it might be thought more likely, that *Epaphras* that came with the viſit from the Church, ſhould bring this return of *Paul* back again, it appeareth by *Chap.* 4. 12. that he ſtaied ſtill with *Paul* and was fellow-priſoner now with him, *Philem. ver.* 23.

The *Coloſſians* had never ſeen *Pauls* face, no more had the *Laodiceans*; for no leſs can be gathered from his own words, *Chap.* 2. 1. yet had he been a means by ſome of his agents to plant theſe Churches, or at leaſt to afford them plentiful watering. The Apoſtles had ſubordinate Miniſters under them that they imployed to this purpoſe. I know not how the word *Helps*, 1 Cor. 12. 28. can be better underſtood.

The *Laodiceans* had ſent him an Epiſtle [as the *Corinthians* had alſo done, 1 *Cor.* 7. 1.] and this is that Epiſtle that he ſpeaketh of, *Chap.* 4. 16. *See that ye reade likewiſe the Epiſtle from Laodicea.* Not that he had written any Epiſtle from thence which is now loſt, as is conceived by ſome, for he was never there, but it meaneth that Epiſtle which the *Laodiceans* had ſent to him: Not that he would have it read, as of equal Divine authority with his own, but as a good copy and example to the *Coloſſians*. If any be not ſatisfied with this conſtruction, we ſhall offer another when we come to the Epiſtles of *John*, rather then conceive, that any Epiſtle of *Paul* is loſt, that was once read in the Churches.

Among thoſe whoſe ſalutations he ſends, he nameth *Demas*: who the laſt year was departed from him, and *imbraced*, as he thought, *the preſent world.* 2 Tim.4 10. but now is come in a good man again. The ſparks of grace once kindled, can never be quenched, yea though not diſcernable to the eye of a *Paul*: which however raked up under the aſhes by vehement temptation or corruption, yet covered with an everlaſting decree, of everlaſting love, are unextinguiſhable. The Act of grace, it is true, may be in a ſwone, and ſeem dead to the eyes of a *Paul* himſelf, whilſt yet there is the habit in life: I mean that gracious changedneſs, which by regeneration is wrought in the ſoul, the ſtony heart turned into fleſh, which though it may congeal into ice again, yet can never again congeal into

into the ſtone it was. *Fides qua apprehendens*, its hand may ſlip, but *fides qua apprehenſa*, his hand cannot ſlip that hath laid hold upon it.

By theſe ſame bearers *Tychicus* and *Oneſimus*, by whom he ſends the Epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*, he alſo ſends

THE EPISTLE TO *PHILEMON.*

For he was a *Coloſſian*, as appeareth by this that *Paul* calls *Oneſimus* his ſervant *one of the Coloſſians*, Col. 4. 9. and *Archippus* which was Miniſter at *Coloſſe*, Col. 4. 17. ſeemeth to have been *Philemons* ſon, or at leaſt to have ſojourned in his houſe, *Philem. ver.* 2. In this Epiſtle he ſendeth ſalutations from the perſons he did in the Epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*. *Epaphras*, *Marcus*, *Ariſtarchus*, *Demas*, *Lucas*: only there is this difference about two of them, that here he calls *Epaphras* his fellow-priſoner, which there he did not, and there *Ariſtarchus* his fellow-priſoner which here he doth not: This doing of the Apoſtle needeth to breed no ſcruple, but it may rather juſtly be inquired how theſe men came priſoners. *Ariſtarchus* ſet out with *Paul* from *Jeruſalem*, and he only is named of all his company, *Act.* 27. 2. either becauſe he was a priſoner then as *Paul* was, or becauſe the reſt with *Paul* were his attendants and Miniſters conſtantly with him, and therefore needed not to be named. Or if *Ariſtarchus* were not committed to priſon till now, the conſideration of *Epaphras* his caſe will include his: *Epaphras* came from *Coloſſe* but very lately, *Col.* 1. 7, 8. and how, and for what, is he now got into priſon? For anſwer to this we may properly take in ſomething out of the *Roman* ſtory. *Suetonius* in the Life of *Nero* ſpeaking of thoſe times of his that carried ſome moderation, in which he was not broke out to his extream wickedneſs: and mentioning ſome things that he did and enacted that looked ſomewhat like a Reformation, he ſaith thus: *Multa ſub eo & animadverſa ſevere, & coercita, nec minus inſtituta: Adhibitus ſumptibus modus: Publicæ cænæ ad ſportulas redactæ: Interdictum ne quid in popinis coqui, præter legumina, aut olera veniret, cum antea nullum non opſonii genus proponeretur. Afflicti ſuppliciis Chriſtiani, genus hominum ſuperſtitionis novæ & maleficæ.* This laſt particular is it that we have to deal with; *The Chriſtians were put to puniſhment, a ſort of men of a new Religion*, &c. *Suet. in Nerone* cap. 16.

Tacitus in the Life of the ſame Tyrant telleth of a dreadful fire that befel in *Rome* in the tenth year of his reign, [of which we ſhall ſpeak when we come there] which common report buzzed and rumored up and down that he had kindled. *Abolendo rumori Nero ſubdidit reos, & quæſitiſſimis pœnis affecit, quos per flagitia inviſos, vulgus Chriſtianos appellat. Nero to ſtop that report, brought in as guilty thoſe who were called Chriſtians, and tortured them with exquiſite torments. The author of that name was Chriſt, who in the reign of Tiberius was put to death by Pontius Pilate. Repreſſaque in præſens exitiabilis ſuperſtitio, rurſus erumpebat, non modo per Judæam, originem ejus mali, ſed per urbem etiam; quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt, celebranturque. Igitur primo correpti qui fatebantur*, &c. For the Engliſhing of this, the words *repreſſa in præſens* will breed ſome diſpute; as doubtful, whether they mean that the Chriſtian Religion was ſuppreſſed by *Nero* at that time when he inflicted thoſe tortures upon them, pretending them guilty for firing the City, which was in his tenth year, but it brake out again after, for all that ſuppreſſion; or that they mean, that that Religion had been ſuppreſſed in former time, but now by that tenth year of *Nero* was broken out again, and he falls upon it anew. The words you may wind to whether conſtruction you will, conſtruing them either, That dangerous ſuperſtition *ſuppreſſed for the preſent broke out again*: or That dangerous ſuperſtition *having been ſuppreſſed for a time, was broke out again*; or, *that had been ſuppreſſed till the preſent*: Now though there be this dubiouſneſs in that phraſe, yet the obſervation of theſe things may ſtate it, that there was ſome ſuch ſuppreſſion of Chriſtianity before that open perſecution that broke out in his tenth year. 1. Becauſe *Sueton* ſpeaks of *his afflicting the Chriſtians*, as done in his way of Reformation of Religion, and that in his good times when he was not grown a monſter, and not by way of crimination of them, or for the ſalving of his own credit as he did in his tenth year. 2. There is mention of *Pomponia Græcina* tried for her life, about the beginning of *Nero*'s reign, for matter of Religion as we mentioned before. 3. This impriſonment of *Epaphras*, and it may be of *Ariſtarchus*, at this time, and certainly of *Timothy* preſently after, may alſo confirm it: for what ſhould theſe men be impriſoned for but for Religion? It is very probable therefore that *Nero* had by ſome Act or Edict ſuppreſſed Chriſtianity, not only at *Rome*, but alſo in *Judæa*, as it ſeemeth by that clauſe in *Tacitus*, *Rurſus erumpebat non modo per Judæam*, &c. and if ſo, that might be a forwarder of that defection that was ſo general in the Churches of the Jews that had received the Goſpel; they falling to *Moſes* again, or joyning the adheſion to the Law with the profeſſion of the Goſpel: for thus hiding their Chriſtianity, they might retain their liberty of their Chriſtianity ſuch as it was,

was, the Religion of the Jews not being at all suppressed by him: However, if there were such a suppression at *Rome*, as it is very like there was, *Pauls* deliverance from the Lions mouth, was the more remarkable, since he was to answer not only to his accusers about his profession, but before a judge that was prejudiced against it so deeply.

But since we have heard of no stirring at *Rome* of all this time to such a tune, nor any mention of any imprisoning but only of *Paul*, how comes the matter to wax so hot now, since *Nero*'s heat against any Christianity seemeth to have been some years, or at least a good while ago? Here we cannot but remember that passage in the Epistle to the *Philippians* so lately written: *Philip.* 1. 15, 16. *Some preach Christ even of envy and strife, and some also of good will. The one preach Christ of contention not sincerity, supposing to add affliction to my bonds.* By which it may be conjectured, that some enemies of *Pauls* and his companies, taking opportunity of *Nero*'s declaration against Christianity did busle and make ado in preaching the Gospel, aiming at nothing more then this, that hereby the ringleaders in the Gospel *Paul* and his company [as no doubt they were noted so to be] might be the more narrowly looked after: and this might well be some occasion of the imprisonment of *Epaphras* and *Timothy* at this time, and of *Aristarchus*, if so be he were not a prisoner before.

CHRIST. LXI. NERO. VII.

THIS year is *Timothy* a prisoner, and *Paul* himself at liberty, for his two years imprisonment expired the later end of the last year or the beginning of this. You have intimation of this, *Heb.* 13. 23. where he saith, *Know ye, that our brother Timothy is set at liberty: with whom if he come shortly I will see you:* For I cannot interpret the word Ἀπολελυμένον otherwise then in reference to restraint; and then we may out of this passage observe that *Timothy* had been a prisoner, and that the *Hebrews* had known of his imprisonment, but now he was at liberty, and *Paul* too, ready to come away with him when he should come. He had written to the *Philippians* that he hoped shortly to send *Timothy* to them, *Philip.* 2. 19. and to *Philemon* to provide a lodging for him, for he hoped ere long to come into those parts, *Philem. ver.* 22. By which we may conclude, that upon his inlargement he intended not to have staid long at *Rome*, or that *Timothy* at the least should not have been long from them, but that his imprisonment, as it proved, hindred them both. Therefore we may not cast his commitment beyond this year; but how long he lay under restraint we cannot tell, only we may conceive him at liberty the next, for in that year we suppose the writing of *the Epistle to the Hebrews* which speaks of his inlargement.

In our thoughts about *Nero*'s suppressing Christianity, and these mens bonds thereabout, we may also look with admiration at the wondrous workings of God: observe, that even at these times there was Christianity in *Nero*'s household, *Phil.* 4. 22.

This year some occurrences befalling in this our own Country of *England*, though they are besides the argument that we are upon, yet may they not unfitly be taken into mention for Countries sake. *Suetonius Paulinus* was now General for the *Romans* here. He assails to take the *Isle of Man*, *Incolis validam & receptaculum perfugarum*, saith *Tacitus*: *Strong in the inhabitants and a refuge for fugitives.* He bringing on his men near the shore, finds an Army guarding and ready to forbid his landing. Among the men, there were women running up and down; *In modum furiarum, veste ferali, crinibus dejectis faces præferebant. Like furies in a dreery garb, with their hair about their ears, and they carried torches.* The *Roman* souldiers for a while stood amazed at such a sight, but at last falling on they enter and destroy them, and possess and Garrison the Island. *Excisiq; luci sævis superstitionibus sacri; Nam cruore captivo adolere aras, & fibris hominum consulere Deo fas habebant. And they cut down the groves that were devoted to bloody superstition: For they used to sacrifice captives at their Altars, and to look into their inwards by way of auguration.*

It is a remarkable and true saying of *Pliny* concerning *Italy* or *Rome*, That it was a Country *Quæ sparsa congregaret imperia, rituſque molliret, & tot populorum discordes feraſque linguas sermonis commercio contraheret ad colloquia, & humanitatem homini daret.* Nat. Hist. *lib.* 3. *cap.* 5. which in short is this, *that it civilized the world, and taught barbarous Nations humanity.* A strange assertion, if we consider the barbarous bloodiness and superstitions of the *Romans* themselves; yet if we look upon the thing it self, it is very true, they being a people of Learning, Discipline and Education, and planting these whersoever they got footing. And this was one means in the Lords providence, whose ways are past finding out, to harrow the worlds ruggedness, and to fit it the better for the sowing of the Gospel. In what temper our Land of *Brittain* was, as to civility, before they

they came in, may be gueſſed by this garb of the *Iſle of Man*, ſo near relating to it, if we had no more evidence.

Whileſt *Suetonius* was thus buſied here, he hears of a revolt and rebellion in *Brittain*, cauſed partly by the cruel exaction of *Decimus Catus* the Governour, who revived ſome impoſitions that *Claudius* the Emperour had remitted, partly by the grinding uſury and exactions of *Seneca*, who having put them, even unwilling, to take vaſt ſums of money of his, to moſt unſufferable uſury, he now called it and the uſe in, with all extremity and mercileſneſs: And partly by an unhappy obſequiouſneſs of *Praſutagus* King of the *Iceni*, or at leaſt by an unhappy abuſing of his obſequiouſneſs: For he dying, and leaving *Nero* and his own two daughters his heirs by Will, the *Roman* Centurions as in claim to *Nero*'s Legacy, ranſack and catch all they can, and pull his Kingdom all to pieces, and abuſe his wife and two daughters barbarouſly and inhumanely: and ſpare not either his friends, kindred or Nobles. This ſtirs all to commotion, which is eagerly proſecuted by *Bondicea* or *Bunduica* the widow of the King deceaſed, in ſo much that they deſtroy the Colony at *Camalodunum*, the *Roman* Garriſon and aſſociates at *London*, and the like at *Verulam:* in all to the number of 70000 perſons: *Suetonius* at laſt comes in, and fights them, they being near upon 230000 in arms under *Bunduica*, he routeth them, ſlays about 80000 of them: *Bunduica* for vexation poiſons her ſelf: and the *Roman* deſtroies with fire and ſword all the Towns before him that were of the adverſe party, or adhered to it: Divers prodigies are mentioned by the Hiſtorians, that relate theſe bloody occurrences as preſages of it: as the Sea bloody, ſtrange voices and howlings heard, ſights ſeen in the *Thames*, of houſes under water, a Colony overturned, *&c.*

CHRIST. LXII. | NERO. VIII.

PAUL in the Epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*, Chap.4.10. intimateth that *Mark*, who was then with him at *Rome*, was likely ere long to come to them into the Eaſt, and he willeth them to receive him as from him, though there had once been diſagreement betwixt *Mark* and him. Whether *Timothy*'s impriſonment delayed *Mark*'s journey, may be ſome queſtion: for *Paul* having ſent for them two to come to him together, 2 *Tim.* 4.11. it is like he could ill part with the one, when the other was made uſeleſs to him by reſtraint: and ſo we have ſome cauſe to ſuppoſe, that while *Timothy* was in priſon, *Mark* remained with *Paul*. However, whenſoever it was that he went for the Eaſt, we have this reaſon to think that *Paul* wrote and ſent by him

THE EPISTLE TO THE *HEBREWS:*

And that he having delivered it where *Paul* had appointed him, went away to *Peter* to *Babylon* in *Chaldæa*, becauſe *Peter* there, mentioneth *Mark* now with him, 1 *Pet.* 3. 15. And this Epiſtle, 2 *Pet.*3.15.

It is obſervable that theſe two great Apoſtles *Peter* and *Paul* the ſeveral Miniſters of the Circumciſion and Uncircumciſion, had their interchanged agents: *Sylvanus* or *Silas*, *Pauls* Miniſter, reſident with *Peter*, and imployed by him to carry his firſt Epiſtle: 1 *Pet.* 5. 12. And *Mark*, *Peters* Miniſter, reſident with *Paul*, 2 *Tim.*4.11. *Col.*4.10. and, very probably, imployed by him to carry this *Epiſtle to the Hebrews.* And thus in the interchanged agencies of their Miniſters, the parties with whom they had to deal, might own the joynt agreement of both the Apoſtles.

Although we dare not punctually aſſert either the bearer of this Epiſtle, or the exact time of its writing, yet that it was written and ſent about theſe times that we are upon, may be obſerved by theſe two boundaries that ſhut it up within ſome reaſonable compaſs of the time hereabout. Firſt, *A parte ante*, or that it could not be written much ſooner then this, may be concluded by this, that *Timothy* had gone through his impriſonment and was now inlarged before its writing, *Heb.* 13.23. And ſecondly, *A parte poſt*, or that it could not be written much after this time, may be obſerved from that paſſage *Chap.* 12.4. *Ye have not yet reſiſted unto blood.* For preſently after this bloody times came on.

That it was written by *Paul*, hath not only the concurrent conſent of all Copies and Tranſlations, but even this proof for it, That none can be named *A priſoner*, Chap.10.34. and *in Italy*, Chap.13.24. and in ſo near converſe with *Timothy*, Chap.13.25. [as the Author of this Epiſtle was] ſo likely as *Paul.*

His not affixing his name to this, as he had done to his other Epiſtles, doth no more deny it to be his, then the firſt Epiſtle of *Johns* is denied to be *Johns* upon the ſame

account: especially considering that the name of the Apostle of the uncircumcision, would not sound so well before an Epistle to the Circumcised: and yet the more still, because he sent it by *Mark* [for so we cannot but suppose] who was a Minister of the Minister of the Circumcision, and who could easily inform them of the Writer.

Unto what part of the Jewish Nation he sendeth the Epistle under the indorsement *To the Hebrews*, and why that indorsement *To the Hebrews* rather then *To the Jews*, may be a useful and a needful *Quære*. It cannot be imagined but that he sendeth it to be delivered at a certain place within some reasonable compass, because it was impossible for the bearer, whosoever he was, to deliver it to all the Jews dispersion, and because in *Chap.* 13.23. he saith that when *Timothy* came, he would come with him, and see them. Therefore the title *The Hebrews* must determine the place, since there is nothing else to determine it. A double reason may be given why he so stileth them rather then *Jews*; namely, either because the name *Jew* was now beginning to become odious; or rather because he would point out the Jews that dwelt in *Judea*, or the Land of *Israel*. And this sense doth the Holy Ghost put upon the title *the Hebrews*, Act.6.1. where it is said, *There was a murmuring of the Hellenists against the Hebrews:* By *The Hellenists* meaning the Jews that dwelt in forreign Countries among the Greeks, and by *The Hebrews* those that dwelt in *Judea*. And so it is most proper to understand the inscription of this Epistle, namely that *Paul* directs, and sends it to the believing Jews of *Judea:* a people that had been much ingaged to him for his care of their poor, getting collections for them all along his travels, and *Mark* [whom we suppose the bearer of this Epistle] had come in to his attendance, and to the attendance of his Uncle *Barnabas*, when they had been in *Judea* to bring almes unto those Churches, *Act.* 11. & 12.

It is not to be doubted indeed that he intendeth the discourse and matter of this Epistle to the Jews throughout all their dispersion [and therefore *Peter* writing to the Jews of *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia* and *Asia*, applies it as written to them, 2 *Pet.* 3. 15.] yet doth he indorse it, and send it chiefly to *The Hebrews* or the Jews of *Judea*, the principal seat of the Circumcision, as the propereſt center whither to direct it, and from whence it might best diffuse in time to the whole circumference of their dispersion.

He hath to deal in it mainly with those things that the Jewish writers commonly call חוקות תלוות בארץ *Ordinances affixed to the Land*, or such Ceremonious part of their Religion, as while it stood, was confined to the Land, as Temple, Sacrifice, Priesthood, *&c.* Therefore it was most proper to direct his speech in its first bent, to those that dwelt in the Land, and were most near to those things, and who in those Apostatizing times that then were, had the neareſt occasion and temptation to draw them back from the purity of the Gospel to those rites again.

Unto that doubtfulness that some have taken up about the Original Tongue of this Epistle, as thinking it very improper that he should write in the *Greek* Tongue to the *Hebrews*, especially to the *Hebrews in Judea*, we need no better satisfaction then what the Hebrews themselves, yea the *Hebrews of Judea* may give to us, I mean the *Jerusalem Gemarists*, from several passages that they have about the Greek language.

In *Megillah*, *fol.* 71. *col.* 2. they say thus, *There is a tradition from ben Kaphra, God shall inlarge Japhet, and he shall dwell in the tents of Sem: For they shall speak the language of Japhet in the tents of Sem.* The *Babylon Gemara* on the same Treatise *fol.* 9. *col.* 2. resolves us, what Tongue of *Japhet* is meant; for having spoken all along before, of the excellency and dignity of the Greek Tongue it concludes יופיותו של יפת יהא באוהלי שם *The very beauty of Japhet shall be in the tents of Sem.*

Our men first named, say further thus: *Rabbi Jonathan of Beth Gubrin saith, There are four Languages brave for the world to use, and they are these: The Vulgar, the Roman, the Syrian, and the Hebrew, and some also add the Assyrian:* Now the question is, What Tongue he means by *the Vulgar?* Reason will name the *Greek* as soon as any; and *Midras Tilim*, makes it plain that this is meant; for *fol.* 25. *col.* 4. speaking of this very passage [but alledging it in somewhat different terms] he nameth the *Greek* which is not here named. Observe then that the Hebrews call the Greek *the Vulgar Tongue.*

They proceed, *ibid. col.* 3. *It is a tradition. Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel saith, In books they permitted not, that they should write, but only in Greek. They searched, and found, that the Law cannot be interpreted compleatly but only in the Greek. One once expounded to them, in the Syriack, out of the Greek. R. Jeremiah in the name of R. Chaijah ben Basaith, Aquila the proselyte interpreted the Law, before R. Eliezer and before R. Joshua. And they extolled him and said, Thou art fairer then the children of men.*

And the same *Talmud in Sotah fol.* 21. *col.* 2. hath this record. *Rabbi Levi went to Cæsarea, and heard them* קריין שמע אלוניסתין *rehearsing their Phylacteries Hellenistice*, or, in the *Greek* Tongue. A passage very well worth observing: For if in *Cæsarea* were as learned Schools as any were in the Nation; And if their Phylacteries [pickt sentences out

out of the Law] might above all things have challenged their rehearſal in the *Hebrew* Tongue, as their own writers ſhew, yet they ſay them over in Greek, *Paul* might very well write to the Hebrews in *Judea* in the Greek Tongue, when that Tongue was in ſo common a uſe even in an Univerſity of *Judea* it ſelf.

To theſe teſtimonies for the Greek Tongue, might be added, that which is ſpoken in the Treatiſe *Shekalin, per.* 3. *halac.* 2. *Upon the three Treaſure Cheſts of the Temple were written Aleph, Beth, Gimel. But Rabbi Iſmael ſaith, It was written upon them in Greek, Alpha, Beta, Gamma:* They that hold that this Epiſtle, and the Goſpel of *Matthew* were written in Hebrew, ſhould conſider how that Tongue was now a ſtranger to all but Scholars, and how God in his providence had diſperſed and planted the Greek Tongue throughout all the world, by the conqueſt of *Alexander*, and the *Grecian* Monarchy; and had brought the Old Teſtament into *Greek* by the *Septuagint.*

As this Apoſtle in all his Epiſtles uſeth exceeding much of the Jews Dialect, Language, Learning, alluſion and reference to their opinions, traditions and cuſtoms; ſo doth he more ſingularly in this, and he doth moreover in a more peculiar manner apply himſelf, to their manner of argumentation and diſcourſe. For his intent is, if he can, to argue them into eſtabliſhment, againſt that grievous Apoſtacy that was now afoot: ſo many revolting from the purity of the Goſpel, either to a total betaking themſelves to *Moſes* again, or at leaſt mixing the Ceremonious rites of the Law with the profeſſion of the Goſpel. Comparing his ſtyle here, with the ſtyle of diſcourſe and arguing in the *Talmuds*, *Zohar* and *Rabboth*, and ſuch like older writings of the Jews, you might eaſily tell with whom he is dealing though the Epiſtle were not inſcribed in ſyllables, *To the Hebrews:* and the very ſtile of it may argue a Scholar of *Gamaliel*, but now better taught and better improving his learning then that Maſter could teach him.

He firſt begins to prove the *Meſſiah* to be God, and *Jeſus* to be he: about the former of which, the Jews miſtook, and about the latter they blaſphemed. In proving the former, he among other places of Scripture, produceth that of *Pſal.* 102.25. *Thou Lord in the beginning haſt laid the foundation of the earth*, &c. To which a Jew would be ready to anſwer, I but this is to be underſtood of God the Father; and how could this objection be anſwered? Tes, even by their own conceſſions, upon which he argueth in this place. For they underſtood that in *Gen.*1.2. *The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters*, of the Spirit of *Chriſt*, and ſo do they interpret it זה רוחו של מלך המשיח *This is the Spirit of Meſſias:* as their mind is ſpoken in that point by *Zohar*, *Beriſhith Rabba*, and divers others. If the Spirit of *Chriſt* then, was the great agent in the Creation, by their own grant, they could not but grant this allegation to be proper.

He ſheweth *Chriſt* therefore greater then Angels, as in other regards, ſo into whoſe hands was put *the world to come*, Chap.2.5. and here the phraſe is uſed in the Jews dialect, for *the Kingdom of Meſſias*, as we mentioned before.

He proveth him a greater Lawgiver then *Moſes*, a greater Prieſt then *Aaron*, and a greater King and Prieſt then *Melchiſedek*: He ſheweth all the Levitical Oeconomy but a ſhadow, and *Chriſt* the ſubſtance, and the old Covenant to be aboliſhed, by the coming in of a better: By the old or firſt Covenant meaning the *Covenant of peculiarity*, or the adminiſtration of the Covenant of Grace ſo, as whereby *Iſrael* was made a peculiar and diſtinct people. This Covenant of peculiarity they brake as ſoon almoſt as they had obtained it, by making the golden Calf, and thereupon follows the breaking of the two Tables in ſign of it: for though the Law written in the two Tables was Moral, and ſo concerned all the world, yet their writing in Tables of ſtone for *Iſrael*, and committing them to their keeping, referreth to their peculiarity. To his handling of the fabrick and utenſils of the Tabernacle and contents of the Ark, *Chap.*9. *Talm. Jeruſ. in Shekalim fol.*49. *col.*3,4. and *Sotah fol.*22. *col.*3. may be uſefully applied, for illuſtration. He hinteth the Apoſtaſie now afoot, which was no ſmall induction to him of the writing of this Epiſtle, and ſheweth the deſperate danger of it, *Chap.* 6. 4, 5, &c. and *Chap.* 10. 26, 27, &c. In which his touching of it, we may ſee how far ſome had gone in the Goſpel, and yet ſo miſerably far fallen from it, as that ſome of them had had the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, and yet now ſinned willingly and wilfully againſt it. In deſcribing their guilt, one of his paſſages that he uſeth, is but harſhly applied by ſome, *Chap.* 10. 29. [*Hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the Covenant wherewith he was ſanctified an unholy thing:*] when they ſay that this horrid Apoſtate wretch, that treads *Chriſt* under foot, was once ſanctified by the blood of *Chriſt:* whereas the words mean, *Chriſts* being ſanctified by the blood of the Covenant, according to the ſame ſenſe that *Chriſt* is ſaid to be brought again from the dead, by the blood of the Covenant, in this ſame Epiſtle, *Chap.*13.20. And the Apoſtle doth ſet forth the horrid impiety of accounting the blood of the Covenant a common thing, by this, becauſe even the Son of God himſelf was ſanctified by it or ſet apart as Mediator: And ſo ſhould I underſtand the words, He hath trodden under-foot that Son of God, and counted the blood

of the Covenant by which he the Son of God was ſanctified, an unholy thing. He magnifieth faith, againſt thoſe works that they ſtood upon and ſought to be juſtified by, and ſheweth that this was the all in all with all the holy men both before the Law and under it. When he gives them caution, *Leſt there be any fornicator or profane perſon as Eſau*, &c. *Chap.* 12.16. he doth not only ſpeak according to the common tenet of the Nation, that *Eſau* was a fornicator, as ſee *Targ. Jeruſ. in Gen.*25. but he ſeemeth to have his eye upon the *Nicolaitan* doctrine that was now riſe, that taught fornication: to which he ſeemeth alſo to refer, in thoſe words, *Chap.* 13. 4. *Marriage is honourable*, &c.

And now henceforward you have no more ſtory of this Apoſtle: what became of him after the writing of this Epiſtle it is impoſſible to find out, by any light that the Scripture holdeth out in this matter. The two laſt verſes but one of this Epiſtle, trace him as far forward as we can any way elſe ſee him, and that is but a little way neither. *Know ye that our brother Timothy is ſet at liberty, with whom if he come ſhortly I will ſee you.* By which words theſe things may be conjectured. 1. That after his inlargement out of bonds, he left *Rome*, and preached in *Italy*. He mentioneth in his Epiſtle to the *Romans*, his deſire and intent to go preach in *Spain*, *Rom.*15.24. but that was ſo long ago, that he had now found ſome juſt cauſe [ſo much time intervening] to ſteer his courſe another way. For 2. It appears that when he wrote this Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, he intended very ſhortly to ſet for *Judea*, if ſo be he ſent the Epiſtle to the Jews of *Judea* as hath been ſhewed moſt probable he did. So that trace him in his intentions and hopes, and you find him purpoſing to go to *Philippi*, Phil. 2. 23, 24. Nay yet further, to *Coloſſe*, Philem. ver. 22. Nay yet further into *Judea*. It is like that the Apoſtacy and wavering that he heard of in the Eaſtern Churches, ſhewed him more need to haſten thither then to go weſtward. 3. He waited a little to ſee whether *Timothy* now inlarged would come to him in that place of *Italy* where he now was: which if he did, he intended to bring him along with him: but whether they met and travelled together, or what further became of either of them, we ſhall not go about to trace, leſt ſeeking after them we loſe our ſelves.

CHRIST. LXIII. NERO. IX.

IT hath been obſerved before, how probable it is that *Albinus* came into the Government of *Judea* in *Feſtus* room, in this ninth year of *Nero*. And if ſo, then was *James* the Apoſtle who was called *James the leſs* martyred this year; *Joſephus* gives the ſtory of this, *Antiq. lib.* 20. *cap.* 8. *Cæſar*, ſaith he, *underſtanding the death of Feſtus, ſendeth Albinus governour into Judea. And the King* [*Agrippa*] *put Joſeph from the Highprieſthood, and conferred it upon Ananus the ſon of Ananus. Now this Ananus junior was extreme bold and daring, and he was of the ſect of the Saduces, which in judging are moſt cruel of any of the Jews. Ananus therefore being ſuch a one, and thinking he had got a fit opportunity, becauſe Feſtus was dead and Albinus was not yet come; he gets together a Council, and bringing before it James the brother of Jeſus, who was called Chriſt, and ſome others, as tranſgreſſors, he delivered them up to be ſtoned: But thoſe in the City that were more moderate, and beſt ſkilled in the Laws, took this ill, and ſent to the King privately, beſeeching him to charge Ananus that he ſhould do ſo no more. And ſome of them met Albinus as he came from Alexandria, and ſhewed him how it was not lawful for Ananus to call a Council without his conſent. Whereupon he writeth a threatning Letter to Ananus. And King Agrippa for this fact put him from the Highprieſthood when he had held it but three months, and placed Jeſus the ſon of Damneas in his room.*

THE EPISTLE OF *JAMES*.

Although therefore, the certain time of his writing this Epiſtle cannot be diſcovered, yet ſince he died in the year that we are upon, we may, not unproperly, look upon it as written not very long before his death. And that the rather, becauſe by an expreſſion or two he intimates the vengeance of *Jeruſalem* drawing very near. Chap. 5. 8, 9. *The coming of the Lord draweth nigh*; and, *Behold the Judge ſtandeth before the door.* He being the Apoſtle reſidentiary of the Circumciſion in *Judea*, could not but of all others be chiefly in the eyes of thoſe that maliced the Goſpel there, and the Miniſters of it. So it could not but be in his eye, to obſerve thoſe tokens growing on apace that his Maſter had ſpoken of, as the forerunners and forewarners of that deſtruction coming: Falſe Prophets, Iniquity abounding, Love waxing cold, betraying and undoing one another, that he could not but very ſurely conclude, that the Judge and judgment was not far from the door.

Among

Among other things that our Saviour foretelleth ſhould precede that deſtruction, this was one. *Matth.*24.14. *This Goſpel of the Kingdom ſhall be preached in all the world, for a witneſs unto all Nations, and then ſhall the end come.* And ſo did the Goſpel reach all the twelve Tribes, as well as other Nations, even the ten Tribes, as well as the other two. Therefore *James* a Miniſter of the Circumciſion, doth properly direct this Epiſtle *to all the twelve Tribes ſcattered abroad.*

The whole Nation was at this time, ſome at the very height of unbelief and croſsneſs againſt the Goſpel, and others at the very depth of ſuffering for it: therefore he comforts the one, *Chap.*1. and denounceth their juſt doom againſt the other, *Chap* 4.& 5. He ſtriveth to beat down four things eſpecially, which were not only unbecoming the *Chriſtian* profeſſion, but even enemies againſt it. The firſt was, eſtimating men according to their gorgeous outſide, and ſo the poor preachers and profeſſors of the Goſpel were contemned. Secondly, Their having many Maſters or Teachers, whereby errors and ſchiſms were eaſily ſcattered and planted among them, and much miſchief done by unbridled tongues. Thirdly, Their reliance upon their hiſtorical faith, they thinking that enough, and neglecting to bring forth the fruits of a faith ſaving and lively. And laſtly, Their common and vain oaths, to which the Jewiſh Nation, and that by the lenity, and toleration of their own Canons, was exceeding looſe.

In the cloſe of the Epiſtle, he ſpeaketh of *the Elders anointing the ſick with oyl, Chap.* 5.14. which may receive ſome explication from theſe things obſerved in their own writings.

1. That anointing with oyl was an ordinary medicinal application to the ſick. Talm. Jeruſ. in Beracoth. fol.3. col.1. *R. Simeon the ſon of Eleazar permitted R. Meir to mingle wine and oyl, and to anoint the ſick on the Sabbath. And he was once ſick, and we ſought to do ſo to him, but he ſuffered us not.*

Id. in Maaſar Sheni. fol. 53. col.3. *A tradition. Anointing on the Sabbath is permitted. If his head ake, or if a ſcall come upon it, he anoints with oyl.*

Talm. Bab. in Joma fol. 77. 2. *If he be ſick, or ſcall be upon his head, he anoints according to his manner,* &c.

Now if we take the Apoſtles counſel as referring to this medicinal practice, we may conſtrue it, that he would have this Phyſical adminiſtration to be improved to the beſt advantage, namely that whereas *Anointing with oyl* was ordinarily uſed to the ſick, by way of Phyſick, he adviſeth that they ſhould ſend for the Elders of the Church to do it; not that the anointing was any more in their hand then in anothers, as to the thing it ſelf, for it was ſtill but a Phyſical application, but that they with the applying of this corporal Phyſick, might alſo pray with and for the patient, and apply the ſpiritual Phyſick of good admonition and comforts to him. Which is much the ſame, as if in our Nation, where this phyſical anointing is not ſo in uſe, a ſick perſon ſhould ſend for the Miniſter at taking of any Phyſick, that he might pray with him and counſel and comfort him: Or

2. It was very common among the Jews to uſe charming and anointing together, of perſons that were ſick of certain maladies: of this the *Jeruſ. Talm.* ſpeaketh in Schab. fol. 14. col.3. זה שהוא לוחש גותן שמן על גבי ראשו ולוחש *A man that one charmeth, he putteth oyl upon his head and charmeth.* And a little after, is related what they charmed for, as *for an evil eye, ſerpents, ſcorpions,* &c. And in col. 4. is mentioned how *one charmed over a ſick perſon in the name of Jeſu Pandira.* Now this being a common wretched cuſtom to anoint ſome that were ſick and to uſe charming with the anointing, this Apoſtle [ſeeing anointing was an ordinary and good Phyſick, and the good uſe of it not to be extinguiſht for that abuſe] directs them better, namely to get the Elders or Miniſters of the Church to come to the ſick, and to add to the medicinal anointing of him, their godly and fervent prayers for him, far more available and comfortable then all charming and inchanting, as well as far more warrantable and Chriſtian.

CHRIST. XLIV. | NERO. X.

THIS year [*C. Lecanius* and *M. Licinius* being Conſuls] befel that ſore fire in *Rome*, [of which ſome touch was given before] the ſoreſt that ever had befallen the City, and which made ſuch deſolation, *That whereas the City was divided into fourteen great Wards* [they are the words of *Tacitus*] *only four of the fourteen ſtood ſound: For three were clean burnt down to the ground: and as for the other ſeven they were all tattered and half conſumed, and but a few reliques of houſes remained.*

It was commonly thought and talked, that *Nero* himſelf had the chief hand in kindling and carrying on of this miſchief; inſtigated thereunto either by his own inhumane and barbarous

barbarous temper, which delighted in nothing more, then in destrcying; or by a tickling humour he had, to build the City a new, that it might bear his name. He to stop the mouth of the clamor, and to salve his credit, brought the *Christians* that were in the City, to examination and execution, as if they had been the only, and the all, in the breeding of this mishap. *Igitur primo correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum, haut perinde in crimine incendii, quam odio humani generis, convicti sunt*, &c. *Therefore they were first laid hold on, that confessed themselves Christians: and then by their discovery a vast multitude was convicted, not so much for real guilt of kindling that fire, as because of the general hate of men against them. And moreover there were scorns added to their deaths, for they were cast, wrapped in beasts skins to be devoured of dogs, or they were crucified, or burnt, and served for lights by night, when the day was gone. Whereupon they were pitied seeing that they were thus destroyed, not for the publick benefit, but only for one mans cruelty.* Thus *Tacitus.*

What havock may we think this doleful persecution made? As among other Christians at *Rome*, so particularly among those eminent ones, that *Paul* in his Epistle thither, saluteth by name, *Rom.* 16. of whom many, no doubt, were alive till now, and now dispatched. He himself, and *Timothy* and *Luke*, with other of his retinue, may well be supposed to have been got away before this storm came, because in several places of his Epistles written a good while ago, as we have observed, he speaketh of his setting away with what speed possible and convenient. How escaped *Peter* if he now sate Bishop at *Rome*, as *Rome* asserteth?

Whether this persecution were circumscribed within the bounds of *Rome* or *Italy*, or whether it was carried by the command of the Tyrant through all other Countries [as *Vid.* Euseb. *Eccles. Hist. lib.* 2. *c.*24. Oros. *lib.*7. *&c.*] we need not to be much solicitous to go about to decide: certainly, though it were not inforced by any Edict or command, yet such a copy would be taken for a warrant, especially by those that without either command or copy had been forward enough to do mischief to the professors of the Gospel already, and had taken, nay had made any occasion to undo, or destroy them. The Jews at this mastery were the busiest men of any, and that *mystery of iniquity* was ever working, but could not strike their full stroke, because something hindred, 2 *Thess.* 2.6,7. If he that hindred were *Claudius*, who by his expulsion of the Jews out of *Rome*, shewed a frown upon the whole Nation, and suffered them not to rage as they would have done, he was taken away about ten years ago; and they felt their chain much slackned at the coming in of *Nero:* who in his best years, though he broke not out to destroy all before him, as he did afterward, yet was he destructive enough to Christianity, as we have observed, and loose and careless of the administration of affairs, and regarded not how things went, so that he might have his ease, luxury and pleasure, which his Tutors *Seneca* and *Burrhus* made but unworthy advantage of. But now that he himsef hath given so visible, bloody and cursed an example, the Jews that stood barking at their chain-end all this while, finding themselves so far let loose as such an example might loose them, which was too far, would fall on without mercy. They had been mischievous enough always against the professors of the Gospel, but from hence forward they exceeded, and the more they grew toward their desolation, the more did the Devil make them bestir themselves, knowing the shortness of his time there.

This tenth of *Nero* there was a blazing star, horrid lightnings and thunders, and divers monstrous births.

CHRIST. LXV.

NERO. XI.

THIS year [the eleventh of *Nero*, *Silius Nerva* and *Atticus Vestinus*, being Consuls] very many eminent and gallant men of *Rome* were cut off by the Tyrant, as the last year he had cut off many eminent and worthy Christians. The Christians he destroyed, by a plot laid against them by himself; the *Romans* for a plot laid by them against him. The names of those that perished, now best known among us, were *Seneca the Philosopher*, *Nero*'s Tutor, and his nephew *the Poet Lucan*. Both of them very renowned for their Writings, but both of them very ignominious for a several miscarriage. *Seneca* for unparalleled covetousness, usury and oppression mentioned before: and *Lucan* for betraying his own mother. Let him bear *Tacitus* his brand: *Lucanus, Quinctianus, & Senecio diu abnuere. Post, promissa impunitate corrupti, quo tarditatem excusarent, Lucanus Atillam matrem suam*, [observe that] *Quinctianus Glicium Gallum, Senecio Annium Pollionem amicorum præcipuos nominavere.. Lucan, Quinctianus & Senecio, were long before they would confess any thing: But at last, being corrupted by the promise of impunity, that they might make amends for their slowness, Lucan accused his mother Atilla*, &c. Hereupon

upon *Atilla* was wracked one day; and would confeſs nothing: and the next day being carried to the wrack again [for ſhe was ſo disjoynted that ſhe could not go] ſhe made a ſhift as ſhe ſate in the cart to ſtrangle her ſelf: chooſing ſo to dye rather then either to endure the wrack again, or to impeach any. An indeleble blot to her ſon *Lucan* for ever. Nor did his baſe ſhift ſerve his turn, for he ſuffered death too, by having his veins cut and ſo bleeding to death; which was the end of his Uncle *Seneca* alſo.

The Wars of the Jews are now drawing on apace [for they began the next year] and the horrid Civil Wars of the *Romans* are not far off. So that here we may properly take notice of that prediction ready now to take place. *Matth.* 24. 7, 8, 9. *Nation ſhall riſe againſt Nation, and Kingdom againſt Kingdom*, &c. *All theſe are the beginnings of ſorrows. Then ſhall they deliver you up to be afflicted, and then ſhall they kill you:* which *Luke* hath expreſſed, *But before all theſe, ſhall they lay their hands upon you, and perſecute you*, Luk. 21. 12. which ſeemeth to carry ſome difference, as if the one Evangeliſt ſhewed, that the perſecution of the Diſciples to death, ſhould be before theſe troubles; and the other, as if they ſhould not be till theſe troubles were begun: But they may be well reconciled by obſerving that in the words that Chriſt is there ſpeaking in both Evangeliſts, there is the intertexture of two ſtories, namely what miſeries ſhould befal the Jewiſh Nation before their ruine, and what miſeries ſhould befal the Diſciples in the middeſt of thoſe miſeries: and ſo the word *Then* in *Matthew*, and *Before* in *Luke*, are but as a tranſition from the one hiſtory to the other: and yet they are not unſignificant neither, as to the pointing out of the time, the one ſpeaking the beginning of that perſecution foretold, and the other the continuance.

A fitter period of time whence to begin the punctual taking place of that prediction, we can hardly point out, then this very year that we are upon, a center between two critical years: the year before beginning the perſecution of Chriſtians at *Rome*, and the year following beginning the Wars of the Jews in *Judea*.

Although therefore we cannot poſitively aſſert the very time of the writing of

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF *PETER*:

yet obſerving the Chronical hint of ſome paſſages in it, this year may as fairly lay claim thereunto, as any other year that can be aſſerted. For, to omit that clauſe *Chap.* 4. 7. *The end of all things is at hand* [referring to the deſolating of the Jewiſh Commonwealth and Nation] the mention of the *fiery trial*, ver. 12. and *the time now come when Judgment muſt begin at the houſe of God*, ver. 17. is but as a comment and accompliſhment of that prediction before alledged, *Then ſhall they deliver up to be afflicted*, &c. It is true indeed, that the Church had never wanted perſecution ſince the Goſpel aroſe, and ſome for its ſake had ſuffered death, as *Steven* and ſome at that time, the two *Jameſes*, and ſome at the time of both their deaths; but in the Countries out of *Judea*, where the ſtroke of their *Sanhedrin* could not reach ſo well, nor light ſo heavy, there was tumultuouſneſs indeed enough, and beating and bitterneſs againſt it, but rare effuſion of blood, till the curſed example ſet laſt year by the Tyrant at *Rome*, and now forward in the confuſions of the Jewiſh Nation; when a madneſs was come upon them among themſelves, and a deſperate fury againſt all that would not be as they were. And that not only in *Judea* the ſeat of the War, but even through the whole world as far as they durſt, and were able to ſtir. Thoſe words of *Dion* are very remarkable when ſpeaking of the ſiege of *Jeruſalem* by *Titus*, he ſaith, *That the Jews that were in forraign Countries, not only within the Roman Empire, but alſo without, did ſend help to their brethren in Judea*, lib. 66.

When *Cyrus* gave leave to the Jews after the ſeventy years captivity to return to their own Country, multitudes of them found themſelves ſo pleaſingly ſeated, and by continuance of time rooted in *Babylonia*, that they would not remove their habitation, but fixed there. There, in time they grew to ſo great a Nation, and diſtinct a people, that they had רוש גלותא *A Prince of the Captivity* of their own blood over them, and three famous Univerſities, *Nehardea*, *Pombeditha* and *Soria*, which yielded very many eminent Scholars in the Judaick learning.

In the diviſion of the imployment of the three Miniſters of the Circumciſion, *Peter*, *James* and *John*, *Peter*'s lot fell here, and from *Babylon* it ſelf the very Center of thoſe parts he ſends this Epiſtle. He directs it to the diſperſed Jews in *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Aſia* and *Bithynia*, in which parts the Apoſtacy from the faith had been exceeding prevalent, and accordingly the trouble of thoſe that ſtuck to the faith, the moſt bitter. And in his inſcribing it to *the Elect*, he ſeemeth to have his eye upon thoſe words of his Maſter about this Apoſtaſie, *Matth.* 24. 24. *They ſhall deceive, if it were poſſible, the very Elect.*

Among the many divine leſſons that he reads to them, he teaches them and us who is the Rock upon which the Church is built, *Chap.* 2. 4, *&c.* and how accordingly to underſtand *ſuper hanc Petram*, Matt. 16. He exhorts them with all earneſtneſs to yield obedience to ſuperior powers, *Chap.* 2. 13, 14. and that the rather becauſe of that ſpirit of the *Zelotæ*, that walking among the Nation in all parts, urged them not to ſubmit to any Heathen power.

He magnifieth *Baptiſm* as a badge and pledge of preſervation of thoſe that had received it, and ſtuck to it, from that vengeance that was coming upon that wicked Nation, *Chap.* 3. 21. It is ſomething a ſtrange recoyling that he makes, leaping back from mention of the death of *Chriſt*, ver. 18. over all the ſtory of the Old Teſtament, and lighteth on the generation that was ſwept away by the flood: and ſheweth how *Chriſts* ſpirit preached unto them. Why? had not the ſame Spirit preached in all the times between? Why are not thoſe times named then as well as theſe? Becauſe the Apoſtle doth purpoſely intend to compare that old world then deſtroyed, with the deſtruction of the Jewiſh Nation ſhortly coming: and to ſhew that as *Noah* and his family were then ſaved by water, *ver.* 20. ſo, Ἀντίτυπον ὑμᾶς, they that had received Baptiſm were the Antitype to that, and Baptiſm was a pledge and means of their deliverance *now*, they ſticking cloſely to it. And this very thing *John Baptiſt* taught in that queſtion, *Who hath forwarned you to flee from the wrath to come?* Therefore when he calls Συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς θεόν. *An asking of a good Conſcience towards or after God*, he makes not this its definition, as if none but thoſe ſo qualified were to be baptized, but he characters its difference from Circumciſion, which put away the filth of the fleſh in one ſenſe; and Legal and Phariſaical waſhings which did it in another. His whole compariſon runs to this tenour: The old world was diſobedient to the ſpirit of *Chriſt* preaching in the mouth of *Noah*, and therefore they periſhed. The Jews [whoſe ſtate the Scripture alſo calleth *an old world*] were diſobedient to *Chriſt* preaching by his Spirit in the mouth of his Apoſtles, and even viſibly and audibly in his own perſon, therefore, they muſt needs periſh: But *Noah* and his family that harkeneth after God [whilſt others ſaid to the Lord *Depart from us*, Job 22. 16, 17.] were preſerved by water: Even *ſo doth Baptiſm now preſerve us, the Antitype of that figure.* For Baptiſm was not barely a waſhing of the body from filth, as the common Legal waſhings were, but it was an owning and asking after God, conſciencioufly, out from a perverſe and wicked generation: and therefore not to be ſtarted or revolted from. This then being one end of Baptiſm, and that end taught to them that aſſumed it, *viz.* to badge and mark to ſafety from the approaching vengeance, it may very well raiſe an argument for Infants Baptiſm [whereas this text is commonly produced againſt it:] for if theſe parents that came in to be baptized, ſought hereby to *flee from the wrath to come*, they would be carefull to bring their children under the ſame badge of ſecurity.

When he judgeth thoſe that periſhed in the waters of *Noah* to be now *in priſon*, *ver.* 19. he knew he had the conſent of his Nation in it: for thus they ſay in *Sanhedr.* per. 10. halac. 3. *The generation of the flood have no portion in the world to come: neither ſhall they ſtand up in Judgment; for it is ſaid, My ſpirit ſhall no more judge with man*, Gen. 6. 3. *Peter* teacheth us that the Spirit that ſtrove with the old world, was the Spirit of *Meſſias*.

He ſends this Epiſtle by *Sylvanus*, *Pauls* old attendant, but now with *Peter*: He ſtiles him, *A faithful brother to you, as I ſuppoſe*: not as doubting but aſſured. He was to bring this Epiſtle to the Circumciſion, who himſelf had been a Miniſter of the circumciſion: therefore this atteſtation is the more needful and material, ὡς λογίζομαι, I repute him a faithful brother to you of the Circumciſion, and do you alſo ſo repute him.

His naming of *Mark* with him, calls our thoughts back to what hath been mentioned of *Mark* heretofore: his being with *Paul* at *Rome*, and his coming from him into the Eaſt. To ſuppoſe two *Marks*, one with *Peter* and another with *Paul*, is to breed confuſion where there needeth not, and to conceive that for which the Scripture hath not only no ground, but is plain enough to the contrary: It is eaſily ſeen how *John Mark* came into familiarity both with *Paul* and *Peter*, and other *Mark* we can find none in the New Teſtament, unleſs of our own invention: His being in theſe later times with *Peter* and *Paul*, may turn our thoughts to conſider how his Uncle *Barnabas* and he parted, ſince *Paul* and *Barnabas* parted about him. He it was that wrote the Goſpel, it may be being with *Peter*, as *Luke* did the like being with *Paul*. In his Goſpel he is moſt exact of all the four in obſerving the proper time and ſeries of the ſtories recorded.

CHRIST. LXVI.

NERO. XII.

Προσελάμβανε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ πόλεμος δωδεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας. Ἀρτεμισίου μηνός. *The Wars of the Jews began in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero, in the month of May.* Joseph. *de Bell. lib.* 2 *cap.* 25.

If we take a view of the Nation, as it was at the present, and as it had been for thirty or forty years backward, we shall find that besides the ordinary and common wickedness that was among them, they had these four additions of iniquity monstrous and unparalleled, and in which they did, as it were, exceed themselves. 1. In regard that the appearance of the *Messias* was expected to be about the time that *Christ* appeared indeed, very many taking advantage of the time and of that expectation, took upon them, some to be *Christ*, others to be Prophets attending, and relating to his coming, *Matth.* 24. 24. Upon which *Josephus* and other Writers of that Nation will give us a very full commentary of experiences. 2. There were multitudes of the *Zelotæ*, and of the sect of *Judas the Galilean*, which would not yield any homage or subjection to be due to the *Roman* power which was now over them: and neither would they now themselves, nor would they suffer others, as far as they could hinder, to submit unto them. 3. The unbelieving Jews were generally sworn enemies and prosecutors of those that believed. And 4. which we have observed before, multitudes of those that had believed and imbraced the Gospell fell away, and became either seduced or the greatest seducers, and brought in horrid heresies and pollutions. So that in these various and malignant distempers of men, there had been continual confusions, tumults, firings, murderings and plunderings among them for many years, and they had been the unquietest and most tumultuous Nation that had been under Heaven, and they had often provoked the *Roman* power against themselves, yet till this year had they never so visibly and professedly taken up Arms and open War against that power.

The first spark kindled in *Cæsarea* upon the sea, about an inchroachment that a Gentile there made upon the way that went to the Jews Synagogue; and from thence it grew into a flame so fast through the whole Country [*Florus* the Governour helping it on] that by the sixteenth of *May*, his Souldiers by his Commission have plundred *Jerusalem*, slain 3600. persons: and even *Berenice* sister to King *Agrippa* escaped very narrowly with her life.

The Jews and Romans have divers skirmishes: *Massada* Castle taken and the *Roman* Garison put to the sword. The Temple and several parts of the Cities made Garisons for several parties, and suffer much by fire and battery. Twenty thousand Jews slain in *Cæsarea* on a Sabbath: whereupon all the Nation rise about to avenge this slaughter, and in *Syria*, *Phænicea*, *Samaria*, *Peræa* and all round about, destroy Towns, Cities and persons all before them. *Cestius* the Governour of *Syria* rises with his forces, and destroys the Jews again, and their Towns all before him, and on the thirtieth of *October* enters *Jerusalem* and fires a good part of the City.

Yet do the Jews give him a brush upon his march away, and cut off above 4000 of his men: with which success they are so fleshed, that they resolve to fight it out, and accordingly platform themselves into the model and posture of a long War: and the Country is only full of Fire, Sword, War and destruction.

The abomination of desolation had now begun to stand in the holy place, *Matth.* 24. 15. when the Temple is made a Garrison, and filled with slaughter; *Antonia*, the Castle of the Temple, besieged, taken, and the *Roman* Garrison put to the sword. The חנויות *Tabernæ*, or part of the buildings at the East wall of the mountain of the House [the place where the *Sanhedrin* had once sitten,] fired and burnt down. *Jerus. in Peah. fol.* 16. *col.* 3. And in a word, the Temple from this time forwards, never but a Garrison, and full of slaughter and confusion till it be raked up in ashes.

Now it was time for those that were in *Judea*, who believed *Christs* prediction, to get into the Mountains, and to shift for themselves, for now begins the tribulation beyond parallel, such as was not since the beginning of the world, nor ever must again, *Matth.* 24. 21. It is commonly asserted that the Christians fled to *Pella* a City beyond *Jordan*: Euseb. *Eccles. Hist. lib.* 3. *cap.* 5. which how to reconcile with *Josephus*, who saith *Pella* was one of the Cities that the Jews destroyed in avengement of the slaughter of the 20000 in *Cæsarea*, De Bell. *lib.* 2. *cap.* 33. let the Learned find.

About these times therefore we may well conceive to have been the writing of

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF *PETER.*

And that the rather from what he ſpeaks in *Chap.* 1. *ver.* 14. *I know that I muſt ſhortly put off this tabernacle, as our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath ſhewed me.* In which words, his thoughts reflect upon what *Chriſt* had ſpoken to *John* and him about their ends, *John* 21. where he not only gave intimation to *Peter* that he ſhould be Martyred, *ver.* 18. but that he ſhould be ſo, before his coming in Judgment againſt *Jeruſalem*, which *John* muſt live to ſee, but he muſt not, *ver.* 22. He therefore in *Babylon*, underſtanding how affairs went in *Judea* and with the Jewiſh Nation all thereabout, and reading therein, from the words of his Maſter, *Matth.* 24. that the deſolation was drawing on apace, concludes that his time was not long: and therefore improves the time he hath remaining the beſt he can, not only in teaching thoſe amongſt whom he was, but by writing this Epiſtle inſtructeth thoſe that were remote and at diſtance from him; in which he doth more eſpecially give them caution againſt falſe teachers: and characters the terrour of the judgment coming, and exhorts to vigilancy and holineſs.

The firſt character that he gives of the falſe teachers is, that *they bring in damnable Hereſies, denying the Lord that bought them*, Chap. 2. 1. which he ſpeaketh from *Deut.* 32. from whence alſo he uſeth other expreſſions, *ver.* 6. *Is not he thy Father that hath bought thee?* not meaning that theſe wretches were redeemed by *Chriſt*, yet became ſuch wretches, as ſome would interpret it; but by *buying* is meant his buying out of *Egypt* this people for a peculiar people: which theſe wretches boaſted and ſtood upon, yet by their introducing and practiſing the prophane principles they did, of fornication and communicating with Idols, they denied the true God which bought that people for his peculiar. He calls them *ſpots*, *ver.* 13. from *Deut.* 32. 5. and parallels them with the old world, *Sodom*, *Balaam*, nay the very fallen Angels.

He ſets forth the deſtruction of that curſed Nation and their City in thoſe terms that *Chriſt* had done, *Matt.* 24. and that the Scripture doth elſewhere, *Deut.* 32. 22, 23. 24. *Jer.* 4. 23. namely as the deſtruction of the whole world, *The heavens paſſing away, the elements melting, and the earth burnt up*, &c. And accordingly he ſpeaks of *a new heaven and a new earth*, from *Iſa.* 65. 17. a new ſtate of the Church under the Goſpel among the Gentiles, when this old world of the Jews ſtate ſhould be diſſolved.

He citeth *Pauls Epiſtle to the Hebrews*, and giveth an honourable teſtimony to that, and to the reſt of his Epiſtles: but acknowledgeth that in ſome places they are hard to be underſtood, and were miſconſtrued by ſome unlearned and unſtable ones to their own ruine; yet neither doth he, nor *Paul* who was yet alive, and well knew of this wreſting of his Epiſtles, clear or amend thoſe difficulties, but let them alone as they were: for the holy Ghoſt hath ſo penned Scripture as to ſet men to ſtudy.

And here is the laſt that we hear in Scripture of this great Apoſtle *Peter*. His Martyrdom he apprehends to be near, and it was to be before *Jeruſalem* was deſtroyed, which was not now full four years to come. We may well conceive him to have been put to death by the Jews in *Babylonia* where he now was: a madneſs having come upon that Nation in all parts: and a ſingular raging againſt the Goſpel, the devil beſtirring himſelf in them, now he knew their time was ſo ſhort.

THE EPISTLE OF *JUDE.*

As the ſecond Epiſtle of *Peter* and this of *Jude* are very near akin, in ſtyle, matter and ſubject, ſo it is fairly conjecturable in them that they were not far removed in time, ſpeaking both of wicked ones and wickedneſs at the ſame height and ripeneſs. They are one to another as the Propheſie of *Obadiah*, and *Jerem.* 49. 14, *&c.* ſpeaking the ſame thing, uſing the ſame manner of arguing, and oftentimes almoſt the ſame words. It may be *Jude* ſtands up in his brother *James* his charge among the Circumciſion of *Judea*, and directs his Epiſtle to all thoſe that were *ſanctified and preſerved* in thoſe Apoſtatizing times, as his brother had done to all the twelve Tribes in general.

In citing the ſtory of *Michael the Archangel contending with the devil about the body of Moſes*, ver. 9. he doth but the ſame that *Paul* doth in naming *Jannes and Jambres*, namely alledge a ſtory which was current and owned among the Nation, though there were no ſuch thing in Scripture; and ſo he argueth with them from their own Authors and conceſſions. It is harſh to ſtrain *Zech.* 3. 1, 2. to ſpeak ſuch a ſtory; when neither the name *Michael* is mentioned, nor any thing like the body of *Moſes* or akin to it. But among the Talmudicks there ſeems to be ſomething like the relicks of ſuch a matter, *viz.* of *Michael* and the *Angel of death* diſputing or diſcourſing about fetching away the ſoul of *Moſes.*

His

His alledging the Propheſie of *Enoch*, is an arguing of the very like nature, as citing and referring to ſome known and common tradition that they had among them to this purpoſe. [The Book *Sepher Jeſher* an Hebrew Writer ſpeaketh of *Enoch* after ſuch a tenour.] And in both theſe he uſeth their own teſtimonies againſt themſelves: as if he ſhould thus have ſpoken at large: *Theſe men ſpeak evil of dignities*, whereas they have and own a ſtory for current, that even *Michael the Archangel* did not ſpeak evil of the devil, when he was ſtriving with him about the body of *Moſes*, &c. And whereas they ſhew and own a Propheſie of *Enoch*, of God coming in Judgment, *&c.* why theſe are the very men to whom ſuch a matter is to be applied, *&c.* It is no ſtrange thing in the New Teſtament, for *Chriſt* and the Apoſtles to deal and argue with the Jews upon their own conceſſions.

THE THREE EPISTLES OF *JOHN.*

Among all the Apoſtolick Epiſtles there is none about whoſe time of writing we are ſo far to ſeek as we are about theſe. And it is neither ſatisfactory to remove their place, nor is it ſatisfactory to take their time according to their place; or to conceive them to be written after the Epiſtles of *Peter*, becauſe they are placed after them. Any conjecture that is to be had of them may beſt be taken from the third Epiſtle.

Gaius, to whom that Epiſtle is directed, by that encomiaſtick character that *John* giveth of him, ſeemeth to be *Gaius the Corinthian, the hoſt of the whole Church, Rom.* 16. 23. for ſince he is commended for entertainment and charity both to the Church and ſtrangers, particularly to thoſe who had preached among the Gentiles, taking nothing of them, we know not where to find any other *Gaius* to whom to affix this character but only this, and we have no reaſon to look after any other. And upon this probability we may obſerve theſe other.

I. That that third Epiſtle was written when thoſe that preached to the Gentiles and took nothing of them, were ſtill abroad upon that imployment, for he urgeth him to bring them forward on their journey, *ver.* 6. Now under that expreſſion, of *taking nothing of the Gentiles*, we can underſtand none but *Paul* and *Barnabas* and thoſe that were of their ſeveral companies, for the Scripture hath named none other. And if it refer to *Paul* and his company [for we find not that *Barnabas* had any thing to do with *Gaius*] then we muſt conclude that it was written a good while before this time that we are upon: unleſs we will ſuppoſe *Paul* after his freedom from impriſonment at *Rome*, was got travelling and preaching in thoſe parts again. But I ſhould rather ſuppoſe that *John* ſent this third Epiſtle to *Gaius* to *Corinth*, by *Timothy* from *Epheſus*, who was ſetting away thence for *Rome*, upon *Pauls* ſending for him to come to him thither, 2 *Tim.* 4. 9, 11, 21. In which journey as we have ſhewed before, he was to call at *Corinth*, and to take *Mark* along with him, who was there. And of them may *Johns* advice to *Gaius* be well underſtood, *Whom if thou bring forward on their journey thou ſhalt do well: For for his ſake they went out taking nothing of the Gentiles*; *Mark* with *Barnabas*, and *Timothy* with *Paul.*

II. Before *John* wrote this Epiſtle to *Gaius*, he had written another Epiſtle, to ſome Church, it may be that of *Corinth*, of which *Gaius* was. *I wrote*, ſaith he, *unto the Church, but Diotrephes who loveth to have the preeminence, receiveth us not.* This muſt needs be underſtood of *The firſt Epiſtle of John:* unleſs we will conceive, *unwarrantably* [that I may ſay no worſe,] that any of *Johns* writings are loſt.

III. Upon and with the forementioned ſuppoſal that *John* ſent his Epiſtle to *Gaius* by *Timothy* from *Epheſus*; we cannot but alſo ſuppoſe that *John* ſpent ſome time in the *Aſian* Churches, to which afterward from *Patmos* he writes his Epiſtles: And if any one be not ſatisfied with that interpretation that was given before, about *the Epiſtle from Laodicea*, Coloſ. 4. 16. let him rather underſtand it of *The firſt Epiſtle of John* as written by him from *Laodicea*, then think it was an Epiſtle written by *Paul* from *Laodicea*, and that that Epiſtle is loſt: In both his later Epiſtles he intimateth his hopes and purpoſe ſhortly to come to them: from which we may conſtrue that his intention was to travel from *Aſia* the leſs where he now was, and from whence he wrote all his three Epiſtles weſtward into *Greece*, and in this journey you have him got into *Patmos*, Rev. 1. from whence he writes back to *Aſia* again.

In all his Epiſtles he exhorteth to love, and conſtancy in the truth, a leſſon moſt needful in thoſe divided and Apoſtatizing times. He giveth notice of many *Antichriſts* now abroad, and theſe he ſheweth to have been ſuch as had once profeſſed the truth, but were apoſtatized from it: *They went out from us, but they were not of us*, &c. And this Apoſtacy he calleth *The ſin unto death.* To ſuch he adviſeth they ſhould not ſo much as ſay *God ſpeed:* אישר in their vulgar language. Jeruſ. Taamith fol. 64. col. 2. *The Rabbins ſaw a holy man of Caphar Immi, and went to him and ſaid* אישר *God ſpeed, But he anſwered them nothing.* Id. in Sheviith fol. 35. 2. & 36. 1. *R. Chinna bar Papa & R. Samuel bar*

bar Nachman, went by a man that was plowing on the ſeventh year [the year of releaſe,] *R. Samuel ſaith to him* אישר *God ſpeed. R. Chinna ſaith, Our maſter did not teach us thus: for it is forbidden to ſay God ſpeed, to one that is plowing on the ſeventh year.*

John ſtileth himſelf *an Elder*, and ſo doth *Peter*, 1 Pet. 5. 1. not as laying aſide their Apoſtolical power, but as dealing with thoſe to whom they write in a Miniſterial way: and by this very title that they aſſume to themſelves, they cloſely intimate that thenceforward the extraordinary Function and gifts Apoſtolick muſt not be expected, but the Miniſterial, in the ordinary way of Elders or Miniſters, as the title had been long and vulgarly known. And yet when he ſpeaks of *Diotrephes* and his abuſiveneſs, he then threatens to ſhew his Apoſtolick power, and himſelf *A Son of thunder* againſt him.

THE REVELATION OF JOHN.

AS it will be eaſily admitted to place this Book laſt of all the New Teſtament, becauſe it ſtands ſo in all Bibles, ſo on the other hand it will be cavilled at, that I have brought in the writing of it ſo ſoon, as before the fall of *Jeruſalem*, ſince it hath been of old and commonly held, that it was penned in the reign of *Domitian*, far after theſe times that we are upon: But the reaſons by which I have been induced thereunto, will appear out of ſome paſſages in the Book it ſelf as we go through it.

As God revealed to *Daniel the man greatly beloved*, the ſtate of his people, and the Monarchies that afflicted them, from his own time, till the coming of *Chriſt*; ſo doth *Chriſt* to *John the beloved Diſciple*, the ſtate of the Church, and ſtory in brief of her chief afflicters, from thence to the end of the world. So that *where Daniel ends the Revelation begins*, and *John* hath nothing to do with any of the four Monarchies that he ſpeaketh of, but deals with a fifth [the *Roman*] that roſe as it were out of the aſhes of thoſe four, and ſwallowed them all up.

The compoſure of the Book is much like *Daniels* in this, that it repeats one ſtory over and over again, in varied and inlarged expreſſions: and exceeding like *Ezekiel's* in method and things ſpoken. The ſtyle is very Prophetical, as to the things ſpoken; and very Hebraizing, as to the ſpeaking of them. Exceeding much of the old Prophets language, and matter adduced to intimate new ſtories: and exceeding much of the Jews language, and alluſion to their cuſtoms and opinions, thereby to ſpeak the things more familiarly to be underſtood. And as *Ezekiel* wrote concerning the ruine of *Jeruſalem*, when the ruining of it was now begun, ſo I ſuppoſe doth *John* of the final deſtruction of it, when the Wars and miſeries were now begun, which bred its deſtructions.

REVEL. Chap. I, II, III.

THE three firſt Chapters refer to that preſent time when *John* wrote: and they contain the ſtory of his obtaining this *Revelation*, and of the condition of the ſeven Churches of *Aſia* at that time: declared in the Epiſtles directed to them.

John travelling in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel up and down from *Aſia* Weſtward, cometh into *the Iſle Patmos*, in the *Icarian* Sea [*Vid.* Strab. *lib.* 10.] an Iſland about thirty miles compaſs [*Plin. lib.* 4. *cap.* 12.] and there on the *Lords day* he hath theſe viſions, and an Angel interprets to him all he ſaw.

He ſeeth *Chriſt* clothed like a Prieſt, ποδήρη, *ver.*13. [See the LXX in *Exod.* 28. 4.] and girded over the paps, as the Prieſts uſed to be, with the curious girdle. His appearance full of Majeſty and glorioufneſs, deſcribed in the terms of *Daniel*, *Chap.* 7. 9. & 10. 5, 6. Amongſt other his Divine titles he is called *Alpha and Omega*, terms ordinarily uſed by the Jews [only uttered in their Hebrew Tongue] to ſignifie *the beginning and the end*, or *the firſt and the laſt*. Midr. Tillin. fol. 47. 2. *Abraham and Sarah performed all the Law from Aleph to Tau.* Marg. tripl. targ. in *Deut.* 18. 13. *He that walks in integrity is as if he performed all the Law from Aleph to Tau.*

He directs Epiſtles to be ſent to *the ſeven Churches of Aſia:* who are *golden* Candleſticks though very full of corruptions [it is not a ſmall thing that unchurches a Church] and inſcribed to *the Angels of the Churches:* This phraſe tranſlates שליח עבור *Shelichh Tſibbur*, the title of the Miniſter in every Synagogue, who took care for the publick reading and expounding of the Law and Prophets: And theſe Epiſtles are ſent accordingly to the Miniſters of the ſeveral Churches, that they might be read openly in their Congregations.

There are ſeven ſeveral Epiſtles to the ſeveral Churches, dictated immediately and ſent by *Chriſt*, and another general one from *John* to them all, in which he ſhews the warrant and way of writing thoſe ſeven.

He terms *the Holy Ghoſt*, *the ſeven Spirits*, according to the Jews common ſpeech, who from *Iſa.* 11. 2. ſpeak much of *the ſeven Spirits of Meſſias:* and ſpeaking of Chriſts *coming with clouds*, Chap. 1. 7. from *Dan.* 7. 13. and from the words of *Chriſt* himſelf, *Matth.* 24. 30. He at once teacheth that he takes at *Daniel*, and ſpeaks of *Chriſts* coming and reigning, when the four Monarchies were deſtroyed, and eſpecially referreth to the firſt moſt viſible evidence of his power and dominion, in coming to deſtroy his enemies the Jewiſh Nation, and their City. And here is one reaſon that induceth me to ſuppoſe this Book written, before that City was deſtroyed.

Coming to read the preſent condition of theſe *Aſian* Churches in the Epiſtles written to them, we may pertinently think of that ſaying of *Paul*, 2 Tim. 1. 15. *This thou knoweſt that all they that are in Aſia are turned from me:* A great Apoſtacy: of which there is too much evidence in theſe Churches, as alſo mention of ſome ſad fruits of it, and means and inſtruments inducing to it. As 1. unbelieving Jews which the Holy Ghoſt all along calls *A Synagogue of Satan:* with theſe the Church of *Smyrna* was peſtered, and more eſpecially *Pergamus*, where their miſchievouſneſs is ſtiled the very throne or *ſeat of Satan:* and where they had murdered *Antipas* a faithful Martyr already. 2. Falſe Apoſtles and ſeducers: ſome that pretended Apoſtolick power and commiſſion, and it may be coloured their pretences with Magical wonders, that they might act more Apoſtle like. Theſe the Church of *Epheſus* was troubled with, but had diſcovered their deluſions and found them liars. 3. Other ſeducers that, it may be, came not in the demonſtration of ſuch deviliſh power, but anſwered that by their horrid deviliſh doctrines, *the doctrines of the Nicolaitans*, which taught to eat things ſacrificed to Idols, and to commit fornication. In *Thyatire* a woman ſeducer, cried up this doctrine, a whore and witch, a *Jezabel:* wherefore ſhe and *her children*, that is, her Diſciples, are threatned to be deſtroyed by the plague: the vengeance upon the fornicators with *Baal Peor.*

REVEL CHAP. IV, V.

NOW cometh a ſecond viſion. That before was of *things then being*, ſee *Chap.* 1. 19. but this and forward of *things to come*, Chap. 4. 1. *A door open in Heaven, and the voice of a trumpet talking with John* out of it.

The ſcene of *Johns* viſions ſaid to be *in Heaven*, is according to the ſcheme of *the Temple* and the Divine glory there. And hence you have mention of the Altar, Candleſticks, Sea of Glaſs [the brazen laver made of the Womens looking Glaſſes] the Ark of the Covenant, and the like. And as at the opening of the Temple doors, a Trumpet ſounded, ſo is the alluſion here. The door in Heaven opened, and a Trumpet calls *John* to come in and ſee what there. *And immediately he was in the Spirit*, ver. 2. Why? Was he not in the Spirit before? *Chap.* 1. 10. and was he not in the Spirit, in ſeeing the door in Heaven opened? *&c.* But we may obſerve a double degree in rapture: as inſpired men may be conſidered under a double notion: *viz.* Thoſe that were inſpired with Propheſie or to be Prophets and to preach, and thoſe that were inſpired to be Penmen of Divine Writ, which was higher. *John* hath both inſpirations or revelations to both ends, both

both in the Viſion before, and this: then he was in the Spirit and ſaw the viſion, and was in the Spirit and inſpired to pen what he ſaw, and what to be ſent to the Churches. And in the firſt verſe of this Chapter he is in the Spirit or hath a revelation, and in *ver.* 2. he is in the Spirit, he is inſpired ſo as to take impreſſion and remembrance of theſe things to write them alſo.

He ſeeth *Chriſt* inthroned in the middle of his Church, in the ſame Prophetick and viſionary Embleme that *Ezekiel* had ſeen, *Ezek.* 1. & 10. and this is a commentary and fulfilling of that ſcene that *Daniel* ſpeaketh of, *Dan.* 7. 9, 10, 22. In *Ezekiel*, the Lord, when *Jeruſalem* was now to be deſtroyed, and the glory of the Lord that uſed to be there, and the people were to flit into another Land, appeareth ſo inthroned, as ſitting in Judgment and ſlitting away by degrees to another place: as compare *Ezek.* 1. & 10. well together. So *Chriſt* here; when the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* was now near at hand, and his glory and preſence to remove from that Nation, now given up to unbelief and obduration, to reſide among the Gentiles, he is ſeated upon his throne as Judge and King with glorious attendance, to judge that Nation for their ſins and unbelief, and ſtating the affairs of his Church whither his glory was now removing.

The ſcheme is platformed according to the model of *Iſraels* Camp. 1. The Tabernacle was in the middle there, ſo is the throne here. 2. There the four ſquadrons of the Camp of *Levi* next the Tabernacle, ſo here the four living creatures. 3. Then the whole Camp of *Iſrael*, ſo here twenty four Elders Repreſentatives of the whole Church, built from twelve Tribes and twelve Apoſtles.

In the hand of him that ſate on the Throne was a Book ſealed which no creature could open. This juſtly calls us back to *Dan.* 12. *ver.* 4. *Where words are ſhut up and a Book ſealed unto the time of the end:* and now that that is near drawing on, the Book is here opened.

REVEL. CHAP. VI.

THE opening of the ſix Seals in this Chapter, ſpeaks the ruine and rejection of the Jewiſh Nation, and the deſolation of their City; which is now very near at hand.

The firſt Seal opened, *ver.* 2. ſhews *Chriſt* ſetting forth in Battel array and avengement againſt them, as *Pſal.* 45. 4, 5. And this the New Teſtament ſpeaketh very much and very highly of, one while calling it *his coming in clouds*, another while his *coming in his Kingdom*, and ſometime his *coming in Power and great Glory*, and the like. Becauſe his plagueing and deſtroying of the Nation that crucified him, that ſo much oppoſed and wrought miſchief againſt the Goſpel, was the firſt evidence that he gave in ſight of all the world of his being *Chriſt:* for till then, he and his Goſpel had been in humility, as I may ſay, as to the eyes of men, he perſecuted whileſt he was on Earth, and they perſecuted after him, and no courſe taken with them that ſo uſed both, but now he awakes, ſhews himſelf, and makes himſelf known by the Judgement that he executeth.

The three next Seals opening, ſhew the means by which he did deſtroy, namely thoſe three ſad plagues that had been threatned ſo oft and ſo ſore by the Prophets, *Sword, Famine and Peſtilence.* For

The ſecond Seal opened ſends out one upon a red Horſe to take Peace from the Earth, and that men ſhould deſtroy one another; he carried *a great Sword*, *ver.* 4.

The third Seals opening ſpeaks of *Famine*, when Corn for ſcarcity ſhould be weighed like ſpicery in a pair of ballances, *ver.* 5, 6.

The fourth Seal ſends out one on a pale Horſe whoſe name was *Death* [the Chaldee very often expreſſeth the *Plague* or *Peſtilence* by that word מותא: and ſo it is to be taken *Revel.* 2. 22.] and Hell or *Hades* comes after him, *ver.* 8.

The opening of the fifth Seal reveals a main cauſe of the vengeance, namely the blood of the Saints which had been ſhed, crying, and which was to be required of that generation, *Matth.* 23. 35, 36. Theſe ſouls are ſaid to cry from under the Altar, either in alluſion to the blood of creatures ſacrificed, poured at the foot of the Altar, or according to the Jews tenet, That *all juſt ſouls departed are under the Throne of Glory.* Anſwer to their cry is given, that the number of their Brethren that were to be ſlain was not yet fulfilled, and they muſt reſt till that ſhould be, and then avengement in their behalf ſhould come. This ſpeaks ſutable to that which we obſerved lately, that now times were begun of bitter perſecution, an hour of temptation, *Rev.* 2. 10. & 3. 10. the Jews and Devil raging, till the Lord ſhould ſomething cool that fury by the ruine of that people.

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The opening of the ſixth Seal, *ver.* 12, 13. ſhews the deſtruction it ſelf in thoſe borrowed terms that the Scripture uſeth to expreſs it by, namely as if it were the deſtruction of the whole world: as *Matth.*24.29,30. The Sun darkned, the Stars falling, the Heaven departing and the Earth diſſolved, and that concluſion *ver.* 16. *They ſhall ſay to the rocks fall on us*, &c. doth not only warrant, but even inforce us to underſtand and conſtrue theſe things in the ſenſe that we do: for Chriſt applies theſe very words to the very ſame thing, *Luke* 23. 30. And here is another, and, to me, a very ſatisfactory reaſon, why to place the ſhewing of theſe viſions to *John*, and his writing of this Book before the deſolation of *Jeruſalem*.

REVEL. CHAP. VII.

IN the end of the former Chapter was contained the intimation of the deſolation of *Jeruſalem*, and in the beginning of this, the ceaſing of Propheſie, under the ſimilitude of the four winds reſtrained from blowing upon the Earth. Compare *Cant.* 4. 16. *Ezek.*37.9. only a remnant of *Iſrael* are ſealed unto ſalvation, and not to periſh by that reſtraint, and with them innumerable Gentiles. *Ezekiel* helpeth here to confirm the explication that we have given of the Chapter before: for he hath the very like paſſage, upon the firſt deſtruction of the City, *Ezek.* 9. & 10. 11. Compare the marking in the foreheads here, with *Exod.*28.38. *Dan* not mentioned among the Tribes in this place: Idolatry firſt began in that Tribe, *Judg.*18, 1 *King.*12.

REVEL. CHAP. VIII.

THE opening of the ſeventh Seal lands us upon a new ſcene: as a new world began when *Jeruſalem* was deſtroyed and the Jews caſt off. The ſix Seals in the two former Chapters, have ſhewed their ruine, and the appearing of the Church of the Gentiles, and now the ſeven Trumpets under the ſeventh Seal give us a proſpect in general of the times thence forward to the end of all things. I ſay *in general*, for from the beginning of the twelfth Chapter and forward to the end of the nineteenth they are handled more particularly.

Silence in Heaven for a while, and ſeven Angels with ſeven Trumpets may call our thoughts to *Joſhua* 6. 4, 10. and intimate that the Prophetick ſtory is now entred upon a new *Canaan*, or a new ſtage of the Church, as that buſineſs at *Jericho* was at *Iſraels* firſt entring on the old: Or it may very properly be looked upon as referring and alluding to the carriage of things at the Temple, ſince this Book doth repreſent things ſo much according to the ſcheme and ſcene of the Temple all along.

And in this very place there is mention of the Altar and Incenſe and Trumpets, which were all Temple appurtenances. It was therefore the cuſtom at the Temple that when the Prieſt went in to the Holy place, the people drew downward from the Porch of the Temple, and there was a ſilence whileſt he was there, [yea though the people were then praying] incomparably beyond what there was at other times of the ſervice, for the Prieſts were blowing with Trumpets or the Levites ſinging: The alluſion then here is plain. When the ſacrifice was laid on the Altar, a Prieſt took coals from the Altar, went in to the Holy place, and offered incenſe upon the Golden Altar that ſtood before the vail, that was before the Ark, and this being done, the Trumpets ſounded over the ſacrifice. Here then is firſt intimation of *Chriſts* being offered upon the Altar; then his going into the Holy place as Mediator for his people: and then the Trumpets ſounding and declaring his diſpoſals in the world. His taking fire off the Altar and caſting it upon the Earth, *ver.* 5. is a thing not uſed at the Temple, but ſpoken from *Ezek.* 10. 2. which betokeneth the ſending of judgment, which the Trumpets ſpeak out.

Theſe ſeven Trumpets, and the ſeven Vials in *Chap.*16. in many things run very parallel, how far they Synchronize, will be beſt conſidered when we come there.

The firſt Trumpet ſounding, brings hail and fire and blood upon the Earth, and deſtroys graſs and trees a third part of them. *Fire and hail was the plague of Egypt*, Exod. 9.23. but *fire and blood*, with hail, is a new plague. By theſe ſeemeth to be intimated what plagues ſhould be brought upon the world, by fire, ſword, dreadful tempeſt, unnatural ſeaſons and the like.

The ſecond Trumpet ſounds, and a great burning mountain is caſt into the Sea, and the third part of it becomes blood. *The Sea* in the Prophetick language, doth ſignifie multitudes of people: as *Jerem.* 51. 36. 42. And *Babylon* that was Monarch was *a burning mountain* in the ſame Chapter, *ver.* 35. So that the Imperial power ſeemeth to be the mountain here; which made bloody and miſchievous work, not only by the perſecution of *Chriſtians*, but even among their own people. As *Nero* at preſent, *Vitellius* inſtantly after, *Domitian*, *Commodus*, and indeed generally all of them either bloodily deſtroy

their own people, or at leaſt for their covetouſneſs, ambition, revenge or humour, bring diſquietneſs, oppreſſion, miſery, Wars and Blood, upon all the World, in one place or other.

The third Trumpet, brings the Star *Wormwood* upon the Rivers and Fountains of waters, which ſeemeth to denote the grievous Hereſies that ſhould be in the Church, which ſhould corrupt and imbitter the pure ſprings of the Scripture and fountains of Truth. *A Star* in the language of this Book is a Church-man, *Chap.* 1.20. [*Ben Cochab* was ſuch a *Wormwood Star* among the Jews, called moſt properly *Ben cozba the lier.*] And the phraſe, *A Star falling from Heaven*, alludes to *Iſa.* 14. 12. *How art thou fallen from Heaven O Lucifer!* &c.

The fourth Trumpet ſhews the darkning of the Sun and Moon and Stars for a third part.

By which ſeems to be underſtood the wane and decay, both in the glory of the Church, by ſuperſtition, and of the Empire, by its diviſions within, and enemies from without, and this before the riſing of the Papacy, which appears under the next Trumpet: and theſe things were great advantages to its riſing. The darkning of the heavenly luminaries in the Prophets language ſignifieth the eclipſing of the glory and proſperity of a Kingdom or People, *Iſa.*13.9,10. *Joel* 2.10. How it was with the Church and Empire in theſe reſpects, before that time that the Papacy appeared, he is a ſtranger to Hiſtory, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, that remembreth not upon this very hint.

The three Trumpets coming are the Trumpets of *Wo, wo, wo:* though theſe things paſt were very woful; but thoſe much more that are to come.

REVEL. CHAP. IX.

A Decription of the Papacy under the fifth Trumpet. Another Star falling from Heaven, and that a notable one indeed, the *He* that hath *the Key of the bottomleſs pit* committed to him. A vaſt difference from the Keys given *Peter*, *The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven:* The ſetting of theſe in their juſt diſtance and oppoſition will illuſtrate the matter before us. When the world is to come out of darkneſs and Heatheniſm to the knowledge of the Goſpel, *Chriſt* gives *Peter the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*, to open the door and let light come in among them: for he firſt preached to the Gentiles, *Act.* 10. & 15.7. The World under the Papacy returns, as it were, to Heatheniſm again [and not undeſervedly for its contempt of the Goſpel and unproficiency under it] which is very fitly deſcribed by Hell opened, by the Keys of the bottomleſs pit, and darkneſs coming and clouding all. The *Claviger* or Turnkey is *The child of perdition, Abaddon and Apollyon*, a deſtroyer and one that is ſurely and ſorely to be deſtroyed. *Chittim* [*Italy* or *Rome*] *afflicting and periſhing for ever*, Num.24.24. *Antichriſt* of the ſecond edition, much augmented and inlarged. The Jews the firſt, as we obſerved at the ſecond Epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians*, and this the ſecond, *Antichriſt* at his full ſtature. It is true indeed that *Rome* Heathen is one part of him, but obſerve how little a part reputed in compariſon of *Rome* Papiſh, *the Star fallen from Heaven.* So that though that did woful things, yet you ſee the *firſt wo* is fixed here.

The way of his bringing wo upon the Earth, is by filling the World with ſmoke and darkneſs of ignorance and humane traditions and inventions: and out of this ſmoke come his locuſts, of his votary orders. The locuſts deſcribed much like thoſe in *Joel* 1. for their terror and deſtroying: only their having the faces of men ſpeaks them men-caterpillers: and their *Nazarite*-like hair long as the hair of women, ſpeaks them votaries; or ſuch as take on them vowed Religion. Their trading is not with graſs or the green things of the Earth as other Locuſts do, but with Men, and they are Locuſts in name, but Scorpions in action, wounding with the ſting of their tails [the teacher of lies is the tail, *Iſa.*9.15.] but not killing: leaving men indeed in a Religion and a profeſſion of *Chriſt*, but no better then a venomed and dying one. The time of their tormenting is five months, the time of Locuſts ravening ordinarily, from the ſpring well ſhot forth, to harveſt.

This is the firſt wo.

Theſe Locuſts ſtings, mind me of a ſtory or two in the *Roman* Hiſtory: which let me mention here, though I cannot apply them hither. *Dion*, in his ſtory of the life of *Domitian* ſaith thus, *About that time divers began to prick many whom they pleaſed, with poyſoned needles, whereof many died, hardly feeling what was done to them. And this was practiſed not only at Rome, but almoſt through all the world.*

And again in the life of *Commodus*. *About that time*, ſaith he, *there was ſo great a mortality, that oft times there died two thouſand in Rome in one day. And many, not only in the City, but alſo through the whole Roman Empire, were killed by miſchievous men, who poyſoning needles pricked others with them: as alſo it had been in Domitians time, and ſo innumerable people died by this means. But there was no greater plague then Commodus himſelf*, &c.

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The ſounding of the ſixth Trumpet begins another wo. Four Angels looſed, which were bound in *Euphrates*, and come with a terrible Army, and horſes breathing fire and ſmoke and brimſtone, and having ſtings in their tails, *&c.* The *Turks* and *Mahumetans* coming as a plague upon the Eaſtern part of the World, as the *Papacy* on the Weſtern. Theſe hurt with their tails [falſe doctrine] as well as the other did in the former Trumpet: but theſe have alſo heads in their tails, which the other had not, for theſe hold out another Head and Saviour, *Mahomet.*

REVEL. CHAP. X.

A Little Book in the hand of *Chriſt*, ſpeaketh the reſtoring of Religion, and Truth, after all the darkneſs and confuſions mentioned before. The words in *ver.* 6, 7. do help to ſtate the intent of this Viſion. *He ſware by him that liveth for ever, that there ſhould be delay of time no longer, but in the days of the ſeventh Trumpet the myſtery of God ſhould be fulfilled. The myſtery of God* is his gathering in of his Elect, more eſpecially of the Gentiles, *Rom.* 16. 25, 26. *Epheſ.* 3. 5, 6. and hitherto there had been great hinderance by *Rome* Heathen, by Hereſies, *Papacy*, *Turciſm*, but at laſt *Chriſt* ſwears, that there ſhould be *no more delay*: the word χρόνος muſt be taken ſo here: and not unconſonant to the ſignification of the word, and very conſonant to the context, and to the place from whence this verſe is taken: That is *Dan.* 12. 7. where the Angel is brought in ſwearing, as here, that the trouble of *Antiochus* and his perſecution and hindrance ſhould be ſo long, and there ſhould be no delay further, but there ſhould be a reſtoring. That place laid to this, and *Antiochus* looked upon as a figure of *Antichriſt*, the conſtruction of this place is eaſie. Only the great Angel would have the ſpeech of the ſeven thunders, which refer to theſe times, to be concealed. The Propheſie in general intimates the reſtoring of the Goſpel in theſe later times, which is handled in the next Chapter, but very generally, and very briefly. *Johns* eating of the little Book, as *Ezek.* 2. 8. and the words to him, *Thou muſt Propheſie again before many People and Nations and Tongues and Kings*, do not ſo much infer *Johns* going abroad after this to preach to many Nations himſelf, as it doth the progreſs of the truth that he preached, through Nations and People, which had been ſuppreſt ſo long: aiming at theſe times when the Goſpel laſt broke out from under *Popery.* The paſſage is parallel to the laſt words in the Book of *Daniel*, *Go thy way till the end be, for thou ſhalt reſt, and ſtand in the lot, at the end of days.* Not that *Daniel* ſhould live till the end of thoſe miſeries by *Antiochus*, but that his doctrine, and the truth ſhould ſtand up and be reſtored in thoſe times. The phraſe is ſuch another as when *Chriſt* telleth his Diſciples that they ſhould ſit on twelve Thrones judging the twelve Tribes of *Iſrael*, which is not meant of their perſonal ſitting to judge, but that their doctrine ſhould judge and condemn that unbelieving Nation.

REVEL. CHAP. XI.

THE Viſion of this Chapter is in order to the accompliſhing of the *myſtery of God*, which was ſpoken of *Chap.* 10. 7. As *Ezekiels* meaſuring of a new Temple, ſhewed the reſtoring of Religion and of the Lords people, and foretold of the new *Jeruſalem* and calling of the Gentiles: To the ſame purpoſe is the meaſuring of the Temple here. The Church was under the myſtical *Babylon*, Chap. 9. as the Jews were under the Eaſtern, when *Ezekiel* wrote thoſe things; now as that deſcription of the meaſures of the Temple, was a prediction and pledge of their coming forth, ſo this ſpeaketh to the ſame tenor. *John* is commanded to leave the Court which is without the Temple, forth, and not to meaſure it, *Becauſe it was given to the Gentiles, and they ſhould tread the holy City fourty and two moneths.* Not in an hoſtile way, but as the flock of the Lord tread his Courts, there worſhipping him: as ſee the phraſe, *Iſa.* 1. 12. *Pſal.* 122. 2. and the meaning ſeemeth to be this; *Meaſure not the Court of the Gentiles, for their multitudes that come to attend upon the Lord ſhall be boundleſs and numberleſs.*

The *two and forty moneths*: and a *thouſand two hundred and ſixty days*, ver. 3. and *Chap.* 12. 6. *and a time and times and half a time*, Chap. 12. 14. are but borrowed phraſes from *Daniel*: who ſo expreſſeth *the 3 years and an half of Antiochus his perſecution*, and treading down Religion, *Dan.* 7. 25. & 12. 7, 11. and they mean times of trouble, and are uſed to expreſs that, but not any fixed time. The Jews themſelves have learned to make the ſame conſtruction of it, when they ſay *Adrianus beſieged Bitter three years and an half*, Jeruſ. Taanith fol. 68. col. 4. And this alſo [that comfort might ſtand up againſt miſery] was the time of our Saviours Miniſtry, when he reſtored decaied and ruined Religion, in ſo happy a manner, *Dan.* 9. 27. And this the Jews alſo have obſerved in that ſaying we have mentioned before, *The divine glory ſhall ſtand upon mount Olivet three years and an half, and ſhall preach*, &c. So that according to this interpretation of the numbers,

the things they are applied unto are facil. The Gentiles ſhall tread the Lords Courts fourty two months, and the two Witneſſes ſhall Propheſie a thouſand two hundred and ſixty days clothed in ſackcloth: Meaning that the Gentiles ſhall worſhip God and attend upon him in a Goſpel Miniſtry [and for that, alluſion is made to the ſpace of time that *Chriſt* adminiſtred the Goſpel] but this miniſtring and attending ſhall not be without perſecution and trouble [and for intimation of that, alluſion is made to the bitter times of *Antiochus*.]

Two witneſſes, is a phraſe taken from the Law. [*In the mouth of two or of three witneſſes every word ſhall ſtand*] and it means all that ſhould bear witneſs to the truth in the times ſpoken of. But more eſpecially the Miniſtry, which is charactered by the picture of *Moſes and Elias*, the two great Reformers in their ſeveral times: the former, the firſt Miniſter of the Jews, the later of the Gentiles. Theſe are *two Olive trees* [See *Zech.* 4. 3. *Rom.* 11. 17, 24.] and *two Candleſticks* [See *Chap.* 1.20.] gracious in themſelves, and having light, and holding it out to others. They muſt finiſh and accompliſh their work that they had to do, and then be overcome by Antichriſt and ſlain.

Their caſe is clearly paralleled with *Chriſt* their Maſters; by comparing it with which, it is beſt underſtood: He preached three years and ſix months in trouble and ſorrow, ſo they in ſackcloth: He having finiſhed his Miniſtry was ſlain, ſo they. He revived and aſcended, ſo they likewiſe. Now this that eſpecially ſtates the caſe, and the counting of the progreſs of proceedings intended here, is this: That as *Chriſt* laid the foundation of the Goſpel, and when he having finiſhed his Miniſtry was ſlain, riſen and aſcended, the Goſpel was not extinct with him, but increaſed more and more by the Miniſtry that followed after: So ſeems this that alludes thereunto to be underſtood: As, that the two Witneſſes ſhould mean the firſt Miniſtry, and bearing witneſs to the truth at the firſt breaking of it out of Popery, which was followed with horrid perſecutions and multitudes of Martyrdoms: but theſe firſt Witneſſes having ſo done their Teſtimony, and vaſt numbers of them having ſealed it with their blood, and being gone to Heaven, yet the Goſpel increaſed and ſhook down a part of *Rome* even at theſe firſt beginnings.

Their dead bodies muſt be caſt in the ſtreets of the great City where our Lord was crucified. The term *The great City* reſolves that *Rome* is meant, if there were no other evidence: which ſee explained, *Chap.* 17.18. And by her power and ſentence our Lord was crucified, and for a quarrel of hers, being accuſed and condemned by *Pilate* as a Traytor to the *Roman* power, for ſaying he was a King. This is the rather mentioned, now there is ſpeech of *Romes* laſt bloodineſs againſt *Chriſts* Witneſſes: that it might be ſhewed that it perſevered the ſame, to his, that it had been to him, and that to the laſt, and that theſe Witneſſes drunk but of the ſame cup that their Maſter had drunk before them.

She is called ſpiritually [דרך משל as the Jews ſpeak] *Sodom and Egypt: Sodom* for filthineſs: and *Egypt* for Idolatry and mercileſneſs. Never did place under Heaven wallow in fleſhly filthineſs, and particularly in the Sodomitick beſtiality, as *Rome* did about thoſe times that *John* wrote: and how little it hath been mended under the Papacy there are Records plain enough that ſpeak to her ſhame. He that reads *Martial* and *Juvenal* [to name no more] may ſtand and wonder that men ſhould become ſuch beaſts: and it had been better that thoſe Books had been for ever ſmothered in obſcurity then that they ſhould have come to light, were it not only for this, that they and others of the like ſtamp, do give that place her due character, and help us the better to underſtand her deſcription. It is obſervable what *Paul* ſaith, *Rom.* 11. 21, 22, 23, 24. that becauſe the Heathen had brutiſh conceptions concerning God, abaſing him, he gave them over to brutiſh abaſing their own bodies by beſtiality, or indeed by what was above beſtial. And ſo he ſhews plainly, that Gods giving up men to ſuch filthineſs, eſpecially *Sodomy*, was a direct plague for their Idolatrous conceptions of God, and their Idolatry. And to this purpoſe it may be obſerved that when the Holy Ghoſt hath given the ſtory of the worlds becoming Heatheniſh at *Babel* for and by Idolatry, *Gen.* 11. he is not long before he brings in mention of this ſin among the Heathen, and fearful vengeance upon it, *Gen.* 19. Apply this matter to the caſe of *Rome* and it may be of good information.

The caſting their dead bodies in the ſtreets, ſpeaks the higher ſpite and deteſtation againſt them: and in this particular they are deſcribed different from their Maſter. And as they had propheſied three years and an half, ſo they lay unburied three days and an half: till there was no apparent poſſibility of their recovery. But they revive and go to Heaven: and a tenth part of the City falls by an Earthquake, and ſeven thouſand periſh: but the reſt of that part of the City that fell, who periſhed not, gave glory to God. Nine parts of the City left ſtanding ſtill: whoſe ruine is working ſtill from henceforward, by the Goſpel that theſe Witneſſes had ſet on foot: which brings in the Kingdoms to become the Kingdoms of Chriſt, *&c.*

REVEL CHAP. XII.

AS *Daniel*, Chap.2. giveth a general view of the times, from his own days, to the coming of *Chriſt*, in the mention of the four Monarchies [in the four parts of *Nebuchadnezzers* Viſionary Image] which ſhould run their date and decay, and come to nothing, before his coming: and then in *Chap.*7. handles the very ſame thing again in another kind of ſcheme, and ſomething plainer: And then in *Chap.*8. & 10. & 11. & 12. doth explain at large, and more particularly, ſome of the moſt material things that he had touched in thoſe generals: So doth our Apocalyptick here, and forward. He hath hitherto given a general ſurvey of the times from his own days to the end: and now he goes over ſome of the chief heads again with explanation.

And firſt he begins with the birth of *Chriſt*, and the Chriſtian Church: and the machination of the Devil to deſtroy both. The Church of the Jews bringeth forth her chief child, and the Devil ſeeketh to deſtroy him. He is pictured 1. *A great red Dragon.* Old *Pharaoh* who ſought to devour new born *Iſrael* is much of the like character, *Iſa.*27.7. *Pſal* 74.13, &c. 2. *With ſeven heads:* So many had the perſecuting Monarchies, *Dan.* 7. the Lion one, the Bear one, the Leopard four, and the fourth beaſt one. 3. *And ten horns*, Parallel to the *Syrogrecian* perſecutors, *Dan.*7.7, &c. 4. *With his tail he drew and caſt down the third part of the Stars:* As the Tyrant *Antiochus* had done, *Dan.* 8. 10. So that by theſe alluſive deſcriptions, phraſes of old ſtories fetched to expreſs new, is ſhewed the acting of the Devil now, by his miſchievous and tyrannical inſtruments, with as much bitterneſs and bloody-mindedneſs as he had done in thoſe. The womans fleeing into the Wilderneſs, alludes to *Iſraels* getting away into the Wilderneſs from the Dragon *Pharaoh*, *Exod.* 14. &c. And her nouriſhing there a thouſand two hundred and ſixty days, ſpeaks *Chriſts* preſervation of that Church in the bittereſt danger and days, like the days of *Antiochus*. This Viſion aims at the great oppoſition and oppreſſion the Church and Goſpel underwent from the firſt riſing of it, to the ruine of *Jeruſalem:* and their preſervation in all that extremity.

The battel betwixt *Michael* and the *Dragon*, is of the ſame aim and time with the former; but it ſpeaks thus much further, that the Church is not only preſerved, but the Dragon conquered and caſt to the Earth. *Heaven* all along in this Book is the Church, the Earth therefore may be properly underſtood of the World, and here more eſpecially of that part of worldly ones, the unbelieving Jews; and that the rather, becauſe the Gentiles here are called *the Wilderneſs*, as they be alſo in ſeveral other places in Scripture. The Devil therefore is caſt out of the Church by the power of *Michael*, the Lord *Chriſt*, that he cannot neſtle there, and he goes into the reſt of the Nation that did not believe: much like the tenor of that parable, *Matth.* 12. 43, 44, 45. The Woman hath Eagles wings [alluding to *Exod.*19.4.] and gets into the Wilderneſs, the perſecuted Church and Goſpel gets among the Gentiles: The Devil caſts venom as a flood after the Woman-Church, and *the Earth ſwallows it up:* the unbelieving Jews do as it were drink up all the poyſon of the Devil, and together with raging againſt the Church they grow inraged one againſt another, and againſt the *Romans*, till they become their own deſtroyers. And indeed though it were a moſt bitter time with the Church while ſhe was among the combuſtions that that Nation had within it ſelf, yet their raging one againſt another the more it increaſed in their particular quarrels, the more it avenged her quarrel, and turned their edge from off her, upon themſelves. The Devil ſeeing this, betakes himſelf to fight againſt the Womans ſeed, the Church of the Gentiles: and the Treatiſe of that begins in the next Chapter.

REVEL. CHAP. XIII.

WHEN *Rome* hath ſlain *Chriſt*, and deſtroyed *Jeruſalem*, *Satan* gives up his Power and Throne to it; and that deſervedly, as to one moſt like to be his chief and moſt able agent to act his fury. She is deſcribed here, a Beaſt bearing the ſhape of all the four bloody Monarchies, *Dan.*7. in power and cruelty matching, nay incomparably exceeding them all. There is but little reaſon to take *Rome* for the fourth Monarchy in *Daniel*; and the ſo taking it, bringeth much disjointing and confuſion, into the interpreting of that Book and this, and into the ſtating of affairs and times ſpoken of in them. The Jews like ſuch a gloſs well, as whereby they do conclude, that the *Meſſias* is not yet come, becauſe the fourth Monarchy the *Romane*, ſay they, is not yet utterly deſtroyed. And truly I ſee not how they can conclude leſs, upon ſuch a conceſſion. For it is plain in *Daniel*, that the four Kingdoms there ſpoken of, muſt come to nothing before the firſt appearing of *Meſſias*; and that the *Romane* is not, is moſt plain, ſince this Book makes *Rome* Heathen and Papal but as one.

The

The Holy Ghoſt by *Daniel* ſhews the four Monarchies, the afflicters of the Church of the Jews till *Meſſias* his firſt coming, The *Babylonian*, The *Mede-Perſian*, The *Grecian*, and The *Syrogrecian*: and *John* now takes at him, and ſhews a fifth Monarchy the afflicter of the Church of Jews and Gentiles till his ſecond coming. *Daniel* indeed gives a hint of the *Romane*, but he clearly diſtinguiſheth him from the other four, when he calls him *the Prince that was to come*, *Dan.* 9. 26. beyond and after thoſe four that he had ſpoken of before. Him *John* deſcribes here, as carrying the character of all thoſe four. *A Beaſt with ten horns*, ſuch a one had been the *Syrogrecian*, Dan. 7.7 *like a Leopard*, as the *Grecian* was, *verſ.6. his feet as a Bears*, ſuch the *Perſian*, verſ. 5. *his mouth like a Lion*, ſuch the *Babylonian*, verſ. 4. This therefore could not be any of thoſe, when it was all: and by this deſcription of it by characters of them all, it ſhews the vaſt power and incomparable cruelty and oppreſſion of it equalling them all: nay it infinitely went beyond them put all together, in extent of Dominions, Power, Continuance and Cruelty, both to the Church and to the World: *Balaam* long before *Rome* was in being doth ſet it out for the great afflicter, *Numb.* 24. 24. *Ships ſhall come from the coaſts of Chittim, and ſhall afflict Aſſur, and ſhall afflict Eber:* That *Chittim* means *Italy* or *Rome*, is granted even by ſome *Romaniſts* themſelves, it is aſſerted by the Jews, and confirmed by other places of Scripture, and even proved by the very ſenſe and truth of that place. It afflicts both the afflicted and the afflicter *Eber* and *Aſſur:* and that hath been the garb of it ſince its firſt being. How may this be read in her own ſtories? In her bloody Conqueſts over all the world: in the titles of honour [but which ſpeak oppreſſion] *Britannicus*, *Germanicus*, *Africanus*, and the like? And to take up all in *Epitome*, and that you may conjecture *ex ungue Leonem*, what whole *Rome* hath done in all her time for ſlaughter, oppreſſion and deſtroying, take but the brief of one of her Commanders *Pompey the Great*; of whom *Pliny* ſpeaks to this purpoſe, Nat. Hiſt. *lib. 7. cap. 26. He recovered Sicily, ſubdued Africk: ſubjected eight hundred and ſeventy ſix Towns about the Alpes and coaſts of Spain: routed and ſlew* 2183000 *men. Sunk and took eight hundred and forty ſix Ships: took in one thouſand five hundred and thirty eight fortified places; and triumphed from his Conqueſt of Aſia, Pontus, Armenia, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Syria, Judea, Albania, Iberia, Creet and Baſterna.* What hath *Rome* done by all her agents in all her time? And ſhe is this year 1654, two thouſand four hundred and eight years old.

She is deſcribed here, *with ſeven heads and ten horns*, as the Dragon, whoſe deputed ſhe is, is pictured *Chap.* 12. 3. the horns crowned with power, and the heads with blaſphemies.

One of his heads had been wounded to death, but his deadly wound was healed: This ſeemeth to mean her Monarchical or Kingly power, which was extinguiſht with the *Tarquins*, but revived in the *Cæſars:* and hereby is given intimation from whence to account the beginning of this fifth Monarchy: namely from *Romes* beginning again to be Monarchical: and we may well take a hint of this from *Luke* 2. where at the birth of *Chriſt* all the world is taxed by *Cæſar Auguſtus*. Not that Monarchical Government is therefore the worſe becauſe thus abuſed by *Rome* Heathen, no more then Religion is the worſe for being abuſed by *Rome* Papal.

Another Beaſt ariſeth, like this for power and cruelty, but far beyond him in couſenage and deluſion. *Rome Heathen* dealt always openly and in down right terms of bloodineſs: profeſſedly ſetting it ſelf to deſtroy Religion: But *Rome Papal* is *a myſtery of iniquity:* it goes to work by deceiving, and carrying fair pretences: therefore it is ſaid that it ſpake as a Dragon, but had horns like a Lamb. It revives the Tyranny of *Rome* Heathen and Imperial, and none muſt thrive before it that will not bear its badge: either ſome mark, or its name, or the number of its name: which number was the number of a man, and his number is ſix hundred and ſixty ſix. In Hebrew numerals, *Sethur* the name of a man in *Numb.* 13.13. comes juſt to this number: and which being interpreted ſignifies *Hidden* or *Myſtery:* the very inſcription of *Rome* it ſelf, *Chap.* 17. 5. In Greek Λατεῖνος fits it, which is the old name of the *Roman*. And in Genealogical Arithmetick the number of *Adonikams* family ſuits with it, *Ezra* 5. 13. which mans name ſignifies, *A Lord riſing up.*

REVEL. CHAP. XIV.

THE warring 'twixt *Michael* and his Angels, and the Dragon and his Angels, and the Dragons making war with ſeed of the Woman, *Chap.* 12. receiveth illuſtration in the thirteenth Chapter, and in the beginning of this. For in *Chap.* 13. he reſigns his Power and Throne to the Beaſt *Rome*, and makes him chief leader in his Wars; and his Angels are men that receive his mark. Here the Lamb upon mount *Zion* is *Michael*, and his Angels and followers are marked with his Fathers Name in their foreheads as *Chap.* 7.

And now as in the eighth, ninth, tenth and eleventh Chapters the relation is concerning thoſe things that ſhould be againſt the Church, from henceforth the Propheſie is more eſpecially of things that make for the Church, and againſt her enemies. As 1. The preaching of the Goſpel to the Gentiles, *ver.* 6, 7. 2. The proclaiming of the ruin of the myſtical *Babylon:* proclaimed even from its firſt riſing up a perſecutor: as *Iſaiah* did Propheſie againſt the Eaſtern, even before its tyrannical being. 3. The Miniſtry of the Word giving caution, againſt joyning with the Beaſt and his Image, and the danger and damnation that ſhould follow upon joyning with him, and the torments deſcribed, *ver.*9, 10,11. Here the patience of the Saints tried, *ver.*12. and *John* by a voice from Heaven commanded to write them bleſſed that die in the Lord from thenceforth, *ver.* 13. at once ſhewing the bitterneſs of the perſecution cauſed by the Beaſt, that even death ſhould be deſirable to deliver the Saints from that trouble; and incouraging to ſtand out againſt the Beaſt and his Image even to the death.

Theſe bitter dealings againſt the Church, ripen the ſins of the world ready for cutting down: and thereupon *Chriſt* is deſcribed coming as againſt *Egypt*, *Iſa.*19.1. riding upon a cloud, and with a ſickle in his hand to reap the Earth. As *Joel* 3.13. betokening his vengeance againſt his enemies: So the Earth is reaped Harveſt and Vintage and all: This is a general intimation of Gods judgment and vengeance, which is more particularly handled in the pouring out of the Vials, *Chap.*16.

It is obſervable that the word for reaping of the Earth comes out from the Temple; yea though *Chriſt* have the ſickle in his hand, yet an Angel out of the Temple calls to him to reap: and another Angel comes out of the Temple with a ſickle, and a third out of the Temple calls to him to reap: As this may be underſtood to Doctrinal information, that the cries and urgencies of the Church to *Chriſt* ſtir him up to avenge them on their enemies, *Luke* 18.7. ſo the expreſſions may be explained by alluſive application. The putting in of the firſt ſickle, to reap the firſt corn in *Judea*, was by the word and warrant of the Prieſts and Rulers ſitting in the Temple, and they that were to reap, when they were come to the corn, put not in the ſickle, till the word was given, *Reap.* The manner and managing of this buſineſs, *viz.* the reaping of the firſt ſheaf is recorded and related by the Talmud: *Menachoth per.* 10. and in *Toſaphta. ibid. Theſe three men*, ſay they, *that were appointed by the Sanhedrin to reap, went out into the valley of Kidron, with a great company following them on the firſt day of the Paſſover week when now it grew towards evening, with three ſickles and three baskets. One when they came to the place ſaid to them, On this Sabbath, on this Sabbath, on this Sabbath, In this basket, in this basket, in this basket, With this ſickle, with this ſickle, with this ſickle, Reap: to whom the three anſwer, Well, well, well, I will reap. The other ſays, Reap then. Then they reap*, &c. Thus phraſes taken from known cuſtoms, do ſpeak the plainer.

And ſo is the expreſſion taken from common ſpeech and opinion, when it is ſaid in *ver.* 30. *The wine-preſs was troden without the City, and blood came out of the wine-preſs even to the horſe bridles.* Here is treading a wine-preſs of blood, as *Chriſt* treadeth in *Edom*, Iſa. 63. 1,3. [*Edom* is the common name by which the *Hebrew* Writers call the *Romans.*] *The wine-preſs was without the City:* alluding to the wine and oyl preſſes which were without *Jeruſalem* at the foot of mount *Olivet. Blood came up to the horſe bridles:* An *hyperbole* by which they expreſſed great ſlaughter and effuſion of blood. So *Talm. Jeruſ. in Taanith fol.* 69. *col.*1. deſcribing the woful ſlaughter that *Hadrian* made of the Jews at the deſtruction of the City *Bitter* ſaith שקע הסוס ברכב ער חוטמו *The horſes waded in blood up to the noſtrils, by the ſpace of a thouſand and ſix hundred furlongs.* Of that ſpace and extent doth *R. Menahem. on gen. fol.*60. reckon the largeneſs of the Land of *Iſrael.*

REVEL CHAP. XV.

WHAT was ſpoken in general, in the concluſion of the preceding Chapter, concerning the treading of the Wine preſs of Gods wrath, is here more particularly proſecuted in the ſtory of the ſeven Vials. At the beginning of which *John* again calls us to reflect upon the ſcheme of the Temple in Heaven: which all along ſpeaks according to the platform of the Temple at *Hieruſalem*. *Here is a Sea of Glaſs mingled with Fire, and Harpers harping by it*, &c. *ſinging the ſong of Moſes*: which as it calls to mind *Moſes* and the peoples ſinging upon the read Sea ſhore upon their delivery from *Egypt*, Exod. 15..ſo doth it plainly allude to the muſick at the Temple, by the laver or Sea, and which ſtanding near the Altar was as *a Sea of Glaſs mingled with Fire.*

Moſes and *Iſrael* ſing after the deſtruction of *Egypt*; for their deliverance was by her deſtruction, but thoſe here that have got victory over the Beaſt, ſing before he is deſtroyed, for they are delivered from him and prevail againſt him though he ſtand in his ſtrength, and his deſtruction be not yet come. The Goſpel grew, and *Sanguis Martyrum* was *ſemen Eccleſiæ*, do *Satan* and *Antichriſt* what they can.

After this ſong *The Temple of the Tabernacle of the Teſtimony in Heaven was opened*, ver. 5. All the whole building upon *Mount Moriah* was called the Temple, the Courts and Cloiſters and Chambers, *&c.* but the very houſe it ſelf, *The Holy and Holy of Holies* was only and properly *The Temple of the Tabernacle of Teſtimony*: And the ſong mentioned before, *ver.* 2. is repreſented as being in the Court, near the Altar and laver, but now the very Houſe it ſelf is opened: Parallel to what is ſpoken *Chap.* 11. 19. *The Temple of God was opened in Heaven, and there was ſeen in his Temple, the Ark of his Covenant*: The Lord in pouring out vengeance upon *Antichriſt*, will manifeſt his judgments, as *ver.* 4. and open his Counſels and Covenant: for while the enemy raged, and raved, and deſtroyed thoſe that would not worſhip him, and when even all the world in a manner did worſhip him, the Lords judgments were hid, and his Covenant with his people, as it were out of ſight, or as if no ſuch thing had been, but when this vengeance ſhall come, then all will be plain.

The ſeven Angels that pour out the ſeven Vials are charactered in the garb of Prieſts, coming out of the Temple, in white linen, and girded over the breaſts, as the Prieſts were. One of the living creatures gives the Vials into their hands: the very ſame ſenſe and carriage with that *Ezek.* 10. 7.

REVEL. CHAP. XVI.

WERE the Stage where the things of this Book were to be acted, and the time of their acting of as little compaſs as was that of the things of *Daniel*, one might with more probability allot the ſeveral things mentioned, to their ſeveral times, as the things in him may be done: But ſince the ſcene here is as large as all the World where the Goſpel was to come, and the time as long as time ſhall be; [1600 years paſt already, and how much behind none knoweth] to undertake to apply every thing in this Book to its particular time, place and occaſion, is to run a hazardous undertaking. In ſome places indeed the things are ſo plain, that they ſpeak themſelves, but in many ſo obſcure that he that will venture to bring them to particular application, doth it more upon his own venture, then upon any good textual warrant: And amongſt thoſe obſcurities, theſe Vials are not the leaſt. Take them in a general interpretation [as I believe they are intended] and their meaning is eaſie to be underſtood, but to come to allot them ſeverally to this or that time or place, is but to do that, that when ye have done all you can, will come to no ſurer bottom to reſt upon, then your own conceit and ſuppoſal.

The matter of them is expreſſed as to the moſt part, by alluſion to the plagues of *Egypt*, as boils, blood, darkneſs, and ſo it clears the thing intended, namely in general to ſhew how the myſtical *Egypt*, Chap. 11. 8. after all her oppreſſion and perſecution of the *Iſrael* of God, ſhould at laſt come to receive her juſt reward, as old *Egypt* had done: and that God would follow her with plagues till he had deſtroyed her. They are ſomewhat like the plagues of the ſeven Trumpets, ſome of which, as we obſerved, did in general ſpeak the ſtate of the World till the riſing of *Antichriſt*: and theſe Vials may be underſtood as the general deſcription of his plagues and ruine. We obſerved in *Chap.* 6. and that upon good Scripture ground, that the ſix Seals did all but ſpeak one effect, namely the deſtruction of the Jewiſh Nation, but brought to paſs by ſeveral judgments; and the like interpretation may be made here.

The firſt Vial brings a noiſom Boyl upon the worſhippers of the Beaſt: this was the ſixth plague of *Egypt*, but here the firſt: for that plague in *Egypt* came home to *Jannes and Jambers* the Magicians, that they could not ſtand before *Moſes*, Exod. 9. 11. And that both

both this and all the reſt might be ſhewed to reach home, even to the vericſt deceivers and ringleaders of miſchief in *Antichriſtian Egypt*, this is juſtly ſet in the firſt rank.

The ſecond and third here, refer to the one plague of Blood in *Egypt*, and theſe exceed that: For there all the Rivers and Ponds were indeed turned into Blood, but the *Egyptians* digged for Water about the River to drink, *Exod.*7.24. and found it and it was not turned into Blood: The queſtion and anſwer of *Aben Ezra* is pertinent. It is ſaid, *there was blood throughout all the Land of Egypt: And the Magicians did ſo with their inchantments. Now how could the Magicians turn water into blood, when there was no water left, but all was blood?* And he anſwers, *Aaron only turned the waters that were above ground into blood, not thoſe that were under ground:* but here Sea and Rivers and Fountains, and all are become Blood: ſtill to ſhew how throughly the plagues ſhould come home.

At theſe plagues there is mention of *the Angel of the waters*, ver. 5. which, ſince all the Angels here are charactered in the garb of Prieſts, as hath been ſaid, may alſo be underſtood as alluding to that Prieſt whoſe office it was to have care of the Waters, and to look that there ſhould be Water enough and fitting for the people to drink, that came up to the three Feſtivals: Among the offices of the Prieſts at the Temple this was one. *Maym. in Kele Mikdaſh per.* 7. and *Nicodemus* whom the *Talmud* ſpeaks of was of this office, *Aboth R. Nathan per.* 6.

The fourth Vial poured into the Sun brings ſcorching heat; this ſeems to allude to *Joſhua*'s or *Deborah*'s day, when the Stars from Heaven fought: the Sun ſtanding ſtill ſo long did not only give light to *Iſrael*, but probably heat and faintneſs to the *Canaanites*, and *Pſal.*121.6. ſeems to refer thither, *The Sun ſhall not ſmite thee by day.*

As in the fourth they are plagued by the Sun, ſo in the fifth, by want of it. The ſeat of the Beaſt darkned as *Pharaohs* Throne and Kingdom was: and this darkneſs bringing horror and pains; as *Egypt* did through dreadful apparitions in the dark.

The drying up of *Euphrates* for the Kings of the Eaſt, under the ſixth Vial, ſeems to ſpeak much to the tenor of the ſixth Trumpet, the looſing of the four Angels which were bound at *Euphrates*. Thoſe we conceived the *Turks* to plague Chriſtendom; theſe we may conceive enemies to plague *Antichriſt*. The alluſion in the former ſeems to be to the four Kings from beyond *Euphrates*, that came to ſcourge *Canaan*, Gen. 14. this to the draining of *Euphrates* for *Cyrus* and *Darius* to take *Babylon*. For having to treat here of a *Babylon*, as *ver.*19. the ſcene is beſt repreſented, as being laid at the old *Babylon*. Now the Hiſtorians that mention the taking of *Babylon* by *Cyrus*, tell us it was by draining the great ſtream of *Euphrates*, by cutting it into many little channels.

The *Egyptian* plague of Frogs is here tranſlated into another tenour, and that more dangerous; three unclean Spirits like Frogs come out of the mouth of the Dragon, Beaſt, and falſe Prophet: Spirits of Devils working miracles, *&c.* This is named betwixt the ſixth and ſeventh Vial [though the acting of the deluſions by miracles were all the time of the Beaſt and falſe Prophet] becauſe of the judgment now coming: for though all deluders and deluded received their judgments in their ſeveral ages, yet being here ſpeaking of the laſt judgments of *Antichriſt*, they are all ſummed together. He is here called *the falſe Prophet*, as being the great deluder of all. The fruit of all theſe deluſions is to ſet men to fight againſt God: whoſe end is ſet forth by alluſion to the Army of *Jabin King of Canaan*, Judg. 5.19. broken at *the waters of Megiddo*. The word *Armageddon* ſignifies *a mountain of men cut in pieces*. Here that ſolemn caution is inſerted, *Behold I come as a thief: Bleſſed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments:* The Prieſt that walked the round of the Temple guards by night, had torches born before him, and if he found any aſleep upon the guard he burnt his clothes with the torches, *Middoth per.* 1. *halac.* 2.

The ſeventh Vial concludes the Beaſts deſtruction. The great City is ſaid to be divided into three parts: either as *Jeruſalem* was, *Ezek.* 5.11,12. a third part to peſtilence, a third part to the ſword, and a third part to diſperſion, and deſtruction in it: or becauſe there is mention of an Earthquake, this ſpeaks its ruining in general, as *Zech.* 14.4,5. A tenth part of it fell before, *Chap.* 11. 13. and now the nine parts remaining fall in a tripartite ruine.

REVEL. CHAP. XVII.

MYSTICAL *Babylon* pictured with the colours of the old *Babylon*, *Rome* ſo called, as being the mother of Idolatry, as *Babel* was the beginning of Heatheniſm, and the mother of perſecution: *Babylon* deſtroyed *Jeruſalem*, ſo did *Rome*, and made havock of the Church continually.

She is reſembled to a woman deckt with gold, *&c.* as *Iſa.* 14.4. ſitting upon a ſeven-headed and ten-horned Beaſt; as *Chap.*13.1. *Which Beaſt was and is not and yet is, it ſhall aſcend out of the bottomleſs pit, and ſhall go to perdition.* *Rome* under the Papacy was not the ſame *Rome* it had been, and yet it was: Not *Rome* Heathen and Imperial as it had been before, and yet for all evil, Idolatry, perſecution, *&c.* the ſame *Rome* to all purpoſes. It is plainly deſcribed as ſitting upon ſeven hills, upon which there is hardly a *Roman* Poet or Hiſtorian, but makes a clear comment. The ſeven heads denoted alſo ſeven Kings or kinds of Government that had paſſed in that City: *Five are fallen*, verſ. 10. Kings, Conſuls, Tribunes, Dictators, Triumvirs: and one then was when *John* wrote, namely *Emperors:* And one not yet come, *Chriſtian Emperors*, which continued but a ſhort ſpace before the Beaſt came which was and is not. He is the eight and he of the ſeven: They that hold *Rome* to be the fourth Monarchy in *Daniel*, cannot but alſo hold from this place, that that Monarchy is not yet extinct. The ten horns upon the Beaſt in *Dan.*7.24. are ten Kings ariſing and ſucceeding one another in the ſame Kingdom: but here at *ver.* 12. they are ten ſeveral Kingdoms, all ſubject to the Beaſts both Imperial and Papal, but at laſt ſhall riſe up againſt the myſtical Whore and deſtroy her. It is like there muſt yet be converſion of ſome Kingdoms from the Papacy, before it fall.

REVEL. CHAP. XVIII. XIX. *to* Verſ. 11.

AN Elegy and a Triumph upon the fall of *Babylon:* The former *Chap.*18. almoſt *verbatim* from *Iſa.*13. & 14. & 21. & 34. & *Jer.* 51. & *Ezek.* 27. The later alſo, *Chap.*19. the phraſe taken from the Old Teſtament almoſt every word. The triumphant Song begins with *Halleluja* ſeveral times over. The word is firſt uſed at the later end of *Pſal.* 104. where deſtruction of the wicked being firſt prayed for, *Let the ſinners be conſumed out of the Earth, and let the wicked be no more*, he concludes with, *Bleſs thou the Lord O my ſoul. Hallelujah.*

The obſervation of the peoples ſaying over *the great Hallel* at the Temple [or their great Song of praiſe] doth illuſtrate this. The *Hallel* conſiſted of ſeveral Pſalms, *viz.* from the one hundred and thirteenth to the end of the one hundred and eighteenth, and at very many paſſages in that Song, as the Prieſts ſaid the verſes of the Pſalms, all the people ſtill anſwered *Hallelujah:* Only here is one thing of ſome difference from their courſe there, for here is *Amen Hallelujah*, ver.4. whereas *It is a tradition That they anſwered not Amen in the Temple at all: What ſaid they then? Bleſſed be the Name of the glory of his Kingdom for ever and ever.* Jeruſ. in Beracoth fol. 13. col. 3. But the promiſes of God *which are Yea and Amen*, being now performed, this is juſtly inſerted; as *Chriſt* for the ſame cauſe in this Book is called *Amen*, Chap.3.14.

The marriage of the Lamb is now come, and his Wife is ready, *ver.*7. the Church now compleated.

REVEL. CHAP. XIX. *from* Ver.11. *to the end of the Chapter.*

HERE begins a new Viſion, as it appeareth by the firſt words, *And I ſaw Heaven opened:* and here *John* begins upon his whole ſubject again, to ſum up in brief what he had been upon before. Obſerve what is ſaid in *verſ.* 19. *I ſaw the Beaſt, and the Kings of the Earth, and their Armies gathered together to make war againſt him that ſate on the Horſe, and againſt his Army:* and obſerve withal, that there is the ſtory of the deſtruction of the Beaſt before *Chap.*18. and of the marriage, and marriage Supper of the Lamb before, *Chap.*19.7,8,9. therefore the things mentioned here cannot be thought to occur after thoſe: this therefore is a brief rehearſal of what he had ſpoken from the twelfth Chapter hither, about the battel of *Michael* and his Angels with the Dragon and his Angels.

REVEL. CHAP. XX.

THE preceding Section ſpake what *Chriſt* did with the Beaſt and thoſe that carried his mark: he fought againſt them always, and when he ſaw his time, deſtroyed them: here the Holy Ghoſt tells us what he did with the Devil that ſet them on: You heard of *Chriſt* fighting with the Dragon, *Chap.* 12. and the Dragon foiled and caſt out, ſets to proſecute the Womans ſeed: but what courſe takes he for that? He reſigns his Throne, and Power, and Authority, to the Beaſt *Rome*, and it muſt do, and it did his buſineſs for him, *Chap.* 13. 3. and how throughly it did its maſters work, is ſhewed all along from that place forward. But what becomes of the old Dragon the maſter of miſchief? He ſits by, as it were, and looks on while his game is played, and hiſſes on his Deputy *Rome*, firſt Imperial, then Papal. They at the laſt receive their due wages for their work, Imperial and Papal go to perdition. But what muſt become of the Dragon that ſet them on? It would be very improper to tell ſo largely of the fearful vengeance and deſtruction upon the agents, and to ſay nothing of the principal and chief mover. That therefore is done here, and this Chapter takes at *Chap.* 13.3. and tells you what became of the old Dragon after the reſigning of his Throne to the Beaſt: namely that he ſate not at his own quiet as if *Michael* had nothing to do with him, or let him alone, having ſo much to do with his inſtruments, but that he curbed and deſtroyed both principal and agent, and caſt them both together into the bottomleſs pit.

The Devil had two ways of undoing men; the Church by perſecution, the world by deluſion of Oracles, Idolatry, falſe Miracles, and the like. His managing of the former by his Deputies the former Chapters have related, and how they ſped in his ſervice: and this comes to tell how he ſpeeds about the other. The great Angel *Michael*, the Lord Chriſt, who hath the key of the bottomleſs pit in his hand, as *Chap.* 1.18. chains him by the power of the Goſpel, *that he ſhould no more deceive the Nations for a thouſand years:* Weigh the phraſe, *Not deceive the Nations:* it is not *not perſecute*, but *not deceive*; nor is it *the Church*, but *the Nations*. His perſecuting of the Church hath been ſtoried before: and here is told how he is curbed for deceiving the Nations, and indeed when he deputed *Rome*, and let that looſe for the former, he was chained up as for the later. It is eaſily conſtrued how Satan *deceived the Nations*, by Idols which are called *a lie*, *Iſa.*44.20. *Rom.*1.25. by his Oracles in which was no light, *Iſa.*8.20. and by magical miracles, which were meer deluſion. Hence the world for the time of Heatheniſm, is ſaid to be in his Kingdom of darkneſs, *Act.* 26. 18. *Coloſ.* 1. 13, *&c.* Now the ſpreading of the Goſpel through the world ruined all theſe before it, and diſſolved thoſe curſed ſpels and charms of deluſion, and did as it were chain up *Satan* that he could no more *Deceive the Nations* Ἔθνη *The Heathen* as he had done, by theſe deceits: ſo that the words ſpeak the ending of *Satans* power in Heatheniſm, and the bringing in of the Gentiles to the knowledge of the truth, out of darkneſs and deluſion.

The date of this his chaining up was *a thouſand years:* Now the Jews counted the days of the *Meſſias*, *a thouſand years*, as we touched before. The *Babylon Talmud in Sanhedrin* in the Chapter *Helek* doth ſhew their full opinion about the days of Meſſias, and amongſt other things they ſay thus: as *Aruch* ſpeaks their words in *voce* צרק *It is a tradition of the houſe of Elijah, that the righteous ones that the bleſſed God ſhall raiſe from the dead, they ſhall no more return to their duſt, but thoſe thouſand years that the holy bleſſed God is to renew the world, he will give them wings as Eagles, and they ſhall flee upon the waters.* The place in the *Talmud* is in *Sanhedrin fol.* 92. where the Text indeed hath not the word *thouſand*, but the marginal gloſs hath it, and ſhews how to underſtand *the thouſand years*. And *Aruch* ſpeaks it as a thing of undeniable knowledge and intertainment. And ſo ſpeaks *R. Eliezer in Midras Tillin fol.* 4. *col.* 2. *The days of the Meſſias are a thouſand Years.*

As *John* all along this Book doth intimate new ſtories by remembring old ones, and uſeth not only the Old Teſtament phraſe to expreſs them by, but much alluſion to cuſtoms, language and opinion of the Jews, that he might ſpeak, as it were, cloſer to them and nearer their apprehenſions, ſo doth he here and forward. This later end of his Book remembers the later end of the Book of *Ezekiel*. There is a reſurrection *Ezek.*37. *Gog and Magog*, Ezek.38. & 39. and *a new Jeruſalem*, Ezek.40. and forward. So here a reſurrection, *ver.*5. *Gog and Magog*, ver.8. and *a new Jeruſalem*, Chap.21. & 22.

There a reſurrection, not of bodies out of the grave, but of *Iſrael* out of a low captived condition in *Babel*. There a *Gog and Magog*, the *Syrogrecian* perſecutors, *Antiochus* and his houſe: and then the deſcription of the new *Jeruſalem*, which as to the place and ſituation was a promiſe of their reſtoring to their own Land, and to have *Jeruſalem* built again, as it was indeed in the days of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*: but by the glory and largeneſs of it [as it is deſcribed, more in compaſs then all the Land of *Canaan*,]

they were taught to look further, namely at the heavenly or ſpiritual *Jeruſalem*, the Church through all the World.

Now the Jews according to their allegorical vein, applied theſe things to the days of *Chriſt* thus: that firſt there ſhould be a reſurrection cauſed by *Meſſias* of righteous ones, then he to conquer *Gog and Magog*, and then there muſt come עתיד לבא The brave World to come that they dreamed of: Beſides what they ſpeak to this tenour in the Talmudick Treatiſe laſt cited, there is this paſſage in *Jeruſ. Megillah fol.*73. *col.* 1. They are applying particular parts of the great *Hallel* to particular times [what the great *Hallel* was, we ſhewed a little before.] *And that part*, ſay they, *I love the Lord becauſe he hath heard me, refers to the days of Meſſias: that part, Tye the ſacrifice with cords: to the days of Gog and Magog. And that, Thou art my God and I will praiſe thee: refers to the world to come.*

Our Divine Apocalyptick follows *Ezekiel* with an Allegory too, and in ſome of his expreſſions alludes to ſome of theirs, not as approving them, but as ſpeaking the plainer to them by them: Here is a reſurrection too, but not of bodies neither, for not a word of mention of them, but of ſouls. *The ſouls of thoſe that were beheaded for the witneſs of Jeſus, lived and reigned*, ver.4. and yet this is called *The firſt reſurrection*, ver.5.

The meaning of the whole let us take up in parts. There are two main things here intended. Firſt, To ſhew the ruine of the Kingdom of *Satan*; and ſecondly, The nature of the *Kingdom of Chriſt*. The Scripture ſpeaks much of *Chriſts* Kingdom, and his conquering *Satan*, and his Saints reigning with him; that common place is briefly handled here: That Kingdom was to be eſpecially among the Gentiles, they called in unto the Goſpel. Now among the Gentiles had been *Satans* Kingdom moſt ſetled and potent, but here *Chriſt* binds him and caſts him into the bottomleſs pit that he ſhould deceive no more [as a great cheater and ſeducer caſt into priſon] and this done by the coming in of the Goſpel among them. Then as for *Chriſts* Kingdom *I ſaw Thrones*, ſaith *John*, *and they ſate upon them*, &c. *ver.* 4. here is *Chriſt* and his inthroned and reigning. But how do they reign with him? Here *John* faceth the fooliſh opinion of the Jews of their reigning with the *Meſſias* in an earthly pomp; and ſhews that the matter is of a far different tenour: that *they that ſuffer with him ſhall reign with him*, they that ſtick to him, witneſs for him, dye for him, theſe ſhall ſit inthroned with him. And he nameth *beheading* only of all kinds of deaths, as being the moſt common: uſed both by Jews and Romans alike, as we have obſerved before at *Acts* 12. out of *Sanhedr. per.* 7. *halac.* 3. And the firſt witneſs for Chriſt, *John the Baptiſt*, died this death. He ſaith that ſuch live and reign with *Chriſt* the thouſand years, not as if they were all raiſed from the dead at the beginning of the 1000 years, and ſo reign all together with him thoſe years out, as is the conceit of ſome [as abſolute Judaiſm as any is, for matter of Opinion] but that this muſt be expected to be the garb of *Chriſts* Kingdom all along, ſuffering and ſtanding out againſt ſin, and the mark of the Beaſt and the like: whereas they held it to be a thouſand years of earthly bravery and pompouſneſs.

But the reſt of the dead lived not again until the thouſand years were finiſhed: This is the firſt reſurrection: Not that they lived again when the thouſand years were finiſhed, but it means that they lived not in this time which was the time of living, when *Satan* was bound, and truth and life came into the world: The Gentiles, before the Goſpel came among them, were *dead*, in Scripture phraſe, very copiouſly: *Epheſ.* 2. 1,2. & 4.18. *&c.* but that revived them, *Joh.* 5. 25. *This is the firſt reſurrection*, in and to *Chriſts* Kingdom: the ſecond is ſpoken of at the twelfth verſe of this Chapter that we are upon. *Paul* uſeth the ſame expreſſion to ſignifie the ſame thing, namely a raiſing from darkneſs and ſin by the power of the Goſpel, *Rom.* 11.15. Now when this quickning came among the Gentiles, *Satan* going down, and *Chriſts* Kingdom advanced, and the Goſpel bringing in life and light, as *Joh.* 1.4. thoſe that did not come and ſtick cloſe to *Chriſt* and bear witneſs to him, but cloſed with the mark of the Beaſt, ſin and ſinful men, theſe were dead ſtill and lived not again till the thouſand years were finiſhed, that is, while they laſted, though that were a time of receiving life.

Bleſſed therefore and holy are they that have part in this firſt reſurrection, for on them the ſecond death hath no power, ver.6. The *ſecond death* is a phraſe uſed by the Jews. *Onkelos* renders *Deut.* 33. 6. thus, *Let Reuben live and not die the ſecond death.* And *Jonathan*, Iſa. 65.6. thus, *Behold it is written before me, I will not grant them long life, but I will pay them vengeance for their ſins, and deliver their carcaſes to the ſecond death.* And *ver.*15. *The Lord will ſlay them with the ſecond death.*

Obſerve in the Prophet that theſe verſes ſpeak of the ruine and rejection of the Jews, now a curſed people, and given up to the ſecond death: and in Chapter 66. *verſ.* 29, 30, 31. is told how the Lord would ſend and gather the Gentiles to be his people, and would make them his Prieſts and Levites: And then ſee how fitly this verſe anſwers thoſe. In ſtead of theſe curſed people, theſe are bleſſed and holy, and might

might not ſee the ſecond death, and *Chriſt* makes them Prieſts to himſelf and his Father.

In this paſſage of *John* ſcorn is put again upon the Jews wild interpretation of the reſurrection in *Ezekiel*. They take it litterally, think ſome dead were really raiſed out of their graves, came into the Land of *Iſrael*, begat children, and died a ſecond time: Nay they ſtick not to tell who theſe men were, and who were their children. *Talm. Babyl. in Sanhedr. ubi ſupra.*

After the thouſand years are expired, Satan is let looſe again, and falls to his old trade of the deceiving the Nations again, ver. 8. *Zohar. fol.* 72. *col.* 286. hath this ſaying: *It is a tradition, that in the day when judgment is upon the world, and the holy bleſſed God ſits upon the Throne of judgment, then it is found that Satan that deceives high and low, he is found deſtroying the world, and taking away ſouls.* When the Papacy began, then Heatheniſm came over the world again, and *Satan* as looſe and deceiving as ever: then Idolatry, blindneſs, deluding oracularities and miracles as freſh and plenteous as before: from the riſing of the Goſpel among the Gentiles theſe had been beating down, and *Satan* fettered and impriſoned deeper and deeper every day: and though his agent *Rome* beſtird it ſelf hard to hold up his Kingdom, by the horrid perſecutions it raiſed, yet ſtill the Goſpel prevailed and laid all flat. But when the Papacy came, then he was looſe again, and his cheatings prevailed and the world became again no better then Heathen. And if you ſhould take the thouſand years fixedly and literally, and begin to count either from the beginning of the Goſpel in the preaching of *John*, or of *Peter* to *Cornelius* the firſt inlet to the Gentiles, or of *Paul* and *Barnabas* their being ſent among them, the expiring of them will be in the very depth of Popery; eſpecially begin them from the fall of *Jeruſalem*, where the date of the Gentiles more peculiarly begins, and they will end upon the times of Pope *Hildebrand*, when if the Devil were not let looſe, when was he?

He calls the enemies of the Church, eſpecially *Antichriſt*, *Gog* and *Magog*: the title of the *Syrogrecian* Monarchy, the great perſecutor, *Ezek.* 38. & 39. [*Pliny* mentions a place in *Cæloſyria* that retained the name *Magog*, lib. 5. cap. 23.] So that *John* from old ſtories and copies of great troubles tranſcribeth new, uſing known terms from Scripture, and from the Jews language and notions, that he might the better be underſtood: So that this Chapter containeth a brief of all the times from the riſing of the Goſpel among the Gentiles to the end of the world, under theſe two ſums, firſt the beating down of Idolatry and Heatheniſm in the Earth till the World was become Chriſtian, and then the Papacy ariſing doth Heathenize it again. The deſtruction of which is ſet down, *verſ.* 9. by fire from Heaven, in alluſion to *Sodom*, or 2 *King.* 1. 10, 12. and it is ſet cloſe to the end of the World: the Devil and the Beaſt [*Rome* imperial] and the falſe Prophet [*Rome* Papal] are caſt into fire and brimſtone, *verſ.* 10. where *John* ſpeaks ſo, as to ſhew his method, which we have ſpoken of. *The Devil was caſt into the lake of fire and brimſtone, where the Beaſt and the falſe Prophet are:* He had given the ſtory of the beaſt and falſe Prophet, the Devils agents, and what became of them, *Chap.* 19. *verſ.* 20. And now the ſtory of the Devil himſelf: for it was not poſſible to handle theſe two ſtories but apart: and now he brings the confuſion of all the three together, and the confuſion of all with them that bare their mark, and whoſe names were not written in the Book of life.

REVEL. CHAP. XXI.

THE *Jeruſalem from above* deſcribed. The phraſe is uſed by *Paul*, Gal. 4. 26. and it is uſed often by the Jews: *Zohar fol.* 120. *col.* 478. *Rabbi Aba ſaith, Luz is* ודועלם עלאה *Jeruſalem which is above, which the holy bleſſed God gives for a poſſeſſion, where bleſſings are given by his hand in a pure Land: but to an impure Land no bleſſings to be at all.* Compare *Revel.* 21. 27, & 22. 15. *Midras. Till. in Pſal.* 122. *Jeruſalem is built as a City that is compact together. R. Jochanan ſaith, The holy bleſſed God ſaid, I will not go into Jeruſalem that is above, until I have gone into Jeruſalem that is below*, &c.

Ezekiels Jeruſalem, as we obſerved, was of a double ſignification, namely as promiſing the rebuilding of the City after the Captivity, and foretelling of the ſpiritual *Jeruſalem*, the Church under the Goſpel, and that moſt eſpecially: At that *John* taketh at here, and that is the *Jeruſalem* that he deſcribeth. And from *Iſa.* 65. 17, 18. joyneth the creating new Heavens and a new Earth; and ſo ſtateth the time of building this new *Jeruſalem*, namely at the coming in of the Goſpel, when all things are made new, 2 *Cor.* 5. 17. A new People, new Ordinances, new Oeconomy, and the old World of *Iſrael* diſſolved. Though the deſcription of this new City be placed laſt

laſt in the Book, yet the building of it was contemporary with the firſt things mentioned in it about the calling of the Gentiles. When God pitched his Tabernacle amongſt them, as he had done in the midſt of *Iſrael*, Levit. 26. 11, 12. That Tabernacle is pitched in the fourth and fifth Chapters of this Book: And now all tears wiped away and no more ſorrow, death nor pain, *verſ.* 4. which if taken litterally could refer to nothing but the happy eſtate in Heaven [of which the glory of this *Jeruſalem* may indeed be a figure] but here, as the other things are, it is to be taken myſtically or ſpiritually, to mean the taking away the curſe of the Law, and the ſting of death and ſin, *&c. No condemnation to be to thoſe that are in Chriſt Jeſus.*

The paſſages in deſcribing the City are all in the Prophets phraſe, *Ezekiel* and *Iſaiah:* as compare theſe, *The Bride the Lambs wife*, verſ. 9. *Sing O barren* [Heathen] *that didſt not bear*, &c. *Thy Maker is thine Husband, thy Redeemer*, &c. *Iſa.* 54. 1, 5.

Verſ. 10. *He carried me away in the Spirit to a great and high mountain.* Compare *Ezek.* 40. 2.

That great City holy Jeruſalem, &c. This refers to great dimenſions of *Ezekiels Jeruſalem*; as alſo to the ſquareneſs, the three gates of a ſide, *&c.* The glory of it deſcribed from thence, and from *Iſa.* 58. 8. & 60. 2, 3. & 54. 11, 12, *&c.* The wall of it twelve thouſand furlongs ſquare, or fifteen hundred miles upon every quarter, Eaſt, Weſt, North and South three thouſand miles about: and fifteen hundred miles high. *Wall of ſalvation, Iſa* 26. 1. & 60. 14.

The foundations of the walls garniſhed with twelve precious ſtones [ſee *Iſa.* 54. 11.] as the ſtones in the Ephod or holy Breaſtplate: three upon every ſide, as theſe were three and three in a row: The firſt foundation ſtone here is *the Jaſpar*, the ſtone of *Benjamin*, for *Pauls* ſake the great agent about this building of the Church of the Gentiles: The *Jeruſ. Talmud. in Peah, fol.* 15. *col.* 3. ſaith expreſly that the *Jaſpar* was *Benjamins* ſtone, for it ſaith, *Benjamins Jaſpar was once loſt* [out of the Ephod] *and they ſaid Who is there that hath another as good as it? Some ſaid, Damah the ſon of Nethina hath one*, &c.

And I ſaw no Temple therein, &c. *verſ.* 22. here this *Jeruſalem* differs from *Ezekiels:* that had a Temple, this none: and it is obſervable there, that the platform of the Temple is much of the meaſures and faſhion that the ſecond Temple was of, but the City of a compaſs larger then all the Land: which helpeth to clear what was ſaid before of the double ſignificancy of thoſe things, they promiſed them an earthly Temple, which was built by *Zerobabel*, but foretold a heavenly *Jeruſalem* which is deſcribed here.

REVEL CHAP. XXII.

FROM *Ezekiel* Chap. 47. and from ſeveral paſſages of Scripture beſides, *John* doth ſtill magnifie the glory, happineſs and holineſs of the new *Jeruſalem:* Lively waters of clear Doctrine teaching *Chriſt* and life by him flowing through it continually, *Ezek.* 7. 1, 9. *Cant.* 4. 15. The Tree of Life loſt to *Adam*, and Paradiſe ſhut up againſt him, to keep him from it, here reſtored. Then a curſe, here *There ſhall be curſe no more*, verſ. 3. See *Zech.* 14. 11. חרם לא יהיה עוד *Anathema non erit amplius*, &c. He concludeth, *Theſe ſayings are faithful and true*, ſo he had ſaid before at the marriage of the Lamb, *Chap.* 19. 9. and again at his beginning of the ſtory of the new *Jeruſalem*, Chap. 21. 5. referring to the ſeveral Propheſies that had been of theſe things, and now all thoſe ſayings and Propheſies were come home in truth and faithfulneſs. He is commanded not to ſeal his Book, as *Daniel* was, *Dan.* 12. 4. becauſe the time of theſe things was inſtantly beginning, and *Chriſts* coming to reveal his glory in avengement upon the Jewiſh Nation and caſting them off, and to take in the Gentiles in their ſtead was now at the door, within three and an half or thereabout to come, if we have conjectured the writing of this Book to its proper year. There are two years more of *Nero*, and one of confuſion in the *Roman* Empire in the Wars of *Otho, Vitellius* and *Veſpaſian*, and the next year after *Jeruſalem* falls.

And thus if this Book of the *Revelation* were written laſt of the Books of the New Teſtament, as by the conſent of all it was, then may we ſay, Now was the whole will of God revealed and committed to writing, and from henceforth muſt

Viſion

Viſion and Propheſie and Inſpiration ceaſe for ever. Theſe had been uſed and imparted all along for the drawing up of the mind of God into writing, as alſo the appearing of Angels had been uſed, for the further and further ſtill revealing of his will, and when the full revelation of that was compleated, their appearing, and revelations to men muſt be no more. So that this *Revelation* to *John* was the topping up and finiſhing of all revelations. The Lord had promiſed that *in the laſt days* [of *Jeruſalem*] *he would pour down of his Spirit upon all fleſh*, Act. 2. 17. And *Chriſt* promiſed to his Apoſtles, that he would lead them into *all* truth, *John* 16. 12, 13. To look for therefore the giving of thoſe extraordinary gifts of the Spirit beyond the fall of *Jeruſalem* there is no warrant; and there is no need, ſince when the inſpired penmen had written all that the Holy Ghoſt directed to write, *All truth* was written.

It is not to be denied indeed, that thoſe that had theſe extraordinary gifts before the fall of *Jeruſalem*, if they lived after, had them after, for the promoting of theſe ends for which they were given, but there is neither ground nor reaſon whereupon to believe, that they were reſtored to the next generation, or were or are to be imparted to any generation for ever. For as it was in *Iſrael* at the firſt ſetling of their Church, ſo was it in this caſe in the firſt ſetling of the Goſpel. The firſt fathers of the *Sanhedrin* in the wilderneſs, were indued with Divine gifts, ſuch as we are ſpeaking of, *Numb.* 11. 25. but when that generation was expired, thoſe that were to ſucceed in that Function and Imployment, were ſuch as were qualified for it by education, ſtudy and parts acquired. So was it with this firſt age of the Goſpel and the ages ſucceeding. At the firſt diſperſing of the Goſpel, it was abſolutely needful that the firſt planters ſhould be furniſhed with ſuch extraordinary gifts, or elſe it was not poſſible it ſhould be planted. As this may appear by a plain inſtance. *Paul* comes to a place where the Goſpel had never come, he ſtays a month or two and begets a Church, and then he is to go his way and to leave them: Who now in this Church is fit to be their Miniſter? They being all alike but very children in the Goſpel: but *Paul* is directed by the Holy Ghoſt to lay his hands upon ſuch and ſuch of them, and that beſtows upon them the gift of Tongues and Propheſying, and now they are able to be Miniſters and to teach the Congregation. But after that generation, when the Goſpel was ſetled in all the world, and committed to writing, and written to be read and ſtudied: then was ſtuddy of the Scriptures the way to inable men to unfold the Scriptures and fit them to be Miniſters to inſtruct others: and Revelations and Inſpirations neither needful nor ſafe to be looked after, nor hopeful to be attained unto. And this was the reaſon why *Paul* coming but newly out of *Epheſus* and *Crete*, when he could have ordained and qualified Miniſters with abilities by the impoſition of his hands, would not do it, but left *Timothy* and *Titus* to Ordain, though they could not beſtow thoſe gifts: becauſe he knew the way that the Lord had appointed Miniſters thenceforward to be inabled for the Miniſtry, not by extraordinary infuſions of the Spirit, but by ſerious ſtudy of the Scriptures, not by a miraculous, but by an ordinary Ordination. And accordingly he gives *Timothy* himſelf counſel to ſtudy, 1 *Tim.* 4. 13. though he were plentifully indued with theſe extraordinary indowments, 1 *Tim.* 4. 14. And *Paul* himſelf had his Books for ſtudy, or he had them to no purpoſe, 2 *Tim.* 4. 13.

And indeed it had been the way of God, he hath inſtructed his people by a ſtudious and learned Miniſtry, ever ſince he gave a written word to inſtruct them in. 1. Who were the ſtanding Miniſtry of *Iſrael* all the time from the giving of the Law to the Captivity into *Babel?* Not Prophets, or thoſe inſpired men [for they were but occaſional Teachers, and there were often long ſpaces of time wherein no Prophet appeared] but the Prieſts and Levites that became Learned in the Law by ſtudy, *Deut.* 33. 10. *Hoſ.* 4. 6. *Mal.* 2. 7. And for this end as hath been touched, they were diſpoſed into forty eight Cities of their own, as ſo many Univerſities, where they ſtudied the Law together, and from thence were ſent out into the ſeveral Synagogues to teach the people: and had the Tithes paid them for their maintenance whileſt they ſtudied in the Univerſities, and for their preaching in the Synagogues. And it may be obſerved that even they that had the prophetick ſpirit did not only ſtudy the Scriptures themſelves, *Joſh.* 1. 8. *Dan.* 9. 1. but ſent the people for inſtruction to the Prieſts who were ſtudents and the ſtanding Miniſtry, *Hag.* 2. 11. *Mal.* 2. 7. 2. If you conſider the times under the ſecond Temple, then it was utterly impoſſible that the people ſhould be taught but by a ſtudious and learned Miniſtry; for the ſpirit of Propheſie was departed, and the Scriptures were then in an unknown Tongue, to all but Students. And hence they had an interpreter in every Synagogue to render into the Vulgar, what was read in the Law and the Prophets in

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the Original. So that the Spirit of God inſpired certain perſons whom he pleaſed to be the revealers of his will till he had imparted and committed to writing what he thought fit to reveal under the Old Teſtament, and when he had compleated that, the Holy Ghoſt departed, and ſuch inſpirations ceaſed. And when the Goſpel was to come in, then the Spirit was reſtored again, and beſtowed upon ſeveral perſons for the revealing further of the mind of God, and compleating the work he had to do, for the ſetling of the Goſpel, and penning of the New Teſtament, and that being done, theſe gifts and inſpirations ceaſe, and may no more be expected then we may expect ſome other Goſpel yet to come.

PARERGON.

PARERGON.

Concerning the FALL of

JERUSALEM,

AND

The Condition of the JEWS in that Land after.

BEING come so near to the time of the destruction of *Jerusalem*, as that it is but three years and an half and a little more from the time we have concluded with unto it, and having so frequent occasion to mention that destruction, and vengeance upon that Nation, as we have had: It may not be amiss to drive so far further as to take a view of such a spectacle; not that we go about to write the History of their Wars and ruine, which were but to transcribe *Josephus*, who is in every mans hand, but to take a brief account of the times thither, and of the condition of the Nation in that Land afterward, the History of which is not altogether so obvious as the other: by both which we may not only see the performance of those threatnings of vengeance, that had been so abundantly given: but may the better judge wherein that vengeance did chiefly consist.

CHRIST. LXVII.

NERO. XIII.

IN this thirteenth Year of *Nero* therefore, *Vespasian* cometh General into *Judea*, to undertake that War: A second *Nebuchadnezzar*; an instrument of the Lord raised up to execute his vengeance upon that Nation, now the Nation of his curse, and to destroy their City and Temple as the other had done. And as several strange occurrences befel that destroyer, recorded in the Book of *Daniel*, so did divers strange things also befal this, recorded by the *Roman* Historians with one consent. As *Nilus* flowing a handful higher on that day that he came into *Alexandria*, then ever it did in one day before. A Vision that he had in the Temple of *Serapis*, of his servant *Basilides*, who was known to be at that instant fourscore miles off sick. And especially his healing of a blind mans eyes by anointing them with his spittle, and curing a lame mans hand, by treading upon it with his foot: To which may be added those that were accounted the presages of his reigning, as a cypress tree in his ground, clean rooted up by the winds over night, grew strait up again, and well in the morning. An Ox came and laid him down at his feet, and laid his neck under his feet, at one time as he sat at meat; and a dog came and brought him a dead mans hand, at another. Now not to dispute whether *all* these things were true or no, nor by what power they were wrought: certainly they set the man in the eyes of men, as a man of rarity: and as he was designed by God for a singular work, so did these things make him to be a man looked upon as one of some singular *omen* and fortune.

His work in the Jewish Wars this year was more especially in *Galilee*: where first coming to *Ptolemais*, the men of *Sipphoris*, the greatest City there, come peaceably and yielding to him; and they had done so indeed before to *Cestius Gallus*. *Josephus* who afterward wrote the History of these Wars, was now a great party in them, having fortified many Cities and places in *Galilee*, and being the chiefest that in those parts stood against the *Romans*. First he finds them work at *Jotepata*, which indures a very sharp siege, and puts the *Romans* to very sharp service before it be taken: At last after about fifty days siege *Vespasian* enters it, *July* 1. There *Josephus* himself is taken, and foretels *Vespasian* that he should be Emperour. *Joppa* taken presently after, and *Tiberias* yielded, and *Taricheæ* taken and 6500 slain there. *Gamala* gained *Octob.* 23. and divers other

places brought in this year either by ſtorm or ſurrender, which *Joſephus* recordeth the ſtory of *de Bello lib.*3. through the whole Book: and *lib.*4. to the end of the ninth Chapter which he concludes, Γαλιλαῖα μὲν ὕπως ἐάλω πᾶσα, *Thus was all Galilee ſubdued.*

CHRIST. LXVIII. NERO. XIV.

VESPASIAN therefore having ſubjected, and ſetled *Galilee*, he falls this year to work in *Judea*, and indeed there the Jews fall to bitter work among themſelves. For all the unquiet ſpirits whom the War had proſecuted and hunted from other parts, or whoſe turbulency deſired to be in action, were flocked hither; ſo that *Jeruſalem* and *Judea* were filled full of men and trouble: and quickly full of famine, blood and all manner of miſery. The doleful ſtory *Joſephus* gives at large, as alſo what the *Romans* did among them this year, *de Bello lib.*4. whither the reader may have recourſe.

This year *Nero* died by his own hand, to eſcape publick and more ſhameful execution. In him ended the Blood and Family of the *Cæſars*: And now that myſtery of State was diſcovered, *That an Emperour could be made, though not of that Blood, and elſewhere then at Rome:* and the miſery of the State accrewed by that diſcovery, when the longeſt ſword did make the Emperour, and the trying which was the longeſt, undid the Empire. The ſouldiery in *Spain* proclaimed *Galba* to ſucceed him: againſt whom riſeth up *Otho*, and cuts him off when he was now reigning, but in his ſeventh month, having only brought the Royalty into his family; and himſelf to miſery and ruine by it. When he was ſlain a common ſouldier cut off his head, and putting his finger into his mouth [for he was bald, and therefore he could not bear it by the hair] he carried it to *Otho*, who gave it to the ſcum and black guard of the Camp, and they fixing it upon a pole, carried it up and down in deriſion.

CHRIST. LXIX. OTHO.

OTHO was ſcarce ſet in the Throne, when *Vitellius* riſeth up againſt him: and the determination of this competition was not ſo ſpeedy and unſenſible as was that betwixt *Galba* and *Otho*: For *Otho* ſlew *Galba* without any noiſe, and when himſelf had but three and twenty aſſociates at his firſt conſpiring againſt him: But the preſent quarrel ſhook a good part of the Empire, with ſidings and preparations; and came to a pitcht battel before it came to an end. *Otho's* men loſt the field, and when tidings of his defeat came to him, he reſolved to ſtrive no longer, but to render up his Empire and life together, and ſo ſlew himſelf. He reigned if it may be called a reign, but 95 days.

VITELIUS.

VITELLIUS is now Lord of all; who indeed is not Maſter of himſelf. A man of that untemperance and luxury, that few equalled him: and divers that did follow him and his courſe, died of ſurfets. Divers men and Cities were undone by his riotous exceſſes, and the ſouldiers became effeminate by his example. In the time of his reign which ended before this year was out, there were divers prodigies: A Comet: Two Suns at the ſame time, one in the Eaſt, another in the Weſt. The Moon twice eclipſed unnaturally. In the Capitol the footſteps ſeen of many and great *Dæmones* coming down from thence. And *Jupiters* Temple opened of its own accord with horrid noiſe. And let this be reckoned for a prodigy too, *Maricus* a man of an ordinary extraction among the *Boii*, raiſed a conſiderable number of men, and proclaimed himſelf a God. He was ſoon overthrown and thrown to the wild beaſts, whom when they rent not in pieces, it heightned the peoples opinion in thoughts that he was a God indeed; but *Vitellius* found another way to put him to death, and ſo his Godſhip was ſpoiled.

There were divers petty mutinies of the Armies, and deſtroying of Towns in *Italy* and other parts before *Veſpaſian* ſtird: but when he ſtood up, there were concuſſions that made all the Empire to ſhake, as it had hardly ever done before. He was then in the Eaſt about the Wars of the Jews, as we have touched inſtantly before: And there the Armies in *Egypt*, *Judea* and *Syria* ſwear fealty to him in the month of *July*. And in a ſhort time all the Provinces even to *Achaia* did the like. The Legions in *Mæſia*, *Illyricum*, *Pannonia* fall to him, and letters are ſent into *Britain* and *Spain* to move them to the like, and they prevail with them.

Vitellius

Vitellius this while, follows his riotous courſes: and marches towards *Rome* with 60000 men in Arms, but in no diſcipline: and a rabble of Ruffians that were of his roaring humour, exceeding that number. And theſe numbers were made numberleſs, by the conflux of all ſorts of people, out of the City to meet him. Corn was trod down, the ſouldiers quarrelled: the people was abuſed, wounded and ſlain, and they had the face of a War among themſelves. In ſuch a confuſed march they come into the City, and there take up their quarters, but in all looſeneſs, luxury and ſecurity.

At laſt *Veſpaſians* party breaks into *Italy*, and gives them a through Alarm: in a ſhort time they come to a battel at *Cremona*, where that poor Town is ruined, and left as a monument of thoſe combuſtions: and another memorial not to be omitted, A ſon on the one party, killed his father on the other, and perceived and deplored what he had done, as ſoon as he had done it. And thus theſe tumults grew on to that height, that in fine they fight it out in *Rome* it ſelf, fire the Capitol, plunder the City, ſlay *Vitellius*, ſubdue his party, and *Veſpaſian* becomes conqueror and Emperor. Think here of *Matth.* 24.7.

CHRIST. LXX.

VESPASIAN. I.

VESPASIAN all this while was in *Egypt*: at *Alexandria* he receives tydings of his parties ſucceſs, and thither is ſuch conflux of Friends, Ambaſſadors, and Allies to congratulate and homage him, that that City, though the ſecond in the Empire, was little enough to entertain the company gathered thither. *Vitellius* his fall was in *December*, the later end of the laſt year; and *Veſpaſian* did wait in the beginning of this, but till he could ſettle affairs there where he was, and till he might have good weather at Sea, and then he ſets for *Italy*: and *Titus* his ſon parting with him at *Alexandria*, ſets for *Judea*, to make ſome end of thoſe Wars.

And here we cannot but take in two paſſages for Chronology ſake, which help well to meaſure the time that we are juſt now upon. The one is this of *Dion Caſſius*, in the life of *Veſpaſian*. *From the death of Nero to the reign of Veſpaſian, there intercurred but one year and two and twenty days. And I write this, leaſt any ſhould miſreckon; giving the whole time to every one that reigned. For they did not ſucceed one another, but one reigned in the time of another: So that their years are not to be counted, by their ſucceeding one another, but according to the exact courſe of the time it ſelf.*

The other is out of *Joſephus*, who once again tells that the fall of *Jeruſalem* was *in the ſecond year of Veſpaſian. De Bell. lib. 6. cap.* 47, *&c.* And yet in recording the ſtory and times of the ſacking of it, he doth plainly place it in that year, that the *Roman* Annals write *Veſpaſians firſt*: as it will be obvious to obſerve, to any that peruſeth them and him. His computation therefore muſt be caſt by his own counters: for he accounteth the beginning of his reign from the time that the Armies in the Eaſt proclaimed him, and ſwore fealty to him: which was in *July*: and in *September* twelvemonth after *Jeruſalem* was taken; at which time *Veſpaſian* was entred indeed upon a ſecond year from the time of his proclaiming; and according to this calculation it is that *Joſephus* reckoneth: whereas *Vitellius* was alive and fought it out many months after *Veſpaſian* was proclaimed: therefore the *Roman Faſti* do very properly begin his firſt year from the beginning of *January*, this year that we are upon.

Titus coming into *Judea*, and there gathering all his forces together, marcheth againſt *Jeruſalem*, and pitcheth his ſiege againſt it, when now the Paſsover feſtival had' called all the people of the Country in thither: For as the turbulencies and inteſtine commotions in the bowels of the Empire it ſelf the laſt year, had given the Jews ſome reſpite from the *Roman* Armies, ſo had they given them ſome boldneſs and ſecurity, ſeeing *Veſpaſian* and his Forces were now forced to turn their faces another way; and they hoped they would hardly have turned towards them again. How much they were deceived, *Titus* without, and Famine and all miſeries within did ſoon ſhew them. What were the paſſages in this ſiege, and what Famine, Peſtilence, Civil ſlaughters, and various kinds of death the beſieged ſuffered in it, are ſo largely deſcribed by *Joſephus*, that it were but a needleſs rehearſal to ſpeak of them: The end was, that the Temple and City were raked up in aſhes: eleven hundred thouſand periſhed in the ſiege; almoſt an hundred thouſand taken priſoners, and the Nation ruined from what they had been. That this deſolation is phraſed in Scripture as the deſolating of the whole world, [as we have had occaſion to obſerve divers times by ſeveral paſſages that we have met withal referring thereunto] it will appear no wonder, if we conſider that it was the deſtroying of the old peculiar Covenanted people; of the Lords own habitation, Ordinances, and place choſen by him above, nay alone of all the places of the world, to put his Name there.

A people once higheſt in his favour, now deepeſt in his diſpleaſure: once bleſſed with his greateſt dignations, above any, nay above all the people under Heaven, and now fallen under his heavieſt indignation. A people of his curſe, and who have left their name for a curſe to his choſen. And a new world [as it were] now created, a new people made the Church, a new Oeconomy, and *Old things paſt, and all things become new*, 2 Cor.5.17.

We are now upon a very remarkable and eminent Period; where ſhould I write an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, I ſhould begin, as at the beginning of a new world: not but that the Calling of the Gentiles had begun before, for the Goſpel was now gone through all the world: and the Jews were alſo given up before as to the generality of them, when the Holy Ghoſt calls them *dogs*, and a *Synagogue of Satan:* but their State and Oeconomy was not till now rooted up, nor the Divine Ordinances once planted among them till now extinguiſhed: and their caſting off ſealed by the ruine of their City, diſperſion of their Nation, and their final obduration.

SECTION I.

The Deſolation of the Temple and City.

THE Temple was burnt down, as *Joſephus* a ſpectator ſetteth the time, Ἡμέρᾳ δεκάτῃ Λώου Μηνὸς, *On the tenth day of the month Lous:* which he ſaith was a fatal day to the Temple, for it had been burnt down by the *Babylonians* before on that day, *De Bell. lib.6. cap.27.* And yet his Countrymen that write in the Hebrew Tongue, fix both theſe fatalities to the ninth day of that month which they call the month *Ab*; and they account that day fatal for three other ſad occurrences beſides: *On the ninth day of the month Ab*, ſay they, *the decree came out againſt Iſrael in the wilderneſs that they ſhould not enter into the Land: On it was the deſtruction of the firſt Temple, and on it was the deſtruction of the ſecond. On it the great City Bitter was taken, where there were thouſands and ten thouſands of Iſrael, who had a great King over them* [Ben Cozba] *whom all Iſrael, even their greateſt wiſe men thought to have been Meſſias: But he fell into the hands of the Heathen, and there was great affliction, as there was at the deſtruction of the Sanctuary. And on that day, a day allotted for vengeance, The wicked Turnus Rufus plowed up the place of the Temple, and the places about it, to accompliſh what is ſaid, Sion ſhall become a plowed field.* Talm. in Taanith. per. 4. halac. 6. Maymon. in Taanith per. 5.

It is ſtrange men of the ſame Nation, and in a thing ſo ſignal, and of which both parties were ſpectators, ſhould be at ſuch a difference: and yet not a difference neither, if we take *Joſephus* his report of the whole ſtory, and the other Jews conſtruction of the time. He records that the Cloiſter walks commonly called *The Porches of the Temple*, were fired on the eighth day, and were burning on the ninth, but that day *Titus* called a Council of War, and carried it by three voices, that the Temple ſhould be ſpared: but a new buſling of the Jews cauſed it to be fired, though againſt his will, on the next day: *Joſeph. ubi ſupr. cap.* 22. 23, 24. Now their Kalendar reckons, from the middle day of the three that fire was at it as from a Center: and they ſtate the time thus: *It was the time of the evening, when fire was put to the Temple, and it burnt till the going down of the Sun of the next day. And behold what Rabban Jochanan ben Zaccai ſaith: If I had not been in that generation I ſhould not have pitched it upon any other day, but the tenth, becauſe the moſt of the Temple was burnt that day. And in the Jeruſalem Talmud it is related that Rabbi, and Joſhua ben Levi faſted for it the ninth and tenth days both.* Gloſſ. in Maym. in Taanith per. 5.

Such another diſcrepancy about the time of the firing of the firſt Temple by *Nebuchadnezzar*, may be obſerved in 2 *King.* 25. 8, 9. where it is ſaid, that *In the fifth month, on the ſeventh day of the month, came Nebuzaradan Captain of the guard, and burnt the Houſe of the Lord.* And yet in *Jerem.* 52. 12. it is ſaid to have been *In the fifth month, on the tenth day of the month.* Which the *Gemariſts* in the *Babylon* Talmud reconcile thus: *It cannot be ſaid on the ſeventh day, becauſe it is ſaid On the tenth: Nor can it be ſaid, On the tenth day, becauſe it is ſaid On the ſeventh. How is it then? On the ſeventh the aliens came into the Temple, and eat there and defiled it, the ſeventh, eighth and ninth days, and that day towards night they ſet it on fire: and it burnt all the tenth day, and was the caſe alſo with the ſecond Temple.* Taanith fol.29.

The ninth and tenth days of the month *Ab* on which the Temple was burnt down, was about the two and three and twentieth of our *July:* and the City was taken and ſacked the eighth day of *September* following: *Joſeph. ubi ſupr. cap.* 47. That day being their Sabbath day, *Dion fol.* 748.

After eleven hundred thouſand deſtroyed and periſhed in the ſiege and ſacking, and ninety ſeven thouſand taken priſoners, *Titus* commanded City and Temple to be razed to the

the ground, only three of the higheſt Towers left ſtanding, *Phaſaelus*, *Hippicus* and *Mariamme*, and the Weſtern Wall of the City: thoſe, that they might remain as monuments of the ſtrength of the place, and thereby of the renown of the *Roman* Conqueſt: and this, that it might be of ſome uſe to the *Roman* Garriſon that was left there, which was the tenth Legion. Their chief Captain was *Terentius Rufus*, a man of exceeding frequent mention in the Hebrew Writers, but his former name a little ſhortned, yet a little added which makes it long enough, for they conſtantly call him טורנוס ר ופוס הדשע *Turnus Rufus the wicked one.* There are endleſs diſputes betwixt him and *R. Akibah* mentioned, about the Jews Law and Religion, and when he died *R. Akibah* married his widdow, now become a Proſeliteſs.

Amongſt thoſe that periſhed in the fate of the City, the names moſt famous were *Jochanan*, *Simeon* and *Eleazar*, the three ringleaders of ſedition, names famous for faction. But the perſon of the beſt rank that periſhed, was *Rabban Simeon*, the Preſident of the *Sanhedrin*, a man educated with *Paul* at the foot of *Gamaliel* his father. The *Sanhedrin* had ſitten at *Jabneh* a long while, but the Feaſt of the Paſsover had now brought them up to *Jeruſalem*, and there he is caught. The Bab. Talmud in the place lately cited, relates, that he was once in danger, but one of the *Roman* Commanders was a means of his delivery: But at laſt he was caught and ſlain, and in the Jews Martyrology he is ſet the firſt of הרוגי מלכות *The ten ſlain by the Kingdom:* meaning ten eminent ones that were put to death by the *Romans*. All the ten are reckoned by *Midras Tillin* upon *Pſal.* 9. fol. 10. col. 3. *He forgetteth not*, ſaith he, *the cry of the poor: that is, he forgetteth not the blood of Iſrael to require it of the Nations: nor the blood of thoſe Righteous ones that were ſlain:* viz. *Rabban Simeon the ſon Gamaliel*, *Rabbi Iſmael the ſon of Eliſha*, *R. Iſhbab the Scribe*, *R. Hotſpith the Interpreter*, *R. Joſe*, *R. Judah ben Baba*, *R. Judah Hannachtom*, *R. Simeon ben Azzai*, *R. Hananiah ben Teradion*, and *R. Akibah*. But the Author of *Tſemach David* reckoning up theſe, next after *Rabban Simeon* nameth *Ananias the Sagan*, or the *ſecond Prieſt*, and ſaith that he was ſlain at the deſtruction of the City when *Rabban Simeon* was ſlain. Of this *Ananias Sagan* there is mention in the Talmud Text ſeveral times: we will take but one inſtance, *Shekalim* per. 6. halac. 1. *There were thirteen worſhippings or bowings in the Temple, but the houſe of Rabban Gamaliel, and the houſe of Ananias Sagan made fourteen.* The *Sagan* was, as it were, Vice-Highprieſt, the next to him in Dignity and Office, and is ſometimes called *the Highprieſt*, as *Luke* 3. 2. And it may be this was the man, and bare that title, *Act.* 23. 2, 4. the enemy of *Paul*, and whoſe character and doom he reads, that he was a whited wall, and God would ſmite him: accompliſhed when he periſhed in the fall of the City.

We may not omit the calculation of the time that the Jews make further, of the Temples burning: *When the firſt Temple was deſtroyed*, ſay they, *it was the evening on the ninth of Ab, it was the going out of the year of releaſe, and it was the going out of the Sabbath: And ſo was it with the ſecond Temple.* Tal. Bab. *ubi ſupr.* Obſerve, by their confeſſion the Temple was burnt down upon the Lords day, or on the Chriſtian Sabbath. Fire put to it upon their Sabbath, and it burnt all ours: And ſo the City fell upon their Sabbath, as was mentioned out of *Dion* even now.

SECTION II.

The face and ſtate of the Country after the Cities ruine.

WE will firſt begin at *Jeruſalem* it ſelf. It was laid ſo deſolate, ὡς μηδὲ πόποτε οἰκηθέναι πίστιν ἂν ἔτι παρασχεῖν τοῖς προελθοῦσι, *That travellers by could ſee no ſign that it had been ever inhabited:* they are the words of *Joſephus De Bell. lib. 7. cap.* 1. The Friars there, and the Maps here with us, that point out places ſo punctually, as to tell you Here was *Pilates Palace*, here *the Highprieſts*, here *the dolorous way*, &c. muſt receive more curteſie from your belief, then they can give proof to their aſſertion.

It appears by the conſtant and copious teſtimony of the Jews, that the City and Temple were not only laid flat by fire, ruine, and demoliſhment, but that *Turnus Rufus* brought a plow over them to make good that Propheſie, *Zion ſhall be plowed as a field:* The plowman would find but rugged work: They allot it, as obſerved before, to have been on the ſame day of the year, and ſo a twelvemonth at the leaſt muſt intercede.

What the beauty of the place had been, needs no Rhetorick to ſet it forth, nor what the populouſneſs; the Temple, if there had been no other goodly ſtructures, was enough to ſpeak the one, and the multitude of their Synagogues the other: their own records ſum them up to four hundred and threeſcore. *R. Phinehas in the name of R. Hoſhaiah ſaith there were 460 Synagogues in Jeruſalem, and every one had a houſe for the Book of the Law for the publick reading of that, and a houſe for the publick teaching and explaining the traditions.*

ditions. Jeruſ. Chetub. fol. 35. col. 3. which in *Megillah* fol. 73. col. 4. and in *R. Solomon* upon the firſt of *Iſaiah* are reckoned up to four hundred and fourſcore. But now not one relick left, of Temple, Synagogue, Midraſh, Houſe, or any thing elſe but rubbiſh and deſolation. Her people uſed this cuſtom while ſhe ſtood, that *on all other days of the year the unclean walked in the middle of the ſtreet, and the clean by the houſe ſides, and the unclean ſaid unto them, Keep off: But on the days of the Feſtivals, the clean walked in the middle of the ſtreet, and the unclean by the houſe ſides, and then the clean bid Keep off.* Jeruſ. Shekalin fol. 51. col. 1. But now where is that company, that niceneſs, nay where are the ſtreets? *Titus* himſelf ſome time after the deſolation, coming that way, could not but bemoan the fall of ſo brave a City, and curſed the Rebels that had occaſioned ſo fatal a deſtruction: *Joſeph. De Bell. lib.7. cap.15.*

How the Country near about was waſted with ſo long and terrible a ſiege, and indeed the whole Country with ſo dreadful a War, it is eaſier conceived then expreſſed. *Joſephus* tells particularly much of it, and this thing for one, That all the timber twelve miles about the City was cut down, and brought in to make forts and engines for the ſiege, *lib.6. cap.40.*

We may take a view of the whole Country as to the ſurface and ſituation of it in this proſpective of their own: *The Land* [ſay they] *that Iſrael poſſeſſed that came out of Babylon, was theſe three Countries, Judea, Galilee, and Beyond Jordan, and theſe were ſeverally tripartite again. There was Galilee the upper, and Galilee the neather, and the Vale. From Caphar Hananiah upward, all that bears not Sycamores, is Galilee the upper, and from Caphar Hananiah downward, all that doth bear Sycamores is Galilee the lower, and the border of Tiberias is the Vale. And in Judea, there is the Mountanous, and the Plain, and the Vale. And the plain of Lydda is as the plain of the South, and the mountanous thereof as the mountain royal: From Bethoron to the Sea is one Region:* Shiviith per. 9. halac. 2. The *Jeruſalem* Gemariſts do add thus, *What is the vale in Galilee? The vale of Genezareth and the adjoyning. What is the mountanous in Judea? This is the mountain royal; and the plain thereof is the plain of the South, and the vale is from Engedi to Jericho. And what is the mountanous beyond Jordan? R. Simeon ben Eleazar ſaith, The hills of Macvar, and Gedor: And the plain thereof Heſhbon, and all her Cities, Dibon, Bamoth Baal, and Beth Baal Meon. And the vale is Beth Haran, and Beth Nimrah.* Shevïith fol. 38. col. 4.

It were endleſs to trace the footſteps of the War particularly in all theſe places, let *Joſephus* be conſulted for that: we may ſay in ſhort, that hardly any conſiderable place eſcaped, but ſuch as were peaceable, or ſuch as were unacceſſible. Of the latter ſort *the mountanous of Judah* was the chiefeſt place, *Joſhua* 21. 1. *Luke* 1. 39. הר המלך *The mountain royal*, as the Hebrew Writers do commonly call it [a place incredibly populous as they teſtifie, *Jeruſ. Taanith* fol. 69. col. 1.] Hither *Chriſt* gives his Diſciples warning before hand to flee, when theſe evils ſhould come, *Matth.* 24. 16. Which warning we cannot judge but they took, and ſo planted here as in a place of ſafety by his warrant.

Though therefore the Country were extreamly waſted, with ſo long and ſo furious a War, yet was it not utterly waſte, nor the Nation deſtroyed from being a people, though it were deſtroyed from being what it had been. Thoſe places and perſons that had quietly ſubmitted to the *Roman* power, if they had eſcaped the fury of their own ſeditious ones, were permitted to live in quiet, yea to injoy their own Religion and Laws, they in the mean while demeaning themſelves as peaceable ſubjects, to that power that had brought them under. And for one acknowledgment of that ſubjection, they were injoyned to pay that *Didrachma* or half ſhekel that they uſually paid to the Temple for their lives, to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, *Xiphil. apud Dionem.* pag.748.

Their *Sanhedrin* continued in the ſame luſtre and ſtate, as it had done for many years before the City fell: and their Synagogues in the ſame poſture, and their Religion in the ſame condition, ſave only thoſe parts of it which were confined to *Jeruſalem*, which was now in the duſt. And generally the places and people that had eſcaped the War, if they would live quiet, did injoy their quietneſs, as well as men could do in a Land in ſuch a condition as into which it was now brought.

SECTION

SECTION III.

The Sanhedrin ſitting at Jabneh: Rabban Jochanan ben Zaccai Preſident.

ALthough *Rabban Simeon* the Preſident of the Council, was caught in *Jeruſalem* as in a trap, and ſo loſt his life, yet *Rabban Jochanan ben Zaccai* his Vice-Preſident, and who was alſo then in the City with him, made a ſhift to eſcape. He ſpake and acted for *Cæſar* as much and as long as he durſt, and when he ſaw he could no longer be in ſafety in the City, he cauſed his Scholars *R. Joſhua* and *R. Eliezer* to carry him forth upon a Bier as a dead corps [for a dead corps might not reſt in *Jeruſalem* all night, and ſo he eſcaped and was brought to *Cæſar.*] Thus *R. Nathan* tells the ſtory, *Avoth* per. 4. This *Rabban Jochanan* fourty years ago, when the Temple doors flew open of their own accord, foreſaw its ruine in that preſage, and accordingly applied that ſaying of the Prophet *Zechary, Open thy doors O Lebanon that the fire may devour thy Cedars.* Therefore when he ſaw the enemy now ſo ſtraitly beſieging the City, and ſuch forerunners of ruine apparent, it is no wonder if he uſed all perſwaſion to the people to yield and to ſave their City, as the ſame Author alſo tells us he did, and if he went and gave himſelf up to him that he knew ſhould be Conqueror. Nor needed he any Prophetick ſpirit to foreſee theſe things, but the very ſickly condition and diſtemper of the Nation might plainly enough tell him, that her death could not be far off.

He finding favour with *Cæſar*, petitioned of him, that the *Sanhedrin* might repair to its old place *Jabneh*, and there ſettle, and he obtained it. *Jabneh* was near unto *Joppa* upon the Sea coaſt: there is mention of it, 2 *Chron.*26.6. Here had the *Sanhedrin* ſitten as we have mentioned, many years before the Temple fell, a good part of *Gamaliels* time, and all *Rabban Simeons* his ſon.

He ſate Preſident here five years: and theſe are the men of note that ſate with him: *Rabban Gamaliel*, ſon to *Rabban Simeon* that was ſlain at the fall of the City: *R. Zadok*, one who had ſpent his body with extream faſting ſince the Temple doors had opened of their own accord, taking that for an *omen* of its ruine approaching: *R. Eliezer* his ſon: *R. Judah* and *R. Joſhua* the ſons of *Betirah: R. Eliezer ben Hyrcanus* the Author of *Pirke Eliezer: R. Joſhuah, R. Eliezer ben Erech, R. Iſmael, R. Joſe, R. Simeon ben Nathaniel, R. Akibah*, and divers others, who outlived *Rabban Jochanan* the moſt of them a long time. They made many Decretals in his time, eſpecially about thoſe things that had had immediate reference to the Temple, as ſee *Roſh haſhanah* per.4. *Shekalim* per. 1, *&c.*

SECTION IV.

The Sanhedrin ſtill at Jabneh: Rabban Gamaliel Preſident.

WHEN *Rabban Jochanan* died, *Rabban Gamaliel* ſucceeded him in the Preſidency ſeven years. He is commonly called by the Hebrew Writers רבן גמליאל דיבנה *Rabban Gamaliel of Jabneh.* But for the right ſtating of his Preſidency there, two things are to be obſerved. The firſt is mentioned in *Babyl. in Roſh haſhanah* fol. 31. 1,2. where all the flittings of the *Sanhedrin* are reckoned in the *Gemara* thus: *From the room Gazith it flitted to the Taberna* [in the mountain of the Temple] *from the Taberna into Hieruſalem, from Hieruſalem to Jabneh, from Jabneh to Oſha or Uſha, from Oſha to Shepharaam, from Shepharaam to Beth Shaaraim, from Beth Shaaraim to Tſipporis, and from Tſipporis to Tiberias.* Now the marginal Gloſs teacheth us how to underſtand theſe removes. *When the Preſident was in any of theſe places,* ſaith it, *the Sanhedrin was with him, and when he or his ſon went to another place, it went after him. It was at Jabneh in the days of Rabban Jochanan, at Uſha in the days of Rabban Gamaliel, but they returned from Uſha to Jabneh again: but in the days of Rabban Simeon his ſon it went back again* [*to Uſha.*] So that the time that *Rabban Gamaliel* ſate at *Jabneh* inſtantly upon *Rabban Jochanans* death, was not long, but he went to *Uſha*, and his time at *Uſha* was not long neither, but to *Jabneh* again. And as we are to obſerve thus about his time and place, ſo there is a ſecond thing to be taken notice about him, and that is the mixture of his Preſidency.

The Talmudiſts do ſpeak oft בר הושיבו ר׳ אליעזר בן עזריה *Of placing R. Eliezer the ſon of Azariah in the Preſidency. Tſemach David* ſpeaks it out thus; *R. Eliezer ben Azariah was a Prieſt, and was exceeding rich: he was made Preſident in the room of Rabban Gamaliel, but afterward they were joyned in the Preſidency together:* which is ſtill obſcure

obſcure enough; but the *Jeruſalem Gemariſts* give the full ſtory in *Tuanith ſol.* 67. *col.* 4. in theſe words: *A certain ſcholar came and asked R. Joſhua, What is Evening Prayer? He anſwered, A thing Arbitrary. The ſame ſcholar came and asked Rabban Gamaliel, What is Evening Prayer? And he ſaid, A bounden duty. He ſaith to him, But R. Joſhua ſaith it is a thing Arbitrary. He ſaith to him, To morrow when I come into the Congregation, ſtand forth and ask this queſtion: So the ſcholar did ask Rabban Gamaliel, What is Evening Prayer? He anſwered, A bounden duty. How then, ſaith the ſcholar, doth R. Joſhua ſay it is a thing Arbitrary? Rabban Gamaliel ſaith to R. Joſhua, Art thou he that ſaith it is a thing Arbitrary? He anſwered, No. He ſays to him, Stand upon thy feet that they may bear witneſs againſt thee. R. Joſhua ſtood upon his feet, whileſt Rabban ſate and was expounding, ſo that all the Congregation repined at him* [for making him to ſtand ſo.] *And they ſaid to R. Hotſpith the Interpreter, Diſmiſs the people, and they ſaid to R. Zinnun the Miniſter ſay Begin, and they ſaid all Begin, and ſtood upon their feet too. And they ſaid to him* [Rabban Gamaliel] *Againſt whom hath not thy miſchief paſſed continually? They went preſently and made R. Eliezer ben Azaria Preſident, who was but ſixteen years old, but very grave. R. Akibah ſate by and took it ill, and ſaid, It is not becauſe he is better ſtudied in the Law then I, that he is thus prefered, but becauſe he is nobler born then I. Happy is the man who hath Anceſtors to priviledge him. Happy is the man that hath a nail to hang upon. And what was the nail that R. Eliezer ben Azaria had? He was the tenth from Ezra. How many benches of ſcholars were there ſitting there then? R. Jacob bar Suſi ſaith, Fourſcore beſides the people that ſtood behind them. R. Joſi ben R. Bon ſaith, Three hundred. Rabban Gamaliel went preſently to every one at his own home and ſought to pacifie him*, &c. So that by this it appears how and why *Gamaliel* was outed of his Preſidency, namely for his pride and paſſion [of which we might ſhew you other examples alſo] but he was reſtored again to be partner in the dignity with *R. Eliezer* whom they promoted now.

There is exceeding much mention of this *Gamaliel* in the Talmuds, and he is a very buſie man there: the Reader there meets with him as oft as with any one man whoſoever. He had a ſervant named *Tobi* very oft ſpoken of, whoſe eye he ſtruck out, and let him go free for it: when he died he much bemoaned and commended him. *Beracoth* per. 2. halac. 6. Whileſt he ſate at *Jabneh*, in his curioſity for the exquiſite taking of the new Moons, he had ſcored upon his wall ſeveral forms and appearances of it, and thoſe that came to bear witneſs that they had ſeen the new Moon he brought thither, and asked, *How ſaw you it? In this form, or this, or the other*, &c. Roſh haſhanah *per.* 1. *hal.* 8.

SECTION V.

The Sanhedrin ſtill at Jabneh. R. Akibah Preſident.

THE twelve years of *Rabban Jochanan* and *Rabban Gamaliel*, reached from the ſecond year of *Veſpaſian*, when the *Sanhedrin* was firſt ſetled at *Jabneh*, to the ſecond year of *Domitian:* there begins *R. Akibah* his Preſidency, and ſate fourty years, namely to the time of the ſacking of the Town *Bitter* or *Beth tar*, which the Jews generally fix fifty two years after the fall of the Temple, or at moſt fifty five: So that he ſate all the time of *Domitian* and *Trajan*, to the fifth or at moſt the eighth year of *Hadrianus*.

His time was a troubleſom time with the Jews. In *Domitians* days, *Judaicus fiſcus præter cæteros acerbiſſime actus*, *Above all others the Jews were plagued with taxes and confiſcations.* Sueton in Domit. cap. 12. where he adds, *I remember when I was a boy, I was preſent when a man of ninety years old was ſearched before a great company whether he were Circumciſed or no.*

In *Trajan's* time was that horrd inſurrection of the Jews, mentioned by *Dion. lib.* 68. about *Cyrene*, where they murdered *Romans* and *Greeks*, to the number of two hundred and twenty thouſand; eat their fleſh, devoured their intrails, and dawbed themſelves with their blood: And the like inſurrection they made in *Egypt* and *Cyprus*, and murdered to the number of two hundred and fourty thouſand. *Tſemach David* makes *Ben Coziba* a chief leader in this buſineſs: who if he were, received his juſt reward in the time of *Hadrian.* He took on him to be *Meſſias*; made himſelf a King, ſtamped Coyn of his own: מטבע של בן כוזיבא *Jeruſ. Maaſar Sheni* fol. 52. col. 4. brought the *Romans* againſt him, who deſtroyed him and the City *Bitter*, and multitudes of thouſands of Jews with him. The Jews commonly write it ביתר, but in

Jeruſ.

Jeruſ. Taanith. fol. 68. col. 4. it is written ביתחר *Beth tar:* which properly ſignifies *the houſe of ſpies.* And there a ſtory is told that makes it no better, of the great ones that had eſcaped at the ruine of *Jeruſalem*, and dwelt here, and intrapped any man that they ſaw go toward *Jeruſalem. Euſebius Hiſt. lib.* 4. *cap.* 6. calls it *Bethekа*, and ſaith it was not far from *Jeruſalem:* which *Barronius* boldly tranſlates *Bethlehem.* The Jews do character the doleful ſlaughter at this place as the ſaddeſt ſtroke that ever they received, but the fall of *Jeruſalem. Rabbi Akibah* himſelf periſhed in it, dotingly having become Armour bearer to *Ben Coziba*, as holding him to be the *Meſſias.* You may obſerve what kind of a *Meſſias* they expect.

Dion tells that in this War *Severus*, whom *Hadrian* had ſent to quel them, took fifty of their ſtrongeſt Garriſons, and deſtroyed nine hundred fourſcore and five fair Towns. And *he alſo deſtroyed all the Olive trees in Judea.* Jeruſal. Peah. fol. 20. col. 1. How they themſelves record the ſlaughter at *Beth tar*, may be ſeen in the *Jeruſalem Talmud in Taanith*, the place cited above, and the *Babylonian in Gittin* fol. 57. 2.

Whence their firſt tumultuating took its riſe, is of ſome obſcurity, only it may be reſolved into Gods juſt judgment upon them to ſtir to their own ruine. Yet *Spartianus* ſpeaking of their ſtirring in the time of *Hadrian* ſaith, it was becauſe they were forbidden Circumciſion. *Moverunt ea tempeſtate & Judæi bellum quod vetabantur mutilare genitalia.* In vit. Hadrian. *Trajan* put a reſtraint upon Chriſtianity and perſecuted it. *Plin. Epiſt. lib.* 10. *ep.* 97. It may be he did the like upon Judaiſm, and that might move them to an inſurrection. The horrid Maſſacres that they committed in *Cyrene*, *Egypt* and *Cyprus* might be looked upon as a juſt judgement for his perſecution of Chriſtianity, if multitudes of Chriſtians did not alſo periſh in thoſe ſlaughters, if *Ben Coziba* were ringleader in them: For *Juſtin Martyr*, Apol. 2. ſaith, that *Barchochebas brought Chriſtians only to torture, unleſs they would deny Chriſt and blaſpheme him.* And *Euſeb.* in Chron. *Chocebas the ringleader of the Jews, put to death with all exquiſite torture thoſe Chriſtians that would not aſſiſt him againſt the Romanes.* That is worth obſerving which is ſpoken by *Jeruſ. Jevamoth.* fol. 9. col. 1. *There were many that had retracted their foreskin in the days of Ben Coziba, were Circumciſed again:* which *R. Niſſim* ſpeaks out more at large: *There were many Circumciſed ones in the days of Ben Coziba, who had retracted their foreskin perforce, in the Town of Bitter, but the hand of Ben Coziba prevailed, and reigned over them two years and an half, and they were Circumciſed again in his days.* In *Alphef.* in *Jevam.* fol. 428. their *retracting their foreskin perforce* ſpeaks much like to that which was mentioned before out of *Spartianus.*

In theſe times alſo [of *Trajane* I ſuppoſe] there was an Edict againſt the Jews Ordination upon pain of death to him that did Ordain, and him that was Ordained, and ruine of the place where any Ordination ſhould be *Talm. Bab. Avodah Zarah.* fol. 8. 2.

And from the time of theſe tumults forward that began to take place which is ſpoken in *Jeruſ. Sanhed.* fol. 24. col. 2. *That in the days of R. Simeon ben Jochai* [who was now alive] *the judging even in pecuniary matters was taken away.* In *fol.* 18. *col.* 1. This is ſaid to have been *in the days of Simeon ben Shetah:* but that is a miſtake which is corrected in the place cited.

Upon theſe Wars and Tumults *Hadrian* forbids the Jews to go to *Jeruſalem*, or ſo much as to look upon it from any hill where it might be ſeen. *Euſeb. hiſt.* lib. 4. cap. 6.

Triphon the Jew that hath the long diſpute with *Juſtin Martyr*, fled from theſe Wars *Juſtin. Dial. cum Tryph.* he might very well be *R. Tarphon*, a great aſſociate with *R. Akibah*, and one much mentioned in the Talmuds.

SECTION VI.

The Sanhedrin at Uſha and Shepharaam אושא ושפרעם. *Rabban Simeon Preſident.*

THUS did the juſt vengeance of God follow the Nation, but far were they from being rooted out, and as far from laying to heart any plague that light upon them. Beſides *R. Akibah*, we can hardly name you another of note that periſhed in all thoſe deadly combuſtions, though ſome of them were in the thickeſt of the danger; but reſerved as it ſeemeth as a further plague for the ſeduction of their Nation. Some of their expreſſions about the ſad ſlaughter at *Bethtar* or *Bitter* are to this purpoſe: The horſes waded in blood up to the noſtrils: There were ſlain 400000: And *Adrian* walled a Vineyard of ſixteen miles about with dead bodies a mans height. And there were found the brains of 300 children upon one ſtone, and three cheſts full of tattared Phylacteries containing three buſhels every cheſt. *Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel ſaith there were* 500 *Schools, and to the leaſt there belonged* 500 *Scholars, and they ſaid, If the enemy ſhould come againſt us we could prick out their eyes with our pens: But when it came to it, they folded them all up in their books and burnt them, and there was not one of them left but only I.* Not that he reckons himſelf in the number of the children, for he was now well in years, but that none of all that great Univerſity was left but himſelf: And yet beſides the eminent men that we have named, there were *R. Meir* a great ſpeaker in the Talmud, but moſt commonly againſt the common vote. *R. Simeon ben Jochai* and *Eleazar* his ſon, the firſt Authors of the book *Zohar*. *R. Nathan* the Author of *Avoth*. *R. Joſi Galileus* and his ſon *Eliezer*. *R. Jochanan ben Nuri*. *Ben Nanas*. *R. Joſhua ben Korcha*. *R. Eliezer ben Chaſma:* and why ſhould we reckon more when *Beriſhith Rabba* makes this *Summa Totalis* on *Gen.* 25. That *R. Akibah had* 24000 *diſciples*. Of ſome decretals made at *Uſha*, you may read *Jeruſ. in Roſh. haſhan fol.*58. *col.* 3. *Chetub. fol.* 28. *col.* 3.

In theſe times of *Hadrian* which we are yet upon, *Aquila* the Proſelyte was in being and in repute. In *Jeruſ. Chagig. fol.* 77. *col.* 1, he is introduced diſcourſing with *Hadrian* about the univerſe being ſupported by a Spirit. In *Megil. fol.* 71. *col.* 3. It is ſaid that *Aquila the Proſelyte interpreted the Law before R. Eliezer and R. Joſhua, and they highly commended him for it and ſaid, Thou art fairer then the children of men.* By which it may be conjectured what a tranſlation this was, when theſe men ſo extolled it. The *Jeruſalem Gemariſts* do cite his verſion, *Megil. fol.* 73. *col.* 2. *Succah fol.* 53. *col.*4. *Joma fol.* 41. *col.*1. and ſeveral other places.

Rabban Simeon now Preſident, ſate about thirty years, namely from about the ſixt or eighth of *Hadrian*, to the fifteenth or ſixteenth or thereabout of *Antoninus Pius:* the honour and power of that Bench growing low and in the wane every day more then other. This *Rabban Simeon* you have a great ſpokeſman in the Talmud: his grandfather of the ſame name that died with *Jeruſalem*, is ſeldom introduced ſpeaking there: Once you have him ſwearing by the Temple, *Cherithuth* per. 1. halac. 7.

SECTION VII.

The Sanhedrin at Bethſhaarain, Tſipporis and Tiberias. R. Judah Preſident.

UPON the death of *Rabban Simeon*, his ſon *Rabbi Judah* ſucceeded him: a man of note equal with, if not above any named before him: he bare not the title of *Rabban* as his Anceſtors had done for five generations before him, yet had he thoſe appellations that dignified him equal with it: he was called ſometimes eminently *Rabbi* and no more: ſometime *R. Judah the holy:* ſometimes *our holy Rabbi:* ſometime *R. Judah the Prince:* and oft in the *Jeruſ. Talmud. R. Judan.* Vid. *Jeruſ. Sanhedr. fol.* 30. *col.* 1. where it ſpeaks of all his Titles. There are innumerable ſtories of him, we ſhall only pick up thoſe that are moſt pertinent to our preſent ſubject. *Juchaſin. fol.* 2. tells us that he was with the Seventy of the *Sanhedrin* in *Bethſhaaraim*, *Tſipporis* and *Tiberias*, and *Tiberias* was the tenth and laſt flitting that the Sanhedrin had. How long in *Bethſhaaraim* is uncertain, and little is mentioned of that place: but *Tſipporis* צפורי is famous: It was the greateſt City of *Galilee*, Joſeph. *de Bell. lib.* 3. *cap.* 3. a place planted in a fruitful ſituation, for ſixteen miles about it, ſaith *Talm. Jeruſ.* was a Land flowing with milk and honey. *Biccurim fol.* 64. *col.*2. *Rabbi Judah* ſate here ſeventeen years, and he applied that to himſelf, *Jacob lived in the Land of Egypt ſeventeen years, and Judah lived in Tſipporis ſeventeen years.* There are theſe two memorable ſtories of this place: That a Butcher couſened the Jews here with carcaſes and beaſts torn, and made them eat them, nay he made them eat dogs fleſh. *Jeruſ. Trumoth. fol.* 45. *col.* 3. And divers

of

of *Tſipporis* were glad to wear patches on their faces to disfigure them that they might not be known when inquiſition was made after them. *Id. Jevamoth fol.* 15. *col.* 3. and *Sotah fol.* 23. *col.* 3. The numerous paſſages about the Doctors and diſputes and Scholaſtick actions in this place would be too tedious to mention, though with the briefeſt touch we could.

From *Tſipporis* the *Sanhedrin* removed to *Tiberias*, upon the brink of the lake of *Geneſaret*. This was about eight or nine miles from *Tſipporis*. Id. Sanhed. fol. 21. col. 1. the Jews hold it to be the ſame with *Rakkath* in *Joſh.* 19. 35. *Megil.* fol. 70. col. 1. And that *Chammath* there mentioned alſo, was a place that joyned to it. *Erubbin* fol. 23. col. 4. ſo called from the hot bathes there. *Bab. Megil.* fol. 6. 1. How long *Rabbi* ſate here is uncertain.

Their Records do make him exceedingly in favour with *Antoninus* the Emperour, but whether *Pius* or *Philoſophus* they name not: it is generally held to be *Pius*: whetherſoever it was, there are abundance of diſcourſes 'twixt *R. Judah* and him diſperſed in their Writings: and they ſtick not to tell you, that he became a Proſelyte, and *when the Proſelytes of righteouſneſs ſhall come, in the world to come, Antoninus ſhall come in the head of them.* Jeruſ. Megil. fol. 74. col. 1. *Antoninus Philoſophus* or *Marcus Aurelius* was the likelier to converſe with Scholars. *R. Judah* outlived them both, and *Commodus* alſo.

Two famous things, as that Nation reputed it, did this man in his time. Firſt, he gathered up and compiled into one Volume all the traditional Law that had run from hand to hand to his time [the *Miſhnah* that we have now in our hands] which is the Jews great pandect according to which they live: He ſaw their ſtate wane daily more and more, and though they had now many Learned Schools, yet their *Cabbala* or great ſtock of traditions, he thought might fail and be loſt, now the *Sanhedrin* failed, therefore he thought to make ſure work, and committed it to writing, that it might be preſerved to the Nation, and ſo he helped to rule them. And a ſecond thing that he did, was, that he *took care that there ſhould be* ספרים ומתנימנים *Scribes and Teachers of the Traditions in all the Cities in the Land of Iſrael. Jeruſ. Chagigah fol.* 76. *col.* 3. In the ſame Tract, *fol.* 77. *col.* it is reported of him that at ſix portions of the Scripture when he came to read them he wept. He compiled the *Miſhnah* about the year of *Chriſt* 190, in the later end of the reign of *Commodus*: or as ſome compute in the year of *Chriſt* 220, an hundred and fifty years after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*.

SECTION VIII.

The Schools and Learned after the death of Rabbi Judah.

BESIDES the places where the Sanhedrin had ſitten, which yet continued Schools when it was removed, there were divers other places that were great Schools and copiouſly furniſhed with Learned men, both in *Galilee* and *Judea*: and hence that diſtinction that the reader of the *Jeruſalem Talmud* will meet with, of בן דרום and בן גלוד *a Southern man and a Galilean.* Chagig. *fol.* 79. *col.* 3. that is, a Scholar of the one, or of the other. Hence there is mention of *R. Jacob* דרומיא *the Southern man.* Erubh. fol. 24. col. 2. and *the Elders of the South*, ibid. col. 3. *R. Joſhuah of the South*, Challah fol. 57. col. 2. Of all the places in *Judea*, next *Jabneh* and *Bitter*, *Lydda* was moſt eminent, where *R. Akibah* ſate as Preſident of a School, before he was of the *Sanhedrin* at *Jabneh.* Roſh haſhanah per halac. 7. and this continued a School all along to theſe times of *Rabbi Judah*: In *Galilee* there was *Magdala*, *Chammath*, and *Cæſarea*, if you will reckon that in *Galilee*, beſides others.

R. Judah left two ſons behind him, *Rabban Gamaliel* and *Rabbi Simeon*: *Rabban Gamaliel* was promoted in his fathers life time: but after *R. Judah* was dead *Rab. Chaninah* ſate chief, and that by *R. Judahs* appointment, and with him were *R. Chaiia*, *R. Hoſhaiah Rabba*, *R. Joſhua ben Levi*, *Kaphra*, *Bar Kaphra*, *Rabh* and *Samuel*, which two laſt went away to the Univerſity in *Babylonia.* This generation is the firſt of the *Gemariſts*, explaining the *Miſhnah*, and producing the opinions of the Ancients upon it.

After *R. Chaninah*, who ſate ten years, *R. Jochanan* was Preſident eighty years. He compiled the *Jeruſalem Talmud*, as is generally held, in the year of *Chriſt* two hundred and thirty or thereabout, which was about the middle of the reign of *Alexander Mammæa*; yet there is that in the *Talmud* it ſelf that would make you believe that you

meet with the name of the Emperour *Diocleſian* there. *Beracoth* fol. 6. col. 1. כד סליק דוקליטינוס מלכא להכא *When King Docletinus* [to ſpeak it according to the letters] *came hither, R. Chaiia bar Abba was ſeen getting upon a grave to ſee him. Shevuith* fol. 38. col. 4. דיקליטיאנוס אעיק לבני פניים *Dicletianus afflicted the men of Paneas*, &c. In *Kilaim* fol. 38. col. 3. and *Chetuboth* fol. 35. col. 2. They ſay the Land of *Iſrael* was incompaſſed with ſeven Seas, and the laſt of them they name is ימא דאפמיא *The Sea of Apamia.* [The Samaritan verſion on *Numb.* 34. 10, 11. renders *Stepham*, *Apamia.*] *Now this*, they ſay, *is the Sea or lake Mahaz: Dicletianus gathered the Rivers and made it.* And it might very well be, that *Rabbi Jochanan* that compiled the *Talmud* might live beyond the times of *Diocletian:* but in *Trumoth* fol. 46. col. 3. this *Dicletianus* they ſpeak of, is plainly aſſerted to be in the days of *Rabbi Judah haccadoſh* in this ſtory: *The ſons of Rabbi Judah princeps, beat Diclot the ſwine-herd, who afterward was made a King. He comes to Paneas and ſends letters to the Rabbins, See ye be with me at the going forth of the Sabbath*, &c. *When they come to him, he ſays to them, You deſpiſe the Kingdom: They anſwer him, Diclot the Swine-herd we deſpiſe, but Diocletianus the King we deſpiſe not:* which is far from meaning *Diocleſian* the Emperour. If this were a place to diſpute about the exact time of writing this *Talmud*, we might alſo take into examination the meaning of דינר גורדינון ſpoken of in *Chagigah* fol. 79. col. 4. whether it mean *Denarius Gordiani* or no, but we ſhall not inſiſt upon that here.

After the compiling of this *Talmud* there is little further mention of the Schools or Scholars of *Judea* or *Galilee* [the Univerſities in *Babylonia* from henceforward bearing all the renown] yet were they not utterly extinct: and out of them at laſt ariſeth the famous *R. Hillel* grandchild of *R. Judah*, who ſtated the Jews Almanack into that poſture in which it ſtands at this day: And *Hierom* had for his help in the Hebrew Tongue a learned man of *Tiberias*.

SECTION IX.

The poſture and temper of the People.

HAVING taken this brief account of their Scholaſtick and Magiſtratick Hiſtory, as alſo of ſome general occurrences that befel the Nation in theſe times, let us a little obſerve the carriage and temper of the men, for the better diſcerning of the Lords diſpenſing in reference to them, as a people of his curſe, rejection and abhorring. They themſelves little thought it, but were yet as proud and ſelf-confident of their being the only people of God as ever; and unleſs it were in their plague by *Ben Coziba*, a ſtander by, would hardly think they lay under thoſe curſes that had been ſo oft and ſo terribly denounced againſt them: and it may yet appear the more ſtrange, when we do conſider the ſetled way of their Religion, in which they walked with as much confidence and ſecurity as ever. The Land full of Synagogues, theſe frequented every Sabbath, and the ſecond and fifth days of the week, their paying Tithes, obſerving purifyings, clean and unclean meats and drinks, and in a word, all their Rites, but what unſeparably belonged to the Temple, in as ſetled a courſe as they had done before the Temple fell. But in this very thing was their miſery and the vengeance upon them; and that which they accounted was their happineſs, and with which they ſweetned their Captivity and deſolation of their City, was that very thing that was their unhappineſs and undoing.

A double badge of reprobation they viſibly carried, though themſelves could not ſee it, namely their doting upon their wretched Traditions, and their rancour and enmity againſt the Goſpel, beſides what other brands of a curſe may be read upon them.

He that reads their *Talmuds* may obſerve this mark of perdition upon them in every page, that the generations after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, were more mad, if poſſible, after their fooliſh and wicked Rites and Traditions, that made Faith and the Word of God of no effect, then the generations before had been. A man that reads there may ſtand amazed to ſee a people of a loſt and languiſhing condition, yet building up of thoſe toies and trifles an airy ſtructure, as if they were building an everlaſting Kingdom. It ſpeaks a palpable blindneſs upon them, that they took ſo little advertiſement by the fall of their City, of the fall of their carnal and beggerly Rites, that they ſet them up more zealouſly then ever before.

Let

Let any man obſerve who they are that make the greateſt noiſe in the *Talmuds*, and they will ſee this plain: This minds me of a fancy of the great women among them, a ridiculous way that they uſed for the remembrance and mourning for *Jeruſalem*, namely by wearing a golden Crown upon their heads, wrought in the faſhion of a City, they called עיר זהב *The golden City*: It is ſpoken of in *Jeruſ. Shabb. fol.* 7. *col.* 4. where they are diſputing whether the women might go forth with this Ornament upon their heads on the Sabbath: And there they tell that *R. Akibah made a golden City for his wife, and when Rabban Gamaliels ſaw it, ſhe was envious at it*: A pretty way of mourning by pride, and to carry *Jeruſalem* in gold on their heads, when *Jeruſalem* lies in aſhes under their feet: Much like did they by their Ceremonies and Traditions, when at the ruine of the City they ſhould by right have been all buried in aſhes with it, they inhanced them and made them more high and gallant then ever before.

It is needleſs to inſtance their deriſion and deteſtation of *Chriſt* and Chriſtianity, their blaſphemy againſt his bleſſed name, their hatred and miſchievouſneſs againſt the profeſſors of it: their Writings proclaim their impiety, and when many of the ancient Fathers have been put to write againſt the Jews, it argues they were buſie and ſtirring as far as they might. They had continual oppoſings among themſelves, yet they all agreed like *Simeon and Levi, brethren in evil*, to oppoſe, vilifie and blaſphem the Goſpel. Hardly one of the *Grandees* that we have named, but he had פר פלוגתיה *his oppoſite*, one or the other that ſtood out in conteſtation of opinion with him: Nay they went ſometimes to it by the ears; as *R. Eliezer* and *R. Joſi* are ſo ſtrugling together that they rent the Book of the Law betwixt them. *Jeruſ. Shekalim fol.* 47. *col.* 1. and as we obſerved before, the *Shammæans* and *Hillelians* fought it to blood and death: *Rabban Gamaliel at Jabneh*, depoſed *R. Akibah* from his Rectorſhip at *Lydda*. Roſh. haſhan. fol. 57. col. 1. And divers ſuch bickerings which ſtill ended in an unanimous conſent to oppoſe Chriſtianity as much as poſſible.

We ſpake before of the commonneſs of *Magick* amongſt them, one ſingular means whereby they kept their own in deluſion, and whereby they affronted ours. The general expectation of the Nation of *Meſſias* coming when he did, had this double and contrary effect; That it forwarded thoſe that belonged to God, to believe and receive the Goſpel: and thoſe that did not, it gave incouragement to ſome to take upon them they were *Chriſt* or ſome great Prophet, and to others it gave ſome perſwaſion to be deluded by them. Theſe deceivers dealt moſt of them with Magick, and that cheat ended not when *Jeruſalem* ended, though one would have thought that had been a fair term of not further expecting *Meſſias*, but ſince the people were willing ſtill to be deceived by ſuch expectation, there roſe up deluders ſtill that were willing to deceive them. The *Jeruſalem Talmud* will furniſh us with variety of examples of this kind, and I cite it the oftner becauſe it was made among theſe men we are ſpeaking of, the Jews in *Judæa*.

To begin with dreamers and interpreters of dreams, which was a degree of deluſion with them. In *Maaſar Sheni fol.* 45. *col.* 2, 3. there is mention of *Rabbi Joſi ben Calpatha*, of this trade, and *R. Iſmael ben Rabbi Joſi*, and *R. Lazar*, and *R. Akibah*; and there are many dreams recorded that they interpreted: and it ſeemeth by a paſſage in the place, that they taught their Scholars this trick as a piece of their learning: And finding of *R. Akibah* in this Catalogue, we cannot but think how well *Ben Coziba* and he were met: for if the one were a cheater in one kind, the other was a deceiver in another. If that of the Apoſtle *Jude* in his Epiſtle *ver.* 8. *Theſe filthy dreamers*, ſhould be conſtrued in this litteral ſenſe, it would find enow in thoſe times to make it good.

In *Shabb. fol.* 3. *col.* 2. it ſpeaks of an apparition to one of their religious men that was ſtudying the Law.

Ibid. *fol.* 8. *col.* 2, 3. and *fol.* 14. 3. there is mention of ſeveral charmings, as reading ſome verſes over a wound, laying the Book of the Law or Phylacteries upon a ſick perſon, charming againſt ſerpents and an evil eye, *&c.* And now we are ſpeaking of *an evil eye*, or witchery, we may take in that *Sanhedr.* fol. 18. col. 3. *Four and twenty of the School of Rabbi Judah came to Lydda to intercalate the year, and an evil eye came in among them and they all died.*

In *Sotah fol.* 16. *col.* 2. A ſtory related of *R. Meir* and an Inchantreſſe, and he proving hard enough for her.

In *Sanhedr.* fol. 25. col. 4. There are three ſtories of Magical feats done by מינין *Hereticks*, one at *Tiberias* and two at *Tſipporis*, but *R. Joſhua* outvying one of them, and a fourth at *Rome*, and he making his part good there too. What may be ment by *Hereticks* muſt be divided betwixt *Samaritans*, and ſome wretches that had forſaken

forſaken their Judaiſm, and profeſſed Chriſtianity, but were ſuch as the Apoſtle calls *falſe Apoſtles.*

And to conclude all, the many ſtories they have of *Bath kol* or a voice from Heaven [moſt commonly coming for the magnifying of ſome of their Doctors, as ſee, *Sotah. fol.* 24. *col.* 2.] are either forgeries, or if there were any ſuch ſeeming voices, they were forged upon the anvil of Magick: How can a Nation but carry the viſibe mark of perdition, when vain traditions are their ſtanding Religion, and Magick and Inchantments a common practiſe?

To this kind of legerdemain, we may add another, not altogether indeed of ſo deep a die, yet that which came from the ſame father, and that was, the loud legends they invented of their great Rabbines, thereby to awe the people to the reverence of their Perſons, Memories and Doctrines: and of others devoutly zealous in their doting Religion, of whom they tell ſtrange wonders for the magnifying of it. I ſhall name none for ſhame: theſe are they that do moſt diſgrace their writings, and make them moſt ridiculous.

A laſt thing to be named that they did toward the intayling folly, unbelieve and obduration upon their Nation to all poſterity, is their ingaging them to their Canons and Traditions, as they delivered them: eſpecially to the *Miſhnah* when *Rabbi Judah* had publiſhed it, and to the two *Talmuds* when they came forth, eſpecially the *Babylonian*, which ſtands as a Standard to all the Nation for her Rule and Religion to this day: they being generally *Phariſaicall*, and ſcarce a *Karaite* that we hear of amongſt them.

SECTION X.

How far theſe Jews in the firſt generation of Chriſtianity might infect or infeſt it.

WE need not ſpeak of their croſſing the Goſpel, and perſecuting and miſchieving the profeſſors of it, when it lay in their power; that needs no clearing: A twofold infection, more eſpecially, they diffuſed into the Chriſtian Church, which tainted many, and where it caught proved peſtilential enough, even that which was the leaſt dangerous: and theſe were, that out of this ſink roſe the deſperate hereſies of the firſt Ages of the Goſpel, and from theſe men came the Allegorizing of the Scriptures, which was but one degree leſs profitable, if not leſs deadly then their traditions.

How damnable Hereſies aroſe from among them in the Apoſtles times, we have ſeen copiouſly as we have come along through the Epiſtles, ſome unbelieving Jews and ſome Apoſtates diffuſing poyſon ſo deadly and ſo affluent, that it undid multitudes by backſliding. The venom was of a contrary malignity, yet both extreams met alike in this point, that they proved moſt deadly. The unbelieving Jews ſtanding upon the ſtrictneſs of the Law, preverted divers to turn from the Goſpel, to the preciſe courſe of thier Judaiſm to ſeek Juſtification by works. And the Apoſtatizing, as far misjuding of the liberty of the Goſpel, introduced all manner of licentiouſneſs and heedleſneſs of their ways, as to eat things ſacrificed to Idols, and to commit fornication. Theſe were the moſt notorious, as ſtriking directly at the root of Juſtication by faith, and of holineſs of life: but theſe were not all, but other roots of gall and wormwood growing upon the ſame ſoil, as denying of the reſurrection altogether, as did the *Sadducees*, or denying the Reſurrection of thoſe that ſtarted from Judaiſm, and worſhipping of Angels, and whatſoever elſe, the Apoſtles ſpeak of this gangreen in their Epiſtles, which though they grew and were at full ripeneſs before *Jeruſalem* fell, yet did they fade but little when ſhe was down.

As the firſt wretched ſtock of Hereticks that roſe, *Simon*, *Cerinthus*, *Meander*, *Elxon*, *Baſilides*, &c. appeared either in *Judea*, or at leaſt there where there were multitudes of Jews, as *Baſilides* at *Alexandria*, ſo the moſt of thoſe damnable opinions that they ſowed, and which grew for a long while after, had ſome root or other in Judaiſm, or received ſome curſed moiſture from thence to nouriſh them. By *Judaiſm* I here underſtand the body of the Jews Religions though differing within it ſelf, yet all contrary to Chriſtianity. Look upon *Paleſtine*, and you have it thus ſtocked in the times that we are upon.

1. With

1. With *Phariſees* of ſeven ſorts, as they be reckoned up, *Beracoth fol.* 13. *col.* 2. *Sotah. fol.* 20. *col.* 3.
2. With *Sadduces*, at the leaſt of two ſorts if not more.
3. With *Samaritans.*
4. With *Eſſeans*: *Baithuſæans* you may reckon with *Sadduces* or *Samaritans* whether you will. Now the variety, nay contrariety of opinions that was among this mixture, would afford nouriſhment to any evil weed of doctrine that could be ſowed; theſe being as *Manaſſeh* againſt *Ephraim*, and *Ephraim* againſt *Manaſſeh*, but all againſt the Goſpel. We have mention of the *Baithuſæans* going about to put a gull upon the *Sanhedrin* about the great buſineſs of ſtating the beginning of the year, *Roſh haſhan fol.* 57. *col.* 4. The *Sadduces* laughing the *Phariſes* to ſcorn about waſhing the Candleſticks of the Temple, *Chagig. fol.* 79. *col.* 4. The *Phariſes* and *Sadduces* croſſing one another in diſputes, *Jadaim, per.* 4. *halec.* 7. Aud the *Samaritans* perpetually at enmity with the Jews in all ſtories. Now all theſe being alike enemies to Chriſtianity, what miſchief might not they ſeverally do in poyſoning and ſeducing thoſe that were not ſound in it? We find the names of ſome arch Hereticks mentioned in the *Talmuds*, though we cannot ſay they were the ſame men. As דוסתי *Doſitheus*, *Orlah per.* 2. *halac.* 5. אבין *Ebion*, *Jeruſ. Joma. fol.* 4. *col.* 3. סומכוס *Symmachus*, *Jevam. fol.* 11. *col.* 3. *Chetub. fol.* 25. *col.* 3. And *Papias* alſo is a *Talmud* name, of which name there was one ſo zealous of traditions, *Euſeb. Hiſt. lib.* 3. *cap.* 39.

We obſerved at the ſecond Epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians*, that the Jews, partly the unbelieving, and partly the Apoſtatized, were the firſt part of Antichriſt, *the miſtery of iniquity* that was then working when the Apoſtle wrote: and now we may obſerve how they continued bodied together, as a Corporation of iniquity, in *Judea*, till the times of *Conſtantine the great*, the ſucceſſion of their Schools plainly to be read there: as we have ſhewed in little. And when they wanted there, then did they flouriſh in their three Univerſities in *Babylonia:* and the ſucceſſion of the Schools and names of the larned men known there, not only till the ſigning of the *Babylon Talmud* which was about the year of *Chriſt* 500, but even till the other part of *the miſtery of iniquity the Papal Antichriſt* aroſe at *Babylon* in the Weſt: And as theſe two parts make one intire body of *Antichriſt*, and as the latter took at the firſt to do the work that they had done, to deface the truth and oppoſe it, and that under the colour of Religion, ſo did it in great meaſure take his Pandect of Errors from theſe his predeceſſors. Traditions, falſe Miracles, Legends, Ceremonies, Merit, Purgatory, implicit Faith, and divers other things ſo derived from this ſource, as is left by legacy from the one to the other.

A ſecond taint we mentioned that theſe Primitive Jews ſet, not only upon their own poſterity, but too much alſo upon the Church of *Chriſt*, was the turning of the Scriptures all into Allegory: which as it is well known how it was uſed by divers of the Fathers to their great loſs of time, and little profiting of the Church: ſo it is eaſily to be known from whence it comes, by any that reads *Philo Judæus*, and the Jewiſh *Deruſhim.* The *Talmuds* indeed are for the moſt part, upon diſputes, but ſometimes they bring in how ſuch or ſuch a Doctor did *Daraſh*, [miſtically expound] ſuch or ſuch a place of Scripture: and then you have directly ſuch ſtuff as this. *Philo* in his diſcourſe concerning the *Theraputæ* or *Eſſeans*, relateth that they had uſed this miſtical kind of expoſition of old. And how near the *Chriſtians* of *Judea* that fled from the ruine of *Jeruſalem*, might be ſuppoſed thenceforward to be planted to the *Eſſeni*, we might obſerve from *Pliny* and *Mela* that place the *Eſſeni* along the vale that coaſted upon the dead Sea [the old habitation of the *Kenites*] and from conſidering that the mountains to which *Chriſt* warns us thoſe that were in *Judea*, to flee, was, *the mountanous of Judea*, as was touched.

SECTION XI.

That the Jews for all their ſpite to Chriſtianity, could not impoſe upon us a corrupted Text.

HEre we cannot but clear them, as for mater of fact, of what ſome lay to their charge. [but they do it for their own ends] that they foiſted a corrupt Text of the old Teſtament upon *Chriſtians*, and ſo befooled them in the very foundation of their Religion: So did their anceſtors by *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, and ſo what theſe men would have done, if they could, it is eaſie to conjecture, but they did not, they could not ſo impoſe.

1. It

1. It was their great care ſolicitouſneſs, as to themſelves, and their own uſe, to preſerve the Text in all purity and uncorruptneſs; and what our Saviour ſays of *not one Iota or one tittle of the Law* periſhing, they were of the ſame mind, and indeavoured to maintain and aſſert that for true with all induſtry. It were too long here to ſpeak of the work of the *Maſorites* for this purpoſe, who altered not, added not, invented not a tittle, but carfully took account of every thing as they found it, and ſo recorded it to poſterity that nothing could be changed. We ſhall only bring in their own expoſitions which will atteſt to this truth to both thoſe words that our Saviour hath, Ἰῶτα ἓν, καὶ μία κεραία: Ἰῶτα ἓν: It is little to be doubted that *Chriſt* ſpeaking in their language, meaneth the letter *Jod*, which is far the leaſt of all their letters. And about this letter the *Jeruſalem Talmud* hath this paſſage: *Sanhedr. fo.* 20. *col.* 3. *The book of Miſhneh Torah* [Deuteronomy] *came and proſtrated it ſelf before God, and ſaid unto him: O Lord everlaſting, Thou haſt written thy Law in me. A Teſtament that fails in part, fails in the whole. Behold Solomon ſeeks to root Jod out of me* [viz. *in* לא ירבה נשים *He ſhall not multiply wives.*] *The Holy bleſſed God ſaith to it: Solomon and a thouſand ſuch as he ſhall fail, but a word of thee ſhall not fail. R. Houna in the name of R. Acha ſaid: The Jod that the bleſſed God took from the name of our mother Sarah, was given half of it to Sarah and half to Abraham. There is a tradition of R. Hoſhaiah: Jod came and proſtrated it ſelf before God and ſaid; Lord everlaſting, thou haſt rooted me out from the name of a righteous woman. The holy bleſſed God ſaith to it: Heretofore thou waſt in the name of a woman, and in the end of it, Henceforward thou ſhalt be in the name of a man and in the beginning. This is that which is written, Moſes called the name of Hoſhea, Jehoſhua.* Μία κεραία: *one Tittle:* It moſt properly means thoſe little *Apiculi* that diſtinguiſh betwixt letters that are very like one to another: You may have the explanation of this in this pretty deſcant of *Tanchuma fol.* 1. *It is written*, ſaith he, לא תחללו את שם קדשי *You ſhall not prophane my holy Name. He that makes the Cheth* ח *a He* ה *deſtroys the world:* for he makes this ſenſe, You ſhall not praiſe my holy Name. *It is written* כל הנשמה תהלל יה *Let every thing that hath breath praiſe the Lord: He that makes the He* ה *a Cheth* ח *deſtroys the world*; for he brings it to this ſenſe, Let every thing that hath breath profane the Lord. *It is written* יכחשו ליהוה *They lyed to the Lord: He that maketh Beth* ב *Caph* כ *deſtroyes the world*: for he maketh this ſenſe, They lyed like the Lord. *It is written* אין קדוש כיהוה *There is none holy like the Lord. He that makes Caph* כ *Beth* ב *deſtroys the world:* for he maketh this ſenſe, There is no holineſs in the Lord. *It is written* יהוה אחד יהוה אלהינו *The Lord our God is one Lord. He that makes Daleth* ד *Reſh* ר *deſtroys the world*: for he bringeth the ſenſe to this, The Lord our God is a ſtrange God, *&c.* In *Chagig. fol.* 77. *col.* 3. they ſpeak more of the letter *Jod*, and ſo doth *Midras Tillin* in *Pſal.* 114. In *Deut.* 32. 18. this little letter is written leſs then it ſelf in the word חשי, and yet preſerved in that quantity and not altered, and obſerved ſo by the *Maſorites.*

2. Yet could they not for all their care but have ſome falſe Copies go up and down amongſt them, through heedleſneſs or error of tranſcribers. In *Shabb. fol.* 15. *col.* 2. they are diſputing how many faults may be in a part of the Bible, and yet it lawful to read in. *The books of Hagiographa*, ſay they, *If there be two or three faults in every leaf* מתקנו וקורא בו *He may mend it, and read:* The Books of *Hagiographa* they read not in their Synagouges, as they did the Law and the Prophets, therefore this is to be underſtood of a mans private reading, and of his own Bible, which if faulty, there were true Copies whereby he might mend it and ſo read. Nay in *Taanith fol.* 68. *col.* 1. there is mention of a faulty Copy that was laid up in the publick records. *They found three books in the Court of the Temple. The book* מעוני *the book* ועטוטי *and the book* היא *In one they found written* מעון אלהי קדם *and in two it was written* מעונה אלהי קדם [*Deut.* 33. 27.] *And they approved the two, and refuſed the one. In one they found written*, וישלח את נערי בני ישראל *and in two it was written* וישלח את ועטוטי בני ישראל [*Exod.* 24. 5.] *They approved the two, and refuſed the other. In one they found written* חשע היא *and in two it was written* אחרת עשרה היא; *They approved of the two and refuſed the other.* That alteration ועטוטי which is the ſecond mentioned, the *Babylonian Gemariſts*, and *Maſſecheth Sopherim per.* 1. ſay was one of the thirteen alterations that the *Septuagint* made in the Law for *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt.* Which ſeems to argue that as they tranſlated the Bible into *Greek*, in which they made thouſands of alterations from the text, ſo that they copied an Hebrew copy for him, and in that made theſe, and this that was found in the Court of the Temple a tranſcript of that Copy.

3. In every Synagogue they had a true Copy: And it was their care every where to have their Bible as purely authentick as poſſible, as may be ſeen by the curious rules that are given to that purpoſe in *Maſſecheth Sopherim* newly cited, and *Megillah.*

For

For this they accounted their treaſure and their glory: And in the reading of the Law and the Prophets in the Synagogue, it was their great care that not a tittle ſhould be read amiſs: and for this purpoſe the Miniſter ſtood over thoſe that read, and overſaw that they read aright: and from this, as *Aruch* tells us, he was called *Chazan*, that is *Epiſcopus* or *Overſeer*: In *Jeruſ. Sotah fol.* 21. *col.* 3. the *Samaritans* are blamed by the Jews for wilfully corrupting their own Pentateuch. *R. Eliezer ben R. Simeon ſaid, I ſaid to the Scribes of the Samaritans, You have falſified your Law, and yet reap no advantage by it: for you have written in your Law*, By the plain of *Moreh* which is *Sichem*; *And was it not manifeſt enough without that addition that it was Sichem? But you conſtrue not*, a pari, *as we do. It is ſaid here*, The plain of *Moreh, and it is ſaid elſewhere*, The plain of *Moreh: there it is no other but Sichem: no more muſt it be here.* [The addition cavilled at, *which is Sichem*, is ſo in the *Samaritan Pentateuch* now extant, at *Deut.* 11. 30.] But amongſt all the wickedneſs that *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles laid to the charge of the Jews, yet you never find them blamed in the leaſt degree for this, that they went about to corrupt the letter of the Text: The ſenſe indeed they ſpoiled with their gloſſes, and ſo made the Word of God of no effect, and this they hear of throughly, but not a word of their ſpoiling the letter of the Text.

4. Had they been never ſo deſirous to have impoſed upon *Chriſtians*, by falſifying the Text, they could not poſſibly do it: For

Firſt, Every Synagogue in the world having the pureſt Copy that poſſibly was to be got, how impoſſible was it ſuch *legerdemain* ſhould be, when there were ſo many thouſand Copies to diſcover it [unleſs they were all corrupt alike] and multitudes out of the Synagogues, Rulers and People were converted to the Goſpel.

Secondly, As learned men as any they had among them, and that as well underſtood what Text was pure, what corrupt, *Joſeph of Arimathea*, *Nicodemus*, *Paul*, and multitudes of the Prieſts imbraced the Goſpel: and ſo multitudes of pure Copies were in the hands of *Chriſtians*, upon the firſt riſing of the Goſpel, and multitudes that had ſuch Copies in their hands were converted daily.

5. To which may be added that the ſame power and care of God that preſerves the Church, would preſerve the Scriptures pure to it: and he that did and could preſerve the whole, could preſerve every part, ſo that not ſo much as a tittle ſhould periſh.

SECTION XII.

Concerning the Calling of the Jews.

BY what hath been ſpoken concerning the ſtate of the Jews in their own Land after the fall of their City, it may be obſerved wherein it is that the Lords vengeance upon that Nation doth eſpecially conſiſt, namely in his rejection of them from being his people, and in their obduration. The unſpeakable miſeries and ſlaughter that they indured in the ſiege and ruine of *Jeruſalem*, ſpeak as dreadful puniſhment as ever fell upon a Nation, and yet this was but ſhort and ſmall, in compariſon of that fearful blindneſs and hardneſs that lies upon them, and hath done for this ſixteen hundred years together. Seventy years in bodily bondage in *Babel*, did finiſh the puniſhment of their forefathers, for all the Idolatry, bloodſhed and impiety that they had committed: But theſe after above twenty times ſeventy years, under diſperſion and obduration, have now as little appearance of amendment of their hearts and of their condition, as there was ſo many hundred years ago. The ſame blindneſs, the ſame doting upon traditions, the ſame inſiſting upon their own works for ſalvation, the ſame blind confidence that they are Gods only beloved people, the ſame expectation of *Meſſias* to come, the ſame hatred of *Meſſias* already come, and the ſame oppoſition againſt the Goſpel is in them ſtill, that was in that firſt generation that crucified the Lord of life. That generation is plainly and often aſſerted by the Holy Ghoſt in the New Teſtament to be *Antichriſt*, and the very ſame *Antichriſtian* ſpirit hath continued in all the generations of them, ever ſince, even to this day.

Into the thoughts therefore concerning their Calling after ſo long and ſo extream croſneſs againſt the Goſpel and the Lord of it, I cannot but take theſe things into conſideration. [For though I am unwilling to recede from that charitable opinion of moſt Chriſtians that there ſhall once be a Calling of them home, yet ſee I not how that ſuppoſal of the univerſal Call of the whole Nation, as of one man, which ſome entertain, can be digeſted without ſome allay and mitigation.]

1. That

1. That all *Iſrael*, both Jews and they of the ten Tribes, have had as full an offer of the Goſpel as any of the Gentiles have had, both in the time of the Apoſtles and ſince. Of the two Tribes there can be no ſcruple: and of the ten, almoſt as little, if their ſin that caſt them off the place of their ſeating when carried out of their own Land, and the carriage of the Goſpel through the whole world, be well conſidered: Now that their refuſing of the Goſpel ſo offered to them, in that manner as they have done, ſhould be followed with ſo univerſal a Call and Converſion, is ſomewhat hard to believe: eſpecially when it is obſerved that the Gentiles deſpiſing the Goſpel are doomed to the everlaſting deprivation of it, and to a worſe condition then *Tyre* and *Zidon*.

2. It is true indeed that Gods Covenant with their fathers, is of ſpecial weight and obſervation in this buſineſs, and the Apoſtle toucheth it in this queſtion, *Rom.* 11. 28. but how is this to be underſtood? God made a twofold Covenant with their fathers, *viz.* the Covenant of Grace, and the Covenant of Peculiarity; and the later was but a manner of the adminiſtration of the former. The Covenant of Grace was made with *Adam*, and belongs to all the ſeed of *Chriſt*, before the Law, under it, and after it, Jews and Gentiles. Now the Oeconomy of *Moſes* was ſuch an adminiſtration of this Covenant of Grace as made *Iſrael* a peculiar people. This effect of the Covenant with their fathers, namely that they ſtill are and ever ſhall be Gods peculiar, is their conceit all along, but little warrant for us to hold it, ſince under the Goſpel there is no diſtinction of Jew and Gentile: And as for the other, that many of them yet belong to Election and the Covenant of Grace made with their fathers, it is not to be doubted, which yet doth little make for ſo general a calling.

3. It was a good ſign of the general converſion of the Heathen once to be, in that there were multitudes of them proſelyted daily, before the general Call by the Goſpel came [an hundred three and fifty thouſand in the days of *Solomon*, and that when Religion was then in a very narrow compaſs:] But of theſe, how few, in compariſon have come in, in all this long time, though they have had incomparably more means and opportunity then ever thoſe had? Their ſin that caſt them off, was more horrid then the ſin that caſt off the Heathen, and ſo their blindneſs and obduration is beyond theirs. And which deſerves obſervation, The ſin of the two Tribes was beyond the ſin of the ten.

4. Since the New Teſtament doth ordinarily ſtile that firſt generation *Antichriſt:* and ſince, as is apparent, the very ſame ſpirit is in the Nation to this day, I ſee not how we can look upon the converſion of the Jews under a lower notion then the converſion of a brood of *Antichriſt*. Therefore can I no more look for the general calling of them, then I look for the general call of the *Antichriſtian* brood of *Rome*. We ſee indeed by happy experience that ſeveral Nations have fallen off from the *Roman Antichriſt*, as the Proteſtant Countries that are at this day: but *Antichriſt* is yet in being and ſtrong, and his end will be, not by converſion, but perdition. So can I not but conceive of the Jewiſh Nation, That although numerous multitudes of them may at the laſt be brought into the Goſpel as the Proteſtant party hath been, yet that to the end numerous multitudes alſo ſhall continue in the Antichriſtian ſpirit of unbelief and oppoſition and blaſpheming: and both parts of Antichriſt, the *Roman* and this ſo to periſh together. Nor doth this opinion any whit croſs any place of Scripture that is produced about the calling of the Jews, but rather ſettle its ſenſe and explain it: That eminent place of the Apoſtle, *Rom.* 11. carrieth ſuch a limitation throughout: and the very intent of his diſcourſe ſpeaketh to ſuch a tenour all along: For his drift in that Chapter is not to determine whether all the Jews ſhould be once called, but whether all the Jews were wholly caſt off: and this he ſtates that *there is a remnant*, ver. 5. that *the election hath obtained, but the reſt are blinded*, ver. 7. and that *blindneſs in part is happened to Iſrael*, &c. *v.* 25. And this is the myſtery that he there ſpeaketh of, and not as ſome would wreſt it, their univerſal converſion. A myſtery indeed that God ſhould caſt off his old Covenanted people, and that they that had always had the light, and only ſeen of all the Nations of the world, ſhould now ſit in darkneſs and be blind, and that the Gentiles by their blindneſs ſhould come to ſee. It is remarkable in this place and others of the Apoſtles Epiſtles, that though the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* were the moſt ſignal time, and evidence of Gods caſting them off, yet that they were indeed caſt off long before: as, to ſpare more allegations, may be obſerved in the firſt Epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians*, *Ch.* 2. *ver.* 15, 16. which was the firſt Epiſtle that the Apoſtle wrote. Whence punctually to date their rejection, whether from the death of *Chriſt*, or from the firſt ſending the Goſpel among the Gentiles, is not much material to inquire after here: it is enough for our preſent purpoſe, to obſerve, that they are given for caſt off ſo early in the diſperſion of the Goſpel: So that the Apoſtle doth clearly include their converſion even at

that

that firſt ſpreading of the Goſpel, as well as their converſion in future times. He ſaith, *their caſting off was the riches of the Gentiles and the reconciling of the world*, and their fulneſs ſhould much more inrich the Gentiles, and be as life from the dead: By their *fulneſs* not meaning the whole number of their Nation, but the full number of Gods Elect of them when they ſhould be brought in. The caſting off of the Nation inriched the Gentiles, in that they came in to be the Lords people in their ſtead, but much more ſhall it be an inriching to them when the full number of them that belong to God ſhall come in alſo and be joyned to the Gentiles, and help to make their body up. This is apparently the drift of the Apoſtle in thoſe words, which that opinion is exceedingly wide of, that holds that the calling of the Jews ſhall not be till the fulneſs of the Gentiles be come in. It is true indeed that he ſaith, that *blindneſs in part is happened to Iſrael till that time*, v.25. and ſo our Saviour ſaith, that *Jeruſalem ſhall be troden down of the Gentiles until the time of the Gentiles be fulfilled*, Luke 21.24. but this means her final deſolation, and the final blindneſs of that part that is blinded; not that *Jeruſalem* ſhould be built again when the fulneſs of the Gentiles is come in, which the Jews conceit: nor that then the Jews ſhould be unblindfolded and become a Goſpel Church, as the Gentiles had been: for what a ſtrange world doth ſuch a ſuppoſal imagine? And how often doth the Goſpel gainſay any ſuch diſtinctiveneſs and peculiarity? As we need not to go far for inſtance, that very place of the Apoſtle that is under our hands, doth hold out all along that the Gentiles and the Jews that belong to the election of grace, do make up but one Body. And that very paſſage that is chiefly pleaded for their univerſal Call, *And ſo all Iſrael ſhall be ſaved*, means no other. Therefore though it may be hoped that God hath multitudes of them yet to be brought in, from under their Antichriſtian darkneſs and oppoſition of the Goſpel, yet that they ſhall be generally called, and no *Antichriſtian* party left behind, and that not till *Antichriſt* of *Rome* be fallen and the fulneſs of the Gentiles be come in, as ſome circumſtantiate the thing, needeth clearer evidence of Scripture to evince, then yet hath been produced.

FINIS.

THE

HARMONY

OF THE

Four Evangeliſts,

Among themſelves, and with the

OLD TESTAMENT.

The Firſt Part.

FROM THE

Beginning of the Goſpels

TO THE

BAPTISM of our SAVIOUR.

WITH

An Explanation of the Chiefeſt DIFFICULTIES both in LANGUAGE and SENSE.

By *JOHN LIGHTFOOT* D.D.

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MDCLXXXII.

The Epiſtle to the READER.

Gentle Reader,

THE veil of the Sanctuary was ſupported by four pillars, and wrought with great variety of works and colours: So is the Story of the veil of Chriſts fleſh by the four Evangeliſts, and the Texture of it of like variety. For one relateth what another hath omitted, one more largely, what another more brief, one more plain, what another leſs, one before what another after, one after one manner, and another after another: And ſo they bring their ſeveral pieces of Imbroidery, differing in colours, but not in ſubſtance, various in workmanſhip, but not in the ground-work, to conſtitute and make up a perfect and ſacred Tapeſtry and Furniture in the Houſe of the Lord: And carrying ſeveral faces in the manner of their writing and compoſal, like thoſe living Creatures in Ezekiel *and the* Revelation, *yet they ſweetly and Harmoniouſly meet together in the one body and compacture of a perfect Story.*

To ſew theſe parcels together into one piece, and ſo to diſpoſe and place them in their proper order, as the continuance and Chronical method of the Hiſtory doth require, is, hic labor hoc opus, *a thing of no ſmall pains and difficulty, and yet a thing that with pains and induſtry may be brought to paſs: For in many paſſages and diſlocations the Text hath ſhewed the proper place of ſuch diſlocated parcels, and the proper way and manner to join them where they ſhould be joined, ſo plainly; and in all places it hath hinted this ſo ſurely, though ſometimes more obſcurely, that ſerious ſtudy and mature deliberation, may certainly fix and ſettle them. Divers great and learned Pens have laboured in this work, both Ancient and Modern, both Romiſh and Proteſtant, but hardly any, if any at all, in our own mother Tongue, ſo fully and largely as a Work of this nature doth require: this hath incited me, though the unfitteſt of all others, for a task of ſo much Learning, Judgment, and Seriouſneſs, to attempt this work; and if poſſibly my dimneſs might, to give ſome light and facility to the Hiſtory of the Goſpel, and if my poorneſs could, ſome contribution towards the building of* Sion.

The Method that I preſcribed to my ſelf in this undertaking (ſome glimpſe whereof thou maiſt ſee in this preſent Parcel) was, 1. *To lay the Text of the Evangeliſts in that order, which the nature and progreſs of the Story doth neceſſarily require.* 2. *To give a Reaſon of this Order, why the Text is ſo laid, more largely or more briefly, according as the plainneſs, or difficulty of the connexion doth call for it.* 3. *To give ſome account of the difficulties in the language of the Original, as any came to hand, either being naturally ſo in the Greek it ſelf, or being made difficulties when they were not ſo, by the curioſity, miſconſtruction, or ſelf-end-ſeeking of ſome Expoſitors.* 4. *And laſtly, to clear and open the ſenſe and meaning of the Text all along as it went, eſpecially where it was of more abſtruſeneſs and obſcurity.*

Theſe two laſt things did I aſſay and go on withal a great way in the work, with much largeneſs and copiouſneſs, both concerning the language, and the manner. For, for the firſt, I did not only poiſe the Greek in the ballance of its own Country, and of the Septuagint, but I alſo examined tranſlations in divers languages, produced their ſenſe, and ſhewed cauſe of adhering to, or refuſing of their ſenſe, as I conceived cauſe.

And for the ſecond, I alledged the various Expoſitions and interpretations of Commentators, both ancient and modern, and others that ſpake to ſuch and ſuch places occaſionally, I examined their Expoſitions, and gave the Reader reaſon

to

to refuse or imbrace them as cause required. When seeing the Work in this way likely to rise to vastness of bulk it self, and of trouble to the Reader, I chose to abridg this first part for a trial, and therein having expressed only those things which were most material for the understanding of the Text where it is less plain (for where it is plain enough, why should I spend time and labour about it?) And spoken mine own thoughts upon it, and omitted (unless it be for a taste of what I had done) the glosses and thoughts of others: I now wait for the direction and advice of my learned and loving Friends and Readers, whether to exhibite the other parts that are to follow (by Gods good blessing and assistance) in that large and voluminous method that at the first I prescribed to my self, or in that succiseness that this present parcel holdeth out.

I have partly chosen, and have partly been constrained, to tender this work to publick view by pieces, whereof only this, and this but a small one neither appears at this time. I have chosen so to do, that I might give the world my thoughts upon the Evangelists as the Lord giveth time: for who would defer to do any thing of such a work, till he have done all, since our lives are so short and uncertain, and the work so long and difficult? And I have been constrained thus to do, partly because of mine other occasions, many and urgent, which deny me opportunity to follow that business as such a bulk would require: and partly because of the straits of the times, which have straitned our Presses, that they Print but rarely any thing voluminous. Every year by Gods permission and good assistance, shall yield its piece, till all be finished, if the Lord spare life, health and liberty thereunto.

Divers things were fitting to have been premised to a work of this nature; but because, that if they should all be set before this small piece that we now exhibit, the Preface or Prolegomena would be larger than the Book it self: therefore have I reserved to every piece that shall come forth, its own share and portion. And the things that I have thought upon, and hewed out unto this purpose are these.

1. To fix the certain year of our Saviours birth, as a thing very fit to be looked after, and to shew the certain grounds whereupon to go, that our fixing upon such a year may be warranted and without wavering: This have I premised to this first part, wherein comes the Story and Treatise of our Saviours birth.

2. To give account of all the dislocations of Texts and Stories in the Old Testament, which are exceeding many, to shew where is their proper place and order, and to give the reason of their dislocation: And this being so copious and frequent in the Old Testament, the like will be thought the less strange and uncouth in the New.

3. To make a Chorographical description of the Land of Canaan, and those adjoyning places that we have occasion to look upon as we read the Gospel, a thing of no small necessity, for the clearer understanding of the Story.

4. To make a Topographical description of Jerusalem, and of the Fabrick of the Temple, which will facilitate divers passages in the Gospel, which are of no small obscurity.

5. To give some account and Story of the State and Customs of the Jews in these times when the Gospel began, and was first preached among them, out of their own and other Writers, which things the Evangelists mention not, and yet which conduce not a little to the understanding of the Evangelists.

These as things very necessary for the matter in hand, shall wait severally upon the several parts that shall follow, as the Lord shall please to vouchsafe ability, time, health and safety.

From my Chamber in Westminster, Octob. 1. 1644.

PROLE-

PROLEGOM. I.

The Age of the World at our Saviours birth fixed: the account proved: the chiefeſt difficulties in the Scripture Chronicle reſolved.

IN the Stories of times, the times of the ſtories do challenge ſpecial notice and obſervation; and of all other, that of our Saviours birth, being the fulneſs of time, may beſt, as beſt worthy, make ſuch a challenge. A time, to which all the holy ones that went before it, did bend their eyes and expectation, and a time from which all the Chriſtians that have lived ſince, have dated their Chronical accounts and computation. And yet how unfixed is this time and age of the world, in which ſo great a myſtery came to paſs, and upon which ſo general accounting doth depend, in the various reckonings of learned and induſtrious men? It is not only to be ſeen in their writings, wondered at in regard of the great difference at which they count, but the fixed time is the more to be ſtudied for, upon this very reaſon, becauſe ſuch men do ſo greatly differ among themſelves. The only way to ſettle in ſuch variety, is to take the plain and clear account and reckoning of the Scripture, which hath taken a peculiar care to give an exact and moſt certain Chronicle to this time, and not to rely upon the computation of *Olympiades*, Conſuls, or any other humane calculation, which it cannot be doubted, muſt of neceſſity leave the deepeſt ſtudent of them in doubting and uncertainty. Now the Scripture carrying on a moſt faithful reckoning of the times, from the beginning of time to this fulneſs of it, hath laid this great, wondrous, and happy occurrence of the birth of the Redeemer in the year of the world, three thouſand nine hundred twenty and eight. Which that we may make good, and fixed among ſo much variety and difference, may the Reader gently have the patience to ſee and to examine the particular ſums by which the Scripture accounteth to make up this total, and to ſtudy upon thoſe ſcruples in the ſeveral parcels where they come that make the account intricate and doubtful, and to judge upon thoſe reſolutions and ſatisfactions that ſhall be tendred for the cleering and untying of thoſe ſcruples.

And, ſurely, though the buſineſs may be ſomething long and difficult, which we ſhall propoſe and lay before him, yet doubt I not, but the profit will fully countervail his labour, when he ſhall not only be reſolved of the certainty of the time, which we now have occaſion, and every Chriſtian hath cauſe to look after, but when he ſhall alſo ſee, (and that, I ſuppoſe, not without admiration) the wondrous and myſterious, and yet always inſtructive ſtile, and manner of accounting uſed by the Holy Ghoſt, in moſt ſacred Majeſtickneſs, and challenging all ſerious ſtudy and reverence; And though alſo this buſineſs may ſeem to be ſomething too *Parergon*, and excentrick to the main work that we have before us, the Harmonizing of the Evangeliſts, yet ſince a prime thing that we are to inquire after in the very entrance of this ſtory of our Saviours life, is, the fixed and certain time of his birth, the Reader will be pleaſed to excuſe a fault on the right hand, rather then on the left, and to diſpenſe with too much deſire to give ſatisfaction, rather then too little, or with none at all.

SECTION I.

From the Creation to the Flood were 1656. *years, as appeareth,* Gen. 5. & 6. & 7. *by theſe parcels.*

ADAM at 130 years old hath *Seth*, *ver.* 3.
Seth at 105 years old hath *Enoſh*, *ver.* 6.
Enoſh at 90 years old hath *Cainan*, *ver.* 9.
Cainan at 70 years old hath *Mahalaleel*, *ver.* 12.
Mahalaleel at 65 years old hath *Jared*, *ver.* 15.
Jared at 162 years old hath *Enoch*, *ver.* 18.
Enoch at 65 years old hath *Methuſelah*, *ver.* 21.

Methuſelah

Methuſelah at 187 years old hath *Lamech*, *ver.* 25.
Lamech at 182 years old hath *Noah*, *ver.* 28, 29.
Noah at 600 years old ſeeth the Flood, *Gen.* 7. 11.
Total 1656. which whole year of the World, was taken up with the Flood, *viz.* from the 17 day of the ſecond Month, or *Marheſhvan*, *Gen.* 7. 11. to the 27 day of the ſame month come twelve-month, *Gen.* 8. 14.

SECTION II.

From the Flood to Terahs *death, and the Promiſe then given to* Abram, *were* 427 *years, as appeareth* Gen. 11. *by theſe particulars.*

SEM at 2 years after the Flood begat *Arphaxad*, *ver.* 10.
Arphaxad at 35 years old begat *Salah*, *ver.* 12.
Salah at 30 years old begat *Eber*, *ver.* 14.
Eber at 34 years old begat *Peleg*, *ver.* 16.
Peleg at 30 years old begat *Reu*, *ver.* 18.
Reu at 32 years old begat *Serug*, *ver.* 20.
Serug at 30 years old begat *Nachor*, *ver.* 22.
Nachor at 29 years old begat *Terah*, *ver.* 24.
Terah at 130 years old begat *Abram*.
Abram at 75 years old hath the Promiſe, *Gen.* 12.4.
Total 427. Which ſum being added to 1656, which was the age of the World at the Flood, amounteth to 2083. and it reſulteth, that the Promiſe was given to *Abram* in the year of the World 2083.

The promiſe given to *Abram* *Gen.* 12. 1. *&c. Anno mundi*, 2083.

But here is the great queſtion moved, Whether *Abram* were the eldeſt ſon of *Terah*, yea or no? If he were, then was he born when *Terah* was 70 years of age, *Gen.* 11. 26. and not as this Table layeth it, at his 130. And if he were not his eldeſt ſon, why hath *Moſes* named him firſt of all his ſons?

Anſwer, Firſt, He was not his eldeſt ſon: for, 1. He marryed his brother *Harans* daughter [for ſo all men hold *Sarah* to have been] and ſhe was but ten years younger then himſelf, *Gen.* 17.17. which was impoſſible, if her Father were younger then he. 2. He is ſaid to be but 75 years old, when he departed out of *Haran*, *Gen.* 12.4. And this was after his Fathers death, *Act.* 7.4. Now had he been born at *Terahs* 70, he had been 135 years old when his Father died: We muſt therefore compute and reckon backward thus, that ſince he was but 75 years old when his Father died, it muſt needs be concluded that he was born when *Terah* was 130 as is laid down in the Table.

Anſwer, Secondly, He is reckoned firſt of *Terahs* ſons, as *Sem* is of *Noahs*, not becauſe he was the firſt in time, but the firſt in dignity. For that *Sem* was not the eldeſt ſon of *Noah*, is clear by comparing theſe places, *Gen.* 5.32. *Noah* was 500 years old when he begat his firſt ſon, and *Gen.* 7.11. when *Noah* was ſix hundred years old, was the Flood of waters upon the Earth, and then was one of his ſons an hundred years old: But *Sem* was not ſo till two years after, *Gen.* 11.10. And yet is he ever named the firſt of his ſons, *Gen.* 5.32. & 6.10. & 7.13. & 9.18. & 10.

There are ſome, that not content with this plain, neceſſary, and undeniable explication of the difficulty, do hold that *Abram* took two journies into *Canaan*, one before his Fathers death, and another after: whereas *Moſes* and *Steven* well compared together, do plainly ſhew the contrary, and fully, and ſufficiently clear the matter under ſcruple: That which hath made men to fall into the miſtake of his two journies into *Canaan* hath been this, that they have taken the words of God in *Act.* 7.3. *Get thee out of thy Country, &c.* and his words in *Gen.* 12.1. *Get thee out of thy Country, &c*, to be of the ſame time and ſpoken in the ſame place, whereas there is a vaſt difference in the words themſelves, and ſo was there of the time and place where they were ſpoken. *Steven* telleth, that while *Abraham* was in *Meſapotamia* or *Chaldea*, as *ver.* 4. before he dwelt in *Horam*, God appeared to him, and ſaid unto him, *Get thee out of thy Country, and from thy kindred*, but not a word of departing from his Fathers houſe, for he took his Father and his whole houſhold along with him, and dwelt with them a good while in *Haran*, *Gen.* 11.31. *And Terah died in Haran*, ver. 32. *Then the Lord ſaid unto Abram*, for ſo ſhould *Gen.* 12. 1. be tranſlated, and not, *Now the Lord had ſaid:* And his ſaying was this, *Get thee out of thy Country, and from thy kindred, and from thy Fathers houſe too*, for that alſo he now left behind him, namely *Nahor* and all his Fathers Family, but only *Lot* and *Sarah* that were fatherleſs children: And this difference conſidered, as neceſſarily it muſt, it doth make this difficulty which hath coſt ſo much canvaſing ſo eaſie, as a thing needeth not to be more.

SECTION III.

From the promiſe given to Abram *upon his Father* Terahs *death to the delivery of the people of* Iſrael *out of* Egypt, *and to the giving of the Law, were* 430 *years*, Exod. 12. 40. Gal. 3. 17.

THIS ſum being joyned to that before of 2083. it maketh the world to be in the two thouſand five hundred and thirteenth year of her age, when *Iſrael* was delivered and the Law given. The delivery out of *Egypt*, *Anno mundi*, 2513.

This ſpace of time of 430 years betwixt the promiſe and the Law, the Divine Wiſdom and Providence caſt into two equal portions, of 215 years before the peoples going down into *Egypt*, and 215 years of their being there.

The former moyety was taken up in theſe parcels:

Five and twenty years betwixt the giving of the promiſe and the birth of *Iſaac*, compare *Gen.* 12. 4. with *Gen.* 21. 5.

Sixty years betwixt the birth of *Iſaac*, and the birth of *Jacob*, *Gen.* 25. 26.

An hundred and thirty years betwixt the birth of *Jacob* and *Iſraels* going into *Egypt*, *Gen.* 27. 9.

The latter in theſe:

Ninety five years from their going into *Egypt*, to the death of *Levi*.

Forty years from the death of *Levi* to the birth of *Moſes*.

Eighty years from the birth of *Moſes* to their delivery.

SECTION IV.

From the coming of Iſrael *out of* Egypt, *to the laying of the foundation of* Solomons *Temple, were* 480 *years*, 1 *King.* 6. 1. *and ſeven years was it in building*, ver. 38.

SO that joyn theſe 487 that paſſed from the coming out of *Egypt* to the finiſhing of the Temple, to the 2513 years, of which age the world was when they came out of *Egypt*, and it will appear that *Solomons* Temple was finiſhed exactly in the three thouſandth year of the World. *Solomons Temple* finiſhed, *Anno mundi*, 3000.

This ſum is made up of theſe many parcels.

Iſrael in the Wilderneſs 40 years.
Joſhua ruled 17 years.
Othniel judged 40 years, *Judg.* 3. 11.
Ehud judged 80 years, *Judg.* 3. 30.
Deborah, &c. 40 years, *Judg.* 5. 31.
Gideon, 40 years, *Judg.* 8. 28.
Abimelech, 3 years, *Judg.* 9. 22.
Tolah, 23 years, *Judg.* 10. 2.
Jair, 22 years, *Judg.* 10. 3.
Jephtah, 6 years, *Judg.* 12. 7.
Ibſan, 7 years, *Judg.* 12. 9.
Elon Judged 10 years, *Judg.* 12. 11.
Abdon, 8 years, *Judg.* 12. 14.
Sampſon, 20 years, *Judg.* 15. 20. & 16. 31.
Eli, 40 years, 1 *Sam.* 4. 18.
Samuel and *Saul*, 40 years, *Acts* 13. 21.
David, 40 years, 1 *King.* 2. 11.
Solomon, 4 years, 1 *King.* 6. 1.

Total 480. Now among all theſe parcels, there is no number that hath not a Text to warrant it, but only the date of the Government of *Joſhua*, which yet cannot be doubted of to have been ſeventeen years; ſeeing that ſo many years only are not ſpecified by expreſs Text of all the 480 mentioned, 1 *King.* 6. 1. And here alſo may the reader obſerve that the years that are mentioned in the book of *Judges*, for years of *Iſraels* oppreſſion, as *Judg.* 3. 8, 14. &c. are not to be taken for a ſpace of time diſtinct from the time of the *Judges*, but included in the ſum of their times.

Now it thus falling out, as it is more then apparent, that *Solomons* Temple was finiſhed and perfected in the year of the world 3000. This belike hath helped to ſtrengthen that Opinion that hath been taken up by ſome, *That as the World was ſix days in creating ſo ſhall it be ſix thouſand years in continuance, and then ſhall come the everlaſting Sabbath.* And indeed the obſervation could not but pleaſe thoſe that were pleaſed with this opinion: for when they found that the firſt three thouſand years of the World did end, in the

perfecting of the earthly Temple, it would make them to conclude the bolder, that the other three thouſand ſhould conclude in the conſummation of the ſpiritual.

SECTION V.

From the finiſhing of Solomons *Temple, to the falling away of the ten Tribes, were* 30 *years.*

The falling away of the ten Tribes, *Anno mundi* 3030.

FOR *Solomon* reigned 40 years, 1 *King.*11.42. and in the eleventh year of his reign was the Temple finiſhed, 1 *King.*6.38. And ſo count from that year to the expiration of his reign, and the beginning of his ſon *Rehoboam*, and it will appear eaſily, that the falling away of the ten Tribes was 30 years after the Temple was finiſhed, and in the year of the World 3030.

SECTION VI.

From the falling away of the ten Tribes under Jeroboam, *to the captivity of* Judah *into* Babylon, *were* 390.

THESE are thus reckoned in a groſs ſum by *Ezekiel*, Chap. 4, 5. *I have laid upon thee the years of their iniquity according to the number of days, three hundred and ninety days. So ſhalt thou bear the iniquity of the houſe of Iſrael, ver.*6. *And when thou haſt accompliſhed them, lie again on thy right ſide, and thou ſhalt bear the iniquity of the houſe of* Judah *forty days, I have appointed thee each day for a year.*

Now theſe are not to be taken for two different and diſtinct ſums, as if it were 390 years from the falling away of the ten Tribes, to the captiving of the ten Tribes, and 40 years from thence to the captiving of *Judah*, for it was but 200 years and a little above an half, between the two firſt periods, and above an hundred years between the two laſt: but the forty years are to be reputed and counted within the 390, as the laſt years of them; and marked out ſo ſingularly becauſe of *Judahs* rebellion in and under ſo clear and powerful preaching of *Jeremy*, who propheſied ſo long a time among them.

Now for the caſting of theſe 390 years into parcels as the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* have done them, the ſureſt and cleareſt way, is to make a Chronical table of the collateral Kingdoms of *Judah* and *Iſrael* while they laſt together, from year to year, as they will offer themſelves to parallel one another. In which courſe ſome conſiderable ſcruples will ariſe before the Student as he goeth along, which unleſs he ſee and reſolve, he will never be able to make the account right, and which unleſs he frame to himſelf ſuch a Chronical table as is mentioned, he will never ſee nor find out. He will by the very Table, as he goeth along ſee, that ſometimes the years are reckoned compleat, as *Rehoboams* ſeventeen are counted, 1 *King.* 15.1. Sometimes current, as *Abijams* three, 1 *King.* 15. 1, 2, 9. and *Elahs* two, 1 *King.* 16.8. But this will breed no difficulty, ſince it is ordinary in Scripture thus variouſly to compute, and ſince the drawing of his Table will every where ſhew him readily this variety: But theſe things will he find of more obſcurity, and challenging more ſerious ſtudy and conſideration.

Firſt, It is ſaid that *Jeroboam* reigned two and twenty years, 1 *King.* 14. 20. and *Nadab* his Son two years, *Chap.*15.25. yet that *Nadab* began to reign in the ſecond year of *Aſa*, which was in the one and twentieth year of *Jeroboam*, and ſo *Nadabs* two years fall within the ſum of his fathers two and twenty.

Now the reaſon of this accounting is this: It is ſaid in 2 *Chron.* 13. 20. that *the Lord ſtroke* Jeroboam *and he died:* that is, with ſome ill and languiſhing diſeaſe, that he could not adminiſter nor rule the Kingdom, therefore was he forced to ſubſtitute his ſon *Nadab* in his life time, and in one and the ſame year both Father and Son died.

Secondly, It is ſaid that *Baaſha* began to reign in the third year of *Aſa*, 1 *King.* 13. 28. and reigned four and twenty years, *ver.*33. then it followeth that he died in the ſix and twentieth year of *Aſa*, as the Text reckoneth the years current, 1 *Kings* 16. 8. And yet in the ſix and thirtieth year of *Aſa*, *Baaſha* came up and made war againſt *Judah*, 2 *Chron.* 16.1. So that this war will ſeem to be made by him nine or ten years after he is dead.

But the reſolution of this from the original is eaſie: For that Text in the Chronicles meaneth not that *Baaſha* made war againſt *Judah* in the ſix and thirtieth year of *Aſaes* reign, but in the ſix and thirtieth year of *Aſaes* kingdom: that is, ſix and thirty years from the diviſion of the Tribes under *Rehoboam:* For *Rehoboam* reigned ſeventeen years. *Abijam* his ſon three years, and in the ſixteenth year of *Aſa* was this war made: thirty ſix years in all from the firſt diviſion. The word מלכות therefore ſhould there be rendred *the Kingdom*, and not *the Reign*, and the thing were clear. Now the Text dateth this war, not from the time of *Aſaes* reign, but from the time of the diviſion of the Tribes: becauſe that though they were divided hitherto in regard of their Kings, yet not totally

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in regard of their converſe and affection, for ſome of the revolted ones affected ſtill the houſe of *David:* but *Baaſha* to make the diviſion ſure: buildeth *Ramah*, that none might go in or out to *Aſa* King of *Judah*, and this was as a ſecond diviſion; and therefore the Text reckoneth from the firſt.

Thirdly, It is ſaid, 1 *King.* 16. 23. that *in the one and thirtieth year of* Aſa *King of* Judah, *began* Omri *to reign over* Iſrael *twelve years, ſix years reigned he in* Tirzah. And yet in verſ. 29. it is ſaid, that *In the eight and thirtieth year of* Aſa, *began* Ahab *the ſon of* Omri *to reign.*

Now how can there poſſibly be twelve years reign betwixt *Aſaes* thirty firſt and thirty eight?

Anſwer, *Omri* began to reign as ſoon as ever he had ſlain *Zimri*, which was in the twenty ſeventh of *Aſa:* but he was not ſole and entire King till his thirty firſt: For *Tibni* his competitor and corrival for the Crown, held him in agitation and wars till *Aſaes* thirty firſt. And then was he overcome, and *Omri* acknowledged abſolute King by *Tibnies* ſouldiers, and ſo from thence forward he reigned ſole King in *Tirzah.*

But yet the doubt remaineth how *Omri* beginning his monarchy in the thirty firſt of *Aſa*, and ending it in his thirty eight, can be ſaid to have reigned but ſix years, whereas it was eight current.

Anſwer, The ſix compleat years only are reckoned: for the thirty firſt of *Aſa* was even ending when *Tibni* was conquered, and the thirty eight but newly begun when *Omri* died: Such another kind of reckoning may be obſerved in caſting up the age of *Abraham* and *Iſmael* at their Circumciſion, compared with the age of *Abraham* at *Iſmaels death.*

Fourthly, The beginning of the reign of *Joram* the ſon of *Jehoſhaphat* hath three dates. The firſt in the ſeventeenth year of *Jehoſhaphat* his father, compare 2 *Kings* 22. 51. and 2 *King.*1.17. and 2 *King.*3.1.

The ſecond in the fifth year of *Joram* the ſon of *Ahab*, 2 *King.* 8. 16. This was in the two and twentieth year of his father *Jehoſhaphat.*

And the third at his father *Jehoſhaphats* death, 2 *Chron.*21.1.

Now the reſolution of this Ambiguity is thus. The firſt time he was made Viceroy, when his father went out of the Land for the recovery of *Ramoth Gilead:* and becauſe *Ahab* the King of *Iſrael*, went with him, *Ahaziah* his ſon is made Viceroy in that Kingdom alſo.

The ſecond time he was Viceroy again in his Father *Jehoſhaphats* abſence upon his voyage into *Moab* with *Jehoram*, 2 *King.*3. and from this time doth the Text date the fixed beginning of his reign, as is plain, 2 *King.*8.17. 2 *Chron.*21.20. For *Jehoſhaphat* after this time was little at home, but abroad, either in his own Land, perambulating it, to reduce the people to true Religion, or in *Moab* to reduce that to ſubjection, 2 *Chron.*19.20.

Fifthly, But a greater doubt meeteth you by far when you come to caſt up the times of his ſon *Ahaziah.* For whereas *Joram* was thirty and two years old when he began to reign, and reigned eight years in *Jeruſalem*, 2 *King.* 6.17. 2 *Chron.* 21. 20. and ſo died when he was forty years old; and inſtantly the inhabitants of *Jeruſalem* ſet *Ahaziah* upon his throne, who was his youngeſt ſon, yet was this *Ahaziah* forty two years old when he began to reign, 2 *Chron.* 22.1. and ſo will prove to be two years older then his father.

Anſwer, The book of *Chronicles* in this place meaneth not that *Ahaziah* was ſo old when he began to reign; for the book of *Kings* telleth plainly that he was but two and twenty, 2 *King.* 8. 26. but theſe two and forty years have relation to another thing; namely, to the kingdom of the houſe of *Omri*, and not to the age of *Ahaziah.* For count from the beginning of the reign of *Omri*, and you find *Ahaziah* to enter his reign in the two and fortieth year from thence; as he will readily ſee, that ſhall make ſuch a Chronical Table as is mentioned.

The Original words therefore *Ben arbaguim ushethajim ſhanah*, are not to be tranſlated as they be, *Ahaziah was two and forty years old*, but *Ahaziah was the ſon of the two and forty years*, as *Seder Olam* hath acutely obſerved long ago.

Now the reaſon why his reign is thus dated differently from all others the Kings of *Judah*, is, becauſe he in a kind was an impe of the houſe of *Omri:* for *Athaliah* his mother, was *Ahabs* daughter, 2 *King.* 8. 18. And ſhe both perverted her husband *Joram*, and brought up this her ſon *Ahaziah* in the Idolatry of the houſe of *Ahab*; therefore is not *Ahaziah* fit to be reckoned by the line of the Kings of *Judah*, but by the houſe of *Omri* and *Ahab:* ſee the Evangeliſt *Matthew* ſetting a ſpecial mark upon the houſe of *Joram*, at the notes on *Matth.*1.8.

Sixthly, There is yet one ſcruple more ariſing concerning the beginning of the reign of this *Ahaziah.* For the ſame book of *Kings* ſaith, that he began to reign in the twelfth year of *Joram* the ſon of *Ahab*, 2 *King.*8.25. and in the eleventh year of *Joram* the ſon of *Ahab*, 2 *Kings* 9. 29.

Anſwer,

Anſwer, The reſolution of this doubt will be eaſie to him that hath ſuch a Chronical Table as we have ſpoken of before his eyes. For there will he ſee that *Jehoram* reigned one year before his Father *Ahabs* death: For in the twentieth year of *Ahab*, which was the ſeventeenth of *Jehoſhaphat*, did *Ahaziah* the ſon of *Ahab*, begin to reign, 1 *King.* 22.51. being made Viceroy, when his Father went to *Ramoth Gilead.*

He reigning but that year, *Jehoram* his ſon was Viceroy or began to rule in his ſtead, the next year, namely in *Ahabs* one and twentieth. *Ahab* in his two and twentieth died: and ſo *Jehoram* became abſolute and intire King, and reigned ſo eleven years: ſo that his reign hath a double reckoning, he reigned as Viceroy twelve years, but as intire King but eleven.

7. *Amaziah* began to reign in the ſecond year of *Joaſh* King of *Iſrael*, 2 *King.*14.1. this was the eight and thirtieth year of his father *Joaſh* King of *Judah*, three years current before his death: And the reaſon was, becauſe his father had caſt himſelf into ſo much miſery and miſchief, through his Apoſtaſie and murder of *Zacharias*, 2 *King.* 12. 17, 18. 2 *Chron.*24. 23, 24, 25. that he was become unfit and unable to manage the Kingdom.

8. *Uzziah* or *Azariah* the ſon of this *Amaziah*, being but ſixteen years of age in the ſeven and twentieth year of the reign of *Jeroboam* the ſecond, 2 *King.* 15.1,2. it appeareth that he was but four years old at his fathers death: Therefore was the Throne empty for eleven years, and the rule managed by ſome as Protectors in the Kings minority.

9. There is alſo an *interregnum* or vacancy of twenty two years in the Kingdom of *Iſrael*, between *Jeroboam* the ſecond, and *Zachariah:* whereof what the reaſon ſhould be, is not eaſie to determine: whether through wars from abroad, which *Jeroboam* might have provoked againſt his houſe by the conqueſt of *Hamath* and *Damaſcus*, 2 *King.* 14. 28. or through war at home, as appeareth by the end of *Zachariah*, 2 *King.* 15. 10. or through what elſe it was, it is uncertain, but moſt ſure it was that the Throne was ſo long without a King, ſince *Jeroboam* beginning to reign in the fifteenth year of *Amaziah*, and reigning forty one years, 1 *King.*14.23. died in the fifteenth of *Uzziah*; and *Zechariah* began not to Reign till the eight and thirtieth, 2 *Kings* 15.8.

10. *Hoſhea* is ſaid to ſlay *Pekah* in the twentieth year of *Jotham* the Son of *Uzziah*, 2 *King.*15.30. whereas *Jotham* reigned but ſixteen years in all, 2 *King.*15.33. But the reaſon of this accounting is becauſe of the wickedneſs of *Ahaz*, in whoſe reign this occurrence was, and the Holy Ghoſt chuſeth rather to reckon by holy *Jotham* in the duſt, then by wicked *Ahaz* alive: For in the ſlaughter of *Pekah*, the Lord avenged upon *Pekah* the blood-ſhed and miſery he had cauſed in *Judah*, for he had ſlain of the men thereof 120000 in one day, 2 *Chron.*28.6. Now *Ahaz* had cauſed this wrath upon the people in withdrawing them from the ways of the Lord, therefore when the Lord avengeth this injury of his people upon *Pekah*, the time of it is computed from *Jotham* who was holy and upright, and not from *Ahaz* who had cauſed the miſchief.

11. There is a ſcruple of no ſmall difficulty about the reckoning of this twentieth year of *Jotham*, if it once be ſpied out: And that is this; If *Pekah* began to reign in the two and fiftieth or laſt year of *Uzziah*, and reigned twenty years, as 2 *King.*15.27. and if *Jotham* began to reign in the ſecond year of *Pekah*, 2 *King.* 15.33. then certainly the twentieth year of *Pekah*, the year when *Hoſhea* ſlew him, was but the nineteenth year of *Jotham*, and not the twentieth.

Anſwer, In this very difficulty, hath the Text fixed the time of *Uzziahs* becoming Leprous, which elſe-where is not determined: and it ſheweth that it was in the laſt year of his reign, when he aſſayed to offer incenſe in the Temple, and was ſtruck with the Leproſie, a diſeaſe with which the Prieſts who were to be the Judges of it, could not be touched nor infected, and his ſon *Jotham* was over the houſe judging the land, 2 *King.*15. 5. till the day of his death. Now that laſt year of *Uzziah* is counted for the firſt of *Jotham*, in this reckoning that we have in hand, and although he began to reign as abſolute and ſole King in the ſecond year of the Reign of *Pekah*, yet began he to reign as Viceroy, in the diſeaſedneſs of his father, the year before.

12. It is ſaid *Hoſhea* the ſon of *Elah*, began to reign in the twelfth year of *Ahaz*, 2 *King.* 17.1. whereas he had ſlain *Pekah* in the fourth of *Ahaz*, or the twentieth of *Jotham:* which ſheweth that he obtained not the Crown immediately upon *Pekahs* death, but was ſeven or eight years before he could ſettle it quietly upon his head. It is like that *Ahaz* in this time did diſquiet *Iſrael*, when his potent enemy *Pekah* was dead, in revenge of that ſlaughter that he had made in *Judah*, and that he kept *Hoſhea* out of the Throne, and for this is called the King of *Iſrael*, 2 *Chron.*28.19. as well as for walking in the ways of thoſe Kings.

13. It is ſaid that *Hezekiah* began to reign in the third year of *Hoſhea* the ſon of *Elah*, 2 *King.* 18.1. Now *Hoſhea* beginning in the twelfth of *Ahaz*, 2 *King.* 17.1. it is apparent that *Hezekiah* began in the fourteenth, and ſo reigned two or three years with his father *Ahaz*, who reigned ſixteen years, 2 *King.*16.2.

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The reaſon of this was, becauſe of the wickedneſs of *Ahaz*, and becauſe of the miſeries and intanglements that his wickedneſs had brought him into, as 2 *Chron.*28.16,17,18. and *Chap.*29.7,8,9. And this ſheweth the zeal of *Hezekiah*, in the work of Reformation, the more, in that he aſſayed and perfected it ſo much in the very time of his wicked Father.

14. But yet there ariſeth another doubt in the computation of the times of *Hezekiah*, parallel with the times of *Hoſhea*; For whereas he began to reign in the third year of *Hoſhea*, as is clear before, then the ſeventh year of *Hoſhea* ſhould be counted his fifth year, and yet it is called but his fourth, 2 *King.*18 9.

Anſwer, The beginning of *Hezekiahs* reign, is of a double date: He began indeed to be Viceroy, and to bear the rule in the third of *Hoſhea*, which was the 14th year of his father *Ahaz*, but the time of that year was but ſhort, that he was in the royalty, and he did but little or nothing of note that year, but the next year, which was the fifteenth of *Ahaz*, and the fourth of *Hoſhea*, on the very firſt day of the year, or the firſt of *Niſan*, he began the Reformation, and ſtirred bravely in the reſtoring of Religion, 2 *Chron.* 29. 3. and therefore that is owned as the moſt remarkable and renowned beginning of his dominion: And ſo the ſeventh of *Hoſhea*, and his fourth year fall in together. In his ſixth year the ten Tribes are captived, 2 *King.*18.10. And ſo the parallelling of the two Kingdoms of *Judah* and *Iſrael* in their Chronical Annals is at an end, and now the times of the Kingdom of *Judah* lye in an eaſie and continued Chronicle, to the captivity in *Babel*, without any great ſcruple: Only about thoſe turbulent times of *Jehoachaz* and *Jehoiakim*, there is a little difficulty: For there paſſed ſome years between the death of *Joſiah*, and the reign of *Jehoiakim*, in troubles and diſtempers, though the Text hath mentioned the three moneths only of *Jehoachaz:* The groſs ſum of 390 between the diviſion and the burning of the Temple, keepeth all right, and ſheweth how much ſpace this was, when all the other particulars are taken up, as the 480 between the delivery out of *Egypt*, and building of *Solomons* Temple do, by the time of the rule of *Joſhua*, though the Text expreſly hath not determined it.

So that now add theſe 390 years mentioned by *Ezekiel*, which was the exact ſpace between the falling away of the ten Tribes, and the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, to the 3030 years, of which age the world was when the ten Tribes fell away, and we find that *Jeruſalem* was deſtroyed by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the *Babylonians*, in the year of the world 3420.

Jeruſalem deſtroyed, *Anno mundi*, 3420.

SECTION VII.

From the burning of the Temple by Nebuzaradan, 2 King. 25. Jer. 52. *to the return from* Babel, 2 Chron. 36. 22. Ezra 1.1. *were fifty years.*

IT hath been no ſmall controverſie among the learned, that have handled the current of theſe times that we are about, where to begin the ſeventy years of the captivity in *Babel*, ſo renowned in the Scripture, *Jer.*25.11,12. & 29.10. 2 *Chron.*36.21. *Zech.*1.12. For ſince there were three captivities of *Hieruſalem* by the *Babylonian*, namely in the third year of *Jehoiakim*, 2 *Chron.*36.6. *Dan.*1.1. In the year of *Jehoiachin*, 2 *Chron.* 36.9,10. and in the eleventh of *Zedekiah*, 2 *King.* 25.2,3. *Jer.* 52. 4, 5. it may very well be queſtioned, where thoſe ſeventy years of captivity did begin, and where thoſe 390 years from the falling away of the ten Tribes ſhould terminate.

To omit varieties of opinions and reaſons that fix theſe periods, ſome here, ſome there; theſe reaſons do plainly and ſufficiently demonſtrate, that the ſeventy years of *Judahs* captivity in *Babel*, did begin from the third year of *Jehoiakim.*

Firſt, Becauſe *Daniel* that meaſured out the whole ſpace of that captivity, and that giveth account of the ſtate of the people that time, beginneth from thence, *Dan.*1.

Secondly, Becauſe it is moſt proper to begin the ſeventy years captivity by *Babel* from the very firſt time that any captivity by *Babel* began.

Thirdly, It is propheſied by *Jeremy*, *Chap.*25. 11. that not only the Jews, but alſo all Nations round about them ſhould ſerve the King of *Babel* ſeventy years. So that thoſe ſeventy years are to be counted the time and ſpace of the abſolute Monarchy of *Babel*, and they are to begin from the beginning of *Nebuchadnezzar* the firſt Monarch.

Now the beginning of his Monarchy is eaſie to ſettle, *viz.* in the third of *Jehoiakim*, from theſe Texts: *Jer.*32.1. & 52. 12. It is true indeed that in *Jer.* 25. 1. the fourth of *Jehoiakim* is called his firſt, and ſo it might be very well: for the firſt of *Nebuchadnezzar* might take up part of two years of his reign, as any one year of the King takes up much time of two Lord Mayors, he entring his year in the Spring, and they in Autumn. Thus do the ſeventy years begin from the beginning of *Nebuchadnezzar*, but the 390 that we have been ſo long upon do not there end, but they end at this nineteenth, or at the eleventh of *Zedekiah*, when the City and Temple was utterly ruined, and the captivity entirely

entirely conſummate, as the chain of the years drawn out to the length, do really fix it; and as the very intent and ſtile of the Prophet doth the like, who in that ſum doth comprehend the whole time of the peoples being in their own Land, after the revolt under *Jeroboam:* So that nineteen years compleat out of the ſeventy, muſt we take into that ſum, and ſo there are but fifty years of that captivity to the time of their delivery under *Cyrus* remaining; which ſum being added to the age of the world, at the burning of the Temple 3420 doth make the world to be 3470 years old at the firſt of *Cyrus*, when the captivity did return.

The Jews return to Babel *Ezra* 1.1. *Anno mundi* 3470.

SECTION VIII.

From the return of the Jews *out of* Babel, *to the death of Chriſt* 490 *years.*

THIS is ſo plain in *Dan.* 9. in the ſeventy weeks, or ſeventy time ſeven years there mentioned, from the Commandment going forth from *Cyrus* to reſtore and build *Hieruſalem*, to the cutting off of the Meſſias, that it needeth as little to confirm it, as to tell that ſeventy times ſeven is four hundred and ninety. For if the Angel ſpeak not of a fixed and certain time in this ſum, he nameth this ſum to no purpoſe in the world, but he doth ſo clearly fix the time, the two *termini* of its extent, and ſome particular links of it as it paſſed, that nothing can be more clear, evident, and perſpicuous. Now add theſe 490 years, which reach to the death of Chriſt, to the age of the world 3470. at the time when they began, and it reſulteth, that our Saviour died in the year of the world 3960. Out of which ſubduct the two and thirty years of our Saviours life, and it appeareth that he was born in the year of the world 3928. that year being then but newly begun, *ſtilo veteri*, or according to the account uſed from the beginning of the world, from *Tiſri* or *September:* ſo that that year was his firſt year, and 3929 his ſecond year, at the which the wiſe men came to viſit him; 3930 his third year, and ſo 3960 half paſſed, or at Eaſter, his two and thirtieth and an half, at which age he died.

Chriſt born, *Anno mundi*, 3928.

And now he that deſireth to know the year of the world, which is now paſſing over us this year 1644 will find it to be 5572 years juſt now finiſhed ſince the Creation, and the year 5573 of the worlds age, now newly begun this *September* at the *Æquinox*.

THE

THE HARMONY OF THE Four EVANGELISTS.

SECTION I.

S. *LUKE.* CHAP. I.

The Preface or Epiſtle Dedicatory. The occaſion and warranty of Lukes *writing the Goſpel.*

FORASMUCH *as many* (a) *have taken in hand* (b) *to ſet forth in order a declaration of theſe things which are* (c) *moſt ſurely believed among us.*

2. *Even as they* (d) *delivered them unto us which from the beginning were eye-witneſſes, and Miniſters of the Word:*

3. *It ſeemed good to me alſo, having had perfect underſtanding of all things* (e) *from the very firſt, to write unto thee* (f) *in order moſt excellent* Theophilus.

4. *That* (g) *thou mighteſt know the certainty of thoſe things wherein thou haſt been inſtructed.*

(a) Ἐπιχειρεῖν uſed for a lawful undertaking, and a ſucceſsful progreſs in it, in *Plat.* in *Theæto* concerning *Socrates*, and in *Luke* himſelf *ad Demonic.*

(b) To *compile a narration*, Syr. Eraſm. Bruciol. &c.

(c) Πεπληροφορημένα: It ſignifieth in Scripture ſtyle, not only the certainty of the things done, but alſo the certain belief that they were ſo done. See *Rom.* 4. 21. & 14. 5. *Col.* 2. 2. 1 *Theſ.* 1. 5. 2 *Tim.* 4. 5. *Heb.* 6. 11. The LXX once uſe it in a bad ſenſe. *Eccleſ.* 8. 11. for ſettlement in evil.

(d) Παρέδοσαν. Here were traditions of the higheſt form that ever were any, *Delivered by Chriſts own Diſciples, and generally believed and intertained, yea, and committed to writing*, and yet made nothing worth in compariſon of Scripture.

(e) Or *from above.*

(f) *In Order*, either in order to thoſe that have written before; *As they have done, ſo it ſeemed good to me to do alſo after them*, as Καθεξῆς is uſed. *Act.* 3. 24. or in order of ſtory, for the general, as to lay down Chriſts Conception, Circumciſion, Baptiſme, Preaching, Death, Reſurrection, methodically, and as one followed another; but for the particulars of Chriſts Journies, Miracles, Speeches, &c. we ſhall find in the progreſs of the ſtory, that he doth not ſo preciſely obſerve the very order. So that the former ſenſe doth ſeem to be the better.

(g) 1 *Luke* held it not unlawful, nor unfit for a Layman to read the Scriptures. 2. He held not ignorance to be the mother of Devotion, nor an implicite Faith ſufficient for ſalvation.

Reaſon of the Order.

FOraſmuch as none of the Evangeliſts have made a Preface to their ſtory, but only *Luke*, this of his may ſerve as a general one for all the reſt. And like the beautiful gate of the Temple, may be as an entrance, or inlet into the glorious and royal Fabrick of the Goſpels.

Harmony and Explanation.

Ver. 1. *Many have taken in hand.* Pſal. 68. 11.

HE condemneth not the undertakings of theſe men, as very many Expoſitors hold he doth; for firſt, he ſaith, they had taken in hand a declaration of thoſe things *which were moſt ſurely believed.* Secondly, He ſaith, they had done it *even* as the eye-witneſſes and Miniſters had delivered it. Thirdly, He maketh his own undertaking of the like nature with theirs, when he ſaith, It ſeemed good *to me alſo*: But he mentioneth theſe their writings as only humane Authorities [undertaken without

the injunction of the Holy Ghoſt] which his divine one was to exclude: So the Books of *Jaſher*, of *Gad*, of *Iddo*, of the wars of the Lord, &c. are cited by the Old Teſtament, neither as altogether diſapproved, nor yet approved above humane: In the loſs of them there periſhed none of the Canonical Scriptures, but only the works of men; no more did there in the loſs of theſe.

Verſ. 2. *Eye-witneſſes*] theſe were the twelve Apoſtles. *Miniſters*] theſe were the 70 Diſciples. From their Sermons and Relations, many undertook to write Goſpels, of a godly intention and holy zeal. Of which the Evangeliſt here ſpeaking aimeth neither at the Goſpel of *Matthew* nor *Mark*, though they were written when he thus ſpeaketh; for the firſt was an *eye-witneſs*, and one of the twelve, and the other [it is like] a *Miniſter* or one of the 70. and ſo wrote not from the intelligence of others, as thoſe did of whom the Evangeliſt ſpeaketh, but by their own.

Verſ. 3. It ſeemed good to me alſo, having had perfect underſtanding of all things *from above*] For ſo might Ἄνωθεν be beſt tranſlated; and ſo it ſignifieth *John* 3. 3. 31. & 19. 11. *James* 1. 17. &c. And thus taken, it ſheweth *Lukes* inſpiration from Heaven, and ſtandeth in oppoſition to the many Goſpels mentioned, *ver.* 1. which were written from the mouthes and dictating of men, *ver.* 2. but his intelligence for what he writeth was *from above.*

(h) Κράτιστε: an Epithet for men of rank, as *Act.* 2, 4, 3. & 26. 25.

[*Moſt excellent* (h) *Theophilus*] In moſt probability, a Noble-man of *Antioch*, and fellow Citizen with *Luke*; converted by *Paul* at his Preaching there, *Acts* 11. 26. *Luke* adhered to his Maſter, and forſook him not, 2 *Tim.* 4. 11. but *Theophilus* ſtaying at *Antioch* after *Pauls* departure, what he wanted in verbal inſtructions from the mouth of his Maſter, when he went away, *Luke* doth in this his Goſpel ſupply by writing, that ſo he might know the certainty of theſe things wherein he had been (i) Catechized.

(i) Κατηχήθης See *Act* 18. 25. & 21. 2 *Rom.* 2. 18. 1 *Cor.* 14. 19. *Col.* 6. 6.

Theophilus in Greek is the ſame in ſignification with *Jedidiah* in Hebrew, the name of *Solomon*, *the Lords beloved*, or with the glorious title of *Abraham*, *the Friend of God.*

And thus was that Prophecy moſt ſweetly fulfilled, *Eſai.* 60. 14. *The ſons of the afflicters ſhall come bending to thee, &c.* when in that Town, which had been the reſidence, and bare the name of *Antiochus*, [the ſharpeſt enemy that ever *Iſrael* groaned under] the profeſſors of the Goſpel were firſt named Chriſtians, and ſuch an Evangeliſt hath his Original.

SECTION II.

S. JOHN. CHAP. I.

The fitneſs and neceſſity of the ſecond Perſon in the Trinity, his being incarnate, and his being the Redeemer, rather then either of the other, aſſerted and proved, by his being the Creator, the giver of the promiſe, and ſubſtance and tenor of the types and Prophecies of the Old Teſtament.

(a) *Not pronounced, but ſubſtantial, not the voice of an articulate ſpeech, but the begotten ſubſtance of the divine efficacy.* Ignat. Martyr. in Epiſt. ad Magneſ. So Clem. Alex. ſtrom. 5.

IN *the begining was the* (a) *Word, and the Word was with God, and the* (b) *Word was God.*

2. *The ſame was in the beginning with God.*

3. *All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made* (c).

4. *In him was life, and the life was the light of men.*

5. *And the light ſhined in darkneſs, and the darkneſs comprehend it not.*

6. *There* (d) *was a man ſent from God, whoſe name was* John.

7. *The ſame came for a witneſs, to bear witneſs of the Light, that all men through him might believe.*

8. *He* (e) *was not that Light, but* was ſent *to bear witneſs of that light.*

9. *That was the true Light,* (f) *which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.*

10. *He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not.*

(b) Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. The Article joined to λόγος ſheweth that that is the Subject, and Θεὸς that wanteth it the Predicate.

(c) Some end the ſentence here, and ſome but begin it, and ſome neither, but bring it a ſtep further: Some point thus: *All things were made by him, and without him was nothing made. That which was made in him was life* A reading which *Chryſoſtom. Hom. 5. in Job.* ſaith was uſed by Hereticks, whereby to prove the Holy Ghoſt to be a Creature. And this is the very reading of the vulgar Latin. Others have read it thus: *All things were made him, and without him was nothing made which was made in him.* And then they began a new ſentence, *He was life, &c.* A reading conceived to have been uſed by the *Manichees*, whereby to prove *duo principia*, a good, and a bad.

(d) From *Mal.* 3. 1. & 4. 5. And thus dothe two Teſtaments joyn together.

(e) The Baptiſt was a light, *John* 5. 35. but not that light that was to come: as the light of the three firſt days of the Creation, without the Sun.

(f) It may be either read, *which coming into the world, lighteth every man*, or as our Engliſh hath it: which latter is approved the true. 1. By the very place where the word *comming* or ἐρχόμενον lyeth, for it followeth not immediately the word φῶς, but ἄνθρωπον, and ſo being joyned with it, reaſon and the cuſtom of Grammar tell, that it ſhould be conſtrued with it. 2. It is ordinary among the Jews to call men by this *Periphraſis* בָּאֵי עוֹלָם *ſuch as come into the world*, which Idiom of the Hebrews the Evangeliſt followeth here. The Syriak readeth as we do.

11. *He*

11. *He came unto* (g) *his own, and his own* (h) *received him not.*

12. *But as many as* (h) *received him, to them gave he power to become the Sons of God,* even *to them that believe on his name.*

13. *Which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.*

14. *And the word was made flesh, and dwelt among us,* [*and we beheld his glory, the glory* (i) *as of the only begotten of the Father*] *full of grace and truth.*

(g) As it were *into his own* house, or among his own people, as *Joh.* 16. 32 & 19. 27. *Act.* 4. 23. & 21. 6.

(h) In ver. 11 it is Παρέλαβον in v. 12.

it is ἔλαβον, which though they signifie the same thing, yet might some distinction of sense be observed in the distinction of words: For Christ came among the Jews bodily, yet they would not so much as receive him *bodily*, nor acknowledge him for *Messias* at all; but coming among the Gentiles by his word and spirit, they received him spiritually.

(i) As : כְּ אמיתה *Kimchi in Micol:* as *Numb.* 11. 1. The people became as murmurers, *Prov.* 10. 20. The heart in the wicked is *as* little worth: that is *very murmurers*; *very little worth*: so here, *The very glory* of the *only begotten.*

Reason of the Order.

THE Preface being made, the story is to begin, and that it doth here from *Christs Divinity*, most Divinely. For whereas the other Evangelists begin their relations no further back, then from the birth or conception of our Saviour, or at the furthest, of his Forerunner; *John* draws the Reader back to behold him in the Old Testament, in the Creation of the world, and in the promises to the Fathers. And therefore this portion is first to be begun withall, and of it self will justifie its own order. Especially it being considered, that the Person of *Christ* is first to be treated of, before his actions, and in his Person, the divine nature, [which *John* here handleth] before the humane.

Harmony and Explanation.

FROM *Gen.* 1. 1. the Evangelist sheweth that the redemption was to be wrought by him by whom the Creation was, namely, by the *Word*, or the second Person in the Trinity, as being fittest for that great work: as whereby confusion, both in the external works of the Trinity, as also in the term of Sonship might be avoided: In the external works of the Trinity, when the Creator of man became his Redeemer, and in the term of Sonship, when the Son of God, and the Son of Man were but one and the same person.

Ver. 1. [*The Word*] He is so called in the Old Testament. First, as the Author of the Creation, *Psal.* 33. 6. Secondly, as the Author of the Promise, 2 *Sam.* 7. 21. compared with 1 *Chron* 17. 19. Thirdly, as the very Subject of the Covenant and Promise it self, *Hag.* 2. 5. *Deut.* 30. 12. compared with *Rom.* 10. 6, 7. So that these things being laid together and well considered, they shew why *John* calleth the Son of God *the Word*, rather then by any other name. First, because he would shew that as the world was created by the Son, so it was most fit it should be redeemed. Secondly, that as in him the promise was given, so in him was fit should be the performance. Thirdly, that as he was the Subject of the Covenant in the Old Testament, so also was he the Substance of it in the New.

2 Sam. 7. 21. For thy name's sake; which in 1 Cor. 1. 19. is expressed, for thy *servants* sake, the title of Christ, *Esay* 42. 1.

From such places as these forenamed, where the Son of God is called the *Word* in the Old Testament, it became most familiar and ordinary among the Jews to use this title personally for him. And this may be a second reason deduced from that that was named before, why the Evangelist here useth it, namely as a name most familiarly and comly known amongst his own people. Examples hereof might be alledged out of the Chaldee Paraphrast, even by hundreds: It will suffice to alledge some few, *Gen.* 28. 20, 21. *If the word of the Lord will be my help, &c. The word of the Lord shall be my God*, Exod. 19. 17. Moses *brought forth the People to meet the word of the Lord*, Esai. 1. 14. *Your appointed Feasts my word abominateth*, and ver. 16. *Put away the evil of your doings from before my word, and* Chap. 45. 2. *My word shall go before thee, &c.* So Esay 48. 11. & 49. 5. 15. & 51. 5. Jer. 24. 6. & 27. 5. 18. & 29. 14. 23. Hos. 1. 7. 9. Zach. 2. 5. and in hundreds of other places: And so likewise in some of the writings of the Talmudists, and *Philo Judæus in lib. De mundi opificio*, explaineth this title.

This term, and in this sense also, was got even among the Heathen: for so *Mercury Trismegistus* useth it often in *Pimandro:* as, *The will of God contained his word.* And, *God with his word produced another intellect, which is a fiery God, and a Divine Spirit.* And again, *The word of God compacted the pure workmanship of nature.* And, *The working intellect together with the Word.*

So likewise *Orpheus*, as he is alledged by *Justin Martyr.*

Οὐρανὸν ὁρκίζω σὲ Θεῦ μετὰ σὸν ἔργον,
Αὐδὴν ὁρκίζω σὲ Πατρὸς, &c.

I adjure thee by the Heaven, &c. I adjure thee by the word of the Father.

But *Mahomet*, in his Alcaron goeth yet further. *Eiſe or Jeſus* (ſaith he) *is the word of God, and this being the word of God, is reputed among the Saracens as the proper name of Jeſus Chriſt, ſo that no other man is called by this name, but Jeſus only, whom in Arabick they call Eiſe.* Sam. Maroch. lib. de advent. Meſſiæ cap. 27. Druſ. in præter. in loc.

* Prov. 8. 27, 30.

* *And the word was with God, &c.*] The Evangeliſt goeth not about ſo much, immediately to ſhew the eternity of the *word*, or of the ſecond Perſon in the Trinity, as he doth to declare how requiſite it was that that Perſon ſhould be incarnate rather then the firſt or the third, becauſe by him the Creation was wrought, and anſwerably by him it was fitteſt ſhould be the redemption, &c. Therefore the words *in the beginning*, have not reference to the words eternal being, but to his giving of being to the Creature: For as they are *Moſes* his own Phraſe, *Gen.* 1. 1. ſo are they to be taken in his ſenſe, and further back then the Creation it is not poſſible to bring his words, and by thoſe of his muſt theſe be underſtood. They trace not therefore his Divinity beyond the Creation, nor yet do they find it to have begun there, but this they ſay only, that then *the word*, was, and by him were all things made. And this was enough for the anſwering of *Ebion* and *Cerinthus*, which held that Chriſt was not before the Virgin *Mary*: And this being concluded, that the *word* was in the beginning, and created all things, his eternal being before the Creation will readily infer it ſelf.

The Evangeliſt uſeth this manner of ſpeech, *The word with God.*

Firſt, to ſhew the ſubſiſtence of the Son of himſelf, and his coexiſtence with the Father; his ſubſiſtence, *he was*, his co-exiſtence, *He was with God.* Secondly, the diſtinction of the perſons, *He was with God*, and the unity of the Eſſence, *he was God.* Thirdly, the relation between the Father and the Son; The Son is ſaid to be *with the Father*, as children are *apud Patrem*, but not *e contra.* Fourthly, the Phraſe, *He was with God*, is in *Antitheſis*, or oppoſition to that that is ſaid afterward, *The* word dwelt among *us*; And this doth illuſtrate the doctrine and benefit of the incarnation the more, when it ſhall be obſerved, that he that in the beginning *was the word*, and *was with God*, and *was the Creator*, did in the fulneſs of time, become fleſh, and dwell with men, and became their Redeemer.

[*And the word was God*] God in the clauſe next preceding is taken perſonally for God the Father, but here eſſentially for the Godhead.

Moſes all along the Story of the Creation called God *Elohim*, by a word plural, to denote the diſtinction of Perſons; but at laſt, in *Gen.* 2. 4. he calleth him *Jehovah Elohim*, to ſignifie alſo the unity of Eſſence. So *David* when he had ſpoken of the *Lord* and *his word*, 2 *Sam.* 7. 21. and *the Lord* and *his Servant*, 1 *Chron.* 17. 19. He preſently concludeth, that there is but one God, though thoſe titles might ſeem to make them more. There is none like thee, neither is there any God beſides thee, *ver.* 22. So the Evangeliſt here, when he hath named *The Word*, and *God*, and the word being with God, as two perſons diſtinct one from another, leſt this diſtinction ſhould breed the ſuppoſal of difference, and the mention of more perſons, the ſurmiſal of more Gods, he preventeth betimes, and ſtoppeth all ſuch miſconſtructions by ſaying, *The Word was God.*

Ver. 2. [*The ſame was in the beginning with God*] He had ſaid, the ſame thing immediately before, but not in the ſame reſpect. For there he ſpake of the *words* coexiſtency with the Father, as he explaineth himſelf after it, *The word was God*; but here he ſpeaketh of *the words* co-working with the Father in the works of the Creation, and accordingly explaineth himſelf after alſo, *By him were all things made.*

Ver. 3. [*By him were all things made*] Not as an inſtrumental cauſe only, as the *Aſians* pleaded, but as the efficient; For ſo the word *By* often importeth. 1 *Cor.* 1. 9. 1 *Theſ.* 5. 24. 2 *Cor.* 1. 1. *Prov.* 8. 15, 16. *Epheſ.* 1. 1. *Col.* 1. 1. And ſo may ἐν be underſtood, *Col.* 1. 16.

[*And without him was nothing made that was made.*] In this place there hath been great difference of readings, as was obſerved before, as ſee *Chryſ.* in *loc. Vulg. lat. Alcum. in loc. &c.* but *Ignatius Martyr*, *Epiſt. ad Antioch. Tatianus in Harmon: Chryſoſtome in loc.* and other of the ancients, and the *Arabick*, *Syriack*, *Italian*, *Spaniſh*, *French*, *Dutch*, and all *Latine* tranſlations that are not wedded to the vulgar, read as we do; and ſo the very ſenſe of the place requireth to read: And ſo ſome of the Romaniſts themſelves read, forſaking their own vulgar: as the Rhemiſts in margin: *Maldonat. &c.* For how crabbed, harſh and ſtrained a ſenſe the beſt is, that can be made of their reading; ſee in *Alcuin: in loc. Victorin: adverſus Arium. lib.* 3. *Aquin.* per. 1. quæſt. 18. art. 4.

Concerning the repetition of this, it being the ſame in effect with that before, *All things were made by him*; obſerve, that firſt, it is to heighten the expreſſion, or to enforce the ſenſe: for ſo the Hebrews uſually do by an affirmative and negative in the ſame ſentence, as 2 *King.* 20. 15. *Jer.* 38. 25. *Lam.* 3. 2. Secondly, that the two diſtinct

clauſes

clauſes may ſeem to diſtinguiſh of the Creatures, and in the affirmative to underſtand the viſible Creatures, which *Moſes* had taught evidently were made by the *Word*; and in the negative, the inviſible, of which there might be the more doubt, whether they were made by him or no, becauſe *Moſes* hath made no ſuch plain expreſſion. Or, thirdly, that the affirmative may mean the *Words* creating of all things, and the negative his diſpoſal and ordering of all things; χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν ὃ γέγονεν, *without him was nothing that hath been*; either created, or diſpoſed, as *Job.* 5. 17.

Ver. 4. [*In him was* * *life*] This hath alluſion to *Adams* naming his wife *Eve*, or *life*, upon the apprehenſion of the Promiſe given him after his fall, *Gen.* 3. 15. * Deut. 30. 20. Pſ. 66. 9. Prov. 4. 13. Joh. 5. 24 & 6. 35. & 20. 31. Col. 3. 3, 4. 1 Joh. 5. 12.

And the Evangeliſt having conſidered *the Word* in the former verſe, as the Author of Nature, he cometh now to treat of him as the Author of Grace: there, as the Creator: here, as the Redeemer. For having related there, that *by him all things were made*, and amongſt *all things* man received his natural life and being: he goeth on now to ſhew, that by the ſame *Word* alſo, man when he was fallen and periſhed, and had incurred the penalty of dying the death, he re-obtained a new and a better life, namely by Faith, and laying hold upon him in the promiſe, as *Hab.* 2. 4.

[*And the life was the light* * *of men*] The life of the promiſe was the light that ſhone in the world, and to which all the Patriachs and Prophets, and all the holy Men of God, that lived before the fulfilling of it, had an eye and reſpect as to a light ſhining in a dark place, and whereby they guided all their devotions, and whereto they aimed all their actions: And this light then ſhone, and yet *ſhineth* in all the types, ſhadowes, figures, and predictions of the Law, and of the Prophets, as we daily read them, and that darkneſs *and myſtical cloudineſs which lay over them, did not comprehend it, but that it gave ſome ſhine in that obſcureneſs; And yet did they not reach to that brightneſs of revealing of Chriſt, but that it was neceſſary that the Goſpel ſhould be Preached: the beginning of which is mentioned in the very next verſe, namely the Preaching of *John*. * Eph. 5. 14; 1 Pet. 2. 9. 1 Joh. 2. 8. φαίνει. * See *Iſa.* 25. 7; & 32. 3 & 9. 30. 2 Cor. 3. 13. Heb. 12. 18.

Ver. 6. [*There was a man ſent, &c.*] Here may the Reader look back, and ſee the method and intention of the Evangeliſt, and the reaſon why he calleth him by this name *the Word*, rather then any other. For firſt, he was *the Word* by whom all things, and among them man, were created. Secondly, *The Word*, by which man, being fallen, was recovered and obtained life. Thirdly, *The Word* of light, direction, and conſolation to the holy Patriarchs. Fourthly, *The Word* of promiſe, in the darkneſs of the Law and Prophets: And he is now come to be the *Word* incarnate, and the publiſher of the Goſpel, which began from *John*, *Mark* 1. 1. And thus hath the Evangeliſt made the whole Old Teſtament, no other then a vailed Goſpel, ſpeaking of Chriſt, though ſomewhat obſcurely, from the beginning to the end. As in the Creation *ver.* 3. In the promiſe, *ver.* 4. In the expectation of the Fathers, *ibid.* Fifthly, In the darkneſs of the Law and Prophets, *ver.* 5. And ſixthly, in the neceſſity of a clearer revelation of him by his own comming, *ibid.*

Ver. 7. [*To bear witneſs of the light, &c.*] *The light* in this verſe, and thoſe that follow, is taken perſonally for Chriſt himſelf, whereas in *ver.* 4, 5. it is taken vertually only there, for the light that flowed from Chriſt, and therefore it is ſaid that light was *in* him: here for Chriſt the light it ſelf, for ſo is he called, *ver.* 9. See *Iſai.* 10. 17. and 42. 6. & 49. 6. *Mic.* 7. 6. *Num.* 24. 17. *Pſal.* 84. 1. *Mal.* 4. 2. &c. For firſt, Chriſt revealeth the Father and his will, *Joh.* 1. 18. & 16. 25. and whatſoever maketh manifeſt is light, *Epheſ.* 5. 13. Secondly, He is the brightneſs of the glory, and expreſs image of the Father, *Heb.* 1. 3. who is a light without any darkneſs at all, 1 *Joh.* 1. 5. Thridly, He inlightneth the hearts of his by Faith, *Epheſ.* 5. 14. Fourthly, Chriſt held out in the Goſpel, filled the world full of the light of knowledge, in compariſon of what it was under the Law, *Iſai.* 11. 9. *Pſal.* 19. 3.

[*That all might believe*] The word *All* joyneth the Gentiles with the Jews, which hitherto had been ſecluded: And in the ſame ſenſe is Chriſts *Lightning of every one that commeth into the world*, כל באי עולם *ver.* 9. to be underſtood for his general and univerſal inlightning of the world, with the ſhining of the Goſpel: For there is a compariſon made here by the Evangeliſt, betwixt the light of the promiſe under the Law, and the light of the Goſpel and Chriſt in it.

Ver. 10. [*He was in the world.*] Not vertually and inviſibly only, in his power and providence, but even viſibly, ſenſibly, and apparently, in audible voice and conſpicuous ſhape, before he came in humane nature, as *Gen.* 15. and 18. and 32. *Exod.* 3. *Joſh.* 6. yea, even to the ſight and hearing of wicked and heathen men, *Gen.* 4. and 20. and 21. and 31. *Dan.* 3. 24, 25. *Exod.* 14.

Ver. 11. [*He came among his own*] This ſpeaketh of his incarnation, and of his own Nation the Jews, amongſt whom he came and converſed in humane fleſh, yet they refuſed him. They were *his own* by choice, *Deut.* 7. 6. by purchaſe, *Exod.* 19. 4, 5. by Covenant, *Deut.* 26. 18. and by kindred, *Heb.* 2. 16.

Ver. 12.

Ver. 12. [* *Power to become the Sons of God*] The people of the Church, are called *the Sons of God*, *Gen.* 6. 2. And after the diſperſion at *Babel* [where the Heathen became the *Sons of men*, *Gen.* 11. 5.] this title was appropriated only to the Jews, *Exod.* 4. 22. *Hoſ.* 11. 1. But now when the Jews, Chriſts own people, ſhould not receive him when he ſo came amongſt them, this priviledge ſhould be conferred upon what Heathen or Gentiles ſo ever ſhould receive him, that they ſhould be henceforward, as the Jews had been hitherto, *the Sons of God*, or the Church of Chriſt.

* Or Priviledge, dignity, or licence, as Ἐξουσία is uſed 1 Cor. 8. 9. and 9. 5, 6. *Acts* 5. 4. *Mat.* 7. 29. Ἐξουσία μαθόντων; *Ariſt. Lth.* 8.

[*That believeth on his Name.*] That is, In, or On him: For the *Name of God* in Scripture, doth often ſtand for God himſelf, as *Pſal.* 71. 1. *Mic.* 6. 9. *Act.* 3. 16. &c. *For God is without any mixture or compoſition, but a moſt pure and ſimple eſſence, and therefore his name and himſelf are not two ſeveral things, as they be in the creatures, but one and the ſame*, R. Menahem or Exod. 60.

Ver. 13. [*Which are born not of blood.*] Greek, Not of *bloods* in the plural number. That is not of the kindred, deſcent, or continued Pedegree from the Patriarchal line, or the blood of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, and ſucceſſively: For *John* the Evangeliſt ſpeaketh much to the ſame tenor here, that *John* the Baptiſt doth, *Mat.* 3. 9. That *Chriſt* would adopt the Heathen for the *Sons of God*, as the Jews had been, though they had no relation at all to the Jewiſh blood or ſtock.

[*Nor of the will of the fleſh, nor of the will of man.*] The Evangeliſt hath traced *Moſes* all along from the beginning of the Chapter, and ſo he doth here. He uſed the Phraſe of the *Sons of God*, in the Verſe preceding, from *Gen.* 6. 2. And this Clauſe that we have in hand, he ſeemeth to take from the very next Verſe after; *My Spirit ſhall no more ſtrive with* man, *becauſe he alſo is* fleſh: Where, as *Moſes* by *fleſh*, underſtandeth the brood of *Cain*, men that followed the ſwing of luſt, ſenſuality, and their own corruption: and by *Man*, the Family of *Seth*, or *Adam*, that was regulated by Religion and reaſon, till that Family grew alſo *fleſhly* like the other: ſo doth *John* here the like. For having in the next foregoing words, excluded one main thing (that was much ſtood upon) from any claim or challenge, towards the adopting of the Sons of God, or forwarding of the new birth, and that is deſcent from *Abraham*, and from thoſe holy men ſucceſſively, that had the promiſe: So doth he here as much for two other, which only can put in for title to the ſame; and thoſe are, firſt, *the will of the fleſh*, or ability of nature; Secondly, the will of man, or power of morality.

Apollinaris from this clauſe, *the word became fleſh*, would wickedly conclude, that the word aſſumed not an humane ſoul but only humane fleſh, and that the Godhead ſerved that fleſh inſtead of a reaſonable ſoul Confuted, *Luke* 5. 52. *Mat.* 26. 38.

Ver. 14. [*And the word became Fleſh,*] Now hath the Evangeliſt brought us to the great Myſtery of the Incarnation, in the deſcription of which may be obſerved; Firſt, the two terms, *the word*, and *Fleſh*, expreſſing Chriſts two natures; and the word *was made*, or *became*, their hypoſtatical union. Secondly, the word *fleſh* is rather uſed by the Evangeliſt, then the word *man*; though oftentimes they ſignifie but the ſame thing, as *Gen.* 6. 12. *Pſal.* 65. 2. *Iſa.* 40. 5, 6.

Firſt, to make the difference and diſtinction of the two natures in Chriſt, the more conſpicuous; and that according to the common ſpeech of the *Jews*, who ſet *fleſh and blood* in oppoſition to God, as *Matth.* 16. 17. *Gal.* 1. 16.

Secondly, to magnifie the mercy of God in Chriſts incarnation, the more, in that *fleſh* being in its own nature, ſo far diſtant from the nature of God; yet that he thus brought theſe two natures together, as of them to make but one perſon for the reconciling of man and himſelf together.

Thirdly, to confirm the truth of Chriſts humanity, againſt future Hereſies, which have held that he had not a true and real humane body, but only Fantaſtical, or of the air.

Fourthly, to explain what he ſaid before, that Believers *became the Sons of God*; that is, not by any change of their bodily ſubſtances, but by participation of divine grace: for Chriſt on the contrary, became *the Son of Man*, by aſſuming of fleſh, and not by changing into it.

Fifthly, to ſhew the Plaiſter fitly applyed unto the Sore, and the Phyſick to the Diſeaſe; for whereas in us, that is, *in our fleſh*, there dwelleth no good, but ſin, death, and corruption; he took upon him this very nature, which we have ſo corrupted, ſequeſtring only the corruption from it, that in the nature he might heal the corruption.

Sixthly, he ſaith, he was made or became *fleſh*, and not he was made *man*, leſt it ſhould be conceived that Chriſt aſſumed a perſon; for he took not the perſon of any man in particular, but the nature of man in general.

[*Was made fleſh.*] Not by alteration, but aſſumption; not by turning of the Godhead into fleſh, but by taking of the Manhood into God; not by leaving what he was before, that is, *to be God*, but by taking on him what he was not before; that is, *to be man.*

And the Evangeliſt ſaith rather, *He was made fleſh*, then he *aſſumed it. i. e.* that he might ſet out the truth and myſtery of the Incarnation to the life, both for the hypoſtatical

tical union of the two natures, and their inſeparablity, being ſo united. For, firſt, whereas *Neſtorius* ſaid, *that the word was not that man that was conceived and born of the Virgin* Mary; *but that the Virgin indeed brought forth a man, and he having obtained grace in all kind of vertue, had the word of God united unto him, which gave him power againſt unclean Spirits*; And ſo he made two ſeveral Sons, and two ſeveral perſons of the two natures: his Hereſie is plainly and ſtrongly confuted by this phraſe, *he was made fleſh*, which by the other, *he aſſumed it*, might have had more pretext and colour. Secondly, whereas *Eutyches*, *Valentius*, and others averred, *that Chriſt had not a true humane body, but only a body in appearance*: This alſo confuteth them home, and taketh away all probability of any ſuch thing, which the word *aſſumed* might have left more doubtful; ſince we know that Angels aſſumed bodies, and thoſe bodies were not truly humane: So that in this manner of ſpeech, *The word was made fleſh*, is evidently taught: Firſt, that there are two diſtinct natures in Chriſt, the God-head, and the Man-hood; for he ſaith not, the *word was turned into*, but was *made*, or *became fleſh*. Secondly, that theſe two natures do not conſtitute two perſons, but only one Chriſt, for he ſaith, *he was made fleſh*, and not *aſſumed it*. Thirdly, that this union is hypoſtatical, or perſonal; for he ſaith, *the word was made fleſh*, and not *joyned to it*. And laſtly, that this union is indiſſoluble and never to be ſeparated: For Angels in aſſumed bodies laid them by again, and were parted from them, but *the word being made fleſh*, the union is perſonal, and not to be diſſolved.

[*And dwelt among us, &c.*] That is, *among us his Diſciples:* for ſo the next clauſe, *we ſaw his glory*, importeth: And this Evangeliſt ſpeaketh the ſame thing more at large, 1 *Joh.* 1. 1.

[*Full of grace and truth.*] For theſe words follow next in Grammatical conſtruction and connection; lying thus. *And the word became fleſh, and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth.* The reaſon of the Parentheſis, *and we ſaw his glory*, may ſeem to be: Firſt, becauſe he would explain what he meant by *Us*, before he left it, *viz.* us Diſciples, *that ſaw his glory.* Secondly, becauſe the Apoſtles beheld not the very fulneſs of his grace and truth, till they had beheld the fulneſs of that glory, which he ſhewed on earth.

[*Grace and truth.*] As the Soul hath tow noble faculties, the underſtanding and the will, the objects of which are, *verum & bonum*, [truth and goodneſs:] ſo the whole tenor of Scripture doth run upon theſe two, and they are indeed the ſum of all, as *Pſal.* 25. 10. and 40. 12. and 36. 5. and 138. 2. *Hoſ.* 2. 19. &c. Now Chriſt being the ſubſtance of the promiſes, which had the original from *grace*, and their performance in *truth*; they being *in him yea, and in him Amen*; the Evangeliſt ſaying, that *he dwelt among us, full of grace and truth*; holdeth out, that he was the performance and accompliſhment of all the promiſes of *grace*, and the *truth* of all the types and prophecies before the Law, and under it, that tended to ſuch a purpoſe; and in him was the fulneſs of that mercy and truth, that the Patriarchs, Prophets, and holy men looked after, and he the whole tenor, ſcope, and ſubject of the Scriptures.

SECTION III.

S. *LUKE* CHAP. I.

The Conception and Birth of John the Baptiſt, and of Chriſt, foretold by the Angel Gabriel, *&c.*

Ver. 5.

THere *was in the days of* †Herod the *King of* Judea, *a certain Prieſt named* Zacharias, *of the courſe of* Abiah, *and his wife was of* (a) *the Daughters of* Aaron, *and her name was* (b) Elizabeth.

† *Herod* written with *Cheth* in the beginning, ſignifieth *fear* or *trembling*, as the trembling cowardiſe of *Gedeons* ſouldiers, named the well *Harod*, *Judg.* 7. 1. &c. But the *Syr.* & *Arab* write this with *He.*

6. *And they were* (c) *both righteous before God, walking in all the Commandements and Ordinances of the Lord blameleſs.*

7. *And they had no child, becauſe that* (d) Elizabeth *was barren, and they were both now* (e) *well ſtriken in years.*

8. *And it came to paſs that while he executed the Prieſts Office* (f) *before God in the order of his courſe.*

(a) *John* Baptiſt of the Prieſtly line, both by Father and Mother.
(b) The Seventy call wife of *Aaron*, the firſt Prieſt by the ſame name, *Exod.* 6. 23.
(c) Such couples were *Abraham* and *Sarah*, *Iſaac* and *Rebeccah*, *Elkanah* and *Hannah*; both righteous, and a long time childleſs.
(d) Throughout the Scripture, want of Children is aſcribed to the woman.
(e) An Hebraiſme, as *Gen.* 18. 11. 1 *Kings* 1. 1. &c.
(f) The Worſhip of God in the Temple was ſaid to be before him, *Exod.* 23. 17. *Lev.* 1. 3. 11. And the ark being the repreſentation of Chriſt, is called *his face*, *Pſal.* 105. 4. yea, even *God* himſelf, *Pſal.* 132. 5.

9. *Ac-*

9. *According to the custome of the Priests Office, his lot was to burn Incense, when he went into the Temple of the Lord.*

10. *And the whole multitude of the people were praying without, at the time of Incense.*

¶ Compare the appearing of the Angel Gabriel to Daniel, about the time of Incense, Dan. 9. 21.

11. *And there appeared unto him an* ¶ *Angel of the Lord, standing on the right side of the Altar of Incense.*

12. *And when* Zacharias *saw him* (g) *he was troubled* (h) *and fear fell upon him.*

13. *But the Angel said unto him, fear not* Zacharias, *for thy prayer is heard, and thy wife* Elizabeth *shall bear thee a Son, and thou shalt call his name* † John.

(g) Τεταράχθη, used by the LXX to express Pharaohs trouble upon his dream, Gen. 41 8. and his Servants upon theirs, Gen. 40.

14. *And thou shalt have* (i) *joy, and gladness; and* (k) *many shall rejoyce at his birth.*

15. *For he shall be great in the sight of the Lord, and shall drink neither wine nor* (l) *strong drink; and he shall be filled with the Holy Ghost,* ¶ *even from his Mothers womb.*

16. *And many of the Children of* Israel, *shall he turn to the Lord their God.*

17. *And he shall go before in the spirit and power of* (m) Elias, *to turn the hearts of the Fathers to the Children, and the disobedient* ¶ *to the wisdom of the just, to make ready a people, prepared for the Lord.*

c Compare Judg. 6. 22. & 13. 22. Dan. 8. 17. Job. 4. 15.

18. *And* Zacharias *said unto the Angel, whereby shall I know this for* (n) *I am an old man, and my wife well stricken in years.*

(i) As Gen. 15. 12.

19. *And the Angel answering, said unto him, I am* (o) Gabriel, *that stand in the presence of God: and* (p) *am sent to speak unto thee, and to shew thee these glad tidings.*

† John, the same with Jehohanan to frequent in the Old Testament, as 1 Chr. 3. 15. & 6. 9. & 12. 12. & 26. 3. and 2 Chron. 17. 15 & 23. 1. and 28. 12. Jer. 40. 8.

20. *And* (q) *behold thou shalt be dumb, and not able to speak, until the day that these things shall be performed; because thou believest not my words, which shall be fulfilled* (r) *in their season.*

21. *And the people waited for* Zacharias, *and marvelled that he tarried so long in the Temple.*

22. *And when he came out* * *he could not speak unto them; and they perceived that he had seen a Vision in the Temple: for he beckened unto them, and remained speechless.*

23. *And it came to pass, that as soon as the days of his ministration were accomplished, he departed to his own house.*

24. *And after those days, his wife* Elizabeth *conceived, and hid her self* ¶ *five months; saying.*

(l) שכרות Job 3. 22. The Arab. addeth thou shalt have great joy.

25. *Thus hath the Lord dealt with me in the days wherein he looked* * *on me to take away my reproach among men.*

(k) As Gen. 21. 6

26. *And* IN THE SIXTH MONTH, *the Angel* Gabriel *was sent from God, unto a City of* (s) Galilee, *named* Nazareth.

Σικερα: of the Heb. שכר used by the LXX for it, Lev. 10 9. Numb. 6. 3. Deut. 14. 26. & 29. 5. Judg. 13. 4. and 28. 7. &c. which sometimes signifieth Wine; as Num. 28. 7. but most commonly any thing that will cause drunkenness. *Wine of fourty days old, is called Shekar*; saith *R. Menahem.* on *Lev.* 10. and so the *Chaldee* paraphraseth it, *Numb.* 6. 3. and 28. 7. *Deut.* 14. 26. & 29. 5. *Judg.* 13. 4. But, *any thing that will make one drunk, is called Shekar, whether it be made of Corn, Honey, or Fruits. Ab. Ezr.* on *Lev.* 10. 9. and in *Michol. Bructuli* his Italian, and the French express it by *Cervisia*, Ale or Bear.

27. *To a Virgin espoused to a Man, whose Name was* † Joseph, *of the house of* David: *and the Virgins Name was* * Mary.

28. *And the Angel came in unto her, and said, Haile,* thou that art *highly favoured; the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women.*

29. *And when she saw him, she was troubled at his saying, and cast in her mind, what manner of salutation this should be.*

30. *And the Angel said unto her, Fear not* Mary, *for thou hast* (v) *found favour with God.*

31. *And behold* (t) *thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a Son and shalt call his name Jesus.*

¶ Ἀνεστη ἐκ δεξιῶν; as *Moses Act.* 7. 20. *Jer.* 1. 5.

(s) Heb. Eliabah. 1 *Kings* 17. &c. and there turned by the LXX: *Elion*: but in *Mal.* 4. 5. the Hebr. hath it *Eliab*, and the LXX *Elias*.

¶ Ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ: *In* or *by the wisdom.*

(u) As *Gen.* 18. 12.

(o) *Dan.* 8. 26. & 9. 21.

(p) This relateth to his assuming a visible shape.

(q) So a sign is given to *Ahaz* with a *Behold*! *Isa.* 7. 14. compare *Ezek.* 3. 26.

(r) Τις καιρὸν: Mat. 2. 23. as εἰς χρόνον πολλὸν, *Acts* 8. 23.

* At the first burning of Incense, the Priests miscarried, *Lev.* 10. and thus that right which the Jews value for the highest of all legal offerings, beginneth with ignorance, and concludeth with unbelief. Prophecy was struck dumb a great while ago, and now is the Priesthood so, as well as it.

¶ Observe the same space, *Gen* 7. 24. if cast into months, and *Rev.* 9. 5.

* So read also the *Syrian* and *Arab.* though the words *on me*, be not expressed in the original unless included in the preposition, in ἐπ' ἐμοὶ.

(s) See 1 *King.* 9. 11. *Isa.* 9. 1. and in the LXX: in *Joel* 3. 4. *Ezek.* 47. 8

† This calleth to remembrance the old renowned Patriarch *Joseph*, *Gen.* 37. both of them were sent into *Egypt*, and both by dreams; and there the one nourished his Father, and the other his Redeemer: There were also of this name *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, and *Joseph* surnamed *Justus*.

* Gr. *Mariam*, by which word the LXX render the name of *Moses* sister, *Exod.* 15. &c. The name plainly and properly signifieth both *their rebellion*, and *their bitter affliction*; for the wickedness of *Israel* in *Egypt* had brought them into great misery, when *Miriam* was so named.

(v) *Gen.* 6. 9.

(t) He useth the common manner of speech among the Hebrews, as *Gen.* 4. 1. &c. to shew the true conception, and real birth of our Saviour; Confuting that Heresie, *That he came through the Virgins womb, as through a Conduit Pipe, without partaking of her nature*: And that, *That he was not really born, but fantastically only, and in appearance.* These words refer to *Isa.* 7. 14.

32. *He*

32. *He ſhall be great, and* (2) *ſhall be called the Son of* (3) *the moſt Higheſt*; *and the* (4) *Lord God ſhall give unto him the throne of his Father* David.
33. *And he ſhall reign over* (5) *the houſe of Jacob for ever*; *and of his Kingdom* (6) *there ſhall be no end.*
34. *Then ſaid* Mary *unto the Angel,* (7) *How ſhall this be, ſeeing I* (8) *know not a man?*
35. *And the Angel anſwered and ſaid unto her, The Holy Ghoſt ſhall come upon thee*; *and the power of the Higheſt ſhall overſhadow thee. Therefore alſo that holy thing which ſhall be born* (9) *of thee, ſhall be called the Son of God.*
36. *And behold thy* (10) *Couſen* Elizabeth, *ſhe hath alſo conceived a Son in her old age*; *and this is the ſixth month with her who was called barren.*
37. (11) *For with God nothing is impoſſible.*
38. *And* Mary *ſaid, Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to thy word*; *and the Angel departed from her.*
39. *And* Mary *aroſe in thoſe days, and went into the hill Countrey with haſte, into a City of* (12) *Judah.*
40. *And entred into the houſe of* Zacharias, *and ſaluted* Elizabeth.
41. *And it came to paſs that when* Elizabeth *heard the ſalutation of* Mary, *the babe* (13) *leaped in her womb, and* Elizabeth *was filled with the holy Ghoſt.*
42. *And ſhe ſpake out with a loud voice, and ſaid, Bleſſed art thou among women, and* (14) *bleſſed is the fruit of thy womb.*
43. *And whence is this to me, that the mother of* (15) *my Lord ſhould come to me?*
44. *For lo, as ſoon as the voice of thy ſalutation ſounded in mine ears, the Babe leaped in my womb for joy.*
45. *And bleſſed is* (16) *ſhe that believed* (17) *for there ſhall be* (18) *a performance of thoſe things which were told her from the Lord.*
46. *And* (19) Mary *ſaid, My ſoul doth magnify the Lord*;
47. *And my ſpirit hath rejoyced in God my Saviour:*
48. *For he hath regarded the low eſtate of his hand-maiden: for behold from henceforth all generations ſhall call me bleſſed.*
49. *For he that is* (20) *mighty hath done to me great things, and holy is his name.*
50. *And his mercy is on them that fear him, from generation to generation* *
51. *He hath ſhewed ſtrength with* (21) *his arm*; *he hath ſcattered the proud* (22) *in the imagination of their hearts.*
52. *He hath put down the mighty from their ſeats, and exalted them of low degree.*
53. *He hath filled the hungry with good things, and the rich he hath ſent empty away.*
54. *He* (23) *hath holpen his ſervant Iſrael* (24) *in remembrance of his mercy*;

(2) *Shall be called the Son of the Higheſt*; that is ſhall be his Son, as *Iſa.* 1. 26. and 4. 3. and ſhall be ſo confeſſed.
(3) *Gen* 14.19.
(4) Jehovah Elohim.
(5) *Iſay* 2. 5.
(6) *Iſa.* 9. 7. *Dan.* 7. 14. *Mic.* 4. 7. *Pſal.* 145. 14. *Heb.* 7. 17.
(7) *How*, in Scripture is ſometime a ſtrong aſſeveration, or negation, *Lam* 1. 1. *Gen.* 29. 9. and 44. 34. ſometime a queſtion of doubting, as *John* 6. 52. and 3. 5. And ſometime a queſtion of ignorance only, without diffidence; or a queſtion deſiring information, or reſolution, as *John* 7. 15. *Luke* 20. 44. And ſo is it here; for the Virgin believeth the thing. *Ver.* 45. but deſired to be ſatisfied of the manner, for ſhe ſaith not, *How can*, but *How ſhall* this be.

(8) A modeſt Phraſe for carnal copulation. Firſt uſed of *Adam*, preſently after the relation of his eating of the tree of knowledge, *Gen.* 4. 1. as if it would ſhew, that all the knowledge he gained by that was but carnal, *he knew his wife*; and experimental of misery, *they knew they were naked.*
(9) Born *of thee*; ſo read the Syr. Arab. *Juſtin Martyr, in Dial. Nazianz. Orat.* 59. *Aponius in Cantic. Titus in Loc* &c. but ſome Copies dangerouſly want it; as the Text of *Theophylact. H. Steven*, 1604 of *Amſterdam*, 16. 2. *Eraſmus*, &c.
(10) The certain bond of their kindred cannot be determined: but *Elizabeth* or her Mother might be ſiſter to *Maries* father or mother, or *Maries* mothers mother might be ſo to her or hers, or to *Zacharie* or his. However it ſheweth, that Chriſts and John the Baptiſt were neerly allyed according to the fleſh; yet *John* knew him not till he was revealed to him by the Spirit. (11) *Gen.* 18. 11.
(12) The diviſion of Judea, is famous and frequent, into *the mountains, the plain, and the South*; *Numb.* 13. 30 *Jer.* 32. 44. &c. The South lay towards *Sin* and *Amalek*, from the inlets into the Land, at the utmoſt part of the dead Sea; having the Philiſtines upon the weſt. This part reacht to the riſing of the mountains, not far below *Hebron*: and there the mountains began, and ran along Northward to, and beyond *Jeruſalem*, having the flat or the plain of *Jordan* skirting up all along upon their Eaſtſide, till *Samaria* and *Galilee* brought in another denomination.
(13) Greek ἐσκίρτησε: The ſame to ſome with Ἀσκαλίζω; which with Phyſitians Importeth the childs ſtirring in the womb, as every live child doth, more or leſs; but this is a word of an higher activity and motion. *Plato in Pol.* 9. uſeth it to expreſs the laſcivious fancies of men or women in their dreams; *when that part of the Soul, ſaith he, which is rational, gentle, and maſter of reaſon, is laid aſleep, then the other, which is beſtial and brutiſh, being puffed up with meats and drinks* σκιρτᾷ, *leapeth, or friſketh, and putting away ſleep from it, doth ſeek to ſatisfie its own deſires.*
(14) *The Meſſias ſhall be bleſſed with ſix bleſſings*, viz. *with the ſpirit of wiſdom, underſtanding, counſell, ſtrength, knowledge, and fear of the Lord*; R. Solom *on* Ruth 3. 15. *and the* Caldee Paraph. *there.*
(15) Τῦ κυρίυ μȣ̃ this here tranſlates, not יהוה but אדוני, as *Pſal.* 110. 1.
(16) *Vulg. Lat. Bleſſed art thou* that didſt believe, miſtaking as *Janſenius* conceiveth, the Grammatical ſpirit in Αυτῆ, and reading it, Αυτῆ.
(17) Or, *That there ſhall be* a performance; for ſo doth the Hebrew כי also ſignifie. as *Job* 3. 12. : כי ארנק *That I might ſuck*, ſo *Pſal.* 11. 3. The wicked bend their bow, &c. *That the foundations may be deſtroyed*, which the righteous hath made.
(18) Τελείωσις ſometimes is uſed for ſetting apart to holy uſe, as in the LXX, *Exod.* 29. and chriſtian Writers uſe it ſometimes for Baptiſm and Martyrdom; becauſe they conſecrate men to God. It is uſed of Chriſt, *Heb.* 2. 10.
(19) *Ludolphus* upon this place, obſerveth to little purpoſe, that the Virgin is found in Scripture ſpeaking but ſeven times.
(20) ὁ Δυνατὸς, *The mighty one.* A full and proper ſenſe of the word *Elohim*; which the LXX indeed, and the New Teſtament after them have conſtantly expreſſed by Θεὸς, becauſe of the myſtery of the Trinity included in it. *Gibbor* applied to God, is δυνατὸς in the LXX. *Pſal.* 24. 8.
* *Pſal.* 103. 17.
(21) *Pſal.* 89. 10. 13. and 98. 1. and 136. 12. *Eſa.* 53. 1.
(22) נמחשבות לבם: *Job* 5. 13. 1 *Cor.* 3. 10. *Gen.* 11. 8.
(23) Ἀντελάβετο, uſed by the LXX, *Iſa.* 41. 9. from which verſe this ſeemeth to be taken. Ἀντίλημψις, is *an Arm*, *Pſal.* 83 9. and a *Shield*, *Pſal.* 89. 18.
(24) Greek; *To remember*, Syr. and Arab. *And remembreth his mercy.*

55. *As he ſpake to our fathers, to* Abraham, *and to his ſeed* (25) *for ever.*
56. *And* Mary *abode with her about three months, and returned to her own houſe.*

(25) This hath ſo good dependance upon ſeveral words that it is hard to fix it. Firſt, as he ſpake *for ever* or in all ages, to our Fathers. Secondly, to the ſeed of *Abraham*, which ſhall laſt *for ever*. Thirdly, He hath *for ever* remembred his mercy. Fourthly that mercy which is *for ever*. Fifthly, which is to be ſhewed to *Abraham*, and to his ſeed *for ever*, and this laſt, or the two laſt together, are moſt proper.

Reaſon and Order.

THE Order of this Section requireth not much confirmation, for it will plead for it ſelf.

After the Divine Nature of Chriſt is handled, as in the Section preceding, his humane is to be conſidered next: and ſo is it here: And firſt the manner of his conception, but the conception of his forerunner *John* the Baptiſt, orderly deſcribed and declared before.

Harmony and Explanation.

Ver. 5. *In the days of* Herod.

THE *Scepter ſhall not depart from Judah, or the Lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come*, Gen. 49. 10.

The words are to be read diſcretively, *Or* rather then *And*, ſhewing that when the Scepter ceaſed, the Law-giver ſucceeded, and when both were gone, then *Meſſias* ſhould appear.

The Scepter continued in the hand of *Judah*, till the captivity into *Babylon*, and then it departed, and being once fallen, it was never recovered, till he came to whom it belonged. This *Jeremy* told expreſly even at the very time, when it was in failing, *Jer.* 22. 30. *Write Coniah childleſs, for no man of his ſeed ſhall proſper, ſitting upon the Throne of* David, *and ruling any more in Judah.* And ſo did *Ezekiel* even juſt then, when *Nebucadnezzar* was ſetting himſelf to fetch it away, *Ezek.* 21. 27. &c. *Remove the Diadem, and take off the Crown, &c. I will overturn, overturn, overturn it, and it ſhall be no more, until he come whoſe right it is, and I will give it him.*

After their return out of that captivity; the Law-giver, or the high Court of the Seventy Elders, ſate at the Helm and ruled the State, till the uſurpation of the *Aſmonean* or *Maccabean* family diſtempered all. Their Ambition brought in a Crown, and that, Civil wars, and thoſe the *Romans*, who ſubdued the Nation, and ſet *Herod* King over them. He was the Son of *Antipater*, of the race of *Edom*, or of the ſeed of *Eſau*, a generation that had been an enemy to the Jews continually, but never ruled over them till now, ſo that now were fulfilled the words of *Iſaac* to his Son *Eſau*. *Thou ſhalt ſerve thy brother Jacob, but it ſhall come to paſs when thou ſhalt have the dominion, thou ſhalt break his yoke from off thy neck.* Gen. 27. 40.

Herod was bloody, like the root of which he came, which perſecuted his Brother, even in the womb, and among other his cruelties, which were very horrible and very many, he ſlew the *Sanhedrin*, or the bench of the LXX Judges. And then was the Law-giver departed from between *Judahs* feet, as the Scepter was out his hand long before: And then might the Jews cry out, as it is recorded they did, though upon another occaſion. *Woe unto us, for the Scepter is departed from Judah, and the Law-giver from between his feet, and yet is not the Son of* David *come.*

§ *There was a certain Prieſt named* Zacharias.

Of this name, there had been a famous Prieſt, and a famous Prophet in old time before. *Zacharias* the Son of *Jehojada*, before the captivity, 2 *Chron.* 24. And *Zacharias* the Son of *Barachias* after, *Zach.* 1. 1. And conſonant it was, that he in whom Prieſthood, and Prophecy ſhould be ſtruck dumb, and even at their period, becauſe the great Prieſt and Prophet was ſo near at hand, ſhould bear the ſame name with them, in whom Prieſthood and Prophecy had in ſome manner ceaſed before.

§ *Of*

§ *Of* † *the course of* Abia.

† Ἐφημερία used by the LXX, 1 Chr 9. 33 to translate לשכת *the chambers of the Temple*, if it be not mis-written.

The Priests were divided by *David* into four and twenty courses, 1 *Chron.* 24. Not, but that there had been courses before of them, but because there had not been so many. For reason it self will tell us, that since they were all bound to the Sanctuary, and withall were so very many in number, they could not serve there mixedly and confusedly, but must need have some distinction and order: some of the Jews say they were divided into eight courses by *Moses*, four of *Eleazar*, and four *Ithamar*. But for this they have no ground to shew at all. Others that they were divided into sixteen by him, namely, eight and eight of either family. And of the division it self, there seemeth to be some probability in the Text, but not of the divider. For speaking of *Davids* distinguishing them, because they were grown more numerous, it saith, 1 *Chro.* 24. 6.

ביתֿאב אחד אחוז לאלעזר ואחוז אחוז לאיתמר which importeth thus much, that there was one principal household added to every course of *Eleazar* more than was before, and so they became sixteen, but of *Ithamar* were only taken those which were used before, which were only eight, and thus did they rise to four and twenty. See *R. Solomon & Dav. Kimchi in loc.*

These courses thus newly increased by *David* for number, and thus newly ranked by lot for order, and both for the service of the Temple, when it should be built; it is but little to be doubted, but that they began their round, when the service of the Temple did first begin; which round began on the Sabbath, next after the Feast of Tabernacles, about the two and twentieth day of the month *Tisri*, 2 *Chron.* 7. For on the three and twentieth day, *Solomon* dismissed all the people to their own houses, *ver.* 10. after he had kept the Feast of Tabernacles seven days before according to the Law, beginning on the fifteenth day of the month, and concluding on the one and twentieth day, *Lev.* 23. and the next day after, or the two and twentieth day, was a solemn assembly, and that year (as it may be conceived) the Sabbath day. Now in the week of the Feast, so great was the company of the Congregation, and so many the multitude of the Sacrifices, that no single course was able to undergo the service, but then (as also at the other two great Festivals) all the courses served indifferently, (and so had they done at the Temples dedication, 2 *Chron.* 5. 11.) and on the next Sabbath, the course of *Jehojarib* or the first began.

They changed every week, comming in on the Sabbath, and on the next going out, 2 *Kings* 11. 7. 2 *Chron.* 23. 4. So that by the time of the passover, they were just gon about; and from thence they began their second round again: In the eighth course of which second round; for so was the course of *Abia*, 1 *Chron.* 24. 10. *Zacharias* heareth the glad tidings of the birth of Christs forerunner; just about the same time of the year, that *Sarah* did of the fixed time of the birth of *Isaac*, toward the middle of the Summer, *Gen.* 18.

But that the Reader may have a full and perfect view of the revolution of these courses: and because he will have frequent occasion in his reading of the Evangelists, to have his eye upon the passing of the year of the Jews; let it not be tedious to interpose a Kalendar, or Almanack of it, here at the very entrance; with an account of the courses of the Priests used every week at the Temple, the Lessons out of the Law and the Prophets, used every Sabbath in the Synagogues; and their Festivals great and lesser, as they lighted in their seasons; that whensoever hereafter in his Progress in this sacred History of the Gospel, he shall have occasion to look after any of these, they may be here ready before his eyes.

The Jews reckoned their year by Lunary months, as is more then apparent; by the words that signified a month amongst them, as חדש and ירח and by several Stories in the Scripture; and in this their reckoning, saith, * *Rabbi Solomon, one month was full, and another wanting*; that is, one consisting of thirty days, and another only of nine and twenty: This computation made their years to fall eleven days short of the year of the Sun. And this the Holy Ghost seemeth to hint and to hit upon, when in reckoning the time of *Noahs* being in his Arke, he bringeth him in on the seventeenth day of the second month, *Gen.* 7. 11. and bringeth him out on the seven and twentieth day of the same month on the next year, *Gen.* 8. 14. and yet intendeth him there but an exact and compleat year of the Sun, but reckoned only by Lunary months.

* On Gen. 7.

Now these eleven days, which the year of the Sun out stretched the year of the Moon, on every third year made up a month of three and thirty days; which the Jews laid after the month *Adar*, or the last month; and called it *Veadar*, or *Adar*, over again.

But not to insist upon any curious inquiry into their embolimism, or intercalation, nor how the twelve Stewards of *Solomon*, and the four and twenty courses of the Priests, made out their Service, those in the Court, and these in the Temple, on that additional month of the leap year; which is not a discourse for the present purpose: we will take up the year in its common and ordinary course and circle; and suppose [*A*] the Dominical, or Sabbath day Letter, and trace the courses of the Priests, and the lessons of the Law and Prophets, according thereunto.

Now these lessons of the Law and Prophets began their round, one Sabbath before the courses of the Priests; the first *Parashah*, or Section of *Genesis*, being read at the Feast of Tabernacles: and by the next Feast of Tabernacles, or the next year, all the Law was read over, be the year Leap year, or no: For if it were the ordinary year, the Sections in the latter end of *Deuteronomy*, were made fewer and longer; but if the intercalary, or Bissextile, then were they broke into more, according to the number of the Sabbaths of that year; that by the Feast of Tabernacles, *Deuteronomy* might be finished, and *Genesis* might be begun on again.

Whether these Lessons or Sections of the Law were appointed and set out by *Moses*, or by *Ezra*, or by some other; and how the like in the Prophets came to be parallel'd with them; or to be read instead of them; when the persecution of *Antiochus* forbad the reading of the Law; is not a time and place to dispute here; only if the Reader shall observe the Harmony between the two portions that were read at one time, he will see that the choice of them was of more then ordinary and common discretion: And sometimes the taking notice of the portions themselves, will help to clear and satisfie some obscurities, which otherwise it were not possible to clear and satisfie, as some examples will be given in their places.

The first Month. From the middle of our September, to the middle of October.

TISRI or ETHANIM, 1 *King*.8.2. 2 *Chron*.5.3.

1	A	*Delaiah:* The three and twentieth
2	b	course. Feast of Trumpets.
3	c	Lessons
4	d	Deut. chap. 26. from ver.1. to chap.
5	e	29. ver.10.
6	f	Isa. chap. 60. from ver.1. to the end
7	g	of the chapter.
8	A	*Maaziah:* the four and twentieth course.
9	b	Lessons
10	c	Deut.c.29.v.10. to c.31.1.when there were
11	d	more weeks in the years, otherwise to the
12	e	end of the book. Isa. c.61.10. to c. 63.10.
13	f	The tenth day of this month was the so-
14	g	lemn and mysterious Feast of expiation,
15	A	Lev.16.29.
16	b	*The Feast of Tabernacles:* All the
17	c	Priests are present and serve. The Law
18	d	is begun to be read.
19	e	Lessons
20	f	Gen. chap.1.1. to c.6. v.9. Isa. chap.
21	g	42. ver.5. to ver.11. of chap.43.
22	A	*Jehoiarib:* The first course beginneth.
23	b	Lessons
24	c	Gen. chap.6. from v.9. to ch.12. v.1.
25	d	Isa.54.1. to ver.5. of chap.55.
26	e	
27	f	
28	g	
29	A	*Jedaiah:* The second course begin-
30	b	neth. Lessons
		Gen. chap.12. v.1. to c.18.1. Isa.40.
		from ver.27. to ver.17. of chap.41.

The second Month.] Part of Octob. and part of November.

MARHESHUAN.

1	c	
2	d	
3	e	
4	f	
5	g	
6	A	*Harim:* The the third course begin-
7	b	neth.
8	c	Lessons
9	d	Gen. chap.18.1.to chap.23.1. 2 King.
10	e	4. from the beginning of the chapter
11	f	to ver 38.
12	g	
13	A	*Seorim:* The fourth course beginneth.
14	b	Lessons
15	c	Gen. chap 23.1. to c.25.19. 1 King.
16	d	chap.1. from ver. 1. to ver.32.
17	e	
18	f	
19	g	
20	A	*Malchijah:* The fifth course beginneth.
21	b	Lessons
22	c	Gen. chap.25.19. to chap.28.10. Ma-
23	d	lachi chap. 1. from the beginning to
24	e	ver.8. of chap.2.
25	f	
26	g	
27	A	*Mijamim:* The sixth course beginneth.
28	b	Lessons
29	c	Gen. chap. 28.10. to ch. 32.3. Hosea
		c.11. from v.7. to v.2. of chap.14.

The third Month. Part of November and part of December.

CISLEU.

1	d	
2	e	
3	f	
4	g	
5	A	*Hakkoz:* The seventh course begins.
6	b	Lessons
7	c	Gen. chap.32. from ver.3. to ch. 37.1.
8	d	Obabiah all the chapter, or Hos. chap.
9	e	12. from v. 12. to the end of the book.
10	f	
11	g	
12	A	*Abijah* or Abia: the eighth course be-
13	b	ginneth.
14	c	Lessons
15	d	Gen. chap.37.1. to chap. 41.1. Amos
16	e	chap.2. from ver.6. to v.9. of chap.3.
17	f	
18	g	
19	A	*Jeshuah:* The ninth course beginneth.
20	b	Lessons
21	c	Gen.chap.41.1.to chap.44.18. 1 King.
22	d	chap.3. from v. 15. to the end of the
23	e	chapter.
24	f	Feast of Dedication eight days, 1 Mac.
25	g	4.59. Joh.10.22.
26	A	*Shechaniah:* The tenth course begin-
27	b	neth. Lessons
28	c	Gen. chap.44. from v.18. to v.27. of
29	d	chap.47. Ezek. c.37. from v.15. to the
30	e	end of the chapter.

The fourth Month. Part of December and part of January

TEBETH *Esth.* 2.16.

1	f	
2	g	
3	A	*Eliashib:* The eleventh course begin-
4	b	neth.
5	c	Lessons
6	d	Gen. chap.47. from ver.27. to the end
7	e	of the book. 1 King.chap.2. from the
8	f	beginning to ver.13.
9	g	
10	A	*Jakim:* The twelfth course beginneth.
11	b	Lessons
12	c	Exod. chap. 1. from beginning to
13	d	chap.6. ver.2. Isa.chap.27. from ver.6.
14	e	to chap. 28. ver. 14. Or Jer. chap. 1.
15	f	ver.1. to chap.2. ver.4.
16	g	
17	A	*Huppah:* The thirteenth course begin-
18	b	neth.
19	c	Lessons
20	d	Exod. chap.6.2. to chap. 10.1. Ezek.
21	e	chap.28.1. from ver.25. to the end of
22	f	chap.29.
23	g	
24	A	*Jeshebeab:* The fourteenth course be-
25	b	ginneth.
26	c	Lessons
27	d	Exod. chap. 10.1. to chap.13. ver.17.
28	e	Jerem. chap. 46. from ver. 13. to the
29	f	end of the chapter.

The fifth Month. Part of January and part of February.

SHEBET. *Zech.* 1.7.

Bilgah: The fifteenth course beginneth.

Lessons

Exod. chap. 13. from ver. 17. to c. 18. 1.
Judg. chap. 4. from v. 4. to chap. 6. 1.

Immer: The sixteenth course beginneth.

Lessons

Exod. chap. 18. 1. to chap. 21. 1. Isa. 6. all the chapter.

Hezir: The seventeenth course beginneth.

Lessons

Exod. chap. 21. 1. to chap. 25. 1. Jerem. chap. 34. from v. 8. to the end of the chapter.

Happitsets: The eighteenth course beginneth.

Lessons

Exod. chap. 25. 1. to chap. 27. 20.
1 King. chap. 5. from ver. 12. to v. 14. of chap. 6.

Pethahiah: The nineteenth course beginneth. Lessons

Exod. chap. 27. from ver. 20. to chap. 30. ver. 11.

ADAR. *Ezra* 6.15.

The sixth Month. Part of February, and part of March.

Ezekiel chap. 43. from v. 10. to the end of the chapter.

Jehezkel: The twentieth course beginneth.

Lessons

Exod. chap. 30. from ver. 11. to chap. 35. 1. 1 King. 18. 1. to ver. 39.

Jachin: The one and twentieth course beginneth.

Lessons

Exod. chap. 35. 1. to chap. 38. 21. 1 King. chap. 7. from ver. 13. to ver. 26. The 14 & 15 days of this moneth, were the Feast of *Purim*.

Gamul: The two and twentieth course beginneth.

Lessons

Exod. chap. 38. from 21. to the end of the book. 1 King. chap. 7. from ver. 50. to ver. 21. of the eighth chapter.

Delajah: The three and twentieth course beginneth. Lessons

Levit. chap. 1. 1. to chap. 6. 1. Isa. chap. 43. 21. to ver. 24. of chap. 44.

The first Month stilo novo. Part of March, and part of April.

ABIB. *Exod.* 12. or NISAN. *Neh.* 2. 1.

Maaziah: The four and twentieth course beginneth.

Lessons

Levit. chap. 6. 1. to chap. 9. 1. Jerem. chap. 7. from ver. 21. to the 4. ver. of chap. 8.

The Preparation.

The Passover day, Exod. 12. This week there was no distinct course that served, but all the courses indifferently and togegether.

Lessons

Lev. chap. 9. 1. to chap. 12. 1. 2 Sam. chap. 6 1. to ver. 17. of chap. 7.

Jehoiarib: The first course beginneth the round again.

Lessons

Lev. 12. 1. to ch. 14. 1. 2 King. 4. from v. 42. to ver. 20. of chap. 5.

Jedaiah: The second course.

Lessons

Levit. chap. 14. 1. to c. 16. 1. 2 King. chap. 7. from ver. 3. to the end of the Chapter.

IJAR.

The second Month stilo novo. Part of April and part of May.

Harim: The the third course.

Lessons

Levit. chap. 16. 1. to chap. 19. 1. Ezek. chap. 22. ver. 17.

Seorim: The fourth course.

Lessons

Levit. chap. 19. 1. to chap. 21. 1. Amos chap. 9. ver. 7. to the end of the book: or Ezek. chap. 20. from ver. 2. to ver. 21.

Malchijah: The fifth course.

Lessons

Levit. chap. 21. 1. to chap. 25. 1. Ezek. chap. 44. from ver. 15. to the end.

Mijamim: The sixth course.

Lessons

Levit. chap. 25. 1. to chap. 26. 3. Jer. chap. 32. from ver. 6. to ver. 28.

The third Month ſtilo novo.

Part of May and part of June.

SIVAN. *Eſth.* 8. 9.

1	f	
2	g	
3	A	No ſingle courſe becauſe of Pentecoſt
4	b	week: but all ſerved indifferently.
5	c	Leſſons
6	d	Levit. chap. 26. 3. to the end of the
7	e	book. Jer. 16. 19. to v. 15. of chap. 17.
8	f	
9	g	
10	A	*Hakkoz*: The ſeventh courſe.
11	b	Leſſons
12	c	Numb. chap. 1. 1. to chap. 4. v. 21.
13	d	Hoſea chap. 1. from ver. 10. to v. 21.
14	e	of chap. 2.
15	f	
16	g	
17	A	*Abijah* or Abia: the eighth courſe.
18	b	Now it was, that *Zacharias* had the ti-
19	c	dings of the birth of *John* the Baptiſt.
20	d	Leſſons
21	e	Num. chap. 4. v. 21. to chap. 8. 1.
22	f	Judg. chap. 13. 2. to the end of the
23	g	Chapter.
24	A	*Jeſhuah*: The ninth courſe.
25	b	Leſſons
26	c	Numb. chap. 8. 1. to chap. 13. 1.
27	d	Zechar. chap. 2. 10. to chap. 4. 8.
28	e	
29	f	
30	g	

TAMMUZ.

The fourth Month ſtilo novo.

Part of June and part of July.

1	A	*Shecaniah*: The tenth courſe.
2	b	Leſſons
3	c	Numb. chap. 13. 1. to chap. 16. 1.
4	d	Joſhua chap. 2. all the Chapter.
5	e	
6	f	
7	g	
8	A	*Eliaſhib*: The eleventh courſe.
9	b	Leſſons
10	c	Numb. chap. 16. 1. to chap. 19. 1.
11	d	1 Sam. chap. 11. 14. to chap. 12. v. 23.
12	e	
13	f	
14	g	
15	A	*Jakin*: The twelfth courſe.
16	b	Leſſons
17	c	Numb. chap. 19. 1. to chap. 22. 2.
18	d	Judg. chap. 11. 1. to ver. 34.
19	e	
20	f	
21	g	
22	A	*Huppah*: The thirteenth courſe.
23	b	Leſſons
24	c	Numb. chap. 22. 2. to chap. 25. 10.
25	d	Micah chap. 5. from ver. 7. to the 9.
26	e	verſ. of chap. 6.
27	f	
28	g	
29	A	*Jeſhebeab*: The fourteenth courſe.
		Leſſons
		Numb. chap. 25. 10. to chap. 30. 2.
		1 King. chap. 18. from ver. 46. to the end of chap. 19.

The fifth Month ſtilo novo.

Part of July, and part of Auguſt.

AB.

1	b	
2	c	
3	d	
4	e	
5	f	
6	g	
7	A	*Bilgal*: The fifteenth courſe.
8	b	Leſſons
9	c	Num. chap. 30. 2. to chap. 33. 1.
10	d	תשעה באב the faſt of the fifth
11	e	month, Zech. 7. 5. Jer. chap. 1. from
12	f	the beginning to chap. 2. ver. 4.
13	g	
14	A	*Immer*: The ſixteenth courſe.
15	b	Leſſons
16	c	Num. chap. 33. 1. to the end of the
17	d	book. Jer. chap. 2. from ver. 4. to
18	e	ver. 29.
19	f	
20	g	
21	A	*Hezir*: The ſeventeenth courſe.
22	b	Leſſons
23	c	Deut. chap. 1. 1. to chap. 3. ver. 23.
24	d	Iſa. chap. 1. 1. to ver. 28.
25	e	
26	f	
27	g	
28	A	*Happitſets*: The eighteenth courſe.
29	b	Leſſons
30	c	Deut. chap. 3. from ver. 23. to chap. 7.
		ver. 12. Iſa. chap. 40. from ver. 1. to
		ver. 27.

ELUL.

The ſixth Month ſtilo novo.

Part of Auguſt and part of September.

1	d	
2	e	
3	f	
4	g	
5	A	*Pethahiah*: The nineteenth courſe.
6	b	Leſſons
7	c	Deut. chap. 7. ver. 12. to chap. 11. ver.
8	d	26. Iſa. chap. 49. from ver. 14. to chap.
9	e	51. ver. 4.
10	f	
11	g	
12	A	*Jehezkel*: The twentieth courſe.
13	b	Leſſons
14	c	Deut. chap. 11. 26. to chap. 16. 18. Iſa.
15	d	chap. 54. from ver. 11. to chap. 55. v. 4.
16	e	
17	f	
18	g	
19	A	*Jachin*: The one and twentieth
20	b	courſe.
21	c	Leſſons
22	d	Deut. chap. 16. 18. to chap. 21. 10. Iſa.
23	e	chap. 51. 12. to chap. 52. 13.
24	f	
25	g	
26	A	*Gamul*: The two and twentieth
27	b	courſe.
28	c	Leſſons
29	d	Deut. chap. 21. 10. to chap. 26. 1. Iſa.
		chap. 54. from the beginning to v. 11.

Thus, or not far from this form went the Jewish year and the courses of the Priests in it: And thus the Lections of the Law and Prophets, along with both: and hence may be collected in some reasonable measure, the time of the year when *John Baptist* was born, which hath been so long not a little mistaken.

Vers. 6. *Walking in all the Commandments and Ordinances.*

In all the Commandments of the moral Law, and Ordinances of the Ceremonial: and the word * *blameless*, expresseth their behaviour in the Judicial: And thus the Text sheweth us a man, as accomplished for the righteousness according to the Law, as a man could be; and yet that we might see, that a man is not justified by that, but by Faith; the same man is presently after checked and struck dumb, because he did not believe.

* Ἄμεμπτοι used by the LXX for תמים: *Gen.*7.1. and for ועיר *Job.* 1.1.

§. *Ordinances.*

Greek, Δικαιώματα: which the Romanists translate, *Justifications:* and of the word would make no small advantage.

Whereas, first, the LXX most commonly translate the Hebrew word חקים and חקות by it, as above twenty times, in *Psal.* 119. and this Hebrew word we know signifieth no such thing as *Justifications*. *Rab. Solomon* on *Numb.* 19. giveth a notation of it unto another sense. *Because* (saith he) *Satan and the people of the World would be questioning with Israel, what is this, or that Commandment, and what reason is there in it? Why? It is* חקה, *a statute or an ordinance decreed by God; and it is not for thee to question it:* See also *Rab. Menahem* on the same place: And to what sense the *Chaldee* renders it in *Psal.* 119. and elsewhere.

Secondly, The common Greek useth it most commonly in the sense of our Translation: as might be shewed out of *Aristotle Ethic.* 5. *Dion Cassius Rom. Hist. lib.* 58. & 61. and other Authors.

Thirdly, As the LXX render חקים or חקות, by this Greek word; so the *Arabick* doth this Greek word by that again: making them to sound to one and the same sense, and that חקים importeth *Ordinances*, none can deny.

Fourthly, It will be very hard to produce any Heathen Author, or any place in all the LXX, that use the word Δικαίωμα for *Justification*. In *Deut.*24.13. a place as likely to have found it in as any, if they would have taken it in that sense, they have so far refused it, that they use a word, no kin at all unto it.

Vers. 9. *According to the Custom.*

This may be taken two ways, either for the custom of burning Incense; or for that, that these courses used, in choosing out of their company to burn it, which was by lot; And this latter is more proper: for it needeth not to tell, that it was the custom of the Priests, to burn Incense; for this was known well enough from the Law, to be an essential part of their function; but the Text would tell us how *Zachary* came to do this piece of service; namely, by the customary lot. *So that* by the custom of the Priesthood, is properly meant the custom of the Priests. *The High Priest burnt Incense when he would, the other Priests by lot; and one and the same Priest burnt not Incense twice in all his days*, Abarbin in Pentateuch. fol. 241.

§. *His lot was to burn Incense.*

Sense and reason doth more bind us to understand casting of Lots for this purpose, then the Grammatical construction, or literal strictness of the word; for though it signifie, obtaining a thing by lot, yet not always by lot only, but even by any other means, as *Act.* 1. 17. *Judas* ἔλαχε τ κλῆρον, *obtained the lot of his ministration.* And so *Julian in Misopogone. Anacreon*, τευφὴν ἔλαχεν ἐν μεσῶν, *fortitus est ludere, vel deliciari, &c.* But undeniable reason telleth, that it must of necessity be understood of *obtaining by lot* in this place.

For the Priests, in every one of the twenty four courses, were exceeding many. For *Josephus* relateth, that they were thousands in every course. And this are we sure of from evident Scripture, that at the crowning of *Joash*, when an insurrection by *Athaliah* was feared. The Priests of two courses only are reputed as a Guard sufficient for the King, and about the Temple, 2 *King.*11.5,6,7. And when *Uzziah* would have burned Incense, there were eighty Priests ready to with-hold him, 2 *Chron.*26.17. So that among so great a multitude, therein but one man being only permitted to burn incense, it was necessary that he should be chosen from among them by lot, and the lot at this time fell to *Zacharias*.

§. To

§. *To burn Incense entring into the Temple of the Lord.*

This his entring into the Temple, was not going into the most Holy place; nor was this his burning of Incense, upon the day of expiation, but it was according to the daily Service of the Temple, which required that Incense should be burned, every morning and evening in the Holy place without the vail, *Exod.* 30. 6, 7, 8. The High Priest indeed once every year offered Incense within the vail, on the day of expiation, *Lev.* 16 29,30. but neither was *Zacharias* High Priest, nor was this any such service. For, first, *Luke* when he speaketh of the High Priest, he useth to call him by that title, as *Chap.* 3.2. *Acts* 4. 6. &c. but in all this large Story of *Zacharias*, he never termeth him other then an ordinary Priest. Secondly, *Zachary* was of one of the twenty four courses: but the High Priest was of no course at all; and if he had, doubtless he had been of the first: but *Zachary* was of the eight. *Zacharias* at this time came to burn Incense by lot: but the High Priest came to do it in the most Holy place, by succession. Fourthly, There was no Altar of Incense in the most Holy place, but there was one where *Zacharias* ministred. Fifthly, If these courses began their round, either with the beginning of the Service of the Temple; or with the beginning of the year Ecclesiastical, or with the beginning of the year Civil, or from any of the three Festivals; then was it not possible that the eighth course should light any whit near the Feast of expiation: And where to begin them but from some of these, who can imagine? Sixthly, It was not so very consonant that *John* the Baptist should be born a High Priest, which bare the fullest resemblance of the Office of our Saviour; but a Priest of an inferior rank, because a servant to the High. The misconstruction of *Zacharies* offering of Incense, gave first occasion to the general and long continued mistake of the time of our Saviours Birth.

Vers. 10. *And the whole multitude of the people.*

There were constantly in the Temple at the hour of prayer, First, The Priests of that course that then served. Secondly, The Levites that served under the Priests. Thirdly, *The men of the Station*, as the *Rabins* call them; that is, certain men that were to represent the whole Congregation, in putting their hands upon the heads of the Sacrifices. Fourthly, Those whom devotion moved to leave their other imployments, for that time, and to be present at the service of God. All these might amount to a great number indeed; but the Text in naming *the whole multitude of people*, seemeth to have some further meaning; as if it would intimate, that this was not upon an ordinary day of the week, but upon the Sabbath day, when the Congregation was full: Not only of the Priests of the seventh course, that went that day out of their service; but also of all the multitude of the City, which were tied that day in a more special manner, to the publick worship.

Upon this day, [if we might conclude it to be a Sabbath] the portions of the Law and the Prophets, which were read in the Synagogues, were excellently agreeable to the thing that was now in hand; namely, the Law of the *Nazarites*, *Numb.* 6. and the conception of *Sampson*, like this of the *Baptist*, *Judg.* 13.

§. *Were praying without.*

When the burnt Offering began in the Temple, the Trumpeters and Singers began to sound and sing, and the whole Congregation to pray and worship: and all this continued untill the burnt Offering was finished, 2 *Chron.* 29. 27, 28. Then the Priest took a Censer full of coals from off the Altar, *Lev.* 16. 12. [for by the custom of that day, may be guessed the custom of the rest in this ordinary circumstance] and went into the Holy place, and burnt it upon the Altar, *Exod.* 30.7. In the mean time the people in the outer Court were imployed in prayer, 2 *Chron.* 29. 29. *And on the day of expiation they were in fear while the High Priest was within, till he came out in peace, and then there was great joy among them, because they were accepted.* R. Tanchum on Ex. 33.

Ver. 11. [*And there appeared an Angel, &c.*] As there were two great mysteries to be shewed in the birth of Christ; First, That God should become a man: And secondly, That a Virgin should become a Mother: So the Lord to make way for the belief of these two, when they should be exhibited, did use two Harbingers or preparatives, as if it were of old and of long time before. First, Apparition of Angels in humane shape. Secondly, Womens bearing children, that were old and barren. For it would be the easier believed, that the invisible God might converse visibly among men, in humane flesh, when it was so ordinarily seen, that the invisible Angels did so in humane shapes. And it would not be so very incredible, that a Virgin might bear a child, though she were not come

come to it by the courſe of nature, and though ſhe had not known a man; when it had been ſo often known that old women had done the ſame, though they were paſt child-bearing by nature, and even paſt the knowledge of man. And this was the main reaſon why want of children, is always in Scripture imputed to the defect of the women, that the miracle appearing the more viſible in them, it might prepare belief the better for this.

As theſe two types and fore-runners of thoſe two great myſteries, were exhibited ſo often in the Old Teſtament, that they might prepare credit, and entertainment for the other when they ſhould be exhibited in the birth of Chriſt: ſo was it moſt fit that they ſhould be declared in the birth of him that was to be Chriſts forerunner indeed, and when the myſteries they aimed at were ſo near to be revealed.

[*On the right ſide of the Altar of Incenſe.*] On the North ſide of it. On *Zacharies* right hand, and on the right ſide of the houſe: as *Ezek.* 10. 3. compare *Zach.* 3. 1. *Pſal.* 109. 6. 31. & 142.4. The appearing of an Angel in the Sanctuary, with a meſſage from God, was a thing ever hardly ſeen or heard of before: and it ſheweth how *Urim* and *Thummim*, the ordinary way of Gods revealing his mind in that place, was now ceaſed. For God uſed to reveal his will to the Prieſt by a ſoft voice from off the Ark, but now both Ark and Oracle were quite gone, and the loſs the leſſer, when the true Ark of the Covenant and the Oracle of the will of God our Saviour Chriſt, was ſo near at hand. The ſecond Temple wanted five things which were in the firſt, as the Jews obſerve upon the want of the Letter ה in the word אבבר; *Hag.* 1. 8. namely, Firſt, *The Ark.* Secondly, *Urim and Thummim.* Thirdly, *The fire from Heaven.* Fourthly, *The divine preſence*, or cloud of glory. And fifthly, *The Holy Ghoſt*, or the ſpirit of Propheſie and power of miracles, *Maſſec. Jom.* Yet was the glory of that houſe to be greater then the glory of the firſt, becauſe of the preſence of Chriſt in it.

Verſ. 13. [*Thy prayer is heard, &c.*] Not that he was now praying for a child; [for his age made him incredulous of having a child, when the Angel told him of one, and then it is not like he would pray for one] and in this place, and at this time he was a perſon repreſentative of the whole people, and therefore was not to make a private prayer for himſelf: but either the prayers which he had before made to that purpoſe, were now come into remembrance, or rather he was now praying for the delivery of *Iſrael*, the remiſſion of their ſins, and the coming of Chriſt, in which they without were joyning with him; and this his prayer, the Angel tells him, is ſo ready to be anſwered, that his wife ſhould preſently conceive a Son that ſhould preach remiſſion, convert the people, and go before the face of *Chriſt. And now O ye Prieſts, beſeech God that he will be gracious unto you, Mal.* 1. 9. And ſo was *Zacharias* the Prieſt at this time doing. *And the Angel ſaid unto him, Thy prayer is heard, and thy wife ſhall bear a Son, and thou ſhalt call his name John:* this Name being interpreted, importeth *gracious*, as *Eſa.*30. 18,19.

Verſ. 16. [*And many of the Children of Iſrael ſhall he turn.*] *Many of Iſrael ſhall return when they ſhall ſee ſigns of redemption. Whereupon it is ſaid, He ſaw that there was no man, &c.* Eſa.59.16. *D. Kimch. in loc.*

Verſ. 17. [*In the power and ſpirit of Elias.*] *John* the Baptiſt did ſo nearly repreſent *Elias*, that he beareth his very name, *Mal.*4. *Matth.* 11. 14.

Firſt, They both came when Religion was even periſhed and decaying. Secondly, They both reſtored it, in an excellent meaſure. Thirdly, They were both perſecuted for it. *Elias* by *Ahab* and *Jezabel: John* by *Herod* and *Herodias.* Fourthly, They both converſed much in the Wilderneſs. Fifthly, They agreed in auſterity of life. Sixthly, In the wearing of a hairy garment, and a leathern girdle, 2 *King.* 1.8. *Matth.*3: 4. Seventhly, Both of them had Heaven opened to them near *Jordan.* To which two parallels more might be added, if theſe two opinions of the Jews concerning *Elias* might be believed.

Firſt, That he was of the Tribe of *Levi* [for they take him to be *Phinehas*; as ſee *R. Lev. Gerſh.* on 1 *King.* 17.] Secondly, That he reſtored circumciſion when it was decayed; from thoſe words in 1 *King.* 19. 14. *They have forſaken thy Covenant.*

[*To turn the hearts of the fathers to the children.*] That is, *The hearts of the Jews to the Gentiles.*

For, firſt, the hatred of a Jew againſt a Gentile was deadly; and it was a ſpecial work of the Goſpel, and conſequently of *John*, that began to Preach it, to bring both theſe to imbrace *Chriſt*, and for, and in him to imbrace one another.

Secondly, Experience it ſelf confirmeth this expoſition; for, as the Goſpel belonged to the Gentiles as well as the Jews, and as *John* came for a witneſs that *all* through him might believe, ſo did he convert and baptize *Roman* Souldiers as well as *Jewiſh* Phariſees.

Thirdly, Baptiſm, at its firſt inſtitution, was the Sacrament for admiſſion of Heathens only, to the Church and true Religion: when therefore, the Jews alſo begin to deſire it, and

and to conſent to the Heathens in the undertaking of it, then was the heart of the fathers turned to the children.

Fourthly, It is the common and conſtant uſe of the Prophets, to ſtile the Church of the Gentiles by the name of children to the Church of the Jews, as *Iſa.* 54. 5,6,13. & 60. 4, 9. & 62. 5. & 66. 12, 13.

Fifthly, The *Talmud* expounding theſe words in *Malachi*, ſeemeth to underſtand them of ſuch a communion or reconciliation, as is ſpoken of, *Vid. R. Sol. in loc. Malach.* *Herod*, ſaith *Joſephus Antiq. lib.* 18. *cap.* 7. *ſlew John the Baptiſt being a good man, and injoyning the Jews that exerciſing vertue, and uſing right dealing one towards another, and piety towards God, they ſhould* ἐν βαπτισμῷ συνιέναι, *convene or knit together in Baptiſm.*

[*And the diſobedient, &c.*] In *Malachi* it is, *And the hearts of the children to the fathers.* But, firſt, the Holy Ghoſt is not ſo punctual to cite the very letter of the Prophet, as to give the ſenſe. Secondly, It was not very long after the Baptizing and Preaching of *John*, that the Jews ceaſed to be a Church and Nation; nay, even in the time of *John* himſelf, they ſhewed themſelves enemies to the Goſpel and the profeſſors of it, [as concerning the general or the greateſt part of them] therefore he ſaith not, that the *heart of the children* the Gentiles, ſhould be turned *to their fathers* the Jews, which ſhould ceaſe to be fathers, and ſhould ceaſe to be a people, but to *the wiſdom of the righteous ones.*

[*The diſobedient.*] As in this clauſe he refuſeth to uſe the term of Fathers for the reaſon mentioned, ſo doth he alſo of the correlative *children*, becauſe of his refuſing that. And yet he coucheth the ſenſe of that title under the word *diſobedient*, which word in its moſt proper and natural ſignification reflecteth upon untowardly children, diſobedient to their parents. As therefore by his omitting to call the Jews *fathers*, he inſinuateth their oppoſition againſt the Goſpel, ſo by terming the Gentiles *diſobedient* in ſtead of *children*, he ſheweth what they were before they imbraced it.

[*In the wiſdom of the righteous.*] For ſo is it in the Greek, ἐν *in*, and not *to. Wiſdom* in Scripture, is often taken for *Religion:* As *Pſal.* 111. 10. *Deut.* 4 6. *&c.* and ſo is it to be underſtood here. And this *Wiſdom* is not to be held the *terminus ad quem*, or the ultimate end to which theſe diſobedient Gentiles were to be converted; but in this *wiſdom*, or religion, unto God. For, firſt, let the two clauſes of this ſpeech be laid in *Antitheſis*, or oppoſition one to another [as naturally indeed they lie, the one aiming at the Jews as the proper ſubject, and the other at the Gentiles] and it appeareth plainly that two ſeveral acts were to be performed by the Baptiſt, as concerning the Jews and their converſion; Firſt, That he ſhould turn their hearts or affections to God, as in the verſe preceding, *He ſhall turn many of the children of Iſrael to the Lord their God:* And ſecondly, That he ſhould turn their hearts and affections alſo to the Gentiles, whom they hated before, as here, *He ſhall turn the hearts of the Fathers to the children.*

Secondly, According therefore to this double work of *John* upon the Jews in that part of the Angels ſpeech, muſt the like duplicity be looked for in this that concerneth the Gentiles, and to be underſtood, though it be not expreſſed. For the Angel in this part purpoſely changeth his ſtile, and neither calleth the Gentiles *children*, but *diſobedient*, becauſe they were generally ſo before the coming of *Chriſt*, nor the Jews *Fathers*, becauſe they ceaſed to be ſo ſhortly after: nor mentioneth he the Gentiles turning to God, but includeth it, partly becauſe he had ſet that as the chiefeſt work and bent of the Baptiſt of all, *to go before the Lord, and turn men to him:* and partly he includeth it in this phraſe, *In the wiſdom of the righteous.*

Thirdly, It is not without divine reaſon that the hearts of the Gentiles are not ſaid to be turned to the Jews, as on the contrary it was ſaid of the Jews to the Gentiles, but that they ſhould be turned *in the wiſdom of the righteous*; For the enmity, feud, and deteſtation that was betwixt Jew and Gentile, and Gentile and Jew, proceeded not from the ſame cauſe and Original. The Jew abhorred the Gentile, not of ignorance, but of ſcorn and jealouſie, partly becauſe they ſtood upon their own dignity of being the people of God, which the other were not, and partly becauſe they were provoked with ſuſpition, that the other ſhould be the people of God when they ſhould not. And therefore, when the reconciliation is to be wrought between them, it is ſaid that their hearts or affections ſhould be turned to them, for they were point blank or diametrically againſt them before. But a Gentile abhorred a Jew out of ignorance, becauſe of his Religion: hating him as a man ſeparate from and contrary to all men: and accounting that to be ſingular and ſenſeleſs ſuperſtition, which was indeed the divine command and wiſdom of God; and not ſo much deteſting his perſon for it ſelf, as for his religion and profeſſion. Therefore when the Gentiles muſt be brought to affect and to unite to the Jews, it muſt be *in the wiſdom of the righteous*, or in the underſtanding, knowledge, and imbracing of that religion, which the righteous ones profeſſed, which the Gentiles till they knew and underſtood what it meant, accounted but vanity, ſingularity, and fooliſhneſs.

Ver.18. [*Whereby ſhall I know this ?*] The Jew requireth a ſign, 1 *Cor.*1.22. And his ſo doing in theſe times when miracles had been ceaſed ſo long a time, ſheweth his doubting to be the more: and the appearing of an Angel, when ſuch apparitions were as rare as Miracles, ſhould have made it to have been the leſs. *For after the death of Zachary and Malachi, and thoſe later Prophets, the Holy Ghoſt departed from Iſrael and went up:* and ceaſed to exhibite his familiarity among them, in Viſion, Propheſie, and the work of Miracles; So that this apparition of the Angel, and this ſign given to *Zachary*, and wonders done in the birth of the Baptiſt, were as the very entrance and beginning of the reſtoring of thoſe gifts, and the very dawning to that glorious day of ſuch things as was now to follow.

[*For I am old.*] The very ſame was the doubt of *Sarah*, *Gen.*18.12. And here, firſt, the diſtruſt of *Zachary* doth ſhew the more, in that he that was a Prieſt and ſhould have inſtructed others, was himſelf to ſeek in one of the firſt elements, and Catechiſtical principles of Religion, concerning the *Almighty power*, and *All-ſufficiency* of God. Secondly, The very place where the meſſage came to him, being the place of Gods immediate Oracles, and the time, being the time of his praying, and who could have wiſhed for a better return of his prayers? Do aggravate his unbelief.

Ver. 19. [*I am Gabriel.*] It ſignifieth, *A man of God:* being taken in the ſame form of conſtruction with *Malchizedek*. He breaketh out to utter his name, which Angels at other times [and it may be himſelf] had refuſed to do, becauſe he would recal *Zacharies* thoughts to the book of *Daniel*, and convince his heſitation by that very Scripture, *Dan.* 9.

[*That ſtand before God.*] That is, that miniſter to him, as *Dan.* 7. 10. 1 *Sam.* 16. 22. 2 *King.* 5. 25. *&c.* Therefore thoſe that from this phraſe would collect that *Gabriel* is an Arch-angel, or one of the prime order of Angels, do build but upon a very ſandy foundation.

Ver. 20. [*Behold thou ſhalt be dumb.*] The ſign given, is in *Zachary* himſelf, and not in any thing without him: partly, becauſe his doubting aroſe from the conſideration of himſelf, and partly, that he might carry about him a puniſhment for his diffidence, as well as a ſign for his confirmation.

Now his puniſhment was twofold, *deafneſs* and *dumbneſs* both; for becauſe he had not hearkned to the Angels ſpeech, he was ſtruck deaf; and becauſe he had gain-ſaid it, he was made dumb. For, firſt, the Greek κωφὸς, *ver.* 22. and the word חרשא by which the *Syrian* rendreth it, do ſignifie both deaf and dumb. And ſecondly, in *ver.* 62. it is ſaid, *They made ſigns to him*, which had not needed, if he could have heard.

Ἀνθ' ὧν οὐκ ἐπίστευσας: This latter clauſe of the verſe might not unfitly be rendred thus. Thou ſhalt be dumb, &c. until the day that theſe things *for which* thou haſt not believed my words, ſhall be performed: And thus is his dumbneſs limited or extended, the clearer, till the accompliſhing of the things of which he doubted.

Ver. 22. [*He could not ſpeak to them.*] The Prieſt at the diſmiſſion of the people, when the ſervice of the Temple was finiſhed, was to pronounce the bleſſing in *Numb.* 6. 24, 25, 26. Which when *Zachary* is now to do, he is ſpeechleſs, and cannot perform it: for the Levitical Prieſthood is now growing dumb, and he that was to bleſs indeed, namely *Chriſt*, is near at hand.

Ver. 23. [*Aſſoon as the days of his Miniſtration were accompliſhed.*] The dumb and deaf Prieſt officiateth in that ſervice which the lot had caſt upon him, a certain time, either more or leſs, after he was faln under this double imperfection.

For, firſt, neither of theſe are named among thoſe defects and blemiſhes that ſecluded from the ſervice in the Sanctuary.

Secondly, The Prieſthood of the Law conſiſted mainly and chiefly of manual actions or offices for the hands; as offering, ſprinkling, waving, and ſuch others [to which ſenſe the *Targums* expound *The works of Levies hands*, *Deut.* 33.11.] and ſo it might the better be ſpeechleſs: But the Miniſtry of the Goſpel cannot admit of dumbneſs, becauſe it conſiſteth of Preaching, and for that purpoſe was furniſhed and indowed at the beginning and entrance of it, with the gift of Tongues.

Ver. 24. [*Elizabeth hid her ſelf, ſaying, &c.*] This her retiredneſs and hiding of her ſelf, proceeded partly from devotion, and partly from reſpect of the child that ſhe had conceived: For, the words, or thoughts that proceed from her at this her retiring, muſt needs ſhew the reaſon why ſhe did it: Now, ſhe ſaid, *Becauſe the Lord hath done thus to me, when he looked upon me to take away my reproach:* where two diſtinct things are plainly remarkable:

Firſt, Gods taking away her reproach, by giving her a child after ſo long barrenneſs: this is not the thing that ſhe hideth for, but,

Secondly,

Secondly, His dealing *thus* with her when he would take that reproach away, as to give her such a child, that was to be of so eminent a calling and so great a Prophet: And for this it was that she betook her self to this retiring and recluseveness, partly that she might ply her devotion so much the closer upon so great a benefit, and chiefly that she might sequester from all occasions of uncleanness, or defiling, since she carried one in her womb, that was to be so strict a Nazarite. As see the like, *Judg.* 13.14.

This, Emphatical, and giveth a clear resolution of this place, which hath scrupled many into strange and harsh expositions, for not observing it: as that she should hide her self for fear that she should not prove with child: Others, that she did it for shame, lest she should be reputed lascivious, for being with child, &c. *Judicett lector.*

Vers. 26. [*And in the sixth month.*] This sixth month from the conception of the Baptist, was the tenth month of the months of the year, or the month *Tebeth*, which answereth to part of our *December*; the time at which a long error hath laid the nativity: At the very same time of the year, *Esther* another Virgin had been promoted to honour and royalty by *Ahasuerus*, *Esth.* 16.17.

[*Unto a City of Galilee.*] *Out of Galilee ariseth no Prophet*, the Jews said once in the scorn of our Saviour, slanderously and very falsly, *Joh.* 7.52. For out of *Galilee* arose the renowned Prophet *Jonah*: of *Gath Hepher*, 2 *King.* 14.25. in the Tribe of *Zebulon*, *Josh.* 19.13. And in *Galilee* was much of the converse of *Elias*, but especially of *Elisha* at *Shunem*, 2 *King.* 4.8. in the Tribe of *Issachar*, *Josh.* 19.18. And all these three famous Prophets of the Gentiles. And no place could be fitter for the bringing forth of *Christ* and his Apostles, that were to be the Converters of the Gentiles, then *Galilee* of the Gentiles.

[*Nazaret.*] See 2 *King.* 17.9. *the tower of Nozarim*: which if Chorography would suffer, might be understood of this City, which was built like a watch-tower on the top of a steep hill, *Luke* 4.29. *Nazaret*, in the *Arabick* Tongue, signifieth *Help*; in the Hebr. *a Branch*, by which name our Saviour is called, *Esa.* 11.1.

Vers. 27. [*To a Virgin.*] *Rabbi Oshua the Son of Levi said*, Israel *was comforted in a Virgin*; *as saith* Jeremy, *The Lord createth a new thing in the earth*; *A Virgin shall compass a Man*, Jer. 31.21. *Bereshh. Rabb.* See also *Lyra* and *Gloss. interlin. in loc.*

Vers. 28. [*Highly favoured.*] κεχαριτωμένη: This word is used by the Greek *Scholiast*, in *Psal.* 18.26. עם חסיד תתחסר: Μετὰ κεχαριτωμένου χαριτώσῃ; and the word from which it is derived, in *Ephes.* 1. 6. ἐχαρίτωσεν ἡμᾶς, *&c.* which let the indifferent Reader view, and judge of the propriety of our English translation here, in comparison of the vulgar Latine. The Virgin had obtained the highest earthly favour that ever mortal did or must do, to be the mother of the Redeemer; and the Holy Ghost useth a singular word to express so much.

Superstition is ever too officious; but it hath shewed it self more so to the Virgin *Mary*, then to any other. For as it hath deified her now she is in Heaven; so hath it magnified her in all her actions, while she was upon the earth. So that no relation, or story that concerneth her, but it hath strained it to the utmost extremity, to wring out of it her praises, though very often to a senseless, and too often to a blasphemous issue: As in this story of the annuntiation, there is not a word nor tittle that it thinketh will with all its shaping serve for such a purpose, but it taketh advantage to patch up her Encomions, where there is no use nor need, nor indeed any truth of, and in such a thing. This word that is under hand κεχαριτωμένη bears the bell that ringeth lowdest with them to such a tune. For having translated it in their vulgar Latine, *Gratia plena*, or *full of grace*; they hence infer, that she had all the seven gifts of the Spirit, and all the Theological and moral vertues, and such a fulness of the graces of the Holy Ghost, as none ever had the like.

Whereas, first, The use of Scripture is, when it speaketh of fulness of grace, to express it by another phrase, as *Joh.* 1.14. *Act.* 6.5. &c.

Secondly, The Angel himself explaineth this word, in the sense of our translation, for favour received, and not for grace inherent, Vers. 30. *Thou hast found favour with God.*

Thirdly, And so doth the Virgin her self also descant upon the same thing, throughout her Song.

Fourthly, *Joseph* her husband suspected her for an adultress, *Matth.* 1. 18. which he could never have done, if he had ever seen so infinite fulness of grace in her, as the *Romanists* have spied, and he was the likelier to have espied it of the two.

Fifthly, Compare her with other renowned women, and what difference, but only this great favour of being the mother of the *Messias*? They had the spirit of Prophesie as well as she; they had the spirit of sanctification as well as she: and she no more immunity from sin and death then they.

Sixthly, She was one of the number of those, that would have taken off Christ from preaching; *Mark* 3. and this argued not such a fulness of grace.

Seventhly, See *Jansenius*, one of their own side, expounding this word according to our reading of it: *in loc.*

[*The Lord is with thee.*] Many understand this of the Incarnation it self, or of the Lords being in her womb. Whereas, first, This is to take a common manner of speech, out of the common manner of interpreting it. Secondly, The Lord was not at this very instant,

inſtant, come in that manner into her womb. But the words only mean, the Lords being with her in regard of that favour and reſpect, which he was about to ſhew her, as *Judg.*6.12. And this among other things ſheweth how ſenſeleſs Popery is in its *Ave Maries*, uſing theſe words for a Prayer, and if occaſion ſerve for it, for a charm: As firſt, Turning a Salutation into a Prayer: Secondly, In fitting theſe words of an Angel, that was ſent, and that ſpake them upon a ſpecial meſſage, to the mouth of every perſon, and for every occaſion. Thirdly, In applying theſe words to her now ſhe is in Heaven, which ſuited with her only while ſhe was upon Earth. As firſt, to ſay, *full of grace*, to her that is full of glory: And ſecondly, to ſay, *The Lord is with thee*, to her that is with the Lord.

[*Bleſſed art thou among women.*] Not *above*, but *among* them. See *Gen.*30.13. *Judg.* 5. 24.

Verſ.29. [*And when ſhe ſaw him.*] So readeth the *Syrian*, *Arabick*, and generally all other tranſlations, but only the vulgar Latin; that ſwarving, as it is to be ſuſpected, wilfully, from the truth of the Original, that hereby there might be the greater plea and colour for the Virgins familiarity with Angels: Whereas indeed apparition of Angels, till this very occaſion to *Zachary* and the Virgin, was either exceeding rare, or juſt none at all.

What manner of ſalutation, &c. Judge how Superſtition ſtraineth the Text to the Virgin *Maries* praiſes, when it infers from hence, that ſhe had never been ſaluted by a man in all her life before: An opinion and gloſs not worth the examining.

Verſ.31. [*Behold thou ſhalt conceive, &c.*] From *Eſa.*7.14. the Angel giveth her to underſtand, that ſhe is the Virgin ſpoken of in that place: and of her apprehenſion of this, ariſeth her queſtion, *Verſ.*4.

[*And ſhalt call his Name.*] This followeth the ſame Propheſie ſtill, and is one of the ſignifications of the word וקראת; for it hath more then one.

For, firſt, it denoteth the third perſon feminine, as *Deut.*31.29. וקראת אתכם הרעה, and ſo it is to be taken in that Propheſie. *And ſhe ſhall call his Name Immanuel.*

Secondly, It betokeneth alſo the ſecond perſon, as the *Chaldee*, the Lxx, and the other two Greek tranſlations render it, and the Angel here; *And thou ſhalt call.*

Thirdly, It is alſo applied to the third perſon plural, as in the Greek, *Matth.*1.23. and in the *Chaldee*, *Eſa.*60.18.

[*Jeſus.*] The ſame with *Jehoſhua* in Hebrew, as *Act.*7.45. *Heb.*4.8. and *Joſhua* in *Chaldee*, *Ezra* 2.2. Theſe were two renowned ones before; the one whereof brought the people into *Canaan*, after the death of *Moſes*; and the other, that brought them thither out of *Babel*, and ſo were both lively figures of our *Jeſus*, that bringeth his people to the heavenly *Canaan.*

Verſ. 32. [*The Son of the Higheſt*] From 2 *Sam.* 7. 14. as it is explained, *Heb.* 1.5. the Angel now draweth the Virgin to remember that glorious promiſe made to *David*, as the words following, concerning an eternal Throne and Kingdom, do evince; and upon the rumination upon that to reflect upon her ſelf, and to conſider that ſhe was of the ſeed of *David*; and ſo he leadeth her on by degrees to believe and entertain what he was relating to her.

[*Shall give unto him the Throne.*] *Pſal.*2.7,8,9. *Ezek.*21.27. *Dan.*7.14. &c.

Verſ. 33. [*He ſhall reign over the houſe of Jacob.*] This term, *the houſe of Jacob* includeth; Firſt, All the twelve tribes, which the word *Iſrael* could not have done. Secondly, The Heathens and Gentiles alſo, for of ſuch the houſe and family of *Jacob* was full.

Verſ.34. [*Seeing I know not a man.*] *Theſe words*, ſay the Rhemiſts, *declare that ſhe had now vowed Virginity to God: For if ſhe might have known a man, and ſo have had a child, ſhe would never have asked how ſhall this be done:* And Janſenius goeth yet further: *From theſe words*, ſaith he, *it doth not only follow that ſhe hath vowed, but this ſeemeth alſo to follow from them, that her vow was approved of God:* See alſo *Aquin. part.*3. *quæſt.*28. *art.*4. *Baron. in apparatu ad Annal.* &c.

Anſw. Firſt, Among the Jews, marriage was not held a thing indifferent, or at their own liberty to chooſe or refuſe, but a binding command; and the firſt of the 613. as it is found ranked in the *Pentateuch*, with the threefold *Targum*, at *Gen.* 1. 28. and *Paul* ſeemeth to allude to that opinion of theirs, when ſpeaking of this ſubject, he ſaith, *Præceptum non habeo*, 1 *Cor.*7.6.

Secondly, Among the vows that they made to God, Virginity never came in the number. *Jephtha's* was heedleſs, and might have been revoked, as the *Chaldee Paraphraſt*, and *Rabbi Solomon* well conceive; and *David Kimchi* is of a mind, that he was puniſhed for not redeeming it according to *Lev.*27.

Thirdly, To die childleſs, was a reproach among men, *Luke* 1.25. and to live unmarried, was a ſhame to women, *Pſal.*78.63. *Their Virgins were not praiſed*; that is, were not married. Now what a gulf is there between vowing perpetual Virginity, and accounting it a ſhame, diſhonour, and reproach?

Fourthly,

Fourthly, If *Mary* had vowed Virginity, why ſhould ſhe marry? Or when ſhe was married, why ſhould ſhe vow Virginity? For ſome hold that her vow was made before her eſpouſals, and ſome after.

Fifthly, It was utterly unneceſſary that ſhe ſhould be any ſuch a votal, it was enough that ſhe was a Virgin.

Sixthly, It is a moſt improper phraſe, to ſay, *I know not a man*, and to mean, *I never muſt know him*: and in every place where it is uſed concerning Virgins, why may it not be ſo underſtood, as well as here?

Seventhly, While the Romaniſt goeth about, with this gloſs to extol her Virginity, he abaſeth her judgment and belief: For if ſhe meant thus, ſhe inferreth, that either this child muſt be begotten by the mixture of man, which ſheweth her ignorance; or that he could not be begotten without, which ſheweth her unbelief.

Eighthly, She uttereth not theſe words in diffidence, as *Zachary* had done, when he ſaid, *how ſhall I know this*; but in deſire to be ſatisfied in the myſtery, or the manner, as ſhe was in the matter. She underſtood that the Angel ſpake of the birth of the *Meſſias*; ſhe knew that he ſhould be born of a Virgin; ſhe perceived that ſhe was pointed out for that Virgin; and believing all this ſhe deſired to be reſolved how ſo great a thing ſhould come to paſs.

Verſ.35. [*The Holy Ghoſt ſhall come upon thee, &c.*] The Angel ſatisfieth the Virgins queſtion, with a threefold anſwer. Firſt, Inſtructing her in the manner of the performance. Secondly, Furniſhing her with an example of much like nature in her Coſin *Elizabeth*. Thirdly, Confirming her from the power of God, to which nothing is impoſſible. Now, whereas, this unreſtrained power of God was the only cauſe of ſuch examples, as the childing of *Elizabeth*, and other barren women; in this birth of the Virgin, ſomething more, and of more extraordinarineſs is to be looked after. In it therefore two actions are expreſſed to concur, Firſt, The *Holy Ghoſt his coming upon the* Virgin; Secondly, The *power of the moſt High overſhaddowing* her: and two fruits or conſequents of theſe two actions anſwerable to them: Firſt, *The Holy Ghoſt ſhall come upon thee, therefore that that is born of thee ſhall be holy.* Secondly, *The power of the moſt High ſhall overſhadow thee, therefore that that is born of thee ſhall be called the Son of God.*

The coming of the Holy Ghoſt upon her, was, Firſt, In the gift of Propheſie, whereby ſhe was both informed of the very inſtant, when the conception was wrought, and alſo more fully of the myſtery of the Incarnation then before.

Secondly, He did prepare and ſanctifie ſo much of her fleſh and blood or ſeed, as to conſtitute the body of our Saviour: The work was the work of the whole Trinity, but aſcribed more ſingularly to the Holy Ghoſt: firſt, becauſe of the ſanctifying of that ſeed, and clearing it of original taint; for ſanctification is the work of the Holy Ghoſt: Secondly, For the avoiding of that dangerous conſequence, which might have followed among men of corrupt minds, who might have opinionated, if the conception of the Meſſias in the womb had been aſcribed to the Father, that the Son had had no other manner of generation of him.

[*The power of the moſt High*] His operating power ſupplying the want of the vigour and imbraces of the maſculine Parent. For to that the word *overſhaddow* ſeemeth to have alluſion: being a modeſt phraſe whereby the Hebrews expreſſed the imbraces of the man in the act of generation, as *Ruth* 3. 9. *Spread the skirt of thy garment over thine handmaid.*

[*Therefore that holy thing.*] This title and Epithet, firſt, not only ſheweth the purity and immaculateneſs of the humane nature of Chriſt; but alſo, ſecondly, it being applied to the preceding part by way of conſequence, as was touched before, it ſheweth that none ever was born thus immaculate, but Chriſt alone, becauſe none had ever ſuch a way and means of conception, but only he.

Ver.36. [*Thy Coſin Elizabeth hath conceived a Son.*] As he had informed the Virgin of the birth of the *Meſſias* of her ſelf, ſo doth he alſo of the birth of his fore-runner, of her Couſin *Elizabeth*. For that he intended not barely to inform her onely that her Couſin had conceived a Child, but that he heightens her thoughts, to think of him as Chriſts fore-runner, may be ſuppoſed upon theſe obſervations: Firſt, That he ſaith *A Son*, and not *a Child*. Secondly, That ſuch ſtrangely born Sons were ever of ſome remarkable and renowned eminency. Thirdly, That if he had purpoſed only to ſhew her the poſſibility of her conceiving by the example of the power of God in other women, he might have mentioned *Sarah*, *Hannah*, and others of thoſe ancient ones, and it had been enough.

Verſ.39. [*And Mary aroſe, &c. And went with haſte into the hill Country, into a City of Juda.*] This City was *Hebron*. *For unto the ſons of Aaron, Joſhua gave the City of Arba, which is Hebron, in the hill country of Judah. Joſh.* 21.11. And *Zacharias* being a ſon of *Aaron*, and dwelling in the hill Country of *Juda*, it were ſenſeleſs to ſeek for his houſe in any other place then *Hebron*. This place had been excellently renowned in ancient time:

Here

Here was the promiſe given of *Iſaac:* here was the inſtitution of Circumciſion: here *Abraham* had his firſt land, and *David* his firſt Crown: and here lay interred the three couples, *Abraham* and *Sarah*, *Iſaac* and *Rebecca*, *Jacob* and *Leah:* and as antiquity hath held, *Adam* and *Eve*. Now there are many reaſons given by Expoſitors, of *Maries* haſting hither after the Meſſage of the Angel: As, either to know the truth of what was told her about *Elizabeth*, or to congratulate and rejoyce with her, or to miniſter to her in her great belliedneſs, or that the Baptiſt in *Elizabeths* womb might be ſanctified by the preſence of Chriſt in hers, &c.

But I cannot but conceive this to be the very reaſon indeed, *That ſhe might there conceive the Meſſias, where ſo many types, figures, and things relating to him, had gone before*, namely in *Hebron*. For, Firſt, This ſuited ſingularly with the Harmony and Conſent, which God uſeth in his works, that the promiſe ſhould begin to take place by the conception of *Meſſias*, even among thoſe Patriarchs to whom the promiſe was firſt given. Secondly, A kind of neceſſity ſeemeth to lie upon it, that this *Shiloh* of the Tribe of *Judah*, and the ſeed of *David*, ſhould be conceived in a City of *Juda*, and of *David*, as he was to be born in another City that belonged to them both. Thirdly, The Evangeliſts ſo punctually deſcribing this City, ſeemeth rather to refer to *Chriſt* then *John*, who being of the Prieſts might indifferently have been born in any of the Tribes whatſoever. Only the Holy Ghoſt giveth us to obſerve this which may not be paſſed, That *John* that ſhould bring in Baptiſm in ſtead of Circumciſion, was born in that very place where Circumciſion was firſt ordained, in the City *Hebron*. It is generally held indeed that the Virgin conceived in *Nazaret*, and in the very inſtant of the Angels talking with her, but whether there be not as much probability for this opinion, as for that, I refer to the equal and judicious Reader.

Ver.40. [*And ſaluted Elizabeth.*] This ſeemeth to have been at ſome diſtance, and a wall or floor between: as conſider ſeriouſly on ver.42.44.

Ver.41. [*The babe leaped.*] Ἐσκίρτησε: This word is uſed by the LXX. for *Jacobs* and *Eſaus* ſtirring in the womb, *Gen.* 25. 22. And the leaping of the mountains at the giving of the Law.

Elizabeth in ver.44. addeth, *The babe leaped* Ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει: Not that he knew what he did when he leaped, any more then they, but that either this was the firſt time, or this time was extraordinary. The word Ἀγαλλίασις ſignifieth outward geſticulation or exultation as well as inward joy, yea, though there be no inward joy at all: as *Pſalm* 65. 13. Ἀγαλλίασιν οἱ βουνοὶ περιζώσονται, *the little hills ſhall be girded with exultation:* And ſo is it to be underſtood here: *The babe in my womb leaped with extraordinary geſticulation or exultation:* and ἐν to ſignifie the manner of the thing done, and not the cauſe of the doing.

Ver.45. [*And bleſſed is ſhe that believed.*] *Elizabeth* in this clauſe ſeemeth to have an eye to her own husbands unbelief, and the puniſhment that befel him for the ſame. He, a Man, a Prieſt, aged, learned, eminent, and the meſſage to him of more appearing poſſibility: and *Mary*, a Woman, mean, unlearned, and of a private condition, and the tidings to her moſt incredible, both to nature, and reaſon, and yet ſhe believed, and he did not.

Ver.48. [*He hath regarded the low eſtate.*] Ἐπέβλεψεν: is uſed by the LXX, 2 *Sam.* 9.8. and *Pſal.*25.16. and importeth a look of pity and compaſſion, and not of obſervation of deſert, as the Papiſts would have it here: For ſome of them render this clauſe thus, *He hath looked on mine humility with approbation*; and others give this gloſs upon it: *Becauſe of her humility, ſhe deſerved to be exalted, and by it ſhe was primely diſpoſed to conceive and bear the only begotten Son of God:* But firſt, the word Ἐπέβλεψεν, as it is ſaid before, in the LXX, who muſt beſt help us to interpret, it ſignifieth a look of another nature. Secondly, Ταπείνωσις ſignifieth not the vertue of humility or the lowlineſs of mind, but the ſtate of a low and poor condition, and ſo is it rendred here by the *Syrian*, *Arabick*, *Spaniſh*, *French*, *Deodates*, *Italian*, *Dutch*, and all *Latines* that are not wedded to the vulgar: And ſo is it uſed by the LXX, *Gen.*16.11. & 41.52. 1 *Sam.*1.11. and ſo again by the New Teſtament, *Act.*8.33. compared with the Original in *Iſa.*53.8. And ſo prophane and heathen Authors diſtinguiſh betwixt ταπείνωσις & ταπεινοφροσύνη, by the former underſtanding as we do here, and by the latter the vertue of humility. Thirdly, The ſame word in a manner, or one of the ſame root, in *ver.*52. is oppoſed to Δυνάστας, and inevitably beareth the ſenſe we follow. Fourthly, If the Virgin ſpake in the ſenſe the Romaniſts would have her, *He hath looked upon my lowlineſs to give it its deſert*, ſhe would prove to be intolerably proud in the valuing of her humility.

[*All generations ſhall call me bleſſed.*] As *Gen.*30.13. Not only thou oh Coſin *Elizabeth*, and the Jewiſh Nation that expect the Meſſias, but even all the world, and all ſucceſſions of ages among the Heathen, ſhall come to the knowledge and confeſſion of Chriſt, and account me bleſſed in the favour that I have received.

Ver. 51. [*He hath ſcattered the proud, &c.*] If the Virgin aim theſe words, and thoſe of the ſame tenour that follow, at any particular perſons, as ſome conceive ſhe doth, and meaneth the Devils, or the Phariſees, or the Jews, it might as well be conceived, that ſhe hath reſpect to the four tyrannous and perſecuting Monarchies in the Book of *Daniel*, which were now deſtroyed, as much as to any thing elſe: But ſince the very ſame words in a manner, are to be found in the ſong of *Hannah*, 1 *Sam.* 2. they warrant us to interpret them not ſo reſtrictively, as to any one particular example, but of the general and ordinary dealing of God in the world, with the wicked.

SECTION III.

S. *MATTHEW.* CHAP. I

THE (a) *Book* (b) *of the generation of Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of David, the Son of Abraham.*

2. *Abraham begat Iſaac, and Iſaac begat Jacob, and Jacob begat* (c) *Judas and his brethren.*

3. *And Judas begat Phares, and Zara of Tamar; and Phares begat Eſrom, and Eſrom begat Aram.*

4. *And* (d) *Aram begat Aminadab, and Aminadab begat Naaſſon, and Naaſſon begat* (e) *Salmon.*

5. *And Salmon begat* (f) *Boos of Racab, and Boos begat Obed of Ruth, and Obed begat Jeſſe.*

6. *And Jeſſe begat* (g) *David the King, and David the King begat Solomon, of her that had been the wife of Urias.*

7. *And Solomon begat Roboam, and Roboam begat* (h) *Abia, and Abia begat* (i) *Aſa.*

8. *And Aſa begat Joſaphat, and Joſaphat begat Joram, and Joram begat Ozias.*

9. *And Ozias begat Joatham, and Joatham begat Achas, and Achas begat Ezechias.*

10. *And Ezechias begat Manaſſes, and Manaſſes begat Amon, and Amon begat Joſias.*

11. *And Joſias begat* (k) *Jechonias and his brethren, about the time they were carried away into Babylon.*

12. *And after they were brought to Babylon, Jechonias begat Salathiel, and Salathiel begat Zorobabel.*

13. *And Zorobabel begat Abiud, and Abiud begat Eliakim, and Eliakim begat Azor.*

14. *And Azor begat Sadoc, and Sadoc begat Achim, and Achim begat Eliud.*

15. *And Eliud begat Eleazar, and Eleazar begat Matthan, and Matthan began Jacob.*

16. *And Jacob begat Joſeph the Husband of Mary, of whom was born Jeſus, who is called Chriſt.*

17. *So all the generations from Abraham to David, are fourteen generations: and from David until the* (l) *carrying away into Babylon are fourteen generations: and from the carrying away into Babylon unto Chriſt, are fourteen generations.*

18. *Now the birth of Jeſus Chriſt was on this wiſe: when as his Mother Mary was eſpouſed to Joſeph (before they came together) ſhe was found with child of the Holy Ghoſt.*

19. *Then Joſeph her Husband being a juſt man, and not willing* (m) *to make her a pul like example, was minded to put her away privily.*

(a) *Gen.* 5. 1. (b) It might be underſtood, *The Book of the Hiſtory, as generation* is taken, *Gen.* 2. 4. and 37. 2. and ſo it might be the title, not of this Chapter only, but of the whole book. But ſince the Evangeliſts intention is to ſet down Chriſts alliance to the Royal line by his Father *Joſeph*, the phraſe muſt be underſtood accordingly: and ſo the Chaldee uſeth the very Greek word to tranſlate משפחת *The Family* of *Ram. Jeb* 22. 2. See a third ſenſe of γενεσις in *Jam.* 1. 23. & 3. 6.

(c) *Judas* for *Jehudah* in Hebrew: for the Greek cannot utter [*h*] before a vowel in the middle of a word nor after one in the end: therefore in the middle it leaveth out, as in *Joſaphat, Joram*, and this word *Juda*; and in the end it changeth it to [*s*] as in this, and may other words in this Chapter.

(d) Or *Ram.* 1 *Chron.* 2. 8. *Ruth* 4. 19.

(e) Called *Salma*, *Ruth* 4. 20.

(f) He is held by the Jews to be *Ipſan*, *Judg.* 12. 8.

(g) *David*, in the Arabick, ſignifieth *a worm*: to which he may ſeem to allude, *Pſal.* 22. 6.

(h) *Reheboam*, in naming this his Son *Avi-jah*, which ſignifieth, *God is my father*, ſeemeth to have had his eye upon the promiſe to *David*, *I will be his Father*, 2 *Sam.* 7. 14. which becauſe he imbraced not by a lively Faith, but challenged only by a preſumptuous uſurpation, for he walked not in the ways of *David*; therefore doth the text elſewhere conceal the name of God, in the name of his Son, and calleth him *Abijam*, *My father is a Stay*; For ſo unconſtant in good was *Reheboam*, as *Jam.* 1. 6. being a child at forty years old, 2 *Chron.* 13. 17.

(i) The Arabick readeth it Aſaph.

(k) Called *Conias*, *Jer.* 22. 24. For God by taking away the firſt ſyllable of his name, ſheweth that he will not eſtabliſh the throne, or race of *Solomon* any more upon it: as his Father *Jehoiakim* bel ke in ſo naming him had preſumed. The Jews delighted to joyn the name *Jehovah*, to their own names, but ſomewhat ſhortned. For in the beginning of the name, it was but *Jeho*; as *Jeho-ſhaphat*, *Jehoram*, &c. And in the end, it was *Jahu*; as *Mica-jahu*, *Eli-jahu*. And ſometime in the very ſame name it was ſet before, or after indifferently, as *Jeho-achaz*, 2 *Chron.* 21. 17. Is *Ahaz-jahu*, 2 *Chron.* 22. 1. So *Jehoiachin*, 2 *King.* 24. 8. is *Jechon-jahu*, 1 *Chron.* 3. 16.

(l) The Captivity of the Jews into Babel, was but Μετοικεσια, *a flitting of their Families*: (As *Ariſteas* ſaith of *Ptol. Lagus* his captiving them, τους μεν μετοικισας, τους δ' ηχμαλωτευσε.) for they returned ere long to their own home again: But the ten Tribes carried by *Shalmanezar*, are ſaid to be, εν Ασσυριοις in the LXX, 2 *Kings* 18. 11. in a perpetual departure from their own houſes; And they, and all the reſt of the Nation, are at this day εν διασπορᾳ, in a diſperſion, without any home of their own at all, *Joan* 7. 35. *Jam.* 1. 1. 1 *Pet.* 1. 1.

(m) Παραδειγματισαι. It hath been thought (ſaith *Gellius*) that there ought to be three cauſes in puniſhing of offences. The firſt, [Νουθεσια, κολασις or παρρησια] is when puniſhment is uſed for caſtigation, or amendment of him that hath offended. The ſecond [called παιδεια] is, when puniſhment is uſed, that the dignity, and honour of him that hath been wronged, may be maintained. The third [which is called Παραδειγμα] is when puniſhment is inflicted for examples ſake, that others by the fear of the known puniſhment may be deterred from the like offences. *Noct. Att. lib.* 6. *cap.* 14.

20. *But while he thought on theſe things, the Angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream, ſaying, Joſeph thou Son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy Wife; for that which is conceived in her, is of the Holy Ghoſt.*

21. *And ſhe ſhall bring forth a Son, and thou ſhalt call his name Jeſus: for he ſhall ſave his people from their ſinnes.*

22. *Now all this was done, that it might be fulfilled, which was ſpoken of the Lord by the Prophet, ſaying,*

23. *Behold, a Virgin ſhall be with Child, and ſhall bring forth a Son, and ſhall call his Name Emanuel, which being interpreted, is, God with us.*

24. *Then Joſeph being raiſed from ſleep, did as the Angel of the Lord had bidden him, and took unto him his wife.*

25. *And knew her not until ſhe had brought forth her firſt born Son, and he called his name* Jeſus.

Reaſon of the Order.

AFter *Mary* hath been three months abſent from *Joſeph* [as in the laſt verſe of the Section preceding] upon her return he perceiveth her to be with child, for which he intendeth ſecretly to put her away; as *Tamar* after three months, is deſcried to be in the ſame caſe, and *Judah* reſolveth, publikely to put her to death, *Gen.* 38. 24.

This being conſidered, it is plain to ſee how properly the eighteenth verſe of this chapter followeth in order of time, after the laſt verſe of the Section next going before.

Now ſince the Evangeliſt hath begun with the genealogy, that alſo muſt here be taken in; and that the rather, becauſe he hath placed it in the forefront of his Goſpel, for ſpecial reaſon. Firſt, that he might make way for the underſtanding of thoſe words of the Angel, *Joſeph thou Son of David, Verſe* 20. Secondly, that the title which the wiſemen give to our Saviour might be cleared, when they call him *King of the Jews*, Chap. 2. 2. Thirdly, that his being the true and right *Meſſias* might be approved, by ſhewing that according to the promiſes and Prophecies made before concerning him, he was deſcended of the ſeed of *Abraham*, and the ſtock of *David*. For the two firſt and main things that the Jews would inquire after concerning our Saviour, to try whether he were the true *Meſſias*, or no, would be theſe. Firſt, whether he were of the houſe of *David*. Secondly, whether he were born in *Bethlehem*; and ſo we find them queſtioning about him, *Joh.* 7. 42. In this regard it was neceſſary, that *Mathew an Hebrew*, writing his Goſpel for the Hebrews, ſhould at the very firſt entrance of it, give them ſatisfaction in theſe two particulars: which he doth accordingly, ſhewing his deſcent from *David* in this Chapter, and his birth in *Bethlehem*, in the next Chapter following.

The laſt verſe of this Section and Chapter, *He knew her not, till ſhe had brought forth her firſt-born Son*, &c. may ſeem to interrupt the right order of the ſtory, and to bring in Chriſts birth before its time, if we lay it here. But ſince the Evangeliſt will ſay no more of it, but only this; and becauſe we deſire to break the text into as few peeces as poſſible, this ſhall be let to lie where it doth, without any tranſpoſition, and we will imagine the two next Sections to be expoſitions at large, upon what this verſe doth but ſpeak in brief.

Harmony and Explanation.

PUblike Regiſters of the Tribe of *Judah*, and of the other Tribes that adhered to it, were reſerved even in the Captivity and forward; as may be collected by the Books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*: And from *Lukes* telling that *Anna* was of the Tribe of *Aſer*, and *Pauls*, that himſelf was of the Tribe of *Benjamin*.

From one of theſe doth *Matthew* fetch the latter end of his genealogy, and *Luke* from another the beginning of his, having then the civil records to avouch for them, if they ſhould be queſtioned, which the Jews now wanting, do unjuſtly cavil.

[*The Son of David, the Son of Abraham*] *Jeſus Chriſt* is to be applyed unto both, thus: *Jeſus Chriſt the Son of David, Jeſus Chriſt the Son of Abraham*: as ſee the like phraſe, *Gen.* 36. 3. *Aholibamah the Daughter of Anah, the Daughter of Zibeon*: that is thus to be underſtood, *Aholibamah* the Daughter of *Anah*, *Aholibamah* the Daughter of *Zibeon*: as that Chapter maketh it moſt clear. And there is the like, and far more largely, *Luke* 3. 32. &c.

Now *Abraham* and *David* are named, rather then any other, Firſt, becauſe one of them was father of the Jewiſh Nation, and the other the firſt in the Kingdom, of which Nation and Kingdom, all Prophecies had told that Chriſt ſhould come. Secondly, becauſe the promiſe of Chriſt was made to theſe two in plainer termes, then to any other.

David is firſt named, firſt becauſe the promiſe to him was freſher in memory, plainer, and more explicate: ſecondly, becauſe the deſcent of the Meſſias from *David*, was the main thing

thing the Jews looked after in him: thirdly, the Holy Ghoſt doth hereby, as it were beforehand, anſwer the impious diſtinction, ſo frequent among the Rabbines, of *Meſſias ben Joſeph, and Meſſias ben David.*

Ver. 2. [*Judas and his brethren*] His Brethren are added from *Gen.* 49. 8. to comfort the diſperſed Tribes that were not yet returned out of Captivity as *Judah* was, in their equal intereſt in Chriſt as well as he, as *Hoſ.* 1. 11.

Ver. 3. [*Phares and Zara*] He nameth *Zara*, becauſe he would bring in their Mother *Tamar*. *Iſmael* and *Eſau*, the one a brother to *Iſaac*, the other a twin to *Jacob*, are not named, becauſe they were both wicked, but the brethren of *Juda*, and the twin to *Phares* are named, becauſe they are both good. *At the birth of Jacob and Eſau it is ſaid* תומים *twins, with the letter* א *wanting, becauſe Eſau one of them was evill: But at the birth of Phares and Zara it is ſaid* תאומים *with that letter ſupplyed, becauſe both of them were good*, R. Sol. in Gen. 25. and 38.

[*Of Thamar*] Four women are named in this genealogy, women once of notorious infamy, *Tamar* inceſtuous, *Rahab* an harlot, *Ruth* an Heathen, and *Bathſheba* an Adultereſs: To ſhew that Chriſt came to heal all ſores, when he recured ſuch ſinners, and that he deſpiſed not our ſhame, when he ſhamed not to deſcend of ſuch Parents.

Ver. 5. [*Rahab*] It can little be doubted but that he meaneth her, mentioned *Joſh.* 2. Now the Jews, [belike to deface the truth of *Mathew*, who from ancient Records, averreth her for the wife of *Salmon*] have broached this tenet, that ſhe was married unto *Joſhua, vid. Kimki in loc.*

Ver. 8. [*Joram begat Ozias.*] Here *three deſcents are omitted, namely, *Ahaziah*, *Joaſh*, and *Amaziah*] as compare 2 *Chron.* 3. 2 *Kings* 8. But it is moſt divinely done, from the threatning of the ſecond Commandement, *Thou ſhalt not commit Idolatry, for I viſit the ſins of the Fathers upon the children to the third and Fourth Generation. Joram* committed Idolatry like the houſe of *Ahab*, for the daughter of *Ahab* was his wife, 2 *King.* 8. 18. Therefore it is juſt with God to viſit that ſin upon his children: in ſign of which he blotteth them out of this line to the fourth generation: So is it the manner of Scripture, very often to leave out mens names out of certain ſtories and Records, to ſhew a diſtaſte at ſome evil in them. So all *Cains* poſterity is blotted out of the Book of the *Chronicles*, as it was out of the world by the Flood. So *Simeon* is omitted in *Moſes* bleſſing, *Deut.* 33. for his cruelty at *Shechem*, and to *Joſeph*. So *Dan*, at the ſealing of the Lords people, *Rev.* 7. becauſe of Idolatry begun in his Tribe, *Judg.* 18. and ſo *Joab*, from among *Davids* worthies, 2 *Sam.* 23. becauſe of his bloodineſs to *Amaſa* and *Abner*. Such another cloſe intimation of Gods diſpleaſure at this wickedneſs of *Joram*; is to be ſeen, 2 *Chron.* 22. 1, 2. where the reign of his Son *Ahaziah* is not dated according to the cuſtom and manner of the other Kings of *Judah*, but by the ſtile of the continuance of the houſe of *Omri*, into which Family his Father had married, and was become ſo prophane as to worſhip their Idols. *The Son of the two and forty years was Ahaziah when he began to reign.* That is, of the laſt of the two and forty, of the houſe of *Omri*, in which it fell, and *Ahaziah* with it.

** The ſeed of the wicked ſhall be cut off*, Pſal. 37. 28. See the letter ע, which is the laſt letter of זרע *the ſeed* and of רשע *the wicked*, cut out of that Acroſtical, and Alphabetical Pſalm at that very place.

Ver. 11. [*Joſias begat Jechonias*] So readeth the *Syrian*, *Arabrick*, and the moſt and beſt Greek Copies: And ſo the Evangeliſt himſelf requireth that it be read, to make fourteen generations from *David* to the Captivity into *Babel*. And ſo readeth *D. Kimchi*, on 1 *Chron.* 3. 15. *Joſias* indeed begat *Joachim*, and *Joachim* begat *Jechonias*, but he that was neither fit to be lamented, nor to be buried like one of the Kings of *Judah*, *Jerem.* 22. 18, 19. was much more unfit to come into the Line of the Kings of *Judah*, that leadeth to Chriſt.

Ver. 12. [*Jechonias begat Salathiel.*] *Jechonias* was Father to *Salathiel*, as *Baaſha* was to *Ahab*, 1 *King.* 20. 34. not by generation, but by predeceſſion. For *Jechonias* in very deed was childleſs, *Jer.* 22. 30. and the natural Father of *Salathiel* was *Neri*, *Luke* 3. 27. yet he is ſaid to beget him, becauſe he declared and owned him for his next heir and Succeſſor; As God is ſaid to beget Chriſt on the day of his Reſurrection, *Pſal.* 2. 7. *Act.* 13. 33. that is, *declared him thereby to be his Son*, *Rom.* 1. 4.

The Scripture affecteth to ſpeak ſhort in relating of Stories, that are well known before: as to ſpare more, you may find an example far harſher than this, in 1 *Chron.* 1. 36. where *Timna* the Concubine of *Eliphaz* is named as *Eliphaz* his Son.

And in 1 *Chron.* 3. 16. *Zedechia* the Uncle of *Jechoniah* is called his Son, becauſe he ſucceeded him in the Roialty.

The Jews in their *Talmud*, give this rule for a fundamental point: *That there is no King to be for Irael, but of the houſe of* David, *and of the ſeed of* Solomon *only: And he that ſeparateth againſt this Family, denyeth the Name of the bleſſed God, and the words of his Prophets that are ſpoken in truth.* Sanhedr. Perek. 10. & R. Samuel in Ner. Mitſvah. fol. 153.

With which opinion, although *Matthew* ſeem to comply at the firſt appearance, in that he deriveth our Saviour from *Solomon*, becauſe of the Hebrews for whom he wrote, which looked for him from thence, yet the carnal ſenſe of it, which aimeth only at the earthly

Kingdom of the *Meſſias*, and at the exact deſcent from *Solomon*, he cloſely confuteth to the eyes of the intelligent Reader by theſe two things. Firſt, in that he bringeth the Line along to *Jechonias*, in whom the ſeed of *Solomon* and the regal dignity alſo with it failed. Secondly, in that he deriveth the intereſt of Chriſt in that dignity, if it were any, only by *Joſeph*, which according to the fleſh, had no relation at all to him, ſave the marriage of his Mother.

The Jews to diſgrace the Goſpel of S. *Luke*, do hold that *Jechonias* was the natural Father of *Salathiel*, and that upon his repentance in *Babel* God gave him Children, as *Aſſir* and *Salathiel*. *D. Kimchi* on 1 *Chron.* 3. But God had ſworn, *Jer.* 22. 28. and he will not repent, *Pſal.* 110. 4. that he ſhould die childleſs to the Throne and his repentance could no more repeal this Oath of God, then the prayer of *Moſes* did the decree of his not entring into the Land.

[*And Salathiel begat Zerobabel.*] *Salathiel begat Pedaiah, and Pedaiah begat Zorobabel*, 1 *Chron.* 3. 18.,19. But becauſe, when the maſculine Line of *Solomons* houſe failed in *Jechonias*, the dignity turning over to the Line of *Nathan*, firſt ſetled upon *Salathiel*, but firſt ſhewed it ſelf eminent in *Zorobabel*, therefore conſtantly, when mention is made of *Zorobabel*, he is not called the Son of *Pedaiah* a man of no action but obſcure, but the Son of *Salathiel*, in whom the honour of that Family began. For *Jechonias was a ſignet plucked off*, *Jer.* 22. 24. and *Zorobabel was ſet on again in his ſtead*, *Hag.* 2. 23.

Ver. 13. [*And Zorobabel begat Abiud*] Among the children of *Zorobabel* mentioneth 1 *Chron.* 3. 19, 20. there is no memorial either of *Abiud*, his Son named here, or of *Rheſa* his Son named by St. *Luke*. But as in Scripture it is ordinary for one man to have ſeveral names, ſo is it to be underſtood of theſe. The eldeſt Son then of *Zorobabel*, to whom the honour lately faln upon that houſe was to deſcend, was called *Meſullam*. Either in memorial of *Solomon*, the glory of whoſe houſe was transferred to him [and ſo he alſo calleth a daughter of his *Shelomith*, the name by which the wife of *Solomon* is called, *Cant.* 6. 13. as being but the feminine of *Shelomoh.*] Or from the ſignificancy of the word which importeth *requited*. For whereas *Jeconias* was alſo called *Shallum*, that is, finiſhed, becauſe the race and line of *Solomon* did end in him, when a recompence of the failing of that, is made by the ſucceſſion of *Salathiel* in its ſtead, well might *Zorobabel*, in whom it firſt ſhewed, call his Son *Meſhullam* or *requited*. Or from their peaceable building and inhabiting *Jeruſalem*, after their return from *Babel*. The Son *Meſhullam* was called alſo *Abiud*, in remembrance of his Fathers glory: And his ſecond brother *Hannaniah*, was alſo called *Rheſa*, that is, *The chief*, or principal, becauſe of Chriſts deſcending from him. Theſe things we have now but by conjecture, but that we may take the bolder, becauſe the Text in the place alledged in the *Chronicles*, hath ſet theſe two Sons of *Zorobabel* apart and diſtinct from the reſt of their brethren, as if for ſome ſpecial thing more remarkable then they. But there is no doubt but the Evangeliſts in naming them by theſe names, had warranty from known and common Records to juſtifie them in it.

Ver. 17. [*Fourteen generations*] In every one of theſe ſeveral fourteens, they were under a ſeveral and diſtinct manner of Government, and the end of each fourteen produced ſome alteration in their ſtate. In the firſt, they were under Prophets: in the ſecond under Kings: and in the third, under *Haſmonean* Prieſts. The firſt fourteen brought their ſtate to glory in the Kingdom of *David*: The ſecond, to miſery in the Captivity of *Babylon*: and the third to glory again in the Kingdom of Chriſt.

The firſt begins with *Abraham* that recived the promiſe, and ends in *David*, that received it again with greater clearneſs. The ſecond begins with the building of the Temple, and ends in the deſtruction of it. The third begins with their peeping out of miſery in *Babel*, and ends in the accompliſhed delivery by Chriſt.

The ſecond that terminateth in the peoples captiving into *Babel*, fixeth not no *Jehoiakim*, in whom the captivity began; nor in *Zedekiah*, in whom it was conſummate; but in *Jechonias*, who was in the middle ſpace between. And from the ſame date doth *Ezekiel* count and reckon the captivity through all his book, as Chap. 8. 1. & 20. 1. & 26. 1. & 29. 1. & 31. 1. & 32. 1. & 40. 1.

The whole ſum of the three fourteens, is the renowned number of *two and forty*: the number of the knops, and flowers, and branches of the Candleſtick; of the journeys and ſtations of *Iſrael* betwixt *Egypt* and *Canaan*, *Numb.* 33. of the children of *Bethel*, 2 *King.* 2. 24. And ſee *Rev.* 11. 2. & 13. 5.

Verſ. 18. [*Before they came together*, &c.] That is to dwell together in the ſame houſe. Nay, it is very probable, that as yet they dwelt not in the ſame Town, but *Joſeph* in *Capernaum*, and *Mary* in *Nazeret*.

Verſ. 19. [*To make her a publick example*] παραδειγματίσαι: A word uſed by the LXX, *Numb.* 25. 4. *Ezek.* 28. 17. &c. And by the New Teſtament, *Heb.* 6. 6. And ever, ſaith, *Eraſmus*, in an evil ſenſe. *Brucioli* hath ſtrangely tranſlated this clauſe, *Non lo volendo Publicare*: and divers of the Papiſts have more ſtrangely expounded it, as *non volens traducere*, *not willing to take her to himſelf, or to his own houſe*: and why? Becauſe he thought

thought himself unworthy of her society: and because the brightness of her face was such, that he could not look upon it: And he thought it more possible for a woman to conceive without a man, then for *Mary* to sin.

And thus will they make *Joseph* to divorce his wife, or at least to use unkindly, for her too great excellencies.

*[*To put her away privily*] The Law bound him not to bring her, either to shame by trial before the Priest, *Numb.* 6. or to punishment by the sentence of the Judges. The adulteress indeed was to be put to death, if she were accused, prosecuted, and convicted; but to accuse and prosecute her, the Law bound not, but upon deprehension in the very act, *Joh.* 8. 4. 5. *Deut.* 22. 22. *Numb.* 25. 8. If a man took a wife, and hated her, *Deut.* 22. 13. he might bring her to tryal, and upon conviction to punishment: but if he love her for all his suspicion, and will connive at her fault, and not seek her death, he is a liberty to connive and tolerated by the Law so to do, and blameless if he did it, as *Judg.* 19. 2, 3. But if a couple were deprehended in the act of Adultery, then must there be no connivence, *Deut.* 22. 22. explaining, *Levit.* 20. 10. And the case of the unbetrothed Damosel, *Deut.* 22. 28. explaining the case of the betrothed.

And thus is the question easily answered, which hath so toiled many expositors: How *Joseph* can be said to be *just* when in this very matter that is now in hand he violateth: It is answered by denying that he violated the Law: For that tolerated him thus to do.

Vers. 21. [*Jesus, for he shall save*] *Rabenn haccadosh* saith, *Because Messias shall save men, he shall be called* Joshua. *But the Heathen of another Nation, which shall imbrace the belief of him, shall call his name* Jesus: *And this is intimated, in* Gen. 49. *Chi jabbo shiloh: until Shiloh come.* Vid. Galatin. lib. 3. cap. 20.

Vers. 23. [*Behold a Virgin*] The Jews seek to elude this Prophecy of *Isaiah* by expounding it, either of the Prophets wife, as *Isa.* 8. 3. or of the Kings wife; and from *Prov.* 30. 19. they plead that *Almah* doth not strictly signifie a virgin, but a woman that hath known a man.

Answ. 1. There are three words in the Hebrew, that signifie and betoken Virginity, but, this most properly: First, נערה signifieth a Virgin, but not always: for it properly denoteth a young woman; yea, though she be not a virgin, but hath been touched. Secondly, *Bethulah* is the common word used to denote Virginity; yet as *Galatine* observeth out of *Prov.* 30. it seemeth sometime to be taken otherwise. But thirdly, *Almah* properly importeth a *young Virgin*, and not at all one touched: So that *Naarah* signifieth any young Woman, though she be not a Virgin: *Bethulah*, a Virgin though she be not young; but *Almah* importeth youth and virginity both.

Secondly, the LXX in the place of *Isaiah* cited, translate the word παρθένος: which denoteth no otherwise then a Virgin.

Thirdly, it is given for a sign to *Ahaz*, that *Almah should bear a Son:* now for one that had known a man to do so, were no sign at all. See *Galatine lib.* 7. *cap.* 15.

[*They shall call his name* Emmanuel] *Nomen naturæ*, not *impositionis*, they shall own him *for God in our nature*, and not denominate him *Emmanuel* for his imposed name: See the like Phrase, *Esa.* 60. 18. *Ezek.* 48. 35.

[*Which is being interpreted*] First, this, and other passages of the same nature in this Evangelist, argue strongly, that *Matthew* wrote not his Gospel in the Hebrew tongue, as is very commonly held: For, first, then had this word needed no interpretation, and it had been very hard to have interpreted it, but by the same word again. Secondly, the Jews in those times that *Matthew* wrote, understood not the Hebrew tongue in its purity, but had degenerated into the use and speech of the Syrian. Thirdly, *Jonathan Ben Uzziel* translated the Prophets out of Hebrew into Chaldee, a little before the coming of Christ; and *Onkelos* did as much by the Law a little after, and both did so, because the Jews could not at that time understand or read the Bible in its own Hebrew tongue: and how improper then was it for *Matthew* to write his Gospel in that language. Fourthly, all the world that used the Old Testament at those times, unless it were such as had gained the Hebrew tongue by study, used it in the translation of the LXX, or the Greek, and it was requisite that the Pen-men of the New Testament should write in that language, and according to their stile [as *Paul* writing for, and to Romans, and *Matthew* and he to Hebrews] that their quotations out of the Old Testament might be examined by the Greek Bible. Fifthly, let those that hold the opinion we are confuting, but seriously consider that Christ calleth himself by the name of two Greek letters, and why; *Rev.* 1. 8.

Vers. 25. [*He knew her not till she had brought forth*] This properly falleth in order at *Luke* 2. 7. and there shall it be taken up again.

* Ἀπολῦσαι; to divorce her, as *Mat.* 5. 31. & 19. 7. *Mark* 10. 4. *Luk.* 16. 18. Erasm. *Voluit clanculum ab ea divertere*; And so *Brucioli*, *La volse occultamente lasciare*: making *Joseph* a patient in the divorce, rather then an agent, or rather divorcing himself, then her.

SECTION

SECTION V.

S. LUKE CHAP. I.

The Birth and Circumcision of John the Baptist, and the tongue of his Father restored, &c.

Vers. 57.

NOW Elizabeths (a) *full time came that she should be delivered, and she brought forth a Son.*

58. *And* (b) *her neighbours, and her cousins heard how the Lord had* (c) *shewed great mercy upon her, and they rejoyced with her.*

59. *And it came to pass on the eighth day, they came to circumcise the child, and they called him* Zacharias, *after the name of his Father.*

60. *And his Mother answered and said, Not so, but he shall be called* John.

61. *And they said unto her, There is none of thy kindred that is called by this name.*

62. *And they made signs to his Father, how he would have him called.*

63. *And he asked for* (d) *a writing table, and wrote saying, His name is* John, *and they marvailed all.*

64. *And his mouth was* (e) *opened immediately, and his tongue* looſed, *and he spake, and praised God.*

65. *And fear came on all that dwelt round about them, and all these sayings were noised abroad through out all the hill Country of Judea.*

66. *And all they that had heard them,* (f) *laid them up in their hearts, saying, What manner of child shall this be?* (g) *and the hand of the Lord was with him.*

67. *And his Father* Zacharias *was filled with the Holy Ghost, and prophecied, saying.*

68. *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath visited and redeemed his people:*

69. *And hath raised up a horn of salvation for us, in the house of his servant* David.

70. *As he spake by the* (h) *mouth of his holy Prophets, which have been since the World began.*

71. (i) *That we should be delivered from our enemies, and from the hands of* (k) *them that hate us.*

72. (l) *To perform the mercy promised to our fore-fathers, and to remember his holy Covenant,*

73. (m) *The oath which he sware to our father* Abraham,

74. (n) *That he would grant unto us, that we being delivered out of the hands of our enemies, might serve him without fear,*

75. *In holiness and righteousness before him all the days of our life.*

76. *And thou child shalt be called the Prophet of the most Highest, for thou shalt go before the face of the Lord, to prepare his ways.*

77. *To give knowledge of salvation unto his people, by the remission of their sins.*

78. *Through* † *the tender mercy of our God, whereby the day spring from an high hath visited us.*

79. *To give light to them that sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death; to guide our feet into the way of peace.*

80. *And the child grew, and waxed strong in Spirit, and was in the desert, till the day of his shewing unto Israel.*

(a) Though she conceived her chi'd above the course of nature, yet his time in the womb was according to it.

(b) *Hebron* was inhabited by *Aaronites*: but the fields and villages about with children of *Juda*, *Josh.* 21. 11. These two are *Elizabeths* neighbours and cousins.

(c) Greek, *Had magnified mercy*: הגדיל חסדו as in *Psal.* 18. 50. the Hebr. and LXX and *Psal.* 126. 2.

(d) Vulg. *Pugillarem.* of which see *Plin. lib.* 13. *cap.* 11. Ἐν δέλτοισιν ἐμοῖς ἐπὶ γένασι δοῦναι, *Batrachom.*

(e) פתח in Hebrew signifieth both to *open* and to *unloose*, and so the *loosing* of his tongue, which is not expressed in the Greek, *totidem verbis*, is implied in the word Ἀνεῴχθη, by an Hebraisme.

(f) See *Gen.* 37. 11. *Prov.* 2. 1. & 3. 1. & 7. 1.

(g) Vulg. *For the hand of the Lord was with him*: contrary to the Orig. Arab. and Syr.

(h) [*By the mouth*] that is, by the *mouths* one number for another, as *tree* for *trees*, *Gen.* 3. 1. *frog* for *frogs*, *Exod.* 9. 2. &c. yet is the observation of *Albertus magnus*, ingenuous and true. *All the Prophets spake of Christ*, uno ore, *things so agreable, as if they had all spoken with one mouth.*

(i) In the orig. it is only Σωτηρίαν, *Salvation* or deliverance, and so in the Arab. and Vulg. Lat. now it may be read either in apposition to κέρας, in vers. 69. *He hath raised up an horn of salvation, namely, salvation from our enemies*, or in subsequence to the verb he spake, vers. 70. *He spake by the mouth of his holy Prophets of Salvation*: and this is the more genuine and proper, *Beza.*

(k) Two Phrases used to heighten the sense, 2 *Sam.* 22. 18. 41. *Psal.* 44. 10. & 68. 1. & 89. 23. & 106. 10.

(l) לעשות חסד, as *Josh.* 2. 12. 2 *Sam.* 9. 1. &c. The Syr. reads conjunctively, *And he hath shewed mercy*, and so doth the Arab. the other clause, *And he hath remembred.*

(m) Ὅρκον: In the Accusative case, either in apposition to *Cornu Salutis*, vers. 69. as *Tollet*, or κατὰ understood, as *Calvin*, or following the Verb *To performe* in vers. 72. As the Syr. and an old English, or that the Verb μνησθῆναι governeth two cases, Διαθήκης and ὅρκον.

(n) Τοῦ δοῦναι ἡμῖν: This clause standeth in the Orig. and in all translations in the end of the vers. preceding, See *Syr. Arab. Vulg. France, Spain, Dutch, Diodate, Vatab. Erasm. Beza, &c.*

† Greek: *The Bowels of mercy.*

Reason

Reaſon of the Order.

THE order of this Section may be briefly contrived, and illuſtrated, thus. *Elizabeth* when *Mary* cometh to her, was about ſix months gone with child, *Luke* 1: 26. 36. and about nine months when ſhe departed from her, *verſ.* 56. She coming to her own houſe, is ſuſpected by *Joſeph* to have played the harlot; and is in danger of a ſecret divorce: while theſe things are thus paſſing betwixt them two at *Nazaret*, the time of *Elizabeths* delivery is fully come.

Harmony and Eplanation.

Verſe 59. *They came to circumciſe the Child.*

IN *Hebron*, and about the time of Eaſter, was circumciſion firſt ordained, *Gen.* 17. And in the ſame place, and at the ſame time of the year, was *John* Baptiſt born and circumciſed; who was to bring in Baptiſm in ſtead of Circumciſion: as may be apparent by obſerving the time of the Angel *Gabriels* appearing, and meſſage to his father *Zacharias*, in the preceding Kalendar, and it ſhall be to the full explained and proved hereafter, when we come to treat of the time of our Saviours birth.

§ *And they called his name* Zacharias.

A thing hardly to be paralſel'd again in all the Scripture, that a child ſhould be named by the name of his father: an extraordinary action, in an extraordinary caſe.

Becauſe *Abraham* and *Sarah* had their new names given them at the giving of circumciſion; therefore did after-times reſerve this cuſtom to name their Children at their circumciſing.

The name was ſometime given to the child by the mother, but that was ever at the birth, and it was upon ſome weighty and ſpecial reaſon, as *Gen.* 29. 32, 33, 34, 35. and 30. 6, 7. &c. 1 *Sam.* 4. 21. 1 *Chron.* 4. 29. and ſometimes by the ſtanders by at the birth, as *Gen.* 38. 29. and 25. 25. *Ruth* 4. 18. but the Father at the Circumciſion, had ſtill the caſting voice, whether the name ſhould be ſo, or no; as appeareth by *Jacobs* changing *Ben-oni* into *Benjamin*. Now *Zacharie* being dumb, and the mother having given it no name at the birth, the perſons preſent undertake to call it by the name of the Father.

And now is he in circumciſing, that is the man appointed to be the firſt overthrow of Circumciſion, by bringing in Baptiſm inſtead of it.

R. Solomon from the *Talmud* in *Sanhedrin*, expoundeth *Jerem.* 25. 10. *I will take from them the ſound of the milſtones, and the light of the candle*, to this ſenſe. *The ſound of the milſtones, ſignifieth the Feaſt at a Circumciſion; becauſe they ground or bruiſed Spices, for the healing of the ſore; and the light of the Candle, ſignieth the Feaſt it ſelf.* Thus do they confeſs a decay of Circumciſion to be foretold by the Prophet, and yet they ſtick not to deny moſt ſtiffly, that Circumciſion muſt ever decay.

Verſ. 63. [*He wrote ſaying*] That is, *expreſſing*, or *To this purpoſe*, as *Exod.* 18. 6. *And Jethro ſaid to Moſes, I Jethro come unto thee:* That is, he ſignified ſo much by Letter; as the ſerious viewing of the ſtory will neceſſarily evince. And ſo 2 *King.* 5. 6. *And he brought the Letter to the King of Iſrael, ſaying*; not that *Naaman* that brought the Letter, ſpake the words that follow, but the Letter it ſelf ſpake them.

[*John*] *The Lord hath been gracious.* A name moſt fit for him that was to be the firſt Preacher of the Kingdom of grace, and to point out him that was *grace it ſelf*. *Rabbi Jochanan ſayd, what is the name of the Meſſias? Some ſaid* Haninah, *Grace, as it is ſaid, I will not give you* Haninah, *that is, the Meſſias who ſhall be called gracious*, Jer. 16. 13. *Talmud bab. in Peſach. cap.* 4.

Verſ. 64. [*And his mouth was opened*] Infidelity had cloſed his mouth, and now faith or believing doth open it again: And herein, may this caſe of *Zachary* be fitly compared with the like of *Moſes*, *Exod.* 4. For he for diſtruſt is in danger of his life, as *Zachary* for the ſame fault is ſtruk dumb: but upon the circumciſing of his child, and recovery of his faith, the danger is removed; as *Zacharies* dumbneſs is at ſuch a time and occaſion; as *Pſal.* 116. 10. He believeth, and therefore doth he ſpeak. And the tongue of the dumb doth ſing, *Eſa.* 35. 6.

[*And his tongue*] Our Engliſh hath added *looſed* for illuſtration, as alſo hath the *French*; and ſome ſay it is found in ſome Copies, λυθεὶσα. But firſt, no ſuch word is expreſſed either in the *Syrian*, *Arabick*, *Vulgar Latine*, *Italian*, *Eraſmus*, or other Tranſlators. Nor ſecondly, needeth there any ſuch word to make a perfect ſenſe, but it may well help the ſimple and vulgar capacity, what our Engliſh hath added.

Verſ. 66.

Verſ. 66. [*I laid them up in their hearts*] It could not but affect all that heard of this ſtrange birth of the Baptiſt with wonder and amazement, and ſingular obſervation, both in regard that ſo many and great miracles were wrought in this time, when miracles were ſo much abated and decayed: as alſo in conſideration, that there was never birth before that had ſo many concomitants of wonder and miraculouſneſs, as the birth of this child. Not of *Iſaac* the glorious Patriach, not of *Moſes* the great Prophet, nor of any other whatſoever, that had been in former times.

[*And the hand of the Lord was with him*] Either the ſpecial favour and aſſiſtance of the Lord, as *Ezra* 7.6. and 8.22,&c. or the gift of Prophecy at capable years, as 1 *Sam.* 3. 19. for ſo the hand of the Lord doth ſignifie, *Ezek.* 1. 3. & 37. 1. & 40. 1. *Pſal.* 80. 17. 1 *Chron.* 28. 19.

Verſ. 68. [*Redeemed*] Greek, Ἐποίησε λύτρωσιν, *He hath made or wrought redemption*: In the very phraſe implying a price paid, for ſo the word λύτρωσις importeth. It is uſed again, Chapter 2. 38. and by the LXX, *Pſal.* 111. 9. and 130. 7. and by *Theodotion* for ſatisfaction, *Prov.* 6. 35.

Verſ. 69. [*An horn of Salvation*] *Pſal.* 18. 1. 2 *Sam.* 22. 3.

Verſ. 70. [*Which have been ſince the World began*] *Adams* calling his wives name *Eve*, or *life*, in apprehenſion of the promiſe of the ſeed of the woman, that ſhould break the head of the Serpent: *Eves* calling her Sons name *Cain*, *a purchaſe*; becauſe ſhe had obtained a man, even the Lord, or the Lord to become a man; and her naming her other Son *Seth*, or *ſetled*, &c. theſe were Prophecies that ſpake of *Chriſt*, from the beginning of the world.

Verſ. 71. [*That we ſhould be ſaved from our enemies*] This hath ſweet reference to the promiſe given at the beginning of the World; from which time he had traced Prophecies in the verſe preceding. *I will put enmity betwixt thee and the woman, and between thy ſeed, and her ſeed: He ſhall break thine head*, *Gen.* 3.15. Where in the former words of the verſe, I will ſet enmity, &c. there is an expreſſion who are our enemies; namely, the Serpent and his ſeed: and in the latter, *he ſhall break thine head*; there is an intimation how we ſhall be ſaved; namely, by Chriſts breaking the head and power of Satan. So that the former verſe and this being laid together, they ariſe unto this ſenſe, that all the Prophets from *Adam* and upward, had their eye upon the promiſe in that garden, and ſpake of ſalvation and delivered by *Chriſt*, by his breaking the head, and deſtroying the kingdom of the *Devil*.

Verſ. 76. [*The Prophet of the Higheſt*] As *Aaron* to *Moſes*, *Exod.* 7. 1. Prophecy had been now very long decayed, and but little thereof had been under the ſecond Temple: it is now reviving in an extraordinary manner: and this child is to be the firſt of this race of Prophets that is in riſing, and to be the Harbinger of *Chriſt* himſelf.

Verſ. 77. [*To give knowledge of ſalvation by remiſſion, &c.*] The knowledge of ſalvation that the Law held forth at the firſt view, was by legal righteouſneſs, and abſolute performance of what was commanded: but *John* who was to begin the Goſpel, brought in another Doctrine, and gave the people knowledge of ſalvation by another way; namely, by the remiſſion of ſins, as *Rom.* 4. 6, 7. And this is the tenor of the Goſpel.

Verſ. 78. [*The day ſpring from an high*] Greek: Ἀνατολὴ, uſed by the LXX to tranſlate צמח, *The branch*, *Eſa.* 4. 2. *Jer.* 23.5. *Zech.* 3. 9. & 6. 12. the name of *Chriſt*, and ſo it may be underſtood of Chriſts perſonal coming and appearance amongſt men: as God is ſaid to *have viſited Sarah*, *Gen.* 21. 1. that is, not only in merciful dealing with her, as to give her a child, but alſo in perſonally coming unto her in viſible appearance, as Chapter 18. 14. *At the time appointed I will return*, *&c.* Or it may be taken in connexion to the ſenſe of the Verſes preceding: That after the defect of Prophecy, the dawning of that gift, and after the darkneſs of the Doctrine of Salvation, as it was in the Law, the day-ſpring of it from an high came now to viſit us, in the brightneſs of the Goſpel.

Verſ. 80. [*And was in the deſerts*] Of *Ziph* and *Maon*, 1 *Sam.* 23.14. 25. which were places not far from *Hebron*, where *John* was born; *Joſh.* 15. 54, 55. His education was not in the Schools at *Jeruſalem*, but in theſe plain Country Towns and Villages in the Wilderneſs.

[*Till the day of his ſhewing unto Iſrael*] That is, when at thirty years of age he was to be brought to the Sanctuary ſervice; *Numb.* 4.3. to which he did not apply himſelf as the cuſtom was, but betook himſelf to another courſe.

SECTION

SECTION VI.

S. *LUKE*, CHAP. II.

CHRIST born; publiſhed to the Shepherds; rejoyced in by Angels; circumciſed; preſented in the Temple; confeſſed by Simeon *and* Anna.

AND it came to paſs in thoſe days, that there went out (a) *a decree from* (b) Cæſar Auguſtus, *that* (c) *all the World ſhould be taxed.*

2. *And that taxing was firſt made, when* (d) Cyrenius *was Governor of* Syria.

3. *And all went to be taxed every one into his own City.*

4. *And* Joſeph *alſo* (e) *went up from* Galilee *out of the City of* Nazareth *into* Judea, *unto the City of* David, *which is called* Bethlehem; *becauſe he was of the ſtock and linage of* David;

5. *To be* (f) *taxed with* Mary *his eſpouſed wife, being great with Child.*

6. *And ſo it was, that while they were there, the days were accompliſhed that ſhe ſhould be delivered.*

7. *And ſhe brought forth her firſt-born Son, and* (g) *wrapped him in ſwadling cloaths, and laid him in a manger; becauſe there was no room for him in the Inn.*

8. *And there were in the ſame Country Shepherds abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flock* (h) *by night.*

9. *And lo, the Angel of the Lord came upon them, and the glory of the Lord ſhone round about them, and they were ſore afraid.*

10. *And the Angel ſaid* (i) *Fear not, for behold I bring you good tydings of great joy, which ſhall be to all people.*

11. *For unto you is born this day in the City of* David, *a Saviour, which is Chriſt the Lord.*

12. *And this ſhall be a ſign unto you, ye ſhall find the babe wrapped in ſwadling cloaths, lying in a manger.*

13. *And ſuddenly there was with the Angel,* (k) *a multitude of the Heavenly hoſt, praiſing God, and ſaying,*

14. (l) *Glory to God in the Higheſt, and on earth peace, good will towards men.*

15. *And it came to paſs, as the Angels were gone away from them into Heaven, the* (m) *Shepherds ſaid one to another, Let us now go even unto* Bethlehem, *and ſee this thing which is come to paſs, which the Lord hath made known unto us.*

16. *And they came with haſt, and found* Mary *and* Joſeph, *and the babe lying in the manger.*

17. *And when they had ſeen it, they made known abroad the ſaying which was told them concerning this Child.*

18. *And all they that heard it, wondred at thoſe things which were told them by the Shepherds.*

19. *But* Mary *kept all theſe things, and pondred them in her heart.*

20. *And the Shepherds returned, glorifying and praiſing God for all the things that they had heard and ſeen, as it was told unto them.*

21. *And when eight days were accompliſhed for the circumciſing of the child, his name was called Jeſus, which was ſo named of the Angel, before he was conceived in the womb.*

22. *And when the days of her purification* (n) *according to the Law of* Moſes *were accompliſhed, they brought him to* Jeruſalem, *to preſent him to the Lord.*

23. *As it is written in the Law of the Lord,* (o) *every male that openeth the womb, ſhall be called holy to the Lord.*

24. *And to offer a Sacrifice according to that which is ſaid in the Law of the Lord,* (p) *a pair of Turtle Doves, and two young Pigeons.*

25. *And behold, there was a man in* Jeruſalem, *whoſe name was* Simeon, *and the ſame Man was juſt and devout, waiting for the conſolation of Iſrael, and* (q) *the Holy Ghoſt was upon him.*

(a) [Δόγμα] in the Greek: In *Dan.* 6. 8, 12.

(b) *Cæſar*, the common name of the Roman Emperors; as *Abimelech* of the Philiſtims Kings, *Gen.* 34. 1. 1. and *Pharaoh* of the Egyptians: from *Julius* the firſt Emperor, who was of this name; but the name *Cæſar* was long before him, ſee *Plin. l.* 7. *cap* 9.

(c) As *Ezr.* 1. 2.

(d) In the Roman Hiſtorians he is call'ed *Quirinus*.

(e) Taking a journy in Scripture, be it whither ſoever it will, is called indifferently, a going up, or going down. as *Numb.* 16. 12, 14 *Jer.* 21. 2. *Judg.* 16. 18. *Gen.* 42. 3. *Judg.* 15. 8. 1 *Sam.* 26. 10.

(f) This word here, and in verſ. 1. 3. hath various tranſlations. *That they might be enrolled*, Syr. Arab. Rhem. *That they might profeſs*, Vulg. Eraſ. *That they might be taxed*, Erasm. again, and our Engliſh: All theſe laid together, make up a compleat deſcription of the manner of their taxing First, They were taken notice of, who were in every Town and City, and were inrolled; upon their inrolling they profeſſed ſubjection to the Roman State; and upon this profeſſion they payed ſome money, at which they were aſſeſſed.

(g) Ἐσπαργανώσεν: See the Gr. in *Job* 38. 6. and *Ezek.* 16. 4. ſome deriving the word from σπαράσσω, *To rend*, conceive that, is meant, that his ſwaddles were poor and ragged, and that this is expreſſed as a particular of his abaſement

(h) Chriſt born by night, for if he were born by day, why ſhould the revealing of it be forborn till night?

(i) This meſſage of the Angel, as it was full of comforts, ſo alſo was it of plainneſs, according to the condition of the men to whom he ſpake.

(k) Or *the multitude*.

(l) Or the good will *of God* towards men, is glory to God in the Higheſt, and peace on the earth.

(m) It hath been held that theſe Shepherds were about the Tower of *Edar*, *Gen.* 35. 21. and that this was about a mile from *Bethlehem*.

(n) *Levit.* 12.

(o) *Exod.* 13. 1.

(p) *Maries* poverty in that her hand could not reach to a Lamb, which was the proper offering that the Law required, *Levit.*

(q) The ſpirit of Propheſie. It had been long a ſtranger among the Nation, even ever ſince the death of *Zachary* and *Malachy*, but is now begun to be reſtored, to ſpeak of the great Prophet near at hand.

Κεχρημα-[illegible]. This [illegible] is used [illegible] in this [illegible] *Mat.*2.12 [illegible] *Act.*10.22. [illegible] *b.*11.7. and by the LXX. 1 *King.* 18.27. and in another sense, *Act.* 11. 26.

26. *And* (g) *it was revealed to him by the Holy Ghost that he should not see death before he had seen the Lord Christ.*

27. *And he came by the Spirit into the Temple, and when the Parents brought in the Child Jesus to do for him after the custom of the Law.*

28. *Then took he him up in his arms, and blessed God, and said:*

29. *Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace according to thy word.*

30. *For mine eyes have seen * thy salvation,*

31. *Which thou hast prepared before the face of all people.*

32. *A light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel.*

33. *And* Joseph *and his Mother marvelled at those things which were spoken of him.*

34. *And* Simeon *blessed them, and said unto* Mary *his Mother, Behold, this child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign which shall be spoken against.*

35. *(Yea, a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also) that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed.*

(h) Compare 1 *Sam.*1.& 2.
(i) In Hebrew it would be written *Penuel*, as *Gen.*32.

36. *And there was one* (h) Anna *a Propheteß, the daughter of* (i) Phanuel, *of the Tribe of* Aser, *she was of a great age, and had lived with an husband seven years from her Virginity.*

37. *And she was a Widow of about fourscore and four years, which departed not from the Temple, but served God with fasting and prayer night and day.*

38. *And she coming in at that instant, gave thanks likewise unto the Lord, and spake of him to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem.*

39. *And when they had performed all things according to the Law of the Lord, they returned into Galilee, to their own City Nazareth.*

Reason of the Order.

THE dependence of the beginning of this Section upon the end of that that went before, doth even prove and confirm it self. For after the story of the birth of Christs forerunner, and the relation of what happened and befel at that time, what could be expected to come next in order, but the birth of Christ himself? Especially, since none of the Evangelists mention any thing that came between.

Harmony and Explanation.

Ships shall come from the coasts of Chittim, and shall afflict Ashur, and shall afflict Heber, Numb. 24. 24.

THAT by *Chittim* is meant *Italy*, or the Romans, it is not only the general opinion of the Jews, as may be seen in their *Targums*, and in other writers, but of the most Christians also, yea of the Romanists themselves, whom the latter part of the verse doth so nearly pinch: As see their *vulgar Latine*, and *Lyranus* upon the place.

This Prophesie was fulfilled when the power of *Rome* first set her foot upon the neck of the Hebrews by the conquest of *Pompey*: but especially when she tyrannized over Christ, the chief child of *Eber*, even before, and at his birth, as in this story, but chiefly in condemning him to death, as in the story of his passion.

As *Jacob* had before told that the Jews at *Messias* his coming should be under the Subjection of a Forain Nation, so doth *Balaam* in this Prophesie shew who that Nation should be. And this the more ancient and more honest Jews took notice of, and resolved that Christ should come in the time of the Roman Empire, and near to the destruction of the Temple by it: So in the Talmud they question *What is the name of Messias?* Some answer, *Hhevara Leprous, and he sitteth among the poor in the gates of Rome carrying their sicknesses*, Sanhedrin.

The Chaldee Paraphrast likewise on *Esa.*11.4. readeth thus, *With the speech of his lips shall Messias slay Romulus the wicked one:* or the wicked Roman, shewing at once his opinion of Christs coming in the time of the Romans, and also of the Romans being Ὁ πονηρὸς, *the wicked one*, after a singular manner. *Augustus* was the second Emperor of the Romans, or rather, the first that was intire Monarch: for *Julius Cæsar* his Uncle and Predecessor, had hardly injoyed any Monarchical government at all, nor did *Augustus* of many years neither: till he had outed *Lepidus*, and overcome *Anthony*, which were copartners with him in the dominion.

His name *Augustus* was given to him for his worthy administration of the Commonwealth: For before-time he was called (*a*) *Cæpias*, and (*b*) *Thurinus*, and *Octavianus*, and had like to have been named *Romulus*, as a second founder of the City, but by the advice of *Munacius Plancus* he was named *Augustus*, which importeth *Sacredneß* and *reverence.*

(*a*) *Dion.*
(*b*) *Sueton.*

§. *Shall*

§ *That all the world ſhould be Taxed.*

To ſo vaſt an extent was the Roman Empire now grown, from *Parthia* to *England*, and they two alſo included, that it was a world rather then one dominion: And ſo did their own Authors boaſt it in thoſe times: as, *Cæſar Regit omnia terris: Diviſum imperium cum Jove: Totum circumſpicit orbem: Terrarum orbis imperium*, and ſuch like ſpeeches uſual among them, both in Poeſie and Proſe. This huge and unweldy body, of ſo large and ſpacious a dominion, *Auguſtus* had now reduced to the healthful temper of peace and quietneſs: which is the more remarkable, by how much the more wars had been more frequent, and more bloody but a little before. For never had that Empire felt ſo great diſtemper within it ſelf, as it had done of latter times, in the civil wars betwixt *Sylla* and *Marius*, betwixt *Julius* and *Pompey*, betwixt *Auguſtus* and *Antony:* not to mention the continual wars that it had abroad. It had not been very long before this time that the Evangeliſt ſpeaketh of, when both *Rome* it ſelf, and the reſt of the world was at that pitiful plight that *Polybius* ſpeaketh of, That *the Romans were forced to ſend to* Ptolomy, *King of Egypt, for a ſupply of corn, becauſe there was a great ſcarcity and dearth among them. For in Italy all their corn was deſtroyed even to the gates of Rome, by the Souldiers, and abroad there was no help nor ſupply to be had, there being wars in all parts of the world.* But now is there an univerſal Peace, not only in the Roman Empire [ſo that the Temple of *Janus* was ſhut up, which it never uſed to be when any wars at all were ſtirring] but if we will believe *Crantzius*, even in thoſe parts and Countries, where the Roman power had not yet ſet her foot; as *Denmark*, *Norway*, and thoſe Northern Climates, there was ſo great a peace, that in ſome places there, Money and Jewels were hung up by the high way, and there was neither Theif nor Enemy to take them away. Such times became the coming of *Shiloh* the *Peaceable one*, *Iſa.*6. 9. And ſuch a beginning was befitting the *Goſpel of Peace.*

Virgil, Ovid, Florus.

Περὶ Πρεσβειῶν, cap.2.

Auguſtus having brought the Empire under this quiet obedience, like a politick Prince will have it all taxed, and brought into the Subſidy Book, that he might know the extent of his command, of his ſtrength and of his revenues.

And thus we ſee and may obſerve *Rome* come to its intire and abſolute Monarchy but at this time, and the ſtate and power that ſhould perſecute Chriſt in his Members to the end of the world, beginning and born as it were, at the very ſame time when Chriſt himſelf.

Auguſtus, as (*c*) *Tacitus* recordeth of him, did cauſe an account to be taken of all the Empire, and himſelf had a Book and Record of it written out with his own hand. *Opes publice continebantur: quantum civium ſociorumque in armis: quot claſſes, regna, Provinciæ, tributa aut vectigalia, & neceſſitates ac largitiones, quæ cuncta, ſua manu perſcripſerat* Auguſtus: which contained the publick revenue, the number of Citizens or confederates in the Armies: what Shipping: Kingdoms: Provinces: Tributes or Subſidies: and relief money, and beneficences. *Dion* alſo in the life of *Auguſtus*, and much alſo about this time, mentioneth a tax laid by him upon thoſe that dwelt in *Italy*, whoſe eſtates were not leſs then five thouſand Seſterces: and poorer then theſe he taxed not.

(*c*) *Annal. lib.* 1

Ver.2. *This taxing was firſt made when Cyrenius was Governour of Syria.*

The Tax is dated by the time of *Cyrenius* his Governing of *Syria:* Firſt, Becauſe *Judea* was annexed to *Syria*, as a member of it: and in naming the one, the other is included. Secondly, Hereby the loſs and want of the Scepter and Law-giver in the Tribe of *Judah* is the better ſeen, for the ſubjection of the Jews by this is ſhewed to be in the third degree. They ſubject to *Herod*, *Herod* to *Cyrenius*, and *Cyrenius* to *Auguſtus*. Thirdly, From *Syria* had *Iſrael* had their greateſt afflictions, that ever they had in their own Land; as by *Gog* and *Magog*, *Ezek.*38. or the houſe of the *North*, *Dan.*11. And *Luke* deriving the taxing of the Jews from *Syria*, calleth thoſe things to mind: and layeth as it were the laſt verſe of *Dan.*11. and the firſt of *Dan.*12. together.

The taxing is ſaid *firſt* to be made in his time: As firſt, Denying that ever there was ſuch an univerſal taxation in the Empire before, for the Empire was never in that caſe of univerſal quietneſs to be taxed before: And ſecondly, Importing the taxes of that Country that followed after: [*Auguſtus* at this very time laying the platform, ſubjection and ſubmiſſion of the Empire for ſucceeding poſterities:] And here, [let it be ſaid again] in exact propriety beginneth the Roman Monarchy: and is far from being any of the four mentioned, *Dan.*2. or 7.

Joſephus (*c*) mentioneth *Cyrenius* his coming into *Syria*, after *Archelaus* his death, *To do juſtice and to aſſeſs and tax every mans goods, and he came into Judea, which was now annexed to Syria, and did ſo there:* Now *Archelaus* reigned after *Herod*, *Matth.*2. and reigned till

(*d*) *Antiq. lib.* 18. cap 1.

(d) *Antiq. lib.* 17. *cap.* 15. Christ was about ten years old, for ten years he reigned, as saith the same (*d*) *Josephus*: and therefore either *Cyrenius* came twice into *Syria* to lay taxations, as *Funccius* concludeth, or else *Josephus* faileth here, as he doth not seldom elsewhere in Chronology.

Ver. 3. *And all went to be taxed.*

This taxing was first by Kingdoms and Countries, then by Cities and Towns, and then by poll: First, Kingdoms and Provinces were divided one from another. Secondly, Cities and Towns in every Kingdom and Province, were also particularized, and notice given that every one should repair to the place to which by stock and descent they did belong. Thirdly, The people being thus convened in their several Cities, their names were taken and inrolled, and so the Greek word here used doth signifie in the neerest propriety. Then did they make profession of Subjection to the Roman Empire, either by some set form of words, or at least by payment of some certain sum of money which was laid upon every poll.

And now, first, are the Jews entring under the yoke of that subjection which they never cast off again, but it pressed them into a final desolation even to this day. Secondly, They had voluntarily brought this misery upon themselves in calling in the Romans in their civil wars. Thirdly, No spark of their former freedom and authority is left among them, for their King and Law-giver is clean gone. Fourthly, They are now to be inrolled, and registred for vassals to all succeeding generations. Fifthly, They must now leave their own occasions, and many of them their own houses to attend their own bondage and misery: And thus *It is in the words of our Rabbins, if thou see a generation that hath many afflictions, then look for the Redeemer:* from *Isa.*59.17,18. *Jer.*30.6,7, *&c.* D. Kimch. in Isa. 59.

Ver. 4. *And Joseph also went up from Galilee, &c.*

Whether it were for the fear of *Herod* that had a murderous spite at the stock of *David*, or for the more commodiousnes for his trade, or for whatsoever else it was that *Joseph* a *Bethlehemite* became a resident in *Galilee*, surely it was the wondrous disposal of the Lord that a decree from *Rome* should bring him now from *Galilee* to *Bethlehem*, that the Propheſie of Christs being born in that place might take effect.

Ver. 7. *She brought forth his first born.*

This is to be understood according to the propriety and Phrase of the Law, agreeable to which it speaketh. Now the Law speaking of the first-born, regardeth not whether any were born after or no, but only that none was born before. As *Hur* is called the first-born of *Ephrata*, 1 *Chron.*2.5. and yet no mention of any child that she had after: So Christ is here called the first-born, not as though she had any children besides, but to shew that in him was fulfilled what was typified by the first-born under the Law, who was as King, Priest, and Prophet, in the Family, and *holy to the Lord.*

And so likewise in that speech of *Matthew*, chap. 1.25. *He knew her not till she had brought forth her first-born:* it implieth not that he knew her after, for the word *till* inforceth no such thing, as see the *Geneva* notes upon the place; but the Evangelists intention is to clear the birth and generation of Christ from any carnal mixture of *Joseph* and *Mary*, before he was born.

And here it is not unseasonable to look a little narrowly into the time of our Saviours birth, namely, the time of the year, at which he was born, as we have done into the year it self, or the time of the world, heretofore.

The year of the world, as we observed then, was, 3928.

The year of *Augustus* is neither so necessary to seek, nor so easie to find: partly, because there is some difference among Historians about the number of the years of his Reign, and partly because there may be some about the year of *Tiberius*, in which Christ was Baptized, from which we should count backward: For though it be said that *John* came Baptizing in his fifteenth year, *Luk.*3.1. yet may it be questionable, whether he Baptized Christ in that year or no: But not to swarve from the most common consent of Roman Historians, that say that *Augustus* Reigned six and fifty years, and of Christians that hold that Christ was baptized in the fifteenth of *Tiberius*, then may it be readily concluded that he was born in the forty second of *Augustus.*

The time of the year at which he was born, hath been much mistaken, being concluded upon, at the latter end of *December:* This mistake did first arise by another: for it being misunderstood that *Zacharias* was the High Priest, and that he was in *Sancto Sanctorum*, on the expiation day, when the Angel *Gabriel* appeared unto him, they could do no

less

leſs then conclude, that *John* was born in the middle of Summer, and Chriſt in the middle of Winter. A time very unfit for people to travail to their ſeveral Cities to be taxed, but far more unfit for Shepherds to lye abroad in the fields all night.

For finding out therefore the true and right time of his Nativity, theſe things are to be taken into conſideration.

Firſt, That the time that Chriſt lived here upon the earth, was two and thirty years and a half, exactly: And ſo long did *David* reign in *Jeruſalem*, 2 *Sam.*5.4,5.

This time was divided into two unequal parts: twenty nine years compleat he ſpent as a private man before he was baptized, for it is ſaid, he began to be thirty, or was entring upon this thirtieth at his Baptiſm, *Luke* 3.23. And three years and an half from his Baptiſm to his death: This ſum was preciſely told of by the Angel *Gabriel*, *Dan.* 9. 27. *In half that week ſhall he cauſe ſacrifice and oblation to ceaſe:* And is plainly parcelled out by Paſsovers and other circumſtances of time, *Matth.*4.2. *Joh.*1.29. 35.44. & 2.1.13. & 5.1. & 6.4. & 13.1.

Secondly, That the time of Chriſts death was at *Eaſter*, or their Paſsover, as is moſt plain by all the Evangeliſts.

Thirdly, That he living juſt two and thirty years and a half, and dying at Eaſter; it muſt needs follow that he was born about the middle of the month *Tiſri*; which anſwereth to part of our *September:* And it is not only probable, but alſo neceſſary, if he lived thirty two years and a half exactly; that then as he died upon the fifteenth day of the month *Abib*, or at the Paſsover; ſo that he was born about the fifteenth day of *Tiſri*, at the Feaſt of Tabernacles: a month and a Feaſt, that had been exceedingly renowned in ancient times. In this month the World had begun, and ſin had entred into it. In this month were all the Fathers born before the Flood, as the Jews aver, and reaſon confirms it. From this month began the circle of the year from the Creation, to the redemption out of *Egypt*. From this month began the typical year of Jubile in the ages after. And in this month were the three famous Feaſts of Trumpets, of Expiation, and of Tabernacles. And like glorious things may be obſerved upon the Feaſt of Tabernacles it ſelf: At that very time did *Iſrael* fall upon the making of the Tabernacle in the wilderneſs, *Exod.*35. At this very time was the conſecration of the Temple, 1 *King.* 1. 8, 2. And at this very time was our Saviour born, and began to carry the Tabernacle of his fleſh; and at this very time was he Baptized, and began the Miniſtery of the Goſpel. So that here appeareth one addition more to the preſent miſery and ſubjection of the Jews at the time of this tax; that not only they muſt leave all their occaſions, to wait upon their own taxing, and promote their own bondage, but that they muſt neglect a main part of the ſervice of God, the *Feaſt of Expiation*, and the *Feaſt of Tabernacles*, as *Zech.* 14.16,17. to attend the Conqueror, and their own thraldom.

And now, it being conſidered that *John* the *Baptiſt* was but half a year older then our Saviour, it will be obſervable how the four points of the year, as it may be ſo ſaid, were renowned with their conception and nativity. *John* conceived at the Summer Solſtice, and our *Saviour* at the Winter. *John* born at the vernal Equinox, and our *Saviour* at the Autumnal.

§. *And wrapped him in ſwadling cloaths.*

This paſſage is one ground-work whereupon Expoſitors conclude that *Chriſt* was born without pain to his mother: for that ſhe performed the Midwives part her ſelf, and none to help her. A ſecond is this, *That he was born without his Mothers pain, becauſe he was conceived without her pleaſure.* A third Argument may be fetched from the bleſſing of propagation given to our firſt Parents in the Garden. And a fourth from the example of the delivery of the *Hebrew* women in *Egypt:* For firſt, When God gave this bleſſing to *Adam* and *Eve* in their innocency, *increaſe and multiply*, *Gen.* 1. 28. it inabled them to beget children agreeable to their own perfection; that is, holy, righteous, and without any ſymptoms or conſequents of ſin, either in themſelves, or in the mothers. But they never begat any child thus, becauſe of their ſudden fall. What, did this firſt bleſſing then utterly fail, and never take effect, in its proper ſenſe and full extent? Could ſuch emphatical words of God to man in innocency, fall to the ground without performance? No, they took place in the ſecond *Adam*, who was born according to the full extent and intent of that bleſſing to our innocent parents; in perfect holineſs and righteouſneſs, and without pain to his mother. Secondly, If the Hebrew women in Egypt had ſo quick and eaſie a delivery, as that they were not like to other women: much more may we think the travail and delivery of the Virgin to have been quick, lively, miraculous and painleſs; as *Eſa.* 66.7. *Before her pain came, ſhe was delivered of a man child.*

§. *Becauſe*

§. *Becauſe there was no room for them in the Inn.*

At the return out of *Babylon*, the children of *Bethlehem* were a hundred twenty three perſons, *Ezra* 2.21. Now that being four hundred and fifty years paſt, and ſomewhat above; to what a multitude might the ſtock or breed of that City be grown by this time of Chriſts birth? This multitude preſſing together to their own City, according to the Emperors edict, the weakeſt go to the walls, and *Joſeph* and *Mary* are excluded out of the Inn: and thus the free-woman and her Son, are caſt out of doors, as the bond-woman and her Son had been, *Gen.*21.

Verſ. 8. *And there were Shepherds, &c.*

The Patriarchs to whom *Chriſt* was more eſpecially promiſed, were of this vocation, *Gen.*47.3. eſpecially *Abraham* and *David*, to whom the promiſe was more clearly made; peculiarly *David* who was feeding Sheep near to *Bethlehem*, when he was taken a Father and type of *Chriſt*, 1 *Sam.*16.11,12. And it doth illuſtrate the exactneſs of the performance the more, and doth Harmonize with the giving of it the better, when to Shepherds it is firſt revealed, as to Shepherds it was firſt promiſed. Compare this with the Viſions of *Jacob* and *Moſes* with their flocks, *Gen.*31.10. *Exod.*3.3. and of *Sampſons* mother in the field.

§. *Keeping watch over the flock by night.*

Greek, [*Keeping the watches of the night.*] For the night was divided by the Jews into four watches of three hours a piece. The firſt, or beginning of watches, is mentioned, *Lam.*2.19. The ſecond, and third, *Luke* 12.38. The fourth, *Matth.*14.25. this was called alſo the morning watch, *Exod.*14.24. Howbeit, the *Talmud*, from *Judg.*7.19. divideth it only into three. Be it the one or the other, theſe Shepherds it ſeemeth obſerved ſuch an order, as that they watched by courſe, while others ſlept: or not to take it ſo very ſtrictly, they lay now in the fields, and watched their flocks all night, which had been in a manner impoſſible to have done, in the deep of winter, at which time our Kalendar hath placed Chriſts Nativity.

Verſ. 9. *The glory of the Lord ſhone*, &c.

That is *an exceeding great glory*, for ſo do the Hebrews heighten their expreſſions, as *Cedars of the Lord*, that is, goodly Cedars: Such an exceeding great glory ſhone about *Paul*, *Act.*26.13. That at noon day, this in the dead of the night.

Verſ. 13. *A multitude of the Heavenly hoſt, &c.*

It might not unproperly be rendred, *The multitude*; as importing that all the Quire of Angels, or the whole multitude of that Celeſtial *Militia*, was now knit together in a conſort, for the praiſes and acknowledgment of *Chriſt*: according to that of the Apoſtle, *Heb.*1.6. When he bringeth in the firſt-begotten into the world, he ſaith, And let *all the Angels of God* worſhip him. And thus as all the Angels ſang at the beginning of the old World, or at the Creation, *Job* 38.7. So do they at the beginning of the new, and of the redemption.

Angels are called *the Heavenly hoſt*, 1 *King.* 22.19. *Joh.* 25.3. And in this ſenſe, *Rab. Menahem* underſtandeth, *Gen.*2.1. *Thus were the Heavens and the Earth finiſhed, and all their Hoſt*, that is, ſaith he, the Angels whoſe Creation *Moſes* nameth not elſewhere.

Verſ. 14. *Glory to God in the Higheſt, &c.*

The laſt words of this verſe, the Vulgar Latine readeth, *to men of good will*; contrary to the *Syrian*, *Arabick*, and to the ancient Greek Copies, as appeareth by *Greg. Nazianzen*, *Orat.* 42. *Andreas Jeruſolomitanus, in Orat. de Salutatione Angeli*, &c.

The whole Verſe is but one Propoſition or Axiom, in which the laſt clauſe of all is the ſubject, and the two former are predicated of it. And it lieth in this ſenſe, *The good will of God to men* ſhewed in the Incarnation of our Saviour, when God himſelf diſdained not to take the nature of man, *is glory to him in the Higheſt, and is peace upon the Earth*: And that this is the genuine and proper meaning and poſture of the words, may be obſerved; Firſt, By the conjunction καὶ, *And*, put between, *Glory to God*, and *Peace on Earth*,

Earth, and none between them, and *good will*. And ſecondly, the very ſenſe and matter it ſelf inforceth this conſtruction: For firſt, Εὐδοκία ἐν ἀνθρώποις beareth the ſame ſenſe here, that Εὐδοκία ἐν χριστῷ doth, *Matth.* 3.17. & 17.5. of *Gods good-will*, or *well-pleaſedneſs* with men. Now, ſecondly, this well-pleaſedneſs of his with men, was expreſſed and evidenced at this time, in the birth of our Saviour, in that God had aſſumed the nature of men, and it had never been ſo cleared and demonſtrated before. So that, thirdly, the birth of Chriſt being the occaſion of the Angels ſinging this ſong, the good will of God towards men revealed, in this his birth, muſt needs be the ſubject of their Song. And then fourthly, the other two things expreſſed in the two other clauſes, *glory on High, and peace on Earth*, muſt needs be underſtood as Predicates; ſeeing that being laid, to this expreſſion of God of his good will towards men, they are but as fruits and conſequences of it. And this reading and conſtruction, how facil and plain is it, in compariſon of theſe intricacies and obſcurities, that thoſe readings bring with them, that either break the verſe into three diſtinct axioms, or into two, or that read Εὐδοκίας, in the Genitive caſe, or Εὐδοκίᾳ, in the Dative, as may be ſeen in Expoſitors.

Now how the *good-will*, and *well-pleaſedneſs* of God towards men, exhibited and ſhewed in the incarnation and birth of our Saviour, did glorifie God in the higheſt, in all his attributes, of wiſdom, truth, juſtice, power, mercy, &c. And how it wrought peace on earth, betwixt man and himſelf, and man and Angels, and man and man, and man and his own conſcience, might be ſhewed at large, if we were common-placing in ſtead of commenting.

Ver. 21. *And when eight days were accompliſhed for the circumciſing, &c.*

It was neceſſary that Chriſt ſhould be circumciſed, that he might both bear the badge of a child of *Abraham*, and have upon him an obligation to the keeping of the Law: For he that was circumciſed was a debtor to the whole Law, *Gal.* 5.3.

Ver. 22. *And when the days of her purification, &c.*

At forty days old, *Levit.* 12.1,2,3,4. the Lord cometh to his own Temple: and by an old man, and an old woman, is proclaimed both to young and old, that expected redemption. *Herod* had heard no tidings of him as yet, by the Wiſmen, for otherwiſe this had been an opportunity for him to have put in practice his bloody and malicious intent. *Mary* is purified according to the cuſtom of the Law, although ſhe had contracted no pollution, by her childing and bringing forth; partly, that Chriſt in nothing might be wanting to the Law, and partly, that this might be an occaſion, for the firſt publick declaration of him, by *Simeon* and *Anna*.

Ver. 25. *A man whoſe name was Simeon.*

This *Simeon* ſeemeth to be he whom the Jewiſh Authors name for the ſon of *Hillel*: and who was the firſt that bare the title of *Rabban*, the higheſt title that was given to their Doctors, and which was given but to ſeven of them.

Hillel was the famous head or principal of that School that is ſo renowned in the Jewiſh Authors by the name of *Beth Hillel*. Out of which [as they relate] there came thouſands of Scholars, but fourſcore eſpecially of moſt renown. *Hillel the old* they are the words of the *Talmud*) *had fourſcore Scholars. Thirty of them were fit, in whom the divine Majeſty ſhould reſt, as it did on* Moſes: *Thirty of them were worthy for whom the Sun ſhould ſtand ſtill, as it did for* Joſhua: *and twenty were of a middle rank between. The greateſt of them all, was* Jonathan ben Uzziel, *that Paraphraſed the Prophets in the Chaldee Tongue, and the loweſt of them was* Johannan *the ſon of* Zaccai.

Such a Father had this our *Simeon*, and ſo renowned, but himſelf infinitely more renowned, in the thing that is now in hand, and in his having the Saviour of the world in his arms and heart: Now this is the Genealogy of this man, as it is Recorded by the Jews themſelves: *Hillel* begat *Simeon*, who was firſt titled *Rabban*. *Rabban Simeon* begat *Rabban Gamaliel*, the Tutor of *Paul*. *Rabban Gamaliel* begat *Rabban Simeon* the ſecond. *Rabban Simeon* the ſecond, begat *Rabban Gamaliel* the ſecond. *Rabban Gamaliel* begat *Rabban Simeon* the third. *Rabban Simeon* the third, begat *Rabbi Juda* the holy. *Rabbi Juda* begat *Rabban Gamaliel* the third.

Theſe ſix Rabbans were of the line of *Hillel*, beſides whom there was a ſeventh, that bare the ſame title, of another ſtock, *Rabban Johanan ben Zaccai*.

But it may be juſtly queſtioned, if *Simeon* were the man we ſuppoſe, namely the Son of *Hillel*, and the Father of *Gamaliel*, and if he were ſo holy and devout a man, and confeſſed Chriſt, as this Evangeliſt relateth of him, how came it to paſs that his Son *Gamaliel* was

was ſo far contrary, as appeareth by the education of *Paul*, in Phariſaical righteouſneſs, and perſecution of the Truth?

Anſw. Firſt, It is no ſtrange thing for holy Fathers to have wicked Children: witneſs *Eli*, *David*, *Joſaphat*, and common experience.

Secondly, It was thirty years from *Simeons* acknowledging of Chriſt, to *Gamaliels* education of *Paul*, or little leſs, and ſo much time might wear out the notice of his Fathers action, if he had taken any notice of it: eſpecially, his Father dying ſhortly after he had made ſo glorious a confeſſion.

§. *Waiting for the conſolation of Iſrael.*

It is an Article of the Jewiſh Creed, *To believe the coming of the Meſſias, and to wait and wait for his coming, although he defer it:* which fooliſhly they do even to this day, after ſixteen hundred years expired ſince he came. But *Simeons* expectation is neither ſo vain nor ſo uncertain: For, beſides the general expectation of the whole Nation, that the *Meſſias* ſhould appear about that time, *Luke* 19. 11. he had it by a ſpecial and aſſured revelation, *ver.*26.

The coming of Chriſt, is called *The conſolation of Iſrael*, from *Iſa.*49.13. & 52.9. & 66. 13. *Jer.* 31. 13. *Zech.* 1.17. and ſuch like places, which the Jews do not only apply to the coming of the *Meſſias*, but alſo in their Talmud, queſtioning what his name ſhould be when as he came, ſome conclude it to be *Menahem*, *The Comforter*, from *Lam.* 1. 16. *In Sanhedr.*

* As *Pſal.*89.48 *and to ſee corruption. Pſal.* 16 10.

Ver. 26. *That he ſhould not ſee * death before he had ſeen the Lords Chriſt.*

This was the time when the Nation expected that *Meſſias* ſhould appear, *Luke* 19.11. and began to look for redemption near at hand, *Luke* 2.38. The Angel *Gabriel* to *Daniel*, and he to the people had ſo determinately pointed out the time, *Dan.* 9. 26, 27. that not only Jews of all Nations are gathered to *Jeruſalem*, againſt the expiring of that Propheſie, *Act.*2. but alſo all the Eaſt was poſſeſſed with an opinion of a Prince to riſe about theſe times, of ſupereminent honour, glory, and dominion. *Baron. in Appar. &c. Sueton. Virgil, &c.*

Simeon having learned the time with the reſt of the ſtudious of the Nation, out of the Scripture, hath the certainty of it ſealed up to him by the ſpirit of Propheſie, which aſſured him that the time of ſo great expectation was ſo near at hand, that he though he were old, yet ſhould not die, till he had ſeen what he deſired: And thus Propheſie, that was departed from *Iſrael* ſo long ago, is returning and dawning to it again, to be as the morning Star, to tell that the Sun of righteouſneſs would riſe ere long.

Ver. 35. *Yea a ſword ſhall pierce through thine own ſoul alſo.*

Theſe words ſeem to be of the ſame tenor and intent with thoſe of our Saviour to *Peter*, *Joh.*21.18. and to tell *Mary* of her ſuffering martyrdom for Chriſt and the Goſpel, as thoſe do of his. For *Simeon* having in the preceding verſe related, how Chriſt both in his perſon and in the Goſpel, ſhould be as a ſign to be ſpoken againſt, perſecuted, and oppoſed, yea, ſaith he, and thou his Mother alſo, for his and the Goſpels ſake, ſhalt drink of the ſame cup, and partake of the ſame lot, for the ſword of perſecution ſhall go through thy life alſo (for ſo the word ψυχὴ doth often ſignifie.)

§. *That the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed.*

This clauſe is linked to the latter end of the verſe preceding, and reacheth beyond the Parentheſis that lieth before it, and in conjuncture with the clauſe before that, it maketh this ſenſe, that Chriſts being ſet up for a ſign to be ſpoken againſt, or perſecution for the Goſpels ſake, ſhould detect many mens tempers and affections, which were not deſcried nor revealed before, and diſcover what malignity, or ſincerity to him and to his cauſe, is in their hearts, as *Matth.*13.21. and as it is at this day.

Verſ. 36. *The daughter of Phanuel, of the Tribe of Aſer.*

Hannah a Widdow indeed, as 1 *Tim.* 5. 3, 5. that is, not by divorce, but by the death of her husband, and now of above an hundred years of age, is choſen alſo, and actuated by the Holy Ghoſt, to give teſtimony of Chriſt as *Simeon* had done, that out of the mouth of two ſuch witneſſes, of either ſex one, the thing might be eſtabliſhed, and the party witneſſed unto, might be the more taken notice of. Her Father *Phanuel* is named, as either

either being a noted and well known man in those times, or for the significancy of his name, made good in her, in that she now beholdeth the Lord face to face, as *Gen.* 32.30,31. And thus the New Testament doth by this Prophetess, as the Old Testament doth by divers of the Prophets, in naming her and her Father with her, as *Isa.* 1. 1. *Jer.* 1. 1. *Joel* 1. 1. *&c.* *Phanuel* her Father was a *Galilean*, for in *Galilee* lay the Tribe of *Aser*, and from thence cometh a Prophetess now, to declare and publish the great Prophet, that must once appear thence to the wonder of the Nation.

Ver. 37. *Which departed not from the Temple.*

Her constant continuance there might be, either because she was a poor Widow, and so maintained upon the foundation, or because she was a Prophetess, and so lodged in some of the buildings or chambers belonging to the Temple. For so might women do, as 2 *Chron.* 22. 11, 12.

SECTION VII.

S. *MATTHEW.* CHAP. II.

Christ at two years old is visited and honoured by the Wisemen: The Children of Bethlehem *murthered.* Herod *dyeth soon after. Christ returneth out of* Egypt.

NOw *when Jesus was born in* Bethlehem *of* (a) Judea, *in the days of* Herod *the King, behold there came* (b) *Wisemen from the East to* Jerusalem.

2. *Saying, where is he that is born King of the* Jews? *For we have seen his Star in the East, and are come to worship him.*

3. *When* Herod *the King had heard* these things, *he was troubled, and all* Jerusalem *with him.*

4. *And when he had gathered all the chief Priests and* (c) *Scribes of the people together, he demanded of them, where Christ should be born?*

5. *They said unto him, in* Bethlehem *of* Judea: *For thus it is written by the Prophet.*

6. *And thou* Bethlehem (d) *in the Land of* Juda, *art not the* (e) *least among the Princes of* Juda: *for out of thee shall come a Governour, that shall rule my people* Israel.

7. *Then* Herod, *when he had privily called the Wisemen, enquired diligently of them, what time the Star appeared.*

8. *And he sent them to* (f) Bethlehem, *and said, Go and search diligently for the young child, and when ye have found him; bring me word again, that I may come and worship him also.*

9. *When they had heard the King, they departed, and lo the Star which they saw in the East, went before them, till it came and stood over where the young child was.*

10. *When they saw the Star, they rejoyced with* (g) *exceeding great joy.*

11. *And when they were come into the house, they saw the young child with* Mary *his Mother, and fell down and worshipped him: and when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto him gifts* (h) *Gold, and Frankincense, and Myrrhe.*

12. *And being warned of God in a dream, that they should not return to* Herod; *they departed into their own Country another away.*

13. *And when they were departed, behold, the Angel of the Lord appeareth to* Joseph *in a dream, saying, Arise and take the young child, and his Mother and flee into* Egypt; *and be thou there until I bring thee word: for* Herod *will seek the young Child to destroy him.*

14. *When he arose, he took the young child and his mother by night, and departed into* Egypt.

15. *And was there until the death of* Herod: *that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the Prophet, saying, Out of* Egypt *have I called my Son.*

16. *Then* Herod *when he saw that he was mocked of the Wisemen, was exceeding wroth, and sent forth, and slew all the children that were in* Bethlehem, *and in all the Coasts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time he had diligently inquired of the Wisemen.*

17. *Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by* Jeremie *the Prophet, saying,*

18. *In* (i) Rama *was there a voice heard, lamentation and weeping and great mourning; Rachel mourning for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not.*

(a) Vulg. of *Juda*: and this is conceived by *Jerom* to be the better reading: because it is so written, *ver.* 6. But in this verse the Evangelist telleth, it was in *Bethlehem* of *Judea*, to distinguish it from *Bethlehem* in *Galilee*, *Josh.* 19. 15. and in ver. 6 he saith, it was in the land of *Judah*, to distinguish it from the lot of *Benjamin*.

(b) [*wisemen*] Gr. Μάγοι, which word is reserved by the *Syr. Arab. Ital.* and generally by all Latines, the *French* readeth it *Sages*, in the sense of our English.

(c) Γραμματεῖς, in the LXX, *Exod.* 5. 6. *Josh.* 1. 10 2 *Sam.* 8. 17. *Jer.* 36. 10. *Ezr.* 4. 8. and 7. 12. And Γραμματοεισαγωγεῖς, *Deut.* 1. 15.

(d) Γῆ Ἰούδα: for ἐν Γῇ, as *John* 1. 4. the Preposition is understood.

(e) the LXX, in *Mic.* 5. use ὀλιγοστός,

speaking of smalness of number; but *Matthew*, ἐλάχιστος, speaking of smalness of bulk, or dignity.

(f) *Bethlehem distant from Jerusalem* 35 furlongs, Just. Mart. Apol. 2. Four miles, and almost an half.

(g) As שושׂ אשׂישׂ *Isa.* 61. 10.

(h) *Gold and Frankincense they shall bring in Marchandize and also for a present to the King Messias, and for the house of the Lord*, D. Kimc. on *Esa.* 60. 6.

(i) *Rama* was the birth place of *Samuel*, 1 *Sam.* 1. 19. &c.

19. *But when* Herod *was dead, behold, an Angel of the Lord appeareth in a dream to* Joseph *in* Egypt.

20. *Saying, Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and go into the Land of* Israel: *for* (k) *they are dead which ſought the young childs life.*

(k) Compare Exod. 4. 19.

21. *And he aroſe, and took the young child and his mother, and came into the Land of* Israel.

22. *But when he heard that* Archelaus *did reign in* Judea, *in the room of his Father* Herod; *he was afraid to go thither: notwithſtanding, being warned of God in a dream, he turned aſide into the parts of* Galilee.

23. *And he came and dwelt in a City calleth* Nazareth, *that it might be fulfilled, which was ſpoken by the Prophets;* He *ſhall be called a* Nazarite.

Reaſon of the Order.

TO confirm and prove the Order of this Section and Story, requireth ſome labour, becauſe of an opinion ancient, and current among men, that croſſeth the laying of it in this place. It hath been generally held, and believed, almoſt of every one that the Wiſemen came to Chriſt when he was but thirteen days old, and it is written in red Letters in the *Kalendar*, as if it were a golden truth, by the title of *Epiphany*, at the ſixth of *January*. An opinion which if it were as true as it is common, it were readily known where to place this Story of the Wiſemens coming; namely, between the Circumciſion of our Saviour, and his Preſentation in the Temple, betwixt *Ver.* 21 and 22 of *Luke* 2.

But upon ſerious and impartial examination of this opinion, theſe rubs and unliklehoods lie in the way, and make it as incredible for the improbability, as it ſeemeth venerable for its antiquity.

Firſt, to omit the length of their journey from their own Country to *Bethlehem*, their preparation for ſo long a journy before they ſet out, and their ſtay at *Jeruſalem* by the way [for I cannot think that all that paſſed there while they were there, was done in an inſtant.]

Secondly, how utterly improbable it is, that after all this hubbub at *Jeruſalem* upon the Wiſemens queſtion, *where is the King of the Jews?* And after *Herods* curious ſcrutiny and inquiry where the child ſhould be, and after his implacable indignation upon the Wiſemens deluding or mocking of him as he did conceive, that the child that he had thus eagerly hunted after, ſhould after all this ſtirring and ſearching come to *Jeruſalem*, as it were into his very mouth, and there be publikely proclaimed by *Simeon* and *Anna* in the Temple, to be the very ſame that the Wiſemen and *Herod*, though with different intentions, looked after; For firſt, it is to be obſerved, that it was ſeven and twenty days from the time that this opinion bringeth the Wiſemen to *Bethlehem*, to the time that *Joſeph* and *Mary* brought Jeſus to the Temple; now it is not imaginable, but that in all this time *Joſeph*, that was but at ſo few miles diſtance, ſhould hear what was done at *Jeruſalem* upon the Wiſemens coming thither [if ſo be they told him not themſelves] and how *Herod* took the matter, when he miſſed of their unexpected return. Secondly, for ought that can be found in the text to the contrary, it may be well ſuppoſed that they had their divine warning not to return again to *Herod*, while they were at *Bethlehem*, and *Joſeph* might well be acquainted by them with it. Thirdly, it is not to be doubted but they had diſpatched what they did at *Bethlehem* in far leſs time then ſeven and twenty days: and ſurely of all men they will not deny this, that will bring them out either of *Arabia*, or *Perſia*, to *Bethlehem* in half the time] And as little to be doubted that *Herod* in the compaſs of ſo much time, ſaw the diſappointment of his expectation of the Wiſemens return, and breaketh out into choler againſt the poor Infants of *Bethlehem*. Fourthly, now all theſe things being laid together, how ſenſeleſs a thing will it be, to make *Joſeph* to bring the child for whom all this buſineſs was, under the Tyrants noſe? Fifthly, or if *Joſeph* did not know of all theſe things, [which is almoſt impoſſible] yet how is it imaginable that Chriſt ſhould have eſcaped the Tyrant, being at *Jeruſalem*, and ſo publikely acknowledged and ſpoken of? It is true indeed that he might have been ſheltered by the divine power, but we ſee by his flight into *Egypt*, that it was not the will of God to uſe that miraculous means of his preſervation as yet, but another.

Thirdly, and which is the reaſon that hath moved me to lay this Story after our Saviours preſentation in the Temple: yea, and to ſuppoſe him to be two years old, or thereabout, when the Wiſemen came; becauſe the text ſaith in plain terms, That *Herod ſent and ſlew the children from two years old and under; according to the time that he had diligently inquired of the Wiſemen:* Now his inquiry was of the time of the Stars appearing, ver. 7. and he ſlew from two years old and under, according to the time that he had inquired, and therefore how can it be thought otherwiſe, then that it was two years or thereabout ſince the ſtar appeared, and conſequently ſo long ſince *Chriſt* was born? But that this

may

may appear paſt all exception, and that the opinions that bring the Wiſemen to Chriſt before his preſentationin the Temple [for there are two ſeveral ones to that purpoſe, that of the thirteenth day mentioned before; and another of ſome that hold they came not ſo ſoon as on that day, but yet within the forty days of *Maries* lying in, or before her Purification] let it not be too tedious to the Reader, to take a view of all the Arguments that are, or can be uſed, for ought I yet underſtand, either for the confirmation of the two opinions, which we refuſe, *viz.* of the Wiſemens coming before Chriſt was forty days old, or for the overthrow of this which we imbrace, that he was two years old, or thereabout.

Object. 1. The very word γεννηθεὶς in Verſe 1. doth import that his birth was but newly paſt, being of that nature, as to ſignifie a thing but very lately done, or even in doing.

Anſw. This Grammatical obſervation is not conſtantly and currently true. For μνησθεὶς, *Mat.* 1. 18. a word of the very ſame tenſe and form, yet ſignifieth it a thing done above a quarter of a year before, and the word it ſelf γεννηθέντα, in our daily Creed, and παρωδίνται, *&c.* ſpeak of things paſt ſixteen hundred years ago.

Object. 2. The Star appeared two years before our Saviours birth, but the Wiſemen came not to him, till thirtheen days after.

Anſw. This Argument is uſed by ſome, but thoſe but a few; not conſidering how impoſible it was, that the Wiſemen ſhould know the exact time or his birth, but by the time of the Stars appearing. And it is not only the general opinion even of all, but alſo dictated by reaſon it ſelf, that the Star was not the Harbinger of his birth, much leſs ſo long before; but the concomitant and attendant upon it.

Object. 3. The Wiſemen came, while *Mary* lay in at *Bethlehem*, but *Herod*, either in policy, or for ſome other occaſion, deferred the murder of the children till two years after.

Anſw. This both the Text and common ſenſe contradicteth. For firſt, in Reaſon: what policy could there be in deferring, when the longer he forbear, the harder it would be for him to find him, for whom he ſought? Secondly, the Text telleth, that as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf mocked by the Wiſemen, he fell to the murdering of the children: and he might ſee whether he were mocked by them, or not, within a ſhort ſpace after their departure from him at *Jeruſalem.*

Object. 4. In that ſpeech of the Evangeliſt, *Herod ſlew all the male children, from two years old and under, according to the time that he had inquired of the Wiſemen:* the latter words, *according to the time that he had inquired*, have relation to the words, *and under*; and to the words *from two years old.* For this ſeemeth to be added by the Evangeliſt to this purpoſe, that he might ſignifie, that all under two years old were not ſlain; but only thoſe that were thereabout, and which were born before the Stars appearing, and not after. For he thought not that this royal child was born after it appeared. But all that were about two years old he ſlew; leſt if happily Chriſt had been born before it appeared, or miraculouſly grown, above the quality of ſuch an age, he might have eſcaped out of his hands. And therefore as he dilated his murther for place, comprehending the coaſts of *Bethlehem* under the cruelty, as well as the Town it ſelf; ſo alſo did he it for a time, ſlaying thoſe that were born, before the Stars appearing, as well as at it.

Anſ. This, as *Baronius* confeſſeth, is a new found gloſs upon that Text, and he took himſelf for the inventor of it, till he met with it in *Janſenius*, who like a great wit had jumped with him; Both ſtraining the utmoſt of their invention to gild over their Kalendar tenet, of the Wiſemens coming on the thirteenth day. But firſt to omit the ſtrange ſhape and uncouthneſs of this Expoſition, which eaſily ſheweth it ſelf to any eye that is not bleered with prejudice and partiality: As alſo, ſecondly, their confident ſcrutiny and knowledge of *Herods* thoughts: Let it but, thirdly, be weighed in the ballance of indifferency; what colour of ſenſe, or equality of policy can be ſeen in this carriage of *Herod*, to ſlay all that were born two years before the Star, and none of a day after or very few? For might he not ſuſpect that the Star was a fore-runner of the birth, as well as a conſequent; and that Chriſt might be born a week or fortnight after it, as well as before? Judge therefore how theſe men that hold, and that truly, that it appeared but juſt at *Chriſts* birth can handſomely ſtitch that opinion and this together.

Object. 5. But the Wiſemen found Chriſt at *Bethlehem*, and what ſhould he do there at two years old? For St. *Luke* alſo ſaith, *Chap.* 2. 29. that when *Joſeph* and *Mary* had performed all things according to the Law, [he meaneth at the time of her purification, when Chriſt was now but forty days old] they departed to *Nazareth.* So that if the Wiſemen came after theſe forty days, they muſt have found Chriſt at *Nazareth*, and not at *Bethlehem.*

Anſw. And firſt, to the queſtion, How came to be at *Bethlehem* at two years old? An anſwer hath been framed to this long ago, by ſome few that have been of this opinion that

we imbrace; namely, that ſome of the three feſtivals in which every male was to appear before the Lord, drew his Parents, and him with them to *Jeruſalem*, and they took *Bethlehem* in the way, and there the Wiſemen find him. A reſolution with which if there were no other to be had, one might reſt ſatisfied reaſonably well; yet a more ſerious ſearching into the Text, will give a more warrantable reaſon, and better aſſurance then this, which is but one mans ſuppoſal. And that is this, that as the parents of *Jeſus* knew that it was neceſſary that he ſhould be born in *Bethlehem*, becauſe of the Prophecy that had told of it before; ſo alſo did they think it as neceſſary that he ſhould live and be brought up there, becauſe of his alliance to the houſe of *David*: And from thence they durſt not remove him, till they had ſpecial warrant, and warrant they had none, till the Angel diſmiſs them into *Egypt*. This is not a groping of their thoughts, only by ſurmiſal, as was theirs of *Herods* mentioned before, but there is plain and evident demonſtration for it in the text: for when *Joſeph* in *Egypt* was commanded by an Angel after the death of *Herod*, to return to the Land of *Iſrael*, it is ſaid, *He was afraid to go into Judea, when he heard that* Archelaus *reigned in ſtead of* Herod. Now what ſhould he do in *Judea*? Or why ſhould he rather think of going thither, then into his own Country *Galilee*? But that he thought of returning to *Bethlehem* again, from whence he had come; ſuppoſing that the education of the *Meſſias* had been confined thither, as well as his birth: But being warned and warranted by an Angel in a dream, he then departed into *Nazareth*, verſe 22. By which words it is apparent, not only that he durſt not go to his own home till he had divine commiſſion; but alſo that he had never been in *Nazareth* ſince Chriſt was born, till this his coming out of *Egypt*, otherwiſe he would have addreſſed his thoughts thither, and not to *Judea*.

And by this are we to expound the text of *Luke* alledged, *when they had performed all things according to the Law, they departed to their own City Nazareth*: namely, that he ſpeaketh briefly, in what he ſaw *Matthew* had handled at large before: and not ſo much intending to ſhew Chriſts quick departure into *Galilee*, after his preſentation in the Temple, as to draw you to look for him in *Galilee*, at the next ſtory following, which fell out very many years after. And that ſuch brief tranſitions are no ſtrange thing in Scripture, might be ſhewed at large, but more eſpecially in the Evangeliſt St. *Luke*, that we have in hand: as to ſpare more; in *Chap.* 4. 14. He bringeth our Saviour, as it were from the Pinnacle of the Temple, into *Galilee*; as if his journey thither, had been the firſt thing he did: whereas he returned with the Devil into the Wilderneſs again; and from thence came to *John* at *Jordan*, before he ſet for *Galilee*. And *Acts* 9. 18, 19. &c. where under theſe few words, *Saul* was converted and baptized, preached in *Damaſcus* a good ſeaſon, was laid in wait for, and eſcaped over the wall, and went to *Jeruſalem*; he hath comprehended a ſtory of him of three years, and hath omitted his journey from *Damaſcus* into *Arabia*, and to *Damaſcus* again, before he ſet for *Jeruſalem*; as *Paul* himſelf hath parcelled it out, *Gal.* 1.

Object. 6. But why ſhould the Wiſemen ſtay ſo long after they had ſeen the Star, as not to come to *Jeruſalem*, and to Chriſt of two years after?

Anſ. So did *Moſes* lie within a days journey or little more of his wife and children, *Exod.* 18. &c. a whole twelve month together within a few days, and yet they came not at all together, not for the diſtance of the places where they were, but becauſe of the divine diſpoſal of the Lord, for a ſpecial reaſon.

And ſo was it with theſe men: It was not the diſtance of their Country from *Judea*, were it either *Arabia* or *Perſia*; nay, had it been the utmoſt *India*, that kept them away ſo long; for they might have travelled it in half the time; but it was the divine diſpenſation of the Lord, that detained them back for ſo long a time, partly that Chriſts ſtay in *Bethlehem* may leave no excuſe behind, if they would not know him, but chiefly that the child and Mother might gather ſome competent ſtrength againſt their flight, which God foreſaw would follow upon the Wiſemens coming.

Harmony and Explanation.

Verſ. 1, *In the days of* Herod *the King.*

THIS *Herod* was the Son of *Antipater* an *Edomite* or of the ſeed of *Eſau*, as was ſaid before, although *Nicholas Damaſcen* (for which *Joſephus* correcteth him) averr that he was of the race of the chief of the Jews that came up out of *Babylon*. His Father *Antipater* growing into acquaintance and favour with *Julius Cæſar*, had the government of *Judea* committed to him. And he again ſubſtituteth his ſon *Phaſaelus* in the rule of *Jeruſalem*, and of the Country thereabout; and his other Son *Herod*, who is here ſpoken of, in the ruling of *Galilee*. *Herod* by his proweſs and policy indear'd himſelf to the ſucceeding Rulers of the Romane State, but more eſpeciall [by obſervance and promiſes]

miſes] to *Antonius*, and by his means to *Auguſtus*, whilſt they two kept correſpondency in the ſwaying of the Empire: Theſe two by the conſent of the Senate make him King of *Judea*, a man compoſed, as if they were his four elements, of fawning, policy, cruelty, and unconſcionableneſs. Of whoſe life and actions *Joſephus*, *Egeſippus*, and others have diſcourſed at large, and it is not ſeaſonable to inſiſt upon them here. This only is not impertinent to inquire after, what year it was of the reign of *Herod*, when this ſtory of the Wiſemens coming to *Bethlehem*, and the butchery upon the children there fell out, that it may be ſeen how long our Saviour was in *Egypt*, before his return upon the tyrants death, and how ſoon it was that the Lord overtook this and the other cruelties of the tyrant with deſerved vengeance.

Joſephus Antiq. lib. 14. *cap.* 26. hath placed the beginning of *Herods* reign, under the hundreth eighty and fourth Olympiad, and under the Conſulſhip of *C. Domitius Calvinus* II. and *C. Aſinius Pollio*, and hath ſummed the length of it to four and thirty years from the death of *Antigonus* his competitor, and ſeven and thirty from the Romans firſt declaring of him King. *Antiq. lib.* 17. *cap.* 10. And with this reckoning of the years of his reign, agreeth *Egeſippus de Excid. Jeroſol. lib.* 1. *cap.* 45. and ſo doth *Euſebius* in his Chronicle for the latter ſum of ſeven and thirty, but differeth far from the beginning of his reign, placing it under the laſt year of Olympiad 186. eight years at leaſt after the time prefixed by *Joſephus*. And reaſon he hath indeed to differ from his beginning. For if *Herod* began his reign in the Conſulſhip of the men fore-named, and reigned but thirty and ſeven years from thence, it will reſult in the concluſion, that he dyed the year before our Saviour was born, as may be eaſily caſt by the Catalogue or number of Conſuls from *Cn. Domitius* and *Aſinius Pollio*, which was after the building of the City, *Anno* 714 to *Cornelius Lentulus* and *Valerius Meſſalinus*, under whom our Saviour was born, which was *Anno urbis* 751. So that this account of years that *Joſephus* hath given, though it be true for the number, yet can it not be ſo from that beginning from whence he hath dated them. What ſhall we ſay then, by beginning the thirty ſeven years of his reign, from the time that he was King intire, and *ſans* corrival in the Kingdom, by the death of *Antigonus*, the laſt ſpark of the *Aſmonean* fire? Why, herein alſo I find *Dion* differing from *Joſephus*, and *Euſebius* from them both. For, whereas *Joſephus* hath related that the ſacking of *Jeruſalem* by *Socius*, and the death of *Antigonus*, were under the Conſulſhip of *M. Agrippa*, and *Canidius*, or *Caninius Gallus*, which was *Anno urbis conditæ*, 717. *Dion* in his Roman Hiſtory, *lib.* 49. hath placed the crucifying of *Antigonus*, and the making of *Herod* King by *Antony*, under the Conſulſhip of *Claudius* and *Norbanus*, which was *Anno V. C.* 716. or a year before. And *Euſebius* hath ſtill laid *Herods* beginning a year or two after.

Baronius hath found out a date different from all theſe, namely, that *Herods* years of his Reign are to be begun from the time that he received his Crown from the hands of *Auguſtus*, after his victory of *Antony*, at the battle at *Actium*; *Cæſar* being then in *Rhodes*, of which ſtory *Joſephus* maketh mention, *Antiq. lib.* 15. *cap.* 10. *Auguſtus* being then a third time Conſul, and *Valerius Meſſala Corvinus* his partner. By which account it will follow that our Saviour was born in the nine and twentieth year of *Herods* reign, and that *Herod* lived till he was about nine years old. Which opinion though it beſt ſuited to the ſalving of other paſſages of *Joſephus* in Chronologie about this time, yet it ſeemeth to be ſomething too corroſive an application, and a remedy very harſh, upon theſe reſpects.

Firſt, Becauſe by this account of his, both about the Wiſemens coming and *Herods* death, he will have Chriſt to be nine years in *Egypt*, or thereabout, or according to our reckoning, ſeven years or little under: Now, in his baniſhment from his own Country, the means of his Parents and of his own ſubſiſtence in a forreign Land for ſo long a time, is ſo hard to imagine, that it will breed another and no leſs a ſcruple then that in hand.

Secondly, the tranſition of St. *Luke* from his preſenting in the Temple, to his coming into *Nazareth* will ſeem a great deal the more harſh, if eight or nine years are to be taken in between, eſpecially with ſuch as *Baronius* himſelf, who will have nothing to come between at all.

Thirdly, by this opinion muſt our Saviour be ninteen years old and more, at the death of *Auguſtus*, and then how could he be, but beginning to be thirty in the fifteenth of *Tiberius*, *Luke* 3. For ſuppoſe with the Cardinal that he was nine years old at the death of *Herod*, then was he ninteen at the baniſhment of *Archelaus*, who reigned ten years, as appeareth by *Joſephus*, *Antiq. lib.* 17. *cap.* 15. After *Archelaus* was removed from his kingdom, the ſame *Joſephus* nameth *Cyrenius*, and *Coponius*, as rulers and diſpoſers of *Judea* for a ſeaſon. And after *Coponius*, *Marchus Ambibuchus* was Ruler, and after him *Annius Rufus*, and then dyed *Auguſtus*. Now lay all theſe together, and it will follow that our Saviour could not be leſs then above twenty years old, at the death of *Auguſtus*, whereas it is moſt plain by the Goſpel that he was but about fifteen. Let us therefore take theſe parcels backward, and as they confute the opinion under queſtion, ſo do they help to ſettle and reſolve the queſtion in hand. For grant that *Coponius*, *Ambibuchus*, and *Rufus* ruled

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their ſingle years apiece, after the exile of *Archelaus* (as it is moſt like they did, and more then years apiece they could not do, all things well laid together) and take before them the ten years current of *Archelaus*, and we have thirteen years backward of our Saviours fifteen at the death of *Auguſtus*s and this doth bring us to his two years of age or thereabout; which was the time when the Wiſemen came to him. So that ſince *Archelaus* began to reign, when Chriſt was not very much above two years old, for that he was ſomething above, [it may be ſome months] the time that *Archelaus*, wanted of ten years reign compleat, will allow, and that he could not be more then ſuch a ſpace above, the premiſes well ponderated will conclude, it will readily and plainly follow, that our Saviours birth was in the five and thirtieth year of *Herod*; and this murder of the children of *Bethlehem*, in his ſeven and thirtieth; but a month or two, or ſuch a ſpace before his death. Now whereas ſome ſtick not to ſay, that he was ſtruck with the wound of death that very night that the children were ſlain, and dyed not many days or hours after, in that we cannot be ſo punctual; but that he lived not many months after, is more then probable, by the collections and computations mentioned, well weighed, and laid together.

§ *Wiſemen.*

That is, *Sorcerers*, or *Magicians*, and ſo might it not unfitly be tranſlated. For firſt, though *Magus* and *Magia*, admit of a gentle conſtruction, and be often taken, not only in an harmleſs, but in a laudable ſenſe in prophane Authors, yet are they never ſo in Scripture; and by the Idiom and propriety of that, muſt the word be expounded; and not by Forreign and Heathen Language and acceptation. It is true indeed, that among the *Perſians* the *Magi* have been renowned for men of excellent wiſdom and skill in natural, and in other things, and that none were admitted to reign among them, unleſs he were well verſed in the learning of the *Magi*; and that *Plato*, *Tully*, *Philo*, *Pliny* and others, do extol *Magia*, or Magick, to be the very height and perfection of Philoſophy: But the Scripture, who is ever the ſure Expoſitor of it ſelf, doth never take the word, but in the worſe ſenſe, for the Deviliſh and damnable practice and practicers of ſorcery and unlawful arts, as *Acts* 8. 9. *Simon* Μαγών: *Acts* 13. 8. *Elymas* ὁ Μάγος.

And the Babylonian אַשָּׁפִים or Wizards, are ſo called by the Greek of *Daniel*, whoſoever traſlated it, whether the LXX, or *Theodotion*, or who elſe ſoever, *Dan.* 1. 20. & 2. 2. &c. Now it is againſt ſenſe and reaſon to refuſe the ſenſe of Scripture, for a Scripture word, and to fetch the intepretation of it from *Perſia*, *Plato*, *Pliny*, and I know not whence.

2. It doth the more ſet forth the luſtre and glory of the birth of Chriſt, and the power of himſelf and kingdom, by ſuppoſing that theſe men that had been hitherto devoted to the arts, ſervice, and converſe of the Devil, ſhould now forſake them, and him, and their own delight, and their old profeſſion, and dedicate themſelves, travailes and gifts, to a child unknown, far off, and but poorly born.

3. Nor is this opinion but newly minted, but it carrieth with it the paſſeport and priviledge of antiquity. For *Ignatius Martyr* in his Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, ſpeaking concerning the Wiſemens Star, ſaith thus, Ἔνθεν ἐμωράνετο σοφία κοσμική, γοητεία ὕβλος ἦν, καὶ γέλως ἡ Μαγία: *Then the wiſdom of this world grew fooliſh, Sorcery a toy, and Magick a deriſion:* perſonating the men in both their contrary profeſſions and devotedneſs, Deviliſh and Divine, to Satan and Chriſt. So likewiſe *Juſtin Martyr* in his Dialogue with *Trypho*, ſpeaking of theſe ſame men, and how they were qualified and affected before they came to Chriſt, he ſaith, *they were* ἐσκυλευμένοι ὑπὸ πάσας κακὰς πράξεις τὰς ἐνεργουμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐκείνου, *captived or led away as a prey by the Devil to all evill actions.* And ſo *Theophylact* the mouth of *Chryſoſtome*, *They were*, ſaith he, *adverſaries or enemies to God, and devoted to Devils in a more ſpecial manner:* And to this ſenſe doth the Goſpel of *Mathew* in Hebrew render the word, whoſoever tranſlated it. But to ſpare more, thoſe fathers confeſs their opinion to be the ſame with theſe; [and thoſe neither mean ones, nor a few] which hold, ſome of them, that theſe *Magi* had obtained their knowledge concerning the King of the Jews, from *Sybilla Erythræa*, and others from *Balaam*, to whom they hold that they ſtood in relation not only of Nation and kindred, but alſo of the ſame profeſſion and art of Wizardy and Magick.

§ *From the Eaſt.*

This doth ſomething confirm the foregoing opinion of their being Magicians, if it need any more confirmation. For that the Eaſt was infamous for Sorceries, auguries and incantations is apparent by *Eſa.* 2. 6. as it is underſtood by the LXX, by *R. Solomon*, *D. Kimchi* and even approved by the context it ſelf: But what Country of the Eaſt this was, whence theſe men came, is as hard to determine, as it was what manner of men they were.

Divers

Divers have aſſerted that they were of *Chaldea*, minding, it ſeemeth, rather the ſtricteſt and worſt ſenſe; of both the words *Chaldeus* and *Magus*, which ſignifie both one and the ſame ungodly profeſſion, then the letter of text, and of other Scriptures. For it plainly telleth that theſe came from the Eaſt, and all the Prophets that have ſpoken of the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by the *Chaldeans*, have fetched thoſe deſtroyers from the North, as *Jer.* 1.

Others therefore do hold them for *Perſians*, and that chiefly becauſe the word *Magus*, is thought to be originally a *Perſian* word.

But firſt, as was ſaid before, the Scripture word is to be interpreted according to the Scripture Idiom, and ſo it confineth them to *Perſia* no more then to any other Country. Secondly, if it ſhould be averred, that the *Perſian Magi* grew renowned from a family of that name, or from ſome Anceſtor that was called *Mag* or *Mago*, rather then from any relation that the word hath to the depth of Learning, or any notation for a great Scholar: I ſuppoſe it would be hard to prove the contrary; eſpecially ſince in *Babylonia*, there was * Rab. *Mag*, or the great *Mag*, and in *Carthage*, *Mago*, two Noblemen or Princes, and for ought we know, no great Scholars neither, of the very ſame name. * *Jer.* 39. 3.

More probable therefore and plauſible is their opinion [though it leave the Reader in a *Bivium* of irreſolution] that holdeth theſe men either for *Arabians*, or *Meſopotamians* about *Haran*: but their reſolution the beſt of all, that bring them from *Arabia*: and of this mind is *Juſtin Martyr* very confidently, in ſo much that he applieth a Prophecy thereto, namely, *Eſa.* 8. 4. about the breaking of the ſtrength of *Damaſcus*.

For firſt, *Arabia* is full Eaſtward from *Judea*, and the inhabitants thereof are conſtantly called men of the Eaſt, as *Gen.* 25. 6. *Judg.* 6. 3. *Job.* 1. 3.

Secondly, the gifts or preſents that the Wiſemen offered Chriſt, were native commodities of the Land of *Arabia*, as gold of *Sheba*, *Pſal.* 72. 15. Frankincenſe from *Seba*, or *Saba*, as in the verſe, *Sua Thura Sabæi*, and Myrrhe from thereabouts, as appeareth in ſtories: ann it is more probable to think that they would bring the choice commodities of their own Country, as *Jacob* ſent to *Joſeph*, then of another.

Thirdly, to conceive theſe men for *Arabians*, doth very well ſort and harmonize with ſome conſiderable things in Scripture: As 1. the firſt Proſelite to the Jewiſh Church that we find mentioned in Scripture, was *Jethro* an Arabian, and of the ſeed of *Abraham*: And ſo if we hold theſe firſt Proſelytes to Chriſt, it ſuiteth very fitly. 2. it agreeth alſo with that Prophetick Pſalm mentioned before, namely, *Pſal.* 71. 3. With the rule and dominion, and homage that *David* and *Solomon*, Types of Chriſt, had over and from that Country. For, 4. much of *Arabia* was the Land of *Canaan*, as well as *Judea*: for the heedfull eye that ſhall but ſeriouſly look upon the Nations, that planted there at the firſt, will find that the whole Country was inhabited by the two ſons of *Ham*, *Cuſh*, and *Canaan*: and in after time that the ſeed of *Abraham* diſpoſſeſſed them, and dwelt in their ſteads, not by any uſurpation or injuſtice, but upon the promiſe made to *Abraham* of *Canaans* Land, and upon juſt title by his victory over the four Kings, which having but lately ſubdued thoſe Lands, were ſubdued by him, and with the conqueſt the right and challenge to that land fell to *Abraham*. And hence it was that *David* and *Solomon* dilated their dominion over theſe Countreys even to *Euphrates*, and then was the promiſe to *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, concerning their children poſſeſſing the Land of *Canaan*, fulfilled to the utmoſt extent. Now it is more likely to bring theſe firſt fruits of the Gentiles to do homage to the King of the Jews, from a Country which did as much to *David* and *Solomon* who were types of him, then from a Forreign Nation: and to conceive that they were of the ſeed of *Abraham*, rather then of another race.

Verſ. 2. *Saying, Where is he that is born of the King of the* Jews? *for we have ſeen his Star in the Eaſt, &c.*

The expoſition of this Verſe will be made up, by the reſolution and anſwer of theſe three queſtions. 1. What was this Star that the Wiſemen ſaw? 2. Where it was that they ſaw it? And 3. how upon the ſight of it they could conclude that it did relate to a King of the Jews? To omit the various gueſſes and ſurmiſes that are made, for the ſatisfaction of the firſt *Quære*, it ſeemeth to me, that this Star which theſe Magicians ſaw at the birth of Chriſt, was nothing elſe but that glorious and miraculous light that ſhone about the *Bethlehem* Sheepherds, when the Angel came upon them with the tydings of the birth of a Saviour, *Luk.* 2. 9. And that theſe wizards being that night abroad [belike at their ſtudy of Aſtrology] beheld it at diſtance, and to them it ſeemed, being ſo far off, like a new and uncouth, and a wondrous Star: And the words *in the Eaſt*, do mean the place of the men, and not of the Star, and are to receive this conſtruction, *we being in the Eaſt have ſeen his Star*: Not it in the Eaſt part of Heaven, but they being in the Eaſt part of the Earth:

And

And their beholding it to be in the Land of *Judea*, might the more readily bring them to think it betokened the birth of the King of the Jews.

And thus are the three queſtions reſolved together, if the ground-work whereupon all is built, be but firm and ſolid, *viz.* that the light or the glory of the Lord that ſhone about the Shepherds, was that which the Wiſemen then ſuppoſed and do now call a Star; Upon which let us look a little, and ſee what probability there may be that it was ſo.

Firſt, then it is paſt doubting, that the Shepherds ſaw the glory of the Lord ſhine round about them, and the Wiſemen, the new Star ſhine at a diſtance from them, at one and the ſame time, namely, at the time of our Saviours birth; For ſince both theſe things were to both theſe parties as a meſſenger to impart unto them the tydings of the birth of Chriſt, no reaſon can be given or ſuppoſed why they ſhould not appear to them both, to do this meſſage to them at the very time when he was born: Now the Sheepherds at *Bethlehem*, and the Magicians in *Arabia*, ſeeing on the very ſame night, a light that was to tell them of the very ſame thing, what reaſon have we to think that it was not one and the ſame light?

Secondly, to conceive that the Wiſemens Star appeared to them in the Eaſt part of Heaven, maketh the matter far more difficult to reſolve, how they came to know that it denoted a King of the Jews, then by ſuppoſing that that they ſaw it hanging over the very Center or middle of the Land of the Jews. For though we cannot but acknowledge that the ſpirit of God was their chief intelligencer and inſtructer in this matter, and ſo could have taught them ſo much whereſoever they had ſeen the Star appear, yet can we not but think, that it was a likelier way to read this leſſon to them, by ſetting this light upon the very place where the King that it betokened was born, rather then in the Eaſt part of Heaven, where it might ſeem to denote ſomething among the *Indians*, rather then among the *Jews*.

Thirdly, we know it by experience, that a great light or fire that happeneth in any place in the night, be it never ſo great in it ſelf, or in the eyes of thoſe that are in the place where it is, yet to thoſe that are a great diſtance off, it ſeemeth but as a Star or ſuch a thing. And that it might not be ſo with the Wiſemen in this matter, there is neither Analogy of Faith, probability in reaſon, evidence in Scripture, or any thing I know of will deny.

And laſtly, it is not to be omitted without weighing, that as ſoon as the Wiſemen after their conference with *Herod*, were gone out of *Jeruſalem* to ſet for *Bethlehem*, the Star ſhewed it ſelf to them again. It appeareth now nearer to them, to conduct them to the place where the Child now was, as it had appeared at greater diſtance at his birth, to ſignifie to them that he was born: Then they ſaw it over or in *Judea*, which directed them to hearken to *Jeruſalem*: now they ſee it at *Jeruſalem* almoſt over their heads, to direct them to *Jeruſalem*.

Verſ. 3. *He was troubled and all* Jeruſalem *with him.*

Herod for fear of the loſs of his Kingdom, and *Jeruſalem* for fear of the diſturbance of their State. For he having been ſo long the King of *Judea*, as ſeven and thirty years, and having laid the foundation of a ſucceſſive royalty to his family, in ſo much policy and cruelty as he had done, how would this make him to ſtartle, to hear of a King newly born unto the Nation, whoſe ſubjection his thoughts and endeavours had promiſed to his own children, and to have the certainty of the thing confirmed from Heaven, by a wondrous and miraculous light? And how muſt it needs perplex the Jews alſo, to hear of a new King over them, beſides *Herod* who was ſet over them by their Lords the *Romans*? For how ill would the *Romans* take it that their determination and decree of *Herods* reigning over *Judea*, ſhould be ſo affronted, as that a new King ſhould riſe among them? and what could follow upon this, but the *Roman* Armies, and the *Jews* miſery? Or if they underſtood this King to be *Meſſias* [as the Nation now looked for his coming] yet could it not chooſe but breed ſome perplexity in them, partly to think of the rareneſs of the matter, and chiefly of their being in ſubjection to ſo potent a Nation as the *Romans*, when their deliverer ſhould appear.

Verſ. 4. *All the chief Prieſts.*

Since there was properly but one high Prieſt at once among the Jews, by the *chief Prieſts* ſo often mentioned in the Goſpel ſome have underſtood thoſe High Prieſts that by the Roman Governours, or otherwiſe were turned out of their Office, as about theſe times that matter was ordinary. So *Joſephus* recorded that *Valerius Gratus* firſt made *Iſmael* High Prieſt in ſtead of *Ananus*: then depoſeth him and maketh *Eleazar*, *Ananus* his Son: him again he depoſeth, and maketh *Simon Fitz Kamithus*; and in his room again he ſetteth *Joſeph*, ſurnamed *Caiaphas*: which *Caiaphas* was alſo removed by *Vitellius*, and *Jonathan*

Jonathan Fitz Ananus placed in his ſtead. And theſe men thus turned out of Office, are called (as they ſuppoſe) both here and elſewhere the *chief Prieſts*. But their opinion is far more warrantable and agreeable to truth that by the *chief Prieſts* underſtand the ſeveral heads of the families, or the chief of the four and twenty courſes, into which *David* had divided and ordered the Prieſts, 1 *Chron.* 24. which are therefore called *chief Prieſts*, not ſo much for Primacy or Superiority that they had in their Eccleſiaſtical function above the reſt of the Clergy; as 1. becauſe they were heads of their houſes; And 2. becauſe they were of the great Councel, and made a third part of the ſeventy Elders.

§. *And Scribes of the people.*

He calleth them *Scribes of the people*, to diſtinguiſh them from the Secretaries or Clerks of particular men, as *Baruch* was the Scribe of *Jeremy*, and *Seraiah* the Scribe or Secretary of *David*, 2 *Sam.*8.17. But theſe of whom mention is here, and ſo very frequently in the Goſpel elſewhere, were not ſuch private or peculiar Clerks, but they were the publick Scribes or Clerks of the people: and this their Office or function conſiſted in two particulars.

Firſt, They were the men that took upon them to copy the Bible for thoſe that deſired to have a copy. For ſo great and various is the accuracy and exactneſs of the Scripture Text in the myſtical and profound ſignificances of Letters, Vowels and Accents, that it was not fit that every one ſhould offer to tranſcribe the Original, or that every vulgar pen ſhould copy things of ſo ſublime ſpeculation: Therefore there was a peculiar and ſpecial order of learned men among the Jews, whoſe Office it was to take care of the preſervation of the purity of the Text, in all Bibles that ſhould be copied out, that no corrupion or error ſhould creep into the Original of the Sacred Writ, and theſe were called the *Scribes of the people*, or their Scriveners or Writers of the copy of the Bible. And hence is it that there is ſo frequent mention in the Rabbins of *Tikkun Sopherim*, *The correction*, or *direction of the Scribes*, or their peculiar and ſpecial diſpoſing of the Text, which the *Maſſoreth* at the beginning of the book of *Numbers* obſerveth to have been in eighteen places, which are reckoned there. Theſe Scribes may be conceived to have been either Prieſts or Levites, or both, the men of that Tribe being the chiefeſt Students in the Scriptures; and being bound by their calling to be able to inſtruct the people in the ſame, *Deut.*33.10. *Mal.*2.7.

They had eight and forty Univerſities as it were, belonging to that Tribe, for the education of the Clergy in the knowledge of the Law and the Prophets, *Joſh.*21. and from among the learned of thoſe Students, were ſome ſet apart for this Office, which required profound Learning and skill; namely, to be the Copiers of the Bible when any copy was to be taken, or at leaſt to take care that all copies that ſhould be tranſcribed, ſhould be pure and without corruption.

Secondly, Theſe alſo were the publick and common preachers of the people, being more conſtant Pulpit men, then any other of the Clergy; taking on them, not only to be the preſervers and providers for the purity of the Text, but alſo the moſt conſtant and common explainers and expounders of it in Sermons. Therefore it is ſaid of our Saviour, that he taught as one that had authority, and *not as the Scribes*, *Mat.*7.29. where the Scribes are rather mentioned then any other order, becauſe they were the greateſt and moſt ordinary Preachers. And our Saviour himſelf, in *Mark* 12.25. *How ſay the Scribes, that Chriſt is the Son of David?* Inſtancing in the Scribes only [whereas the Phariſees, Sadduces, and even all the Nation of the Jews held the ſame opinion] becauſe the Scribes were the men that were ofteſt in the Pulpit, and preached more then any other; and ſo this Doctrine was heard more from them then others.

And thus was *Ezra* a ready Scribe in the Law of *Moſes*, *Ezr.*7.6. both for the copying and preſerving pure the Text of the Scripture, and alſo for the expounding of it by his Sermons. And ſuch a one is the Scribe that our Saviour ſpeaketh of, that is inſtructed to the Kingdom of Heaven, that bringeth out of his treaſure inſtructions out of the New Teſtament and old, *Mat.*13.52. The *Chaldee* Paraphraſt on *Jer.*6.13. & 8.10. and in other places in ſtead of *The Prophet*, readeth *the Scribe*, taking as it ſeemeth *the Prophet* in the ſame ſenſe that *Paul* doth *Prophecying*, 1 *Theſ.*5.20. 1 *Cor.*14.5. &c. for the Preacher, and making the Text ſpeak in the ſame tenor that it doth here, *the Prieſts and the Scribes*.

In the Story of our Saviours arraignment, and elſwhere in the New Teſtament there is mention of the chief Prieſts, and Scribes, and Elders, *Mat.* 26.3. *Mark* 15.1. importing that the Great Councel conſiſted of theſe three ſorts of men. *The chief Prieſts* of the ſeed of *Aaron*, *the Scribes* of the Tribe of *Levi*, and *the elders of the people* meer lay men: Theſe were all deeply and extraordinarily verſed and learned in the Law, but the practiſe of this their learning had ſome difference, as the civil, common and canon: 1. The Elders judged the people and matters of debate and controverſie, but inſtructed not the people by way of preaching or miniſtery. The chief Prieſts judged and inſtructed, but it was

more by resolving questions and doubts that were proposed to them, as our Saviour asked them questions, *Luke* 2.46. *Hag.*2.11. *Mal.*2.7. then by common preaching Homilies or Sermons. The Scribes were they that were the Preachers or Lecturers, and taught the people from the pulpit, as well as determined upon doubts and debates: And to this triple division of the great and Seraphical Doctors of the Jews, St. *Paul* seemeth to allude, in 1 *Cor.*1.20. *Where is the wise? Where is the Scribe, where is* the questionist, or *disputer of this world?* By the first meaning the Elders of the people, and by the last, the chief Priests.

5. He demanded of them where Christ should be born.

The High Priests were rightly consulted, say the Rhemists, *in question of their Law and Religion:* for whom should *Herod* ask, but those that were most likely to give him an answer? But the latter end of their note carrieth a snare with it to intrap the simple: *And be they never so ill,* say they, *they are often forced to say the truth by priviledge of their function:* They think they have an undeniable groundwork for this their Doctrine from the prophecying of *Caiaphas, Joh.*11.51. as their notes plead there, ascribing that his prophecying to his Priesthood, and order, whereas the Text ascribeth it to the year and season. *This he spake not of himself, but being High Priest that year he prophesied:* where the emphasis lieth not in the words *being High Priest,* but in the words, *that year,* which was the year of sending down of the gifts of the Spirit, in a measure and manner, never known before or after.

Vers. 6. *And thou Bethlehem in the land of Juda, &c.*

There is no small difference in this quotation of the Scribes or of the Evangelist, or indeed of both, from the letter of the Text of the Prophet from whom they cite it; nor doth this difference rise by the Evangelists following the translation of the LXX, as oft there doth, for it differeth much from the letter of the LXX also, but it is upon some special reason. Which disagreement that we may reconcile, and the reason of which that we may see the better, we will take up the verse verbatim, and the differences as they come to hand, one by one.

First then, whereas Saint *Matthew* readeth, *Thou Bethlehem in the land of Juda,* the Hebrew hath it only, *Thou Bethlehem Ephrata,* without any mention of the land of *Juda* at all, and so the Chaldee, and so the LXX, but only with the addition of one word, *Thou Bethlehem the house of Ephrata, art the least, &c.*

Answ. First, There are that give this general answer to all the differences in this quotation, that the Scribes and the Evangelist tye not themselves to the very words of the Prophet, but only think it enough to render his sense. And this answer might be very well entertained, and give good satisfaction, especially, since that in allegations from the Old Testament, it is usual with the New so to do, but that the difference between the Text and the quotation is so great, that it is not only diverse, but even contrary. Some therefore,

Secondly, Conceive, that the Scribes could alledge the Text no better without the book, and that the Evangelist hath set it down in their own words, for the just shame of those great Doctors, that were no better versed in the Scripture, then to alledge a place in words so very far different from the Text. But he that hath been any whit versed in the writings of the Jews, will find their Rabbins or Doctors to be too nimble textualists to miss in a Text of so great use and import: especially if he shall but consider to what an height of learning they were now come, by the tutorage and pains of the two great Doctors of the Chair, *Shammai* and *Hillel,* who had filled all the Nation with learned men the like had not been before.

Thirdly, Whereas some talk of a *Syriack* Edition which the Jews used at that time more then the Hebrew, and which had this Text of *Micah* as the Evangelist hath cited it, and that he cited it according to that Edition which was most in use; here are two things presumed upon which it is impossible ever to make good. For who ever read in any Jew of a Syrian Edition of the Prophets besides the Chaldee Paraphrast? Who we are sure readeth not thus: or what Christian ever saw such an Edition, that he could tell that it did so read? For this particular therefore in hand, it is to be answered, that the Scribes or the Evangelists, or both, did thus differently quote the Prophet, neither through forgetfulness, nor through the misleading of an erroneous Edition, but purposely, and upon a rational intent.

For, first, though *Ephratah* had been the surname of *Bethlehem,* in ancient time, as *Gen.* 35.19. *Ruth* 4. 11. and in the times of the Prophet *Micah,* yet it is no wonder if that title of it were now out of use, and especially out of the knowledge of this irreligious King.

King. For the seventy years captivity, and the alterations of the State, did alter the face of the Country, and might easily blot out of use and remembrance such an additional title of a Town as this.

Secondly, This surname of the Town was taken up in memorial of a woman, as appeareth, 1 *Chron.*2.19. and when the discourse concerning Christ, and where he should be born, was in hand and agitation, it was more pregnant to bring his birth-place to have reference to *Juda* from whom *Herod* [though he were ignorant in other particulars concerning his birth] knew he should descend, then to a woman and a title which it is like that he had never heard of before. So that this, that in the Scribes might at the first seem to be a mis-allegation of the Prophet through some mistake, being precisely looked upon, with respect had to the times when the Propheſie was given, and when it is now cited, and to the several persons to whom it will shew to be so quoted upon very sound wisdom and profound reason, these words, *in the land of Juda*, being used by them for necessary illustration, in stead of the word *Ephrata*, not as proposing it for the purer Text of the Prophet, but as more sutable, by way of Exposition, for the capacity and apprehension of *Herod.*

In *Micahs* time the name *Ephratah* was common, but in after times it may be it was disused. Howsoever, *Micah* propheſied to the Jews, to whom this title *Ephratah* was familiar, and it is like had the Scribes spoken to Jews too, they would have retained that title, but to *Herod* who was not so punctually acquainted with it, it was not proper to bring a phrase that he could not understand, or that was uncouth to him, therefore they explain it by one that was familiar both to him and the whole Nation, *Bethlehem in the Land of Juda.*

§. *Art not the least.*

This clause is far further from *Micahs* Text then the other, for whereas here is a very strong and Emphatical negation οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη εἶ, in the Prophet there is none at all, either in the Hebrew, in the LXX. or in the Chaldee Paraphrast. And indeed the Text and the quotation are one clean contrary to another; in *Micah*, *Though thou be little*, but in *Matthew*, *Thou art not the least.* Towards the reconciling of which difference, it will be necessary in the first place, to take a serious survey of the Prophets Text, and then upon the true interpretation of it, to lay this allegation to it, and to see how they do agree. The words in the Hebrew, whereupon the main doubt riseth, are but these two צעיר להיות: which our English rendreth *Though thou be little.* The Septuagint, *Thou art the least to be among the thousands:* but using a differing word to signifie *the least*, from that used here: *Some books*, saith *Nobilius*, and the other Scholiast upon the LXX. read, *Art not the least*, as *Hierome*, *Tertullian* and *Cyprian:* but this their reading I suspect rather to be taken from this quotation of the Gospel, then found by them in the Text of *Micah.* The vulgar Latine, *Thou art little among the thousands, &c.* The Italian of *Brucioli*, and the French, *Being little to be*, or to be accounted. And much to the same tenour with our English, *Aben Ezra*, and *David Kimchi.* *Rabbi Solom* sheweth his construction of it in this gloss, *It were fit thou shouldest be the least among the families of Juda, because of the prophaneness of Ruth the Moabitess that was in thee, yet out of thee shall come, &c.* *Jansenius* saith, a reconciliation might be made between the Prophet and the Evangelist, by reading the Prophets Text by way of interrogation, *And thou Bethlehem art thou the least?* Which answereth in sense to *thou art not.* But to all these interpretations alledged, this one thing may be opposed, that the Hebrew word צעיר cannot properly agree with the word *Bethlehem*, according to the Syntax of Substantive and Adjective; because they are of two different genders, as the Grammarian will easily observe, and cannot but confess. For *Bethlehem* is of the feminine gender, as are all the names of Cities, and צעיר of another, as it plainly appeareth by its termination. To construe them therefore together, as Substantive and Adjective, as it is unwarrantable by the Grammar, so doth it make a sense utterly irreconcileable with this of the Evangelist. To which might be added also, that these words being thus conjoyned and construed together, do make but an harsh sense and construction among themselves, amounting to this, *Thou Bethlehem in being little, out of thee shall come a Ruler.*

Their Interpretation therefore is rather to be imbraced, that take צעיר in the Neuter Gender, as it pleadeth it self to be, by its very termination [the Masculine and Neuter in the Hebrew being indifferently taken the one for the other] and do read it thus: *And thou Bethlehem Ephrata, it is a small thing to be among the Princes of Juda, out of thee shall come a Ruler, &c.* As meaning this, That it is the least of thine honour that thou art reckoned among the Princes of *Juda*, as equal with them, for thou hast a dignity above this, and above them all in that *out of thee shall come a Ruler, which shall feed my people.* And to this sense and tenour should I interpret the Chaldee Paraphrase, though I know

know indeed that it is generally conſtrued another way: *Chizgner havetha leithmannaah: And thou Bethlehem Ephratah, art within a little to be ſuperiour*, or perfect, *among the thouſands of Judah, &c.* As let the learned in the language judge whether the words in the Chaldee will not bear that ſenſe: eſpecially the ſenſe of the firſt word *Chizgner*, being looked into the Chaldee, in *Pſal.*2.12. & 73.2. *Hoſ.*1.4. and in other places.

The Text of the Prophet then being rendred in this interpretation, this allegation of the Evangeliſt will be found, not to have any contrariety to it at all, but to ſpeak, though not in the very ſame words, yet to the very ſame tenor and purpoſe: For while the one ſaith, *It is a ſmall thing that thou art among the Princes of Judah*, and the other, *Thou art not the leaſt among them*, they both fall into the ſame ſenſe, or at leaſt into no diſagreement of ſenſe at all. For if it were to be reputed a ſmall honour to *Bethlehem*, to be reckoned in equality with the other Princes of *Judah*, in compariſon of a greater honour that ſhe was to have, in the birth of the *Meſſias*; it muſt readily follow what this quotation of the Evangeliſt inferreth; namely, that ſhe was not the leaſt among them. And thus doth the Evangeliſt expreſs the Prophets mind, though he tie not his expreſſion to his very words, alledging his Text to its cleareſt ſenſe, and to the eaſier apprehenſion of the hearer. It is a juſt exception indeed that *Janſenius* taketh at this interpretation, becauſe that the Scripture uſeth not to expreſs this ſenſe, *It is a ſmall thing*, by the word *Tſagnir*, but by *Megnat*, as *Eſa.*7.13. *Gen.*30.15. and in other places: But as it is true, that it often uſeth *Megnat* for that expreſſion; ſo it is moſt true, that it uſeth not that word alone, but others alſo: As *Tikton*, in 2 *Sam.*7.19. and *Nakel*, in *Eſa.* 49.6. and why not *Tſagnir* then as well here?

§. *Among the Princes of* Juda.

In *Micah* it is, *among the thouſands of* Juda: and ſo it is tranſlated by the LXX, the *Chaldee*, the *Vulgar*, and unanimouſly by all other Tranſlators: ſo that here is yet another difficulty and difference in this allegation, the Evangeliſt ſtill ſwerving from the Text he citeth. By *the thouſands of* Juda, *Rabbi Solomon* underſtandeth *the families*, and *Dav. Kimchi*, *the Cities*; The word is once uſed in the very propriety of that ſenſe in which the Prophet taketh it here, *Judg.* 6.15. *My thouſand*, ſaith *Gideon*, *is poor in Manaſſeh:* which St. *Auſtin*, and *R. Eſaiah* expound that he was Captain of a thouſand; *Levi Gerſhom*, that his father was Captain; but the *Chaldee*, and other Rabbins underſtand it of the thouſand in which his family was numbred and inrolled. Howſoever it is underſtood, it is apparent by this and other places laid unto it, that the ſeveral Tribes of the children of *Iſrael* were divided into their ſeveral thouſands, and that theſe thouſands were inrolled to this or that City, to which they had relation by habitation, or by inheritance: Villages that were not ſo populous, were reduced into hundreds, but Cities into one or more thouſands, according as they were in bigneſs and multitude, *Amos* 5.3. *The City that went out by a thouſand, ſhall leave an hundred, and that which went out by an hundred, ſhall leave ten:* The Villages were juſtly reputed of an inferiour rank, but the Cities that afforded their thouſands were accounted Princes: and ſo may the Prophet be underſtood, and ſo the Evangeliſt reconciled to him. Now the reaſon of their difference in words, though they both redound to the ſame ſenſe may be given theſe.

Firſt, Becauſe the queſtion in agitation was about the birth of a King, and the place, where now in anſwer to ſuch a *Quære*, it was fitter to ſpeak of Princes then thouſands, for where ſhould a King be looked for but among Princes?

Secondly, The Hebrew word אלפי uſed by the Prophet, doth ſignifie, both *thouſands*, and *Princes* indifferently, and ſo *David Kimchi* upon that place in the book of *Judges* cited even now alledgeth; *There are*, ſaith he, *that interpret Alphi* [which our Engliſh readeth *my thouſand*] *as it were my Father, even as the word* Alluph, *whoſe ſignification is Prince or Lord.*

The Evangeliſt therefore finding the word in the Prophet of this indifferency, uſeth it in that ſenſe which beſt ſuited with the preſent occaſion, both in regard of the queſtion propoſed, as alſo thirdly, in regard of the manner of Chriſts coming: For it was both the expectation of the Jews, and the fear of *Herod*, that he would come with a conquering and victorious temporal Sword, and reſtore them to a pompous Earthly State, and expel him out of his Kingdom. Now for the Evangeliſt to have directed in this quoration, to look for Chriſt among the thouſands of *Juda*, had backed theſe Opinions, for the term ſoundeth of War, and it had been a direction where likelier to find an earthly Warrier, then the Prince of Peace, among the thouſands, or among the Militia. And therefore he qualifieth the term to the beſt ſatisfaction of *Herod* and the People; *Among the Princes.* There is that ſaith it might be conſtrued, *In Princes*, and not among them, and the meaning to be this, *Thou Bethlehem art not the leaſt in the Princes of* Juda, that is, in breeding or bringing them forth: but this reliſheth more of wit then ſolidity, and agreeth better with the Latin, then with the Greek Original.

§. *For*

§. *For out of thee ſhall come a Governor.*

The *Chaldee* readeth it in the Prophet, *Out of thee ſhall come Meſſias*; and ſo is it expounded by *Rabbi Solomon*, and *David Kimchi*. And therefore that is moſt true which is inferred by *Lyranus*, that thoſe Catholicks that interpret it of *Ezekiah*, do more judaize then the *Jews* themſelves. Some Jews indeed, ſaith *Theophylact*, do apply this to *Zorobabel*, but as he anſwereth, it is like that *Zorobabel* was born in *Babel*, and not in *Bethlehem*: And St. *Matthew* hath plainly taught both Jews and Gentiles to underſtand it in another ſenſe. But here again doth he differ from the Letter of the Prophet, but cometh ſo near the ſenſe, that the difference is as no difference at all.

Verſ. 7. *Herod privily called the Wiſemen.*

[*Privily.*] For had the Jews heard of his pretences [they had ſo long been acquainted with his policy, tyranny, and ambition] they could readily have deſcried his miſchievouſneſs, and ſpoiled his bloody contrival, by better information given to the wiſemen.

§. *Enquired diligently of them the time when the Star appeared.*

Had they taken their journy inſtantly upon the Stars appearing, *Herod* could eaſily have computed the time by the length of their journy: but by this his enquiry, it is apparent that they had told him of its appearance at ſome good ſpace before, which in ver. 16. is plainly reſolved to be two years, by the Wiſemens own acknowledgment and reſolution.

Verſ. 11. *Gold, and Frankincenſe, and Myrrhe.*

The myſterious application of theſe preſents, as *Myrrham homini, unctio aurum, &c.* be left to them that delight and content themſelves in ſuch things: the plain and eaſie interpretation of the matter is, that they tendred to Chriſt, the chiefeſt and choiceſt commodities that their Country could afford: which they carried *in their treaſures*, as the Text calleth it, that is, in and among thoſe commodities that the men of thoſe Nations uſed to carry with them when they travailed, eſpecially when they meant to preſent any one to whom they went, as *Gen.*24.53. 1 *King.*10.2.

Verſ. 15. *Out of Egypt have I called my Son.*

The two allegations produced here out of the Old Teſtament, this and that out of *Jeremy*, in *Rama was a voice heard*, are of that fulneſs that they ſpeak of two things a piece, and may very fitly be applied unto them both, and ſhew that the one did reſemble or prefigure the other: as this Text of *Hoſea*, aimeth both at the bringing of the Church of *Iſrael*, in old time, and of the head of that Church at this time out of *Egypt*. Then a *Joſeph* nouriſhed his father; now a *Joſeph* doth ſo to his redeemer: then was *Egypt* deadly to every male child that was born, now is it a place of refuge and preſervation to this child.

Ver. 18. *In Ramah was there a voice heard, &c.*

Ramah ſtood not far from *Bethlehem*, though they were in two Tribes: and the cry that the poor Parents and children made in *Bethlehem*, when this matchleſs butchery was in hand, reach't to *Ramah*, and was plainly heard thither. Now obſerve the fulneſs of this Scripture as it is uttered by the Prophet, and as it is applied by the Evangeliſt. It was fulfilled in one kind, in the time of *Jeremy* himſelf, and then was the lamentation and weeping in *Ramah* it ſelf; for hither did *Nebuzaradan* bring his Priſoners, after he had deſtroyed *Jeruſalem*, and there did he diſpoſe of them, to the Sword, or to Captivity, as ſeemed good unto himſelf, *Jer.* 40.1. And imagine what lamentation and crying was then in that City, when ſo many were doomed there, either to be ſlain in that place, or to go to *Babel*, never to ſee their own Land again. Then was the cry in *Ramah*, and it was heard no doubt to *Bethlehem*. But now the Propheſie is fulfilled in another kind, when *Herod* deſtroyeth ſo many Children in *Bethlehem*, and in the Suburbs and Borders belonging to it: And now the cry is in *Bethlehem*, and it is heard to *Ramah*.

§. *Rachel*

§. *Rachel weeping for her children, &c.*

Rachels grave was betwixt *Bethlehem* and *Ramah*, or at leaſt not far diſtant from either of them, *Gen.*35.16,20. 1 *Sam.*10.2. The Holy Ghoſt therefore doth elegantly ſet forth this lamentation, by perſonating *Rachel* [who died in the birth of her *Ben-Oni, the Son of her ſorrow*] ſorrowing for her Sons and Children that were thus maſſacred: And this ſheweth that the Text in the Prophet, aimeth in the firſt place and intention, at the matter of *Nebuzaradan:* for in *Bethlehem*, *Rachel* properly had no children at all, that City being inhabited by the children of *Judah*, which deſcended of *Leah:* but in *Ramah* dwelt *Rachels* children, that being a Town of *Ephramites* deſcended from *Joſeph*. Howſoever, *Rachel* may be ſaid to weep for the Babes of *Bethlehem* as her own children, though they were not ſtrictly and properly her ſeed, in regard of the intereſt that ſhe had in all the tribes of *Iſrael*, as being wife unto their Father: as *Joſeph* is often called the Father of Chriſt, being only husband to his mother. And ſee ſuch another phraſe, *Gen.* 37.10. *Shall I, and thy mother come to bow down before thee?* Whereas *Joſephs* mother was dead already.

Verſ. 19. *But when* Herod *was dead, &c.*

The end of *Herod* was not long after the maſſacre of theſe infants, and his bloodineſs which he had uſed all his life long, and topped up in the murder of theſe innocents, and in deſire to have done as much to the Lord of life, the Lord doth now bring upon his own head. This matter with the children of *Bethlehem*, we conceive to have been ſome three months more or leſs before his end, in which ſpace this was his behaviour, as may be collected out of *Joſephus*.

He had ſlain long before this, his two ſons *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, and now was he about to do as much by his Son *Antipater*, a child too like the Father, and one whom he left by will the Succeſſor in his Kingdom: Him ſuſpected by him for ſome machination againſt himſelf he had now ſhut up in priſon, and intended him preſently for the execution, but that his ſickneſs whereof he died ſeizing on him gave ſome more ſpace to the impriſoned, and ſome hopes and poſſibilities of eſcaping. His diſeaſe was all theſe mixed together, an inward burning and exulceration, an inſatiable greedineſs and devouring, the Chollick, the Gout and Dropſie, his loins and ſecrets crawling with lice, and a ſtink about him, not to be indured. Theſe wringings and tortures of his body, meeting with the peeviſhneſs of old age, for he was now ſeventy, and with the natural cruelty which always had been in him, made him murderouſly minded above all meaſure: inſomuch that he put to death divers that had taken down a golden Eagle, which he had ſet up about the Temple: And when he grew near to his end, and ſaw himſelf ready to die, he ſlew his Son *Antipater*, and cauſed great multitudes of the Nobility and People to be cloſed up in a ſure place, giving command to ſlay them as ſoon as he was dead, for by that means he ſaid he ſhould have the Jews truly and really to ſorrow at his death. *Vid. Joſeph. Antiq. lib.*17. *cap.* 8, 9, 10. and *de Bel. lib.*1. *cap.* 21.

Verſ. 20. *For they are dead that ſought the young childs life.*

The like ſaying is to *Moſes*, *Exod.*4.19. where the word [*they*] may be underſtood of *Pharaoh* and his ſervants, which jointly ſought his life for the *Egyptians* ſake whom he had ſlain; and were now all dead and worn out in the fourty years of his being in *Midian*. But here [it is true indeed, that the ſeeking of the childs life may well be applied to *Herods* Servants, as well as himſelf] but that all they died with him or about the time of his death, who in flattery, or favour, or obedience to him, had promoted the ſlaughter at *Bethlehem*, and had ſought the childs life, I know not upon what ground it ſhould be conceived.

I ſhould therefore by the [*they*] in this place underſtand *Herod* and his Son *Antipater* jointly together: For if it be well conſidered how miſchievous this *Antipater* was againſt his own Brethren, and how he wrought their ruine and miſery, for fear they ſhould get betwixt him and the throne, yea, how he ſought the deſtruction of his own Father, becauſe he thought he kept him out of the Throne too long, it may very well be believed that he would bloodily ſtir againſt this new King of the Jews that the wiſemen ſpake of, for fear of interception of the Crown, as well as his Father: He died but five days before his fathers death, as it was touched before out of *Joſephus*; and thus God brought this bloodlineſs of the Father and the Son, and the reſt of their cruelties to an end, and upon their own heads at once, and in a manner, together; and thus may the words of the Angel be very fairly underſtood, *Take the child and return to the Land of Iſrael, for Herod and Antipater are dead, that ſought his life.*

Ver. 22. *Archelaus did reign in Judea in the room of his Father Herod.*

Herod had first named *Antipater* for his Successor in the Throne of *Judea*; but upon detection of his conspiracy against him, he altered his mind and his will, and nominated *Antipas*: and changing his mind yet again, he named *Archelaus*, and he succeeded him; a man not likely to prosper in a Throne, that was so bebloodied: His conclusion was, that in the tenth year of his reign, he was accused by the Nobles of *Judea* and *Samaria*, to *Augustus*, banished to *Vienna*, and his estate confiscate. *Jos. Ant. lib.* 17. *cap.* 15.

Ver. 23. *He shall be called a Nazarene.*

From *Isa.* 11. 1. where the *Messias* is called by the title *Nezer*, which indifferently signifieth *A branch*, and *the City Nazaret*: one and the same word denoting Christ, and the place where he should be born.

SECTION VIII.

S. LUKE, CHAP. II.

Christ sheweth his wisdom at twelve years old.

Ver. 40. AND (a) *the Child grew, and waxed strong in spirit, filled with wisdom, and the grace of God was upon him.*
41. *Now his Parents went to Jerusalem (b) every year at the Feast of the Passover.*
42. *And when he was twelve years old, they went up to Jerusalem after the custom of the Feast.*
43. *And when they had fulfilled the days, as they returned, the Child Jesus tarried behind in Jerusalem, and Joseph and his mother knew not of it.*
44. *But they supposing him to have been in the company, went a days journey, and they sought him among their kinsfolks and acquaintance.*
45. *And when they found him not, they turned back again to Jerusalem seeking him.*
46. *And it came to pass that after three days they found him in the Temple, sitting in the middest of the Doctors, both hearing them, and asking them questions.*
47. *And all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers.*
48. *And when they saw him they were amazed: and his mother said unto him, Son why hast thou thus dealt with us? Behold, thy father, and I have sought thee sorrowing.*
49. *And he said unto them, How is it that ye sought me? Wist ye not that I must* * *be about my Fathers business?*
50. *And they understood not the saying which he spake unto them.*
51. *And he went down with them, and came to Nazareth, and was subject unto them: but his mother kept all these sayings in her heart.*
52. *And Jesus increased in wisdom, and stature, and in favour with God and men.*

(a) Compare *Exod.* 2. 10. 1 *Sam.* 2. 26. *Jud.* 16. 24.
(b) *Exod.* 23. 15. 17.

* Or, *In my Fathers house.*

Reason of the Order.

THE Order of this Section dependeth so clearly upon the proper Order of that preceding, that that being made good, to lie where it doth, as in the proper place, the subsequence of this to it can nothing at all be doubted of. For whereas all the Evangelists have unanimously passed over in silence, all those years of Christs minority which intervened or passed, between his return out of *Egypt*, and this passage of his at twelve years old, there is nothing possible to be found in the Gospels, that can come between, to interpose this order and connexion. The carriage and demeanour of our Saviour in the time between, is only briefly comprised in the first verse of this portion, *And the child grew and waxed strong in spirit, filled with wisdom and the grace of God was upon him.*

Harmony and Explanation.

Ver. 40. *And the child grew, &c.*

TWO years Old he was when he went into *Egypt*: and there he aboad in his Exile, a very small time, it may be some two or three months: about such a space as *Moses* had been hid in *Egypt* in his Fathers house from the fury of *Pharaoh*. When he returned to *Nazareth* his Mothers City, being now about two years and a quarter old, he was not weaned [if in this he followed the use and custom of the Jewish children, as it is

is like he did] but ſtill ſucked his Mothers breaſts: As he grew in body, he grew much more in mind; for ſo the phraſe, *He waxed ſtrong in Spirit*, ſeemeth to be underſtood by the Evangeliſt; taking *Spirit*, not ſo much for the Holy Ghoſt, though it is paſt queſtion, he was filled with that, as for his Soul or ſpiritual part of his humane nature. And ſo he deſcribeth his growth in both parts, in the two expreſſions, *The child grew in body, and waxed ſtrong* in intellect and ſoul: *filled with wiſdom*, in an extraordinary manner above other children, and a graciouſneſs appeared in him both in perſon and actions.

Ver. 41. *Now his Parents went to* Jeruſalem, *&c.*

Joſeph is called *the Parent* of Chriſt, as *Paul* calleth preaching *fooliſhneſs*, 1 *Cor.* 1.21, 23. becauſe he was ſo commonly reputed by men: And as for Womens going up to this Feſtival, whereas the Law required only the Males appearance before the Lord, three times in the year, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of it hereafter.

Ver. 42. *And when he was twelve years old*, &c.

At what age our Saviour ſheweth his admirable wiſdom in the Temple among the *Doctors*, in this Story; at the ſame age had *Solomon* ſhewed his, in the matter of the two Hoſteſſes, about the dead and living child, 1 *King.*3.25.28. For that he was twelve years old at that time, may be conceived upon theſe collections.

Firſt, *Abſalom* began to rebel in the thirty ſeventh year of *Davids* Reign, or three years before his death, or thereabout; This is to be picked out of that dateleſs reckoning of years, 2 *Sam.*15.7. *And after forty years* Abſalom *ſaid, let me go pay my vow, &c.* Theſe forty years are counted from the time that *Iſrael* asked a King: three of *Sauls* Reign, 1 *Sam.*13.1. and ſeven and thirty of *Davids*, and then began *Abſalom* to challenge the Kingdom: and the reckoning from that date giveth this hint and intimation, that as their asking a King then did ſore diſpleaſe the Lord, ſo now are they puniſhed in the proper kind for it, when they have ſo many Kings that they know not well which to follow, and many of them periſh in following the uſurper.

Secondly, Before his open rebellion, *Abſalom* had been two years in *Jeruſalem*, and not ſeen the Kings face, 2 *Sam.*14.28.

Thirdly, Before that time, he had been three years in deſerved exile in *Geſhur*, 2 *Sam.*13.38.

Fourthly, And two years had paſſed betwixt the rape of *Tamar* and ſlaughter of *Amnon*, which occaſioned him into that exile, 2 *Sam.*13.23.

So that counting all theſe years together, they appear clearly to be ten at the leaſt, betwixt the rape of *Tamar* and *Davids* death: and ſo are they ſo many of *Solomons* age at the ſame time.

Now that there was ſome good ſpace that paſſed betwixt theſe ſums of time mentioned, as betwixt the birth of *Solomon* and the rape of *Tamar*, betwixt *Abſaloms* ſeeing of the Kings face, and his breaking out after into that rebellion, and other ſpaces, it cannot be denied upon ſerious and conſiderate caſting up of the Story: But to find out the exact ſpace and meaſure of time is hardly poſſible; and ſo is it to determine the age of our Saviour at the time of his diſputing with the Doctors. For though the Evangeliſt ſay that he was twelve years old, yet hath he left it doubtful, whether current or compleat: and that it was a whole half year under or over, it cannot be denied, ſeeing that he was born about *September*, and this his diſputing was at the Paſsover, about *March* or *April*. So when we ſay *Solomon* was twelve years old when he began to Reign, and when he determined the controverſie of the two Hoſteſſes, it is not neceſſary, punctually to pick out and ſhew that ſpace of time to all exactneſs, it ſufficeth to ſhew that the Text bringeth him near to that age under or over. *See Ignat. Martyr in Epiſt. ad Magnes.*

Verſ. 43. *The child* Jeſus *tarried behind in* Jeruſalem, *and* Joſeph *and his Mother knew not of it.*

That morning that they were to depart to their own home, it was the cuſtom to go firſt to the Temple, and to worſhip the Lord, 1 *Sam.* 1.19. Now the multitudes that went together at theſe times were exceeding great and many, all the males of the Nation, and very many of the females being conſtantly preſent at theſe occaſions.

When therefore *Joſeph* and *Mary*, and the Galilean company that went along with them, departed from the Temple to go their Journey, it is likely that Chriſt ſtayed behind them in the Temple Court, where alſo he haunted, till they found him again. Now he having been abſent from them, and in other companies ſometimes before in the Feſtival week, as it can hardly be doubted, it is not to be wondred if they were not ſo punctually

punctually exact, as to be ſure to bring him with them in their ſight out of the Temple and the City. For they knew not, nor could they conceive, that he had any thing to do, or how he could ſtay behind them when they were gone, and therefore though they ſaw him not, yet doubted they not but he was with ſome of his acquaintance or other, in that vaſt and numerous multitude: Yea, ſo confident they were of this, that when after a while they miſſed him, yet did they not ſuſpect his ſtaying behind them in *Jeruſalem*, but went that days journey forward, ſearching and inquiring for him among their kindred and acquaintance, that went along with them [for ſo are thoſe words to be underſtood] till they came to their lodging. And by that time, not having found him, they reſolve, and accordingly do, on the next morning return for *Jeruſalem*.

It is conceived by ſome, that the multitudes going to and from theſe feſtivals, went, the men by themſelves, and the women by themſelves, and the children indifferently with either parent, as they thought good, and ſo *Mary* ſuppoſed that *Jeſus* was with *Joſeph*, and *Joſeph* ſuppoſed that he was with *Mary*, and by this miſ-apprehenſion, they went their firſt days journey, till they met at their lodging, before they miſt him: But if that were certain, which is very doubtful, that they thus travailed males and females apart; yet it is clear by the Text, that they jointly miſt him in their firſt days journy, and betimes in the journey, long before they came to their Inn; and yet would not return to ſeek him at *Jeruſalem*, where they could not ſo much as ſuſpect that he would ſtay behind, when he ſaw all the company ſetting homewards; but they ſtill go on their journey, and inquire up and down in the company for him, till their not meeting him at night reſolves them, that he was not in the company at all.

Verſ. 46. *After three days they found him in the Temple.*

That is, on the third day: for one they ſpent in journying home-wards, though they miſſed him, the other in returning that journey to *Jeruſalem*, and on the third day they find him in the Temple, where he had ſlipped from them in the croud when they came to do their farewel-Worſhip.

§. *In the Temple ſitting in the midſt of the Doctors.*

Compare *Pſal.* 82. 1. *Hag.* 2. 7. *Mal.* 3. 1, 2.

The *Sanhedrin*, or great Bench of Judges and Doctors ſate in the Court of the Temple: This *R. Solomon* obſerveth upon the conjuncture of the end of the twentieth, and beginning of the one and twentieth Chapters of *Exodus*: for whereas the twentieth ends with, *An Altar of Earth ſhalt thou make unto me, &c.* and the one and twentieth begins with, *And theſe are the judgments*, his collection from hence is, that the Judges were to ſit in the Sanctuary. And to the ſame purpoſe, and far more largely ſpeaketh *Maimonides*; The *Sanhedrin*, ſaith he, ſate in the Sanctuary, *and their number was ſeventy one, as it is ſaid*, Gather me ſeventy men of the Elders of Iſrael, *and Moſes was over them, as it is ſaid*, and let them ſtand there with thee, *behold ſeventy one. The chiefeſt in wiſdom among them, they made head over them, and he was the head of the Bench, and Wiſemen conſtantly call him* Naſi [*the Prince*,] *and he ſtands in ſtead of Moſes: And him that is chief among the LXX, they appoint ſecond to the head, and he ſits on his right hand, and he is called* Ab beth Din, *or the Father of the Court, and the reſt of the LXX ſit before them two, according to their Dignity, &c. And they ſit as it were in half the floor in a Circle, that the* Naſi, *and the* Ab beth Din *may ſee them all. And they erected alſo two other Courts of Judges, of twenty three men a piece, one by the Gate of the Court, and one by the Gate of the mountain of the houſe: Maimond. in Sanhedr. per.* 1. 5. That is, one at the gate of the outer Court, and another at the gate of the inner. Now into which of theſe Societies our Saviour was got at this time, it is ſomething hard to determine, ſince being in any of them he may be ſaid to be in the Temple.

SECTION IX.

St. MATTHEW. CHAP. III.

The Ministry of *John* the *Baptist* the beginning of the Gospel. Multitudes baptized

1. IN those days came John the Baptist preaching in the wilderness of Judea.

2. And saying, Repent ye, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.

3. For this is he that was spoken of by the Prophet Esaias, saying, The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths streight.

4. And the same John had his (f) rayment of Camels hair, and a leathern (g) girdle about his loins, and his meat was (h) locusts, and wild (i) honey.

5. Then went out to him Jerusalem, and all Judea, and all the Region round about Jordan.

6. And were baptized of him in Jordan, confessing their sins.

7. But when he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees come to his baptism, he said unto them, O generation of Vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?

8. Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance.

9. And think not to say within your selves, We have Abraham to our Father: For I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to raise up Children to Abraham.

10. And now also (l) is the ax laid unto the root of the trees: Therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewen down, and cast into the fire.

(a) Called *Claudius Tiberius Nero*, and for his vitiousness and intemperance, *Claudius Biberius Mero*, *Suet. in Ti. c. 42.*

(b) *Pontius* was a common *prænomen* among the *Romans*. as *Pontius Nigrinus*, *Dion. lib. 58. Pontius Fregellanus Tac. an. l 6* & *Pontia, Id. ib. lib. 13.* derived belike *a ponte*.

(c) A *Pilo*, a *Roman* weapon or *pila* a pillar.

(d) In *Josephus* called *Ananus*.

(e) Not *Christ* the crier, and *John* his voice, as some would understand it, but *John* the crier, and his voice, his preaching.

(f) A rough garment, the garb of a Prophet *Zech* 13.4

(g) See *Elias* so arrayed, 2 *King* 1.8.

(h) A clean meat, *Lev.* 11. 22.

(i) Honey abroad in the fields, a *Deut.* 32. 13. *Judg.* 14.8. 1 *Sam.* 14.26.

(l) The same word is used by the LXX. *Psal.* 74. 6. *Judg.* 9. 48. 1 *Sam.* 13. 20. the word ברנא which the *Syrian* hath is used by the *Chaldee Par. Job.* 14.20. or in our English 29. v.

St. MARK. CHAP. I.

1. THE beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God.

2. As it is written in the Prophets: Behold, I send my Messengers before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee.

3. The voice of one crying in the Wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths streight.

4. John did baptize in the Wilderness, and preach the Baptism of repentance for the remission of sins.

5. And there went out unto him all the land of Judea, and they of Jerusalem, and were all baptized of him, in the river of Jordan confessing their sins.

6. And John was clothed with Camels hair, and with a girdle of skin about his loins; and he did eat locusts and wild honey.

St. LUKE. CHAP. III.

1. NOW in the fifteenth year of Tiberius (a) Cæsar, (b) Pontius (c) Pilate being Governour of Judea, and Herod being Tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip Tetrarch of Iturea, and of the region of Trachonitis, and Lysanias the Tetrarch of Abylene.

2. (d) Annās and Caiaphas being the High Priests, the word of God came unto John the Son of Zacharias in the wilderness.

3. And he came into all the Country about Jordan, preaching the Baptism of repentance, for the remission of sins.

4. As it is written in the Book of the words of Esaias the Prophet, saying, (e) The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths streight.

5. Every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low, and the crooked shall be made streight, and the rough ways shall be made smooth.

6. And all flesh shall see the salvation of God.

7. Then said he to the multitude that came forth to be baptized of him, O generation of Vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?

8. Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of repentance: And begin not to say within your selves, We have Abraham to our Father: For I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to raise up Children unto Abraham.

9. And now also the ax is laid unto the root of the trees; Every tree therefore which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewen down, and cast into the fire.

10. And the people asked him saying, What shall we do then?

11. *He anſwereth and ſaith unto them, He that hath two* * *coats, let him impart to him that none, and he that hath meat let him do likewiſe.*

12. *Then came alſo Publicans to be baptized, and ſaid unto him, Maſter, what ſhall we do.*

13. *And he ſaid unto them, Exact no more then that which is appointed you.*

14. *And the Souldiers likewiſe demanded of him ſaying, And what ſhall we do? And he ſaid unto them, Do violence to no man, neither* ‖ *accuſe any falſely, and be content with your* † *wages.*

15. *And as the people were in expectation, and all men muſed in their hearts of John, whether he were the Chriſt, or not;*

* Χιτῶνα, or Ionice, χιτῶν from the Hebr. כתנת: It properly ſignifieth the upper garment, as in the LXX, Gen. 37. 3. Mat 5. 40. Athen. deipnoſ. lib. 1. Tullus gave to five hundred horſemen, χιτῶνα καὶ ἱμάτιον, *A coat and a ſuite.* ‖ Συκοφαντήσητε. *Iſter in Atticis* ſaith, *It is not lawful to carry Figs out of* Attica *which grew there, becauſe the Inhabitants may enjoy them themſelves: And whereas many were found out, that ſtole them forth of the Country, thoſe that detected any ſuch to the Magiſtrates, were at firſt called Sycophants. Athen. deipn. lib.* 3. At the firſt the honeſteſt and beſt men of repute, were appointed to be Overſeers in this matter about Tranſportation; but in time, the Office being abuſed, the name came into utter diſgrace, *Idem Ibid.* and ſo a Sycophant was no better then a common Barretor. *This is the cuſtom of Sycophants, that they themſelves will begin to ſpeak evil of a man, and to utter ſomething againſt him as in ſecret, that another hearing ſo much, may alſo be induced to ſpeak the like, and ſo become liable to be accuſed: For thus they do without danger, becauſe they do it upon a Plot,* &c. Dion. Caſſ. lib. 58. † The Greek here uſeth a Latin word, *Opſonium*, as being ſpoken to the *Roman* Souldiers, and a word with which they were beſt acquainted. *Carus panaria cum opſonio viritim dedit,* Sueton. in Calo. cap. 18. Uſed again, Rom. 6. 23.

11. *I, indeed baptize you with water, unto repentance: but he that cometh after me, is mightier then I, whoſe ſhoos I am not worthy to bear, he ſhall baptize you with the Holy Ghoſt, and with fire.*	7. *And preached ſaying, There cometh one mightier then I after me, the latchet of whoſe ſhoos I am not worthy to ſtoop down and unlooſe.*	16. *John anſwered, ſaying unto them all, I indeed baptize you with water, but one mightier then I cometh, the latchet of whoſe ſhoos, I am not worthy to unlooſe: he ſhall baptize you with the Holy Ghoſt, and with fire.*
12. *Whoſe fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the garner: but will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.*	8. *I indeed have baptized you with water; but he ſhall baptize you with the Holy Ghoſt.*	17. *Whoſe fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and will gather the wheat into his garner, but the chaff he will burn with fire unquenchable.*
		18. *And many other things in his exhortation preached he unto the people.*

Reaſon of the Order.

ALthough there be a very large ſpace of time betwixt the Section laſt preceding, and the beginning of this, yet becauſe the Reader in his Bible can ſee nothing mentioned in any of the four that may come between, he will eaſily ſatisfie himſelf without any further diſcourſe, that the order is neceſſary, and the connexion undeniable. But it may be, he may wonder why the Evangeliſts have paſſed ſo much time in ſilence, without any mention at all of our Saviour Chriſt, or of any thing done or ſpoken by him: But when he ſhall obſerve in the very firſt words of this Section, that the Preaching of *John*, and his baptiſm was the beginning of the Goſpel, then will he ſee that they haſten to that and forward, as to the main aim, and chief intention of their writing, but that the conception and birth of *Chriſt* and his forerunner were neceſſarily to be related before.

In theſe collateral columns of the Text, and forward, where we ſhall have occaſion to uſe them ſo, the Readers eye muſt ſometimes help to lay them together, where the pen could not, without changing and tranſpoſing the natural method of the Text; as in this Section now in hand, it had been both as eaſie for me to have written the third verſe of *Mark*, after the fourth and fifth, as before them, and more agreeing to the columns on either ſide it; but that I would not be ſo bold as to change verſes without any reaſon, which *Mark* not without good reaſon did diſpoſe as they lie. And this cauteloufneſs have I obſerved all along as I go, where occaſion is offered; preſuming rather to trouble the Reader to rank them with his eye, then to tear the Text in the whole cloth, and then ſew it together at other edges. It will ſometimes be inevitable, but that we muſt invert and alter the order of one Evangeliſt or other, from what he had laid it; but whereſoever that ſhall be ſo, there ſhall be ſuch a reaſon given for it, as I hope ſhall be to the Readers ſatisfaction, and mine own excuſe.

Harmony and Explanation.

MARK I. Verſ. 1.

The beginning of the Goſpel.

THE beginning of that age of the world, which the Prophets ſo unanimouſly pointed out for the time of good things to come; and which they expreſſed ſometimes by the term of *The laſt days*, *Eſa.* 2.2. *Mich.* 4.1. *Joel* 2.28. Sometimes, of the acceptable year of the Lord, *Eſa.* 61.1. Sometimes, of *the Kingdom of God*, *Dan.* 2.44. & 7.14. and ſometimes, of *a New Heaven, and a New Earth*, *Eſa.* 65.17. And which the Goſpel it ſelf doth begin from the beginning of the Miniſtry and Preaching of *John* the Baptiſt, as in this verſe, and *Matth.* 11.13. *Act.* 1.22. & 10.37. So that though in our Chronicle account, and computation, we begin to reckon from the birth of our Saviour the ſecond *Adam*, as the age of the world before, was reckoned from the Creation of the firſt; yet in ſtrict and exact computing, the new world, as one may call it, or the age of the Goſpel began not before the ſetting forth of *John*, to preach and baptize; and this his Miniſtry is moſt fitly called the *beginning* of the Goſpel both in regard of his preaching and of his baptizing.

For, firſt, the Doctrine and Preaching of *John*, was of a differing ſtrain, and diverſe tenour from the litteral Doctrine of the Law: For that called all for works and for exact performance, *Do this and live*; and, *He that doth not all the words of this Law, is curſed*; But *John* called for repentance, and for renewing of the mind, and for belief in him that was coming after, diſclaiming all righteouſneſs by the works and performance of the Law, but proclaiming repentance for non-performance, and righteouſneſs only to be had by *Chriſt*. So that here were new Heavens, and a new Earth begun to be created; a new Commandment given, a new Church founded, juſtification by the works of the Law cryed down, and the glorious Doctrine of Repentance and Faith ſet up.

Secondly, Whereas Baptiſm was uſed before among the Jews, only for admiſſion of Proſelytes or Heathens to their Church and Religion, [*as Vid. Aben Ezra, Gen.* 35. *Rambam in Iſſurei Biah per.* 13.] now it is publiſhed and propoſed to the Jews themſelves to be received, and undergone, ſhewing unto them; 1. That they were now to be entred and tranſplanted into a new profeſſion. And 2. That the Gentiles and they were now to be knit into one Church and Body.

The Miniſtery of *John* being of ſo high concernment, as being thus the beginning of the Goſpel, and of a new World, it is no wonder, that St. *Luke* doth ſo exactly point out the year by the Reign of the Emperor, the rule of *Pilate*, *Herod*, *Philip*, and *Lyſanias*, the High Prieſthood of *Annas* and *Caiaphas*, that ſo remarkable a year might be fixed and known to all the World, and that the condition and the ſtate of the times might be obſerved when the Goſpel began. And here it might have been proper to have begun the ſecond part of this our task, and not to have driven over this Period of time, and to ſtop half a year after it at the baptiſm of our Saviour; but ſince his preaching and appearing to the World, is the great and main thing that the Evangeliſts look after, and ſince the preaching of the Baptiſt was but a Preface and forerunner unto that of his; it is not unproper, and may be very excuſable to make that our entrance to another part, and take this with us in our motion to our lodging and reſting there.

§. *Of Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God.*

This title of *The Son of God*, is proclaimed of Chriſt from Heaven, at his baptiſm, when he is to begin to preach the Goſpel, as it is ſaid here to be *the Goſpel of the Son of God*. And it was neceſſary that ſo much ſhould be intimated and learned concerning him, as the author of the Goſpel, Becauſe 1. The Goſpel was the full revealing and opening of the will of the Father. 2. The overthrow and ruine of the Rites and Ceremonies of *Moſes*. 3. The admiſſion of heathen and ſtrangers to be the Church and people of the Lord, whereas *Iſrael* had been his peculiar before. 4. It was a Doctrine of truſting in another, and not ones ſelf for ſalvation, and who was fit for doing the three former, or for being the object of the latter, but *Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God*, who came from the boſom of the Father, was the ſubſtance and body of thoſe ſhadows and Ceremonies, might raze that partition wall, which in the giving of the Law himſelf had reared, and did not only preach the Doctrine of the Goſpel, but alſo fully perform the Law.

Verſ. 2. *As it is written in the Prophets.*

It ſeemeth by the *Syrian*, *Arabick*, *Vulgar Latine*, *Victor Antiochenus*, *Origen* cited by him, and others, that ſome Copies read, *As it is written in Eſaias the Prophet:* and ſo *Janſenius* thinketh it was ſo written by *Mark* himſelf, but purpoſely changed by the Doctors of the Church, as we read it now, to avoid the difficulty which the other reading carried with it.

But, firſt, it were a very ſtrange and impious, though an eaſie way of reſolving doubts, to add to, or diminiſh from the Text at pleaſure, as the Text ſhall ſeem eaſie or difficult: This is not to expound the Bible, but to make a new one, or a Text of ones own head.

Secondly, In ancienter times then any of theirs that are produced, which read, In *Eſaias* the Prophet, it was read as we do, *In the Prophets*, as *Janſenius* himſelf ſheweth out of *Irenæus*, *lib.* 3. *chap.* 11.

Thirdly, The one half of the words alledged in the Text, are not in *Eſay* at all, but in *Malachi:* and the firſt half alſo, for that is conſiderable. For though ſometime the New Teſtament in Allegations from the Old, do cloſely couch two ſeveral places together under one quotation, as if they were but one; yet maketh it ſure, that the firſt always is that very place which it takes on it to cite, though the ſecond be another: as *Acts* 7.7. *Steven* alledgeth a ſpeech of God, as if uttered to *Abraham* alone; whereas it is two ſeveral quotations, and two ſeveral ſpeeches tied up in one; the one ſpoken to *Abraham* indeed, but the other to *Moſes*, almoſt four hundred years after; and that to *Abraham* is ſet the firſt, for he is the ſubject whereupon the allegation is produced.

Fourthly, It is a manner of ſpeech not uſed in the New Teſtament, to ſay, it is written, or it is ſaid *in* ſuch or ſuch a Prophet, but *by* him. We find indeed, *It is written in the Law*, Luke 10. 26. And, *It is written in the book of Pſalms*, Acts 1. 20. Yea, *It is written in the Prophets*, Joh. 6. 45. but no where that it is written in a ſingle Prophet.

Fifthly, To read as we do, *As it is written in the Prophets*, agreeth with the ordinary and uſual diviſion of the Old Teſtament, by the Hebrews, into תנך or *Oraietha*, *Nebhyim*, *Chetubbim*. The Law, the Prophets, and the Holy writs; approved and followed by our Saviour, *Luke* 24.44. and alluded to by the Evangeliſt here.

[*Before thy face, &c. Thy way before thee.*] The former is neither in the Hebrew, nor in the LXX at all: the latter is in them both, but clean contrary, for they both have it, The way before *me*.

But, firſt, The Evangeliſts and Apoſtles, when they take on them to cite any Text from the Old Teſtament, are not ſo punctual to obſerve the exact and ſtrict form of words, as the pith of them, or ſenſe of the place; as might be inſtanced in many particulars: ſo that the difference of the words would not prejudice the agreement in ſenſe, were there not ſo flat difference of perſon, as *me* and *thee*.

Secondly, The Majeſty of Scripture doth often ſhew it ſelf in requoting of places, in this, that it alledgeth them in difference of words and difference of ſenſe, yea, ſometimes in contrariety, not to make one place to croſs or deny another, but by the variety one to explain and illuſtrate another, as in correſponding places in the Old Teſtament might be ſhewed at large, as *Gen.* 10.22, 23. cited, 1 *Chron.* 1. 17. *Gen.* 36. 12. compared with 1 *Chron.* 1.36. 1 *Sam.* 25.44. paralleled, 2 *Sam.* 21.8. 2 *Chron.* 3. 15. with *Jer.* 52.21. and very many other places of the like nature: wherein the Holy Ghoſt having penned a thing in one place, doth by variety of words and ſenſe, inlarge and expound himſelf in another. And the ſame divine authority and Majeſty doth he alſo uſe in the New Teſtament, both in parallel places in it ſelf, and in citations in it, from the Old. So that this difference in hand, betwixt *My face*, in *Malachy*; and *thy face*, in *Mark*, is not contradictory or croſſing one another, but explicatory or one explaining another, and both together do reſult to the greater myſtery. For Chriſt is the *face* or preſence of the Father: and ſo is he plainly called, *Exod.* 33.14. and in Chriſt, the Father came and revealed himſelf among men: and the words in both places, both in the Prophet and in the Evangeliſt, are to be taken for the words of the Father; in the one, ſpoken of the Son, and in the other, to him: In *Malachy* thus, Behold I ſend my Meſſenger before me to prepare the way *before my face*; that is, before the Son, as he is in his own nature, the very brightneſs of the glory of the Father, and the expreſs image of his perſon, *Heb.* 1 3. and in *Mark* thus, to prepare the way *before thy face*, that is, before thee, O Son, when thou comeſt to undertake the work of Redemption, and to publiſh the Goſpel. And this change of perſons in Grammatical conſtruction is uſual in the Hebrews Eloquence and Rhetorique; as 1 *Sam.* 2.23. My heart rejoyceth *in the Lord*, I rejoyce *in thy ſalvation*. There is none holy *as the Lord*, for there is none *beſide thee*, *&c. Zech.* 12.10. They ſhall look

look upon *me*, whom they have pierced, and they ſhall mourn for *him*: and 14. 5. The Lord *my* God ſhall come, and all the Saints with *thee*.

Luke 3. ver. 1. *In the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæſar.*

This *Tiberius* was the third Emperor of the Romans, the ſon of *Livia*, the wife of *Auguſtus*, and by him adopted into the family of the *Cæſars*, and to the Empire: A man of ſuch ſubtilty, cruelty, avarice, and beſtiality, that for all, or indeed for any of theſe, few ſtories can ſhew his parallel: And as if in this very beginning of the Goſpel, he were produced of ſuch a conſtitution, to teach us what to look for from that cruel and abominable City, in all ages and ſucceſſions.

Now *Tiberius* his fifteenth was the year of the world 3957. And the time of the year that *John* began to Baptize in it, was about *Eaſter*, or the vernal Equinox, as may be concluded from the time of the Baptiſm of our Saviour. For if *Jeſus* were baptized in *Tiſri* or *September*, as is cleared hereafter, he being then but juſt entring upon his thirtieth year, as the Law required, *Numb.*4. And if *John* being ſix months elder then our Saviour, as it is plain he was, did enter his Miniſtry at the very ſame age, according to the ſame Law, it readily follows, that the time mentioned, was the time when he began to Preach. It was indeed *Tiberius* his fifteenth when *John* began to baptize, but it may very well be queſtioned, whether it were ſo when our Saviour was baptized by him: For the exact beginning of every year of *Tiberius* his reign, was from the fourteenth of the *Kalends of September*, or the eighteenth of *Auguſt*, at what time *Auguſtus* died: *Sueton. in Aug. cap.* 100. That fifteenth of the Emperor therefore, in the Spring time of which *John* began to baptize, was expired before *September*, when our Saviour was baptized, and ſo his baptiſm is to be reputed in the year of the world 3958. which was then but newly begun, and in the ſixteenth year of *Tiberius*, but newly begun neither, unleſs you will reckon the year of the Emperor, as the Romans did the year of the Conſuls, from *January* to *January*: But this we will not controvert, nor croſs the common and conſtant opinion of all times, that holdeth our Saviour to have been baptized in *Tiberius* his fifteenth.

§. *Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea.*

Here is called *Procurator Judeæ* by *Tacitus*, *Annal. lib.*15. and hath this brand ſet upon him by *Egiſippus*, that he was *Vir nequam & parvi faciens mendacium*, *De excid. Jeruſ. l.* 2. *c.*5. *A wicked man and one that made little conſcience of a lie*; from which unconſcionable diſpoſition, thoſe words of his, *What is truth*, *Joh.* 18. 38. ſeem to proceed, in ſcorn of truth, and deriſion of it. He ſucceeded *Gratus*, in the government of *Judea*: managed it with a great deal of troubleſomneſs and vexation to the nation: and at laſt was put out of his rule by *Vitellius*, and ſent to *Rome*, to anſwer for his miſdemeanours. *Joſeph. Antiq. lib.*18. *c.*3.4,5. *Philo in legatione.*

§. *Herod being Tetrarch of Galilee.*

This was *Antipas* the ſon of *Herod* the great, and called alſo *Herod* after his Father, a man that after a long and wicked miſdemeanour, in his place, was at laſt baniſhed by *Caius* upon the accuſation of his Nephew *Herod Agrippa*, and *Herodias* his inceſtuous mate with him, as ſhall be ſhewed in a more proper place.

§. *Tetrarch.*

Some tying themſelves too ſtrictly, to the ſignification of the Greek word, underſtand by *Tetrarch*, him that governeth the fourth part of a Kingdom, for the Original word includeth *four*: and accordingly have concluded, that the Kingdom of *Herod* the great was divided by *Auguſtus* after his death into four parts, and given to his four ſons, *Archelaus* [in whoſe room they ſay ſucceeded *Pontius Pilate*] *Herod Antipas*, *Philip*, and *Lyſanias*. In this ſtrictneſs hath the *Syrian* Tranſlator taken the word, rendring it thus, *Herod being the fourth Ruler in Galilee, and Philip the fourth ruler in Iturea.* And the *Arabick* thus: *Herod being head over a fourth part, even Galilee*: and ſo in the reſt. But if the opinion be narrowly examined, theſe abſurdities will be found in it.

Firſt, It maketh a Tetrarchy to be nothing elſe, but exactly the fourth part of a Kingdom, whereas *Pliny*, *lib.*5. *cap.*18. ſpeaketh of Tetrarchies that were like Kingdoms, and compacted into Kingdoms, and he nameth *Trachonitis* for one. His words are theſe: *Intercurrunt, cinguntque has Uerbes, Tetrarchiæ regnorum inſtar ſingulæ, & in regna contribuuntur, Trachonitis, Paneas, in qua Cæſarea cum ſupradicto fonte Abila.* And in *chap.* 23.

he

he saith, *Cœlosyria* had seventeen Tetrarchies, *Tetrarchias in regna descriptas, barbaris nominibus decem & septem.*

Secondly, It divideth *Herods* kingdom into four parts, whereas it was parted only into three, to his three Sons, *Joseph. Ant. lib.* 17.

Thirdly, It maketh *Lysanias* to be *Herods* son, which he was not at all.

A Tetrarch therefore seemeth rather to be one that was in the fourth rank or degree of excellency and government in the *Roman* Empire: the Emperor that was Lord of all the Empire being the first, the Proconsul that governed a Province the second, a King the third, and a Tetrarch the fourth. So *Mishneh*, and *Shalish* in the Hebrew, signifie a man, second or third to the King.

§. *And his brother Philip being Tetrarch, &c.*

Herod made Antipas [*whom he had intended for King, but changing his mind, he changed his last will*] *Tetrarch of Galilee and Perœa. And the Kingdom he bestowed on Archelaus: And Gaulonitis and Trachonitus, and Batanœa, and Paneas he bestowed on Philip who was his own son, and own brother to Archelaus, to be a Tetrarchy,* Josep. Ant. l. 17. c. 10.

§. *Of Iturea.*

This Country seemeth to have taken its denomination from *Itur* one of the sons of *Ismael*, *Gen.* 25. 15. and it lay * edging upon *Arabia*, but ‖ reckoned to *Syria*, and upon that reference mentioned by the Evangelist here. For he speaketh of these Countries and Tetrarchies, because *Syria* and *Judea* were but one Province, and under one Proconsul. And therefore as he nameth the government of *Canaan*, in the two Countries of *Judea* and *Galilee*, so doth he also the government of *Syria*, under three, *Ituria*, *Trachonitis* and *Abilene:* And this is agreeable to what he had done in *Chap.* 2. 1. when he spake of the time of our Saviours birth: for as he there dateth the Tax that then was, by the time of a governor of *Syria*, so doth he now the beginning of the Gospel by the time of the Rulers there, as well as in *Judea*. And this was also most sutable to the *Roman* Records, where, seeing that *Syria* and *Judea* were joyned together into one Province, it is not to be doubted, but their Governors were named together, as members of one body.

* *Stra. lib.* 16. ‖ *Plin. lib.* 5. *cap.* 23.

§. *And the Region of Trachonitis.*

The name of this Country, as it seemeth by *Strabo*, was taken from two mountains, or Rocks, called *Trachones:* and they very probably so called from the Hebrew word, טרח, which signifieth *wearisomness*, in regard of the irksom and tedious difficulty of passing over them: as *Strabo* instantly after them, speaketh of other mountains towards *Arabia* and *Iturea*, which he titleth ὄρη Νισβατα, hills hard to travel over. *Josephus* supposeth Uz the eldest son of *Aram*, to have been the first Inhabiter of this Country, *Antiq. lib.* 1. *cap.* 7. but whether it were that son of his or no, it is not so material to inquire, as it is to observe that it was reputed a Country belonging to *Aram*, or within the compass of *Syria:* very theevish in the time of *Herod*, and the Inhabitants living upon the robbery of the *Damascens*, that lay near unto them: *Joseph. Antiq. lib.* 15. *cap.* 13.

Strab. ubi sup. 1. *Plin. l.* 5. *c.* 18.

§. *Lysanias.*

He was not a son of *Herod*, as is supposed by some, nor an immediate son of *Ptolomy Mennæus*, neither, as is held by others. [For though *Josephus Antiq. lib.* 14. *cap.* 23. and *de Bel. lib. cap.* 11. telleth that *Lysanias* succeeded his father *Ptolomy Mennæus*, yet it cannot be the same man possibly, that St. *Luke* here speaketh of, for that *Lysanias* was slain by the means of *Cleopatra*, a good space of time before our Saviour was born, *Jos. Antiq. lib.* 15. *cap.* 4.] But the *Lysanias* here mentioned, might be the great Grandchild of *Mennæus*, or some one of that house, that bare the same name with *Mennæus* his immediate son and successor.

§. *Abilene.*

This Country was so named from the City *Abila*, which *Ptolomy*, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 15. hath reckoned for a City of *Cœlosyria*, [or as some Copies have it, of *Decapolis*] and with this title, Ἄβιλα ἡ λεγομένη Λυσανίου, *Abila surnamed from Lysanias:* see also *Pliny*, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 18. This word soundeth so near to the word *Havilah*, *Gen.* 2. 11. & 10. 7. that it may very well

well be ſuppoſed to have deſcended from it, and the name of the place from that ſon of *Chuſh*, that planted with his brethren mentioned with him, *in Arabia* and thereabouts.

Verſ. 2. *Annas and Caiaphas being the High Prieſt.*

There could be but one High Prieſt properly ſo called at one time: and that *Caiaphas* was he at this time, it is moſt clear, both out of *Joſephus*, and out of the Scripture. Now *Annas* is ſaid to be High Prieſt with him, becauſe he was the *Naſi* or head of the *Sanhedrin*, and ſo repreſented *Moſes*, as *Caiaphas* did *Aaron*, and he was of the ſeed of the Prieſts, as well as *Caiaphas* was. An evidence of his being the head of the great Councel, is, in that when our Saviour was apprehended, he was firſt led to *Annas*, *Joh.* 18.13. and by him bound and ſent to *Caiaphas*, *ver.*24. and that *Annas* is firſt placed in the Councel, *Act.* 4.6. We ſhall have more punctual occaſion hereafter to look after this man, and then will we ſee what we can find ſpoken of him by *Joſephus*.

§. *The Word of the Lord came to* John.

Such was the commiſſion of the Prophets, as *Jer.* 1. 2. *Ezek.* 6.1, &c. And this proclaimeth *John* a Prophet, as well as they. And here had he his warrant for his Miniſtry, and this was the inſtitution of the Sacrament of Baptiſm. Now whether the word of the Lord that came to *John* and to the Prophets, be to be underſtood of his perſonal and ſubſtantial word, as *Joh.*1.1. or of the word of Propheſie ſuggeſted to them by the Holy Ghoſt; and whether *John* had this word imparted to him, by viſion, or dream, or rapture, or what other way, it is not ſo material to inquire, as it is difficult to reſolve; only this is not impertinent to obſerve, That whereas the race of the Prophets that were ſent to teach and to preach to the people by the word of the Lord, was expired and extinguiſhed long ago, in the death of *Malachy* the laſt of that race, there is now another race of ſuch preachers to be raiſed again, *viz.* *John*, and the great Prophet, and the Apoſtles, and this is the entrance or beginning to that glorious generation. For we are to diſtinguiſh, betwixt having the gift and ſpirit of Propheſie, and betwixt being ſent by that ſpirit for a conſtant Preacher to the people. *Deborah* and *Barak*, and *Huldah* and *Hannah*, and divers others both men and women had the ſpirit of Propheſie upon them, but never had warrant to go and preach, and to be conſtant miniſters to the Church. But *Eſay*, and *Jeremy*, and *Ezekiel*, and the reſt of that form, under the Old Teſtament, and *John* and the Apoſtles under the New, had not only the ſpirit of Propheſie upon them, to foretel things to come, but they had alſo the *word of the Lord came unto them*, which gave them commiſſion to be continual preachers, and entred them into the function of a conſtant Miniſtry. As ſee how the Baptiſt himſelf explaineth what is meant by this word of the Lord coming to him, *Joh.*1.33. *He ſent me to baptize.*

§. *To John the ſon of Zacharias in the wilderneſs.*

Vid. Suid. in voct. Ιωάνης.

The children of the Prieſts when they came to age, were to be inſtalled and inrolled into the ſervice of the Temple; their names being entred there, and the name of their father. To this cuſtom the Evangeliſt ſeemeth to refer, when he calleth, *John the Son of Zacharias* in this place, and at this time, when he was to enter upon his Miniſterial function: which though he did not at the Temple, as others uſed to do, but had another kind of employment laid upon him, by *the Word of the Lord coming to him* in the Wilderneſs in the place of his converſe; yet [as had he been there, he muſt have been inrolled and regiſtred, thus, *John the Son of Zacharias began his Miniſtration at ſuch a time*, or to this purpoſe, ſo] doth the Holy Ghoſt inrol him here, at his entrance into this his Miniſtry of another kind, *the word of the Lord came to John the ſon of Zacharias*. And the like paſſage we may obſerve in the ſame Evangeliſt concerning our Saviour at his being baptized, and when he alſo entred upon his function.

Matth. 3. ver. 1. *Preaching in the Wilderneſs of Judea.*

That is, in the Cities and Towns in the wilderneſs, as *Joſh.* 15. 61, 62. & 1 *Sam.* 23. 14. 24. ſome of which were probably within the territories, and under the command of *Hebron* the place where *John* was born: for there is mention of the Cities of *Hebron*, 2 *Sam.* 2.3.

Mark 1. ver. 4. John *did baptize in the Wilderneſs.*

It is the moſt likely that *John* began to preach in the place where he was born, and from thence went to other places as he ſaw occaſion, and the Spirit moved him: And indeed *Hebron* it ſelf was in a manner a City of the Wilderneſs, as well as the others mentioned, though there be no ſuch expreſſion concerning it, as is of them: and if thoſe words, *Luke* 2. So *He was in the deſerts, till the day of his ſhewing unto Iſrael*, were interpreted concerning his being in *Hebron*; the interpretation might very well be juſtified, though to avoid cavill and offence, we have expounded it of places, which the Scripture calleth *Deſerts* or *Wilderneſſes* in expreſs terms.

However, be it in *Hebron*, or out of *Hebron* that *John* was educated, converſed, and began to preach; certain it is, that he did the laſt of theſe in ſome Cities of the Wilderneſs, not far from *Hebron*: and if it be ſaid that he baptized alſo in theſe Cities where he preached, and as yet was not gone down to *Jordan*, till *Jeruſalem* and all *Judea* heard of him, and came to be baptized, and then he went thither for the conveniency of water: I ſuppoſe it croſſeth nothing, either in the Hiſtory or Myſtery, and it averreth no more concerning *John* now, then we ſhall find him doing hereafter; namely, baptizing in other waters beſides *Jordan*. And indeed how can it rationally be underſtood otherwiſe, then that *John* baptized firſt in theſe Cities and Towns, before multitude of company drew him down unto the River?

For, firſt, it cannot be conceived that he walked or ſtood in the open fields near *Jordan*, and there began to preach; but that he betook himſelf to Towns or Cities where was concourſe of people.

Secondly, it can as little be conceived, that when any people in this or that City embraced his Doctrine, and deſired to be baptized, that he ſhould bring them to the River, which was ſometime far off, or delay them till all the multitude ſhould meet him there together; unleſs it could be ſhewed that the water of *Jordan* was only allowed to be baptized in, and no other; the contrary to which we ſhall ſee anon.

The Story therefore and progreſs of his Miniſtery and baptizing, out of the three Evangeliſts may be compiled thus: That firſt he came preaching in the Wilderneſs of *Judea*, in the Towns and Cities that were there, about the place of his education; That he baptized there thoſe that were converted by his preaching, and that deſired to be baptized by him: That he went abroad from thence, up and down all the Country round about *Jordan*, and when his converts, and the concourſe were now grown numerous, he baptized them in *Jordan*, becauſe there was water enough, as *John* 3. 23.

§ *And preach the baptiſm of Repentance.*

The Evangeliſt uſeth this title or epithet, in oppoſition to Circumciſion, and baptizing of Proſelytes, which had been the way and door of admiſſion in to the Church before. They might very fitly be called *the Circumciſion and baptiſm of perfomance*, as this *the baptiſm of repentance*. For whoſoever received circumciſion was ingaged by it to the performance of the whole Law, *Gal.* 5. 2. And the like was every Proſelyte ingaged that received Baptiſm. But this baptiſm of *John*, or the baptiſm in the Chriſtian Church is clean of another nature. For whereas thoſe two challenged of every one that went through thoſe doors into the Church, that they ſhould ſtand debtors to the whole Law, and be obliged to a legal righteouſneſs: our baptiſm requireth a clean contrary thing, namely, that we ſhould be obliged to repentance, in regard that the performance of the Law is a thing that is to us impoſſible, and that we ſhould be buried with Chriſt in his death, and ſeek after his righteouſneſs, ſeeing that we have none of our own. Hence appeareth clearly, firſt, a reaſon why the baptiſm of *John* is called *the beginning of the Goſpel*, for it opened a door, and gave an inlet into the Church upon other terms, then had ever been before. And, ſecondly, that baptiſm belongeth to Children, though it be *the baptiſm of repentance*, and they know not what repentance means: For it requireth not their repentance at their receiving of the Sacrament, when they ſtand but in the door or entry of the Church, but it ingageth them to repentance for the time to come, or when they being now entred into the Church, ſhall come to the uſe of reaſon, and knowledg of the ingagement: And ſo was it with the children that were circumciſed: for they when they underwent that Sacrament, undertook obedience to the whole Law, and yet they knew not what, either obedience, or the Law meant: But that undertaking was, what they were to do when they came to the years of knowledge and apprehenſion.

Matth. 3. Verſe 2. *And ſaying, Repent ye, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.*

The Phraſe, *the Kindom of Heaven*, which is ſo frequently and commonly uſed in the Goſpel, is taken from, *Dan.* 2. 44. and 7. 14. And it meaneth the ſpiritual Kingdom of Chriſt in and under the Goſpel, as it is publiſhed and preached unto all Nations. For though the phraſe be generally and truely underſtood to mean the preaching of the Goſpel; yet doth it moſt properly and naturally ſignifie the preaching of the Goſpel to the Gentiles, or among all Nations; as might be ſhewed, by the ſignification of the word *Heaven*, by the manner of ſpeech here uſed, *that it is at hand*, and ſo again, *Mat.* 4. 17. when the Goſpel was now Preached already: by the Text of *Daniel*, from whence the phraſe is taken, and by divers places in the Goſpel where it is uſed; but the full clearing of this, I have choſen to refer to that difficult place which will call for it to be cleared, when the Lord ſhall bring us thither, *Matth.* 16. 19. *To thee will I give the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven:* where I conceive Chriſt to have foretold to *Peter*; that he ſhould be the firſt that ſhould Preach the Goſpel, and open the door of Faith unto the Gentiles, as *Acts* 15. 7. and 10.

Now, *The Kingdom of Heaven* ſignifying thus, not barely and ſimply the Preaching of the Goſpel, but the Preaching of it to the Gentiles and their converſion, it ſheweth how proper and pregnant an argument this was to inforce the doctrine and practice of Repentance upon the Jews, becauſe the calling of the Gentiles was near at hand, which would prove their rejection and caſting off, if they did not repent, as *Deut.* 32. 21.

Before the coming of Chriſt, theſe four Earthly Kingdoms that are mentioned by *Daniel* in the Chapters cited, bare all the ſway, and domineered over all the world with cruelty and tyranny: but when they were deſtroyed, at his coming he ſet up a Kingdom of his own, and ſwayed the Scepter of Righteouſneſs over all Nations, and ruled them with his word and Spirit. And whereas before his coming alſo, the Church conſiſted but of one Nation and Kingdom: and was couched upon a ſmall parcel of Earth, the Land of *Canaan*, and had earthly promiſes, and earthly rites; when he came and publiſhed the Goſpel, he gathered a Church of all Kingdoms and Nations, and Languages under Heaven; and built it up with Heavenly and Spiritual promiſes and inſtructions, and thus *The Kingdom of Heaven* may fitly be underſtood in oppoſition to theſe two earthly ones.

Luke 3. ver. 5. *Every valley ſhall be filled, &c.*

Theſe borowed phraſes, intend the removing of obſtacles and ſtumbling blocks out of the way, and plaining and clearing the way for men to come to Chriſt, and to the obedience of the Goſpel. The Jews conceive that the cloud of glory that led the people of *Iſrael* in the wilderneſs, did really and according to the letter, do what is here ſpoken of, for facilitating of their march and journey: as that it levelled Mountains, raiſed vallies, and laid all of a flat, that it burnt up buſhes and ſmoothed rocks, and made all plain, that they might travail without trouble or offence.

And ſome of them alſo ſay, that when *Jeroboam* ſet up his goden calves and Idolatry in *Bethel*, and *Dan*, that he and his wicked agents laid ambuſhments and ſcouts in the ways to *Jeruſalem*, to catch up every one that ſhould go thither to worſhip, and to this purpoſe they apply that ſaying of the Prophet, *Hoſ.* 5. 1. *O ye Prieſts and O ye houſe of the King, ye have been a ſnare on Mizpah, and a net upon Tabor, And the revolters are profound to make ſlaughter, &c.* If either of theſe things were undoubtedly ſo, as they ſuppoſe, how properly might this paſſage of the Prophet *Eſay*, and of the Evangeliſt from him, be thought to refer thereunto; but ſince they be but ſurmiſals, it is ſafeſt to take the words for a borrowed ſpeech, to expreſs what was ſaid before, the removing of obſtacles in the way to Chriſt.

Mat. 3. ver. 6. *Confeſſing their ſins.*

Not to *John*, but to God: For neither was it poſſible for *John* to hear their confeſſions, nor was it neceſſary. Not poſſible, becauſe of the vaſt multitudes that came to be baptized: nor neceſſary, for to tell him they had comitted ſuch and ſuch ſins, what conduced it either to their baptiſm or forgiveneſs.

Nor was this their confeſſion of their ſins, before there being baptized, but after: For firſt, if we ſhould ſtrictly take the Grammatical conſtruction of the word, that importeth their confeſſing, it is not ὁμολογησάμενοι, which would have denoted that they had confeſſed before they were baptized, but it is ὁμολογέμενοι, in both the Evangeliſts, that ſpeak of that matter.

Secondly

Secondly, It was far more agreeable to the end and doctrine of Baptism, that their confession of sin should be after their baptizing then before, in that they were baptized to repentance, *ver.* 11. and not *e contra*; the Sacrament was more intentionally to enter them into repentance, then repentance to enter them into the Sacrament; For, as was said before, it obliged them more properly to repentance after the receiving of it then before.

Thirdly, the gesture of our Saviour after his Baptism seemeth to have been according to the common custom and gesture of the people, and as he coming out of the water fell to prayer, so they when they came out, used to do, to make their penitent confession to the Lord.

Mat. 3. ver. 7. *When he saw many of the Pharisees, and Sadduces coming to his baptism.*

The Pharisees, Sadduces, and Esseans, the three Sects of the Jews; *Josephus Antiq. lib.* 13. *c.* 9. are those three Sheepherds spoken of, *Zech.* 11. 8. whom our Saviour at his coming was to cut off.

The two former, whom we have now in hand, are very frequent in mention in the Gospel: men of enmity one against another, yet both joynt enemies to Christ and to his Apostles.

The original of the Pharisees is not so easie to go back unto, as that of the Sadducees, nor is the significancy of their name so readily determined and fixed upon as the other; The Sadduces, it is well known were so called from *Sadoc*, the first Author of their Sect, and he the Scholar of *Antigonus*; *Rabbi Nathan* in his *Aboth. Perek.* 5. hath thus clearly given us their original. *Antigonus of Socoh*, saith he, *received his learning from* Simeon *the just*: This was his saying: *Be not as servants that serve their Master, because of receiving* * *a reward, but be as servants that serve their Master, not for the receiving of a reward, but let the fear of God be upon you. This* Antigonus *had two Scholars, which changed his words; they changed them to their Scholars, and their Scholars to theirs: They stood up and taught after them, and said, what saw our Fathers to say thus? is it possible that a work-man may do his work all the day, and not receive his wages at even? But if our Fathers had known that there is a world to come, and that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, they would never have said thus: They stood up and separated from the Law, and from them broke out the two Sects, the Sadduces, and Baithusæans: the Sadduces after the name of* Sadoc: *and the Baithusæans, after the name of* Baithus. So he. Now this *Antigonus*, whose good doctrine had this bad construction, was Scholar to *Simeon* the just, whom we shall have occasion to look after by and by.

Vid. Talm. Bab: Basilee, tom. 6. in fine.

* פרס a portion.

But the time and occasion of the rising of the Pharisees, is of more obscurity, and the reason of their name admitteth of more conjectures; As, whether they were so called from *Perush*, which importeth *Exposition*, for that they took upon them to be the great Expositors of the Law by their Traditions; or from *Parush*, which betokeneth *separation*, for that they accounted and pretended themselves more holy then others of the people, and so became *Separatists* from them, as despising them, *Luke* 18. 9. Either of which Etymologies carry with them a fair and plausible probability of their notation, but the last most agreeable to what both the Scripture, and other writings have said of them, in regard of their singularity; and as we shall have further occasion to descry, when we come to meet with them in their Doctrines, Practises or Opinions.

And the time of their first starting up, is yet obscurer: But to speak mine own thoughts, I cannot but conceive them to have been somewhat more ancient then the Sadduces, though but a little: And that that passage of the Prophet *Malachi*, [when he and the Spirit of Prophecy with him was to leave this world] *Remember the Law of Moses, Mal.* 4. 4. gave occasion to the rising of the Pharisees, and to the confirming of the Sadduces in their opinion when they had taken it up. For whereas the Spirit of Prophecy and revelation was now to depart from *Israel*, God having revealed as much of himself, and of his will to them, as he thought fit and necessary: He sendeth back the people in this defect of Prophetick guidance and direction, to the Law of *Moses*, to be their study, and their rule of Faith, and of Obedience. Hence did a certain generation among them take occasion and opportunity, to vent and broach traditions and glosses upon the Law, pretending them to have descended from *Moses* himself, and to have been handed over to them, from hand to hand, and as the Prophets while their race continued, expounded *Moses*, and instructed the people in the knowledge of the Law, by the Spirit of God, so these men (now the Prophts were gone) took on them to explain *Moses*, and the Law also, and by a way which they pretended to be of equal authority with the words of the Prophets, *For that*, say they, *is Gods own glosse upon his own Law, and this he taught* Moses *while he was with him in the Mount: And this*, Moses *taught* Joshua, *and* Joshua *the Elders, and* Eli *received it from the Elders and from* Phinehas

nchas, *and* Samuel *from* Eli, *and* David *from* Samuel, *and* Ahijah *the Shilonite from* David, *and* Elias *from* Ahijah, *and* Eliſha *from* Elias, *and* Jehojada *the Prieſt from* Eliſha, *and* Zacharias *from* Jehojada, *and* Hoſea *from* Zacharias, *and* Amos *from* Hoſea, *and* Eſay *from* Amos, *and* Micah *from* Eſay, *and* Joel *from* Micah, *and* Nahum *from* Joel, *and* Habakkuk *from* Nahum, *and* Zephany *from* Habakkuk, *and* Jeremy *from* Zephany, *and* Baruch *from* Jeremie, *and* Ezra *and his School from* Baruch. *The School of* Ezra *was called the men of the great Synagogue, and they were* Haggai, Zechary, Malachi, Daniel, Hananiah, Miſhael, Azariah, Nehemiah, Mordecai, Bilſhan, Zerubbabel, *and many wiſe men with them, to an hundred and twenty: The laſt of them was* Simeon *the juſt, and he was in the number of the hundred and twenty, and he was High Prieſt after* Ezra. Vid. Rambam in Miſhu. Tom. 1. ſtatim ſub initio.

This nameleſs number that were between the time of *Zerubbabel*, *Nehemiah*, *Mordecai*, and thoſe holy men that we find mentioned in Scripture, and between the times of *Simeon the juſt*, I ſuſpect to be the Generation that afforded the riſe and original of Phariſaiſm and Traditions: For there was a good large ſpace of time and diſtance detween *Ezra* and *Simeon* the juſt, as might be cleared by ſeveral particulars, if that were needful. And a preparative, if not a ground-work, to Phariſaiſme, and traditions ſeemeth to be that famous ſpeech of the great Synagogue mentioned in *Pirck. Aboth. Per.* 1. *The men of the great Synagogue ſaid three things, Be deliberate in judgment, and raiſe up Scholars in abundance, and make a hedg to the Law*: Now the leſſon of *making a hedg to the Law*, by a fixed and determinate expoſition, was to bring on, and into credit, thoſe gloſſes and traditions which they would produce and bring upon it. For that the Law ſhould lie to the Commons without any fence about it, to keep men off from breaking in upon it by their own interpretations and expoſitions of it, they could ſoon perſwade the People, was a thing not to be tolerated or indured: and when they had wrought this leſſon home upon their hearts, then had they gloſſes ready of their own invention to put upon it, as to hedg or fence in from private interpretations. Theſe gloſſes or expoſitions they had a twofold trick to bring into requeſt.

Firſt, To pretend ſtrongly that they had deſcended traditionally from *Moſes*, and from God himſelf, as the pretended pedegree of them is ſhewed before.

And ſecondly, to uſe a ſtrict and ſevere preciſeneſs in their own converſation, and to pretend and ſhew a holineſs above other men, and to withdraw from them as too profane for their ſociety, that this might bring their perſons into admiration, and their traditions into repute. And thus they came by their name of *Separatiſts*, and thus they laid the foundation for traditions.

And as the Phariſees took this opportunity and occaſion from thoſe words of the Prophet, *Remember the Law of Moſes*, to vent their fooliſh and wicked Expoſitions upon *Moſes*, as ſeeming thereby to do the people a ſingular benefit, and to make as ſingular a fence to *Moſes* himſelf: So likewiſe did the Sadduces make uſe of the ſame occaſion to confirm themſelves in the error they had taken up, and to aſſert it unto others, in that in all the Law of *Moſes*, to the ſtudy of which the Holy Ghoſt had eſpecially directed them in thoſe times, and which Scripture only they imbraced, there is not mention nor hint at all as they pretented, of the reſurrection of the dead, or of a world to come.

§ *Coming to his Baptiſm.*

The Phariſees and Sadduces were not repulſed by *John*, though he call them by ſuch a name as *Vipers*, but they were baptized by him: as is moſt apparent by comparing the relation that Saint *Luke* maketh of this Story and this together: That ſaying therefore of *Luke*, Chap. 7. 20. *But the Phariſees, rejected the Counſel of God againſt themſelves, being not baptized of him*, is to be underſtood of ſome of that Sect and not all.

§ *O generation of Vipers.*

By *Generation* we are not to underſtand the preſent age, as when it is ſaid, ſhall riſe up in *judgment with this Generation*; *An adulterous generation ſeeketh a ſign, &c.* that is, *the people of this age*: It is not to be ſo taken, as if the Baptiſt meant this preſent Generation are Vipers: for it is not γενεὰ in the Original, but γεννήματα: though he include no leſs in what he ſpeaketh, and though, if ever generation were viperous, that was. But the Baptiſt uſeth an expreſſion, that hitteth and reflecteth upon their Fathers, and predeceſſors as well as themſelves, for he calleth them a *brood or off-ſpring of Vipers*: intimating that they and their Fathers were Vipers both. And this he doth, that he might face and affront that fond and vain opinion of theirs, which ſo much deluded them, and whereupon they built great hopes and made great boaſting, namely, of their being *the children of Abraham*: No,

No, ſaith *John*, *Say not within your ſelves, we have Abraham to our Father*, for ye are not the ſeed of the promiſe, but the ſeed of the Serpent: And thus he ſpeaketh not only to the Phariſees and Sadduces, the hereticks of the Nation, but as *Luke* inlargeth it, to all the multitude that came to be baptized: Commenting upon the firſt promiſe at this firſt preaching of the Goſpel, and as on the one hand proclaiming Jeſus that was coming after him to be the ſeed of the Woman, ſo on the other, declaring the Jews to be now become the ſeed of the Serpent who ſhould perſecute and kill the ſeed of the Woman, howſoever they boaſted themſelves for the holy ſeed of *Abraham*.

And the ſame leſſon our Saviour readeth them, when he giveth them the ſame title, *Mat.* 12. 34. and 23. 33.

Vipers are the worſt and moſt deadly of any Serpents; for they deſtroy and kill ſuddenly, *Act.* 28. 4. 6. See *Job* 20. 16. *Iſai.* 30. 6. and 59. 5. from whence the Baptiſt and our Saviour ſeem to have this phraſe and Epithet: and *Iſai.* 41. 24. as the margin of our Engliſh and an Expoſitor in *Dav. Kimchi* do interpret it.

§ *To flee from the wrath to come.*

In this ſpeech, *John* ſeemeth to refer to the laſt words in all the Old Teſtament: where *Malachi* prophecying of the Baptiſt, and of his beginning to preach the Goſpel, He ſhall turn, ſaith he, the hearts of the Fathers to the Children, and the hearts of the Children to the Fathers, *Leſt I come and ſmite the Land with a curſe*. This meaneth, *that wrath to come*, which ſhould ſurely fall upon them, if they ſhould diſobey the Goſpel, which was now the laſt means offered them for their converſion, and ſo it came to paſs with them, when about forty four years after this, they were deſtroyed by the *Romans*.

Matth. 3. Verſ. 9. *Say not, we have* Abraham *to our Father.*

This was their common boaſting: as *John* 9. 33. the Chaldee Paraphraſt, and *R. Sol.* on *Iſai.* 62. 6. And ſo doth *Rabbi Solomon* conceive, that the Edomites were proud of their deſcent from *Abraham* as well as the Jews: for thus he expoundeth thoſe words in the Prophecy of *Obadiah*, ver. 3. *Which dwelleſt in the clefts of the Rock:* He leaneth upon the *ſtaff of his Fathers, Abraham and Iſaac, and they will not profit him.*

§ *Of theſe ſtones to raiſe up children to* Abraham.

Some take this figuratively, as *Ignat. Mart. Epiſt. ad Magneſios. Clem. Alex. Portrept. ad Græc.* and others, *of the Gentiles, who are ſtony-hearted toward the Truth, and who worſhip ſtocks and ſtones, God is able to raiſe up children to Abraham:* But it is rather to be interpreted literally for the crying down of their idle boaſting: That it was but a vain prop whereupon they leaned, to think that it was enough for them that they were deſcended of *Abraham*, for God by his omniponent power was able to make as good and towardly children to *Abraham* as they were, even of ſtones.

Matth. 3. ver. 10. *And now alſo is the Ax laid unto the root of the Trees.*

Whether we read it rationally, as doth the Vulgar Latine, *For* now the ax, or conjunctively, as doth our Engliſh, *And* now *alſo*; it plainly ſheweth it ſelf to be an Argument or Reaſon uſed to inforce ſomething that goeth before. And indeed it ſuiteth ſo very well with any of the three verſes next preceding, that it is hard to tell, to which moſt properly it ſhould be applyed. For being laid to the ſeventh verſe, it doth ſo ſtrongly confirm that there was *a wrath to come*, that it ſheweth it to be hard by, and even cloſe at hand, *For now the ax is laid to the root of the Trees.* Join it to the eighth verſe and it followeth the metaphor that is uſed there, of *bringing forth fruit*, and enforceth the exhortation or Doctrine that is there given, from the danger that may follow on unfruitfull trees, *For now the ax is laid to the root of them.* Or apply it likewiſe to the verſe next preceding, and it doth argue againſt the carnal confidence that the Jews had in their deſcending of the ſtock of *Abraham*, paraphraſtically thus: Ye have had warning of wrath that is to come, and you think you are out of the danger of it, becauſe ye are the children of *Abraham*, and deſcended lineally from his loins; a Prerogative ſo little to be boaſted of, that it may be common with you to ſtones, for God is able of them to raiſe up children unto *Abraham*, and a ſhelter ſo little to be truſted under, that look to your ſelves; *the Ax is already laid to the root of the trees.*

Some by *the Ax* underſtand the word of God, and the preaching of the ſame, or the publication of the Goſpel: from *Jerem.* 23. 29. after the reading of the LXX: and from *Hoſea* 6. 5.

6. 5. Others, Christ himself, consisting say they of two natures, divine and humane, as an Ax of two parts, the head and the handle. But the current of the most, and the best Expositors understand it of the judgments of God: and that it is so to be understood, may be strongly concluded by these reasons.

First, because the context both before and after, speaketh of Judgement and vengeance to come upon the impenitent and unfruitful, as *wrath to come*, ver. 7. and *casting into fire*, and *fire unquenchable*, ver. 10. 12. and therefore it is most proper to expound *the Ax* as an instrument destroying, for judgment or destruction.

Secondly, this place seemeth plainly to have reference to *Esai.* 10. 33, 34. *Behold, the Lord, the Lord of hosts shall lop the bough with terror: and the high ones of stature shall be hewn down, and the haughty shall be humbled. And he shall cut down the thickets of the Forests with iron, and Lebanon shall fall by a mighty one:* which how the more ancient Jews understood of the destruction of their State and Kingdom, and that neer upon the coming of Christ, a testimony of their own in their Talmud, in the treatise *Berachoth* may sufficiently evidence. *There was a certain Jew*, say they, *was plowing, and one of his Oxen lowed. The Ox lowing, told of the coming of the Lord. A certain Arabian passing by, heard the lowing of the Ox, and said unto the Jew: O Jew! unyoke thine Oxen, and care not for thine implements, for your Sanctuary is destroyed: And the Ox lowed again: and the* Arabian *saith, O Jew! yoke thine Oxen, and make fit thine implements, for your Messias is born,* &c. Rabbi Abuni *said, And what need you to learn this of an Arabian? The text is plain in* Esay *which saith,* Lebanon *shall fall by a mighty one: and it followeth, And there shall come forth a rod out of the stemm of* Jesse, *and a branch shall grow out of his root.*

§ *To the root of the trees.*

First, by *the root of the trees*, might be understood the root of *Jesse*, of which mention was made before from *Esay* 11. 1. For in all the crosses and calamities, Wars, overthrows, and captivities, that had befallen the Nation of the Jews, the stock of *Jesse*, or line of *David*, could never be rooted out, or extinguished, because the promise that Christ should come out of it, did preserve and keep it alive, in despight of all opposition, till he that was promised did come indeed. But now, seeing that he was come, and that that line had no more the shelter, and preservative of the promise, it also must come to ruine and rooting out as well as others.

Secondly, *the Ax is now laid to the very root* of your confidence and boasting: For whereas ye say within your selves, and stand upon it, that ye have *Abraham* to your Father: the time is now come, that that distinction betwixt who is, and who is not, of the Seed of *Abraham*, shall be no more regarded, nor looked after: but every one of what Nation soever that feareth God shall be accepted of him, and the seed of *Abraham* for not fearing him shall be rejected, and that priviledge not respected at all.

Thirdly, *Jerusalem* was at the root of the whole Nation, from which they derived the sap of religion and policy, but now the ax of destruction is laid even to that.

Fourthly, this phrase may be understood, as comparing the ruine of the Jews here threatned, with those desolations they had felt before: For then, as at the captivity of *Babylon* for example, they were not utterly cut off from their Land for ever, but had a promise of returning, and returned, and were planted there again: but now the vengeance threatned must strike at very root, and quite destroy them from being a Nation for ever, and from all hope of returning to their Country any more.

By the Ax being *now laid* to the root of the trees, may fitly be understood, 1. The certainty of their desolation. And 2. the nearness: in that the instrument of their destruction was already prepared and brought close to them, the *Romans*, that should ruine their City and Nation, being already Masters and Rulers over them.

Luke 3. vers. 10. *And the people asked him, &c.*

Or, *the multitude*, as vers. 7. which verse compared with this, sheweth, that the question *what shall we do then?* proceeded from those to whom the Baptist addressed his last speech, *O ye generation of Vipers*, &c. which were Pharisees and Sadduces, as appeareth by *Matthew*, and other multitude mixed among, as by *Luke*. Now whether this their question proceeded from the apprehension of the danger threatned, or application of the exhortation urged, whether they desired to learn how to avoid the evil of the wrath to come, or to do the good works of repentance, when they ask, *what shall we do?* is neither so material to search, nor easie to find, as it is fit to observe, how powerfully the doctrine of the Baptist hath wrought with them, when it hath thus brought them to look off the goodness of *Abraham* in which they trusted, and to think after goodness of their own.

Vers.

Verſ. 11. *He that hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none,* &c.

It appeareth by the Baptiſts anſwer, that their queſtion demanded what were thoſe good fruits, that he called upon them to bring forth, *ver.* 8, 9. and the ποιήσωμεν here may ſeem to have reſpect to the ποιήσατε and μὴ ποιεῖν, in thoſe verſes.

His anſwer is an exhortation to Almes-deeds, or giving to the needy, rather then any other leſſon, not that thereby they might think to ſatisfie for their ſins, or merit for themſelves, but for divers other important and conſiderable ends. For, 1. he ſetteth them this as an eaſie leſſon, for yet they were but very children in the Evangelical School: To have put them at their firſt entry into this School, to the hard lecture of ſelf-denial, mortification, patience and joy in perſecution, and other ſuch things as theſe, had been too ſtrong meat for ſuch babes, too difficult a task for ſuch infants to take out, and therefore he ſetteth them this eaſie Copy, and layeth no greater an impoſition upon them, then what even the weakeſt of them might follow and undergo, to impart of their abundance to the poor.

2. The tenor of the Goſpel is mercy and not ſacrifice, *Hoſea*, 6.7. *Mat.* 12.7. and therefore he putteth not upon them the coſt of oblations and offerings which were required by the Law, nor the faſting and pining of the body, as did many of his own Diſciples, but the lovely works of Charity and Mercy, the firſt and moſt viſible of which is relief of the needy.

3. By this he putteth them to tryal, how they forſake the world, by parting with their wordly goods, how they live by faith in not fearing poverty though they give of their wealth away, how they love their neighbour as themſelves, in making him partner of what they have, and how their eyes are fixed on things to come, by giving away here, and looking for reward thereof in heaven.

And, 4. it may be very well ſuppoſed that among the multitude that ſtood before him, the Baptiſt ſaw ſome rich, and ſome poor, ſome in good cloathing, and ſome in mean, and that the preſent object that he beheld might be ſome occaſion to him to propoſe this leſſon to be put preſently in practice.

§ *That hath two Coats,* &c.

He requireth not wilfull Poverty, but Alms-deeds of their ſuperfluity, not to give away their coat if they have but one, but if they have two, then give one of them; and to the ſame purpoſe he uſeth Βρώματα, *Meats*, in the plural number; not to go naked themſelves, that they may cloath others, nor to prevent others begging by their alms, and to beg themſelves, but what they have above their own neceſſaries, to contribute to the neceſſities of the needy, and firſt to love themſelves, and then their neighbours as themſelves.

Verſ. 12. *Publicans.*

Publicans at the firſt were ſuch as gathered the tributes and cuſtom of the Romans in thoſe Countries and Provinces that were under their dominion. And this at that time was an honourable place and calling. For *Tully* commending *M. Varro* to *Brutus* giveth theſe two reaſons of the ſtrong tie of friendſhip betwixt them: *The one is*, ſaith he, *becauſe he is verſed in my way of ſtudies in which I am chiefly delighted. And the other, becauſe he betook himſelf maturely to the company of the Publicans, which indeed I would not have had him to have done, becauſe he had ſuffered great loſſes, and yet the cauſe of that common order, of me moſt highly eſteemed, made our friendſhip the ſtronger.* And in his Oration for *Plancius*, he ſaith, *That the flower of the Roman Knights, the ornament of the City, the ſtrength of the Common-wealth, is comprehended in the order of the Publicans.* And ſo it was an honourable memorial that was left, τῷ καλῶς τελωνήσαντι, *To him that had played the good Publican. Suetonius in vita Veſpaſiani ſtatim ſub initio.* Epiſt. lib. 13. 10

But in after times the quality of the Office it ſelf, and the conditions of the Officers became very much altered. For now men of inferiour rank farmed thoſe places, and took the Office upon an yearly rent, and quickly brought the calling into diſgrace. So that in the Goſpel Publicans are branded with a ſpecial note of infamy above other men, and ſtill go hand in hand with the moſt notorious ſinners.

And this, firſt, generally every where, becauſe of their covetouſneſs, and racking exactions, which are the common fruits of buying and farming of Offices. *Tacitus* calleth them *immodeſtiam Publicanorum*, the immodeſty of the Publicans, and mentioneth a general complaint againſt them in the time of *Nero*, and ſome reformation of their injuri- Annal. lib. 13.

injuriousnes. And *Suidas* giveth them this character, *The life of the Publicans, is open violence, unpunished rapine, an unseasonable trade, and a shameless merchandize.*

Secondly, More especially were men of this profession odious among the Jews; because, whereas they held themselves to be a freeborn Nation, and that they ought not to subject to any, nor pay tribute, but only their dues to God, and homage to their own King, these wretches, as enemies to the common Liberty, did help forward their subjection in exacting of custom, though they were of the same Nation themselves, complying too much with the Romans company, contrary to Jews punctualnes of sequestration from the Heathen, and too too much with their tyranny in augmenting those burdens of bondage which they had made heavy enough before.

Ver. 13. *Exact no more, &c.*

By this answer is approved what is said immediately before, about their extortion, that not only they sided with the Romans, in putting the Jews their own Nation to tribute, but also did aggravate the burthen themselves, by exaction of more then was required by the Roman Governors. Now it is observable, that of the Pharisees and Sadduces the Baptist requireth affirmatively some duties to be done. *He that hath two coats, &c.* because these people stood upon their own righteousnes, and pleaded perfection: therfore will he try them by the touchstone of action: but of the Souldiers and Publicans, he requireth only negatively, some enormities to be foregon: for they being notoriously and scandalously wicked, it was necessary they should first cease to do evil, before they could learn or be brought to do good.

Vers. 14. *The Souldiers.*

These were Romans, or some of other Nations under the Roman pay; for no one can think that the Romans would use the Jews for their garrisons in their own Country, lest they should rebel: and here do the Gentiles first hearken to the Gospel.

& Do violence to no man, &c.

The Baptist in his answer tyeth both hand, tongue and heart, deed, word, and thought from the injury of another, their profession especially tending so much toward injuriousnes.

First, he forbiddeth them to open violence in act, whether by blows, ravishing, plunder, firing, or such like mischiefs as attend the wars, and go with Souldiers.

Secondly, secret underminings, by false accusing, abusing the power of the Superiour to the wrong of another, when their own could not reach, and sewing the Foxes skin to, when the Lyons was too short. And,

Thirdly, discontentation and repining at their wages, which indeed was the cause and original of both the other. And so is that a main argument used by *Percennius*, which moved the great mutinie of the three legions in *Pannonia*, in the very entry of the Reign of *Tiberius*, *Denis in diem assibus corpus & animam æstimari: How poor a thing it was that their lives and bodies were rated and set to sale but at ten farthings a days* Tacit. Annal. lib. 1.

It is observable in both the answers of the Baptist, to the Publicans and to the Souldiers, that he gainsayeth not their professions, but their abuse of them: to the one he forbiddeth not to gather tribute, but to exact more: and to the other not to exercise Souldiery, but practice violenc.

Ver. 15. *As the people were in expectation, &c.*

Divers things there were that concurred, to make the Jews to think of Christ, when they saw the Baptist, and to muse in heart whether he were he or not.

First, the first and the prime one was the agreement of the time. For they had learned by divers pregnant evidences both in the Law and in the Prophts that this was the time when Christ should come: for now was the Scepter departed from *Juda*, now was the Lawgiver or *Sankedrin* slain by *Herod*, now were the Romans Lords of their Nation, and now were *Daniels* seventies expired, by which they knew that this was the time, and now they looked that the Kingdom of Heaven should appear, *Luke* 19. 11. and they gather together from all Nations to *Jerusalem* to see its appearing, *Act.* 2. as was hinted before.

When therefore, secondly, in this time of their great expectation, they behold the excellent sanctity, piety, and zeal; the admirable strictnes, austerity and Spirit; And,

Thirdly

Thirdly, The ſtrange, unuſual and powerful manner of the preaching of the Baptiſt, it is no wonder if they entertained a doubtful and muſing thought of him, whether he were the Chriſt or no. And,

Fourthly, Their longing deſire and earneſt wiſhing after *Meſſias* his coming, might ſomething forward ſuch a conceit, for *facile credimus quod volumus*; and the Greek word doth import a deſire joyned with their expectation. So Chriſt in *Gen.* 49. 10. is προσδοκία ἐθνῶν in the LXX, *the expectation of the Nations*; and their *deſire*, *Hag.* 2. 7. It is not unlike but the coming of the wiſe men, the words of *Simeon* and *Anna*, and other teſtimonies of Chriſt then come, were diſperſed among very many, and notice taken of them, and this might be a ſtrengthening and helping forward of this ſurmiſe: but that the ſtrangeneſs of the Baptiſts birth, and of what befel his Father about it, ſhould be any induction or ſeconding thereunto, as ſome do hold, is hard to be believed, unleſs we can think that either this people had forgot to look after the Tribe of *Judah* for the *Meſſias*, or that *Elizabeths* alliance to that Tribe, for ſhe was couſin to the Virgin *Mary*, *Luke* 1. 36. did ſatisfie them if they looked after it.

Ver. 16. *John anſwered.*

Whereas ſome hold that *John* knew the thoughts of their hearts, by the Revelation of the Spirit, for it is ſaid only before that they muſed of the matter in their heart, and put it not to queſtion, it is far more probable, that *John* came to know this their thought, by ſome outward expreſſion of their own. For among ſo great a multitude, when they were all in the ſame doubt and heſitation, it was impoſſible, but there would break out ſome whiſperings, queſtions, arguings, or other token of the general conceit, that even a ſlow and dull apprehenſion might in ſhort time have found it out.

§. *I indeed baptize you, &c.*

All the Evangeliſts have this anſwer of the Baptiſt, in regard of the ſubſtance, but in ſome circumſtances there is difference among them. As firſt, whereas *Luke* ſaith, that theſe words were occaſioned from him by the thoughts of the people, *Matthew*, that hitherto hath joyned with him in this ſtory, even to the very words, that hath no ſuch thing as about the queſtions aforementioned, nor about this ſuppoſal, but joyneth this as a continued ſpeech to the Phariſees and Sadduces: but this needeth to breed no ſcruple, ſeeing that it is not only uſual, but alſo neceſſary among the four, one to relate what another hath omitted, and one to declare at large, what another hath done in brief.

Secondly, Whereas both *Luke* and *Matthew* have ſet this teſtimony of the Baptiſt after other ſpeeches of his made before; *Mark*, as was mentioned before, hath ſet it the firſt of all his Preaching, and indeed hath mentioned no ſpeech elſe: But this he hath done, partly becauſe he would haſten to the Baptiſm, Preaching, and Miracles of Chriſt, partly becauſe *Matthew* had ſet out the matter at large before; but chiefly to give us to know that this witneſs went along with *John* in all his Sermons, and to all companies that came to be baptized.

Thirdly, Whereas *Luke* hath alledged this ſpeech as an anſwer to the peoples thoughts, *John* hath brought it as an anſwer to an open queſtion, *Joh.* 1. 25, 26, 27. And here it may be queſtioned indeed, whether theſe two ſpeak of one and the ſame thing, and of the ſame time: But the reſolution is eaſie, that they do not. For as it is plain by *Luke*, that theſe words mentioned by him, proceeded from *John* before the Baptiſm of Chriſt, ſo is it as plain by *John*, that thoſe in him came from him after: for in *ver.* 26. he intimateth that Chriſt himſelf had already ſtood among them, but they knew him not; No nor he himſelf, but by the Holy Ghoſt, which he ſaw deſcend upon him, *ver.* 33. By which is confirmed what was ſaid even now, that *John* made ſure to bear this witneſs to Chriſt, at all times, and before all companies. Now becauſe the eyes of the people upon himſelf, looked at the ſtrangeneſs of his Baptiſm, and the ſanctity of his perſon, therefore doth he apply this his teſtimony accordingly, by comparing Chriſt and himſelf, and his baptiſm and his together, and proclaiming his own inferiority in both, as far as baptiſm with water only, is below baptizing with the Holy Ghoſt, and further then the ſervant that unties his Maſters ſhoos, below him that wears them.

§. *I baptize you.*

Mark hath it in another tenſe, *I have baptized:* which either may import the continuedneſs of *Johns* baptizing, this being compared with *Matthew* and *Luke* as *Janſenius* hath conjoyned them, *I have baptized, and do baptize you.* Or, rather doth it intimate that he ſtill baptized the companies that came unto him, and then gave this teſtimony

teſtimony to them concerning Chriſt. For his preaching was firſt of repentance, and then having won the people to be baptized, he brought them to the water and baptized them in the name of him that was to come after him, *Act.* 19. 4. So that theſe ſeem to have been the words that he uſed in ſprinkling or applying the water. *I baptize thee with water, but a mightier then I cometh, who ſhall baptize with the Holy Ghoſt and with fire.*

§. *With water.*

In the Greek it is indifferently, *with* or *in*, anſwerable to the ſignificancy of *Beth* the Hebrew prepoſition, either local or inſtrumental: And according to both ſenſes it may be taken here. For as it is undoubted that *John* brought thoſe that were to be baptized into the River, *Matth.* 3. 6. 16. So is it almoſt as little to be doubted, that when they were there he threw and ſprinkled the water upon them, both to anſwer the types of ſprinkling that had preceded in the Law, and the predictions thereof that were given by the Prophets, *Ezek.*36.25. underſtood by *Hierome* of baptiſm, *Epiſt.*83. So *Act.*8.38. The Eunuch firſt goeth into the water, and then *Philip* baptizeth him.

§. *Water.*

As the form of the Church was changed at the coming of Chriſt, from Jewiſh to Chriſtian, and from Legal to Evangelical, ſo is it no wonder if the Sacraments were changed therewithal. For if Chriſt were to give a new law, as *Moſes* did the old, which the Jews themſelves confeſs that he muſt, and the Prophets had foretold that he ſhould do; it was alſo neceſſary that he ſhould give theſe new, as well as other things. But it is ſome wonder, that ſeeing he inſtituted the Sacrament that ſhould ſucceed the Paſsover ſo near to the nature of the Paſsover, as that it was a ſupper as well as it, that there ſhould ſuch a main diſtance and difference be between Baptiſm and Circumciſion, the one of which ſhould ſucceed the other; for what affinity betwixt waſhing with water, and cutting off of the foreskin? For the better viewing of the reaſon of which difference, it will be neceſſary to conſider the main particulars of either Sacrament apart; and then may the Reader compare them together in their variety.

Firſt, then, Circumciſion to *Abraham* was a ſeal of the promiſe, *thou ſhalt be the father of many Nations:* but to his ſeed, of the promiſe of the Land of *Canaan*, *I will give to thee, and to thy ſeed, all the Land of Canaan: therefore thou and thy ſeed after thee, ſhall keep my Covenant*, *Gen.* 17. 8, 9. And ſuch a different end may be obſerved in the adminiſtration of baptiſm to Chriſt himſelf, and the adminiſtring of it unto Chriſtians. The Text alledged ſealeth the leaſe of the Land of *Canaan* to the ſeed of *Abraham* with the ſeal of Circumciſion, and confineth that Ceremony only to that Land, and only to their continuance there. And upon this inference, [I will give thy ſeed the Land of *Canaan*; *therefore ſhall they keep my Covenant*] it was that *Joſhua*, as ſoon as ever they had ſet foot upon that Land, was commanded to circumciſe them, *Joſh.* 5. And from hence it will follow, firſt, that that Land muſt be conſidered dilated, as far as Circumciſion went with the ſeed of *Abraham*, in *Iſhmaelites*, *Midianites*, *Edomites* and others.

Secondly, Hence they will be found to erect circumciſion again in the Church of Chriſt, that hold the called Jews ſhall have a temporal Kingdom again in the Land of *Canaan*.

And, thirdly, hence it may be reſolved why that Sacrament was deferred ſo long, and not given to the World before. *Adam*, *Enoch*, *Noah*, *Eber*, &c. were not circumciſed; becauſe to them a fixed and ſetled place for the Church to reſide together was not deſigned, but when ſuch a one is deſigned to *Abraham*, then circumciſion is given alſo.

The Land of *Canaan* was bequeathed to *Sem* by his father *Noah*, the occaſion was, becauſe *Cham*, and his Son *Canaan* derided *Noahs* nakedneſs as he lay aſleep in the midſt of his Tent: when therefore that Land is to be ſetled upon the right heirs of *Sem*, to which God in the Prophetick ſpirit of *Noah* intended it, a ſeal, and an aſſurance thereof is given in that member, which had been derided by *Canaan*, to his loſs of that Land, and to his perpetual ſlavery. This was a main reaſon, why Males alone were circumciſed, and why in that member; becauſe a male alone, and that member in him was ſo derided. Other reaſons of the inſtitution of the Ceremony, and only for maſculines, and in that part, might concur for inſtruction [ſuch as are given by *Lumbard*, *Aquinas*, *Biel*, *Lyra* and others] but that they were not of the nature or eſſence of the Sacrament, and that this forementioned was the vigor and ſpirit of it, may be concluded by theſe two things.

Firſt, That Circumciſion concerned not the children of *Iſrael* only, but the whole ſeed of *Abraham*: For thoſe children of his by his Concubines, that lived in *Arabia*, as *Iſmaelites*

Iſmaelites, *Dedanites*, *Medianites*, *Midianites*, *Shuhites*, *Amalekites*, and the reſt were circumciſed as well as *Iſrael* in *Paleſtina*. Thoſe Countries whither *Abraham* had ſent them to inhabite were once in the poſſeſſion of *Canaanites*, till he obtained them by conqueſt of the four Kings, *Gen.* 14. and thither he ſendeth them with the ſeal of Circumciſion upon them, which gave them intereſt in the Land there, as well as *Iſaac* had elſwhere: *Abraham* taught his children, and his houſhold after him to keep the way of the Lord, *Gen.* 18. 19. which though this off-ſpring of his in *Arabia* did not long in other things, yet in circumciſion it did. So that from hence may reſult the obſervation of another end, and reaſon of the inſtitution of this Ceremony, namely, for diſtinction, not of *Iſrael* from other Nations, as *Lyranus* would have it, but of the ſeed of *Abraham* from all other people.

Secondly, Howſoever all the *Iſraelites* dwelling before the coming of our Saviour out of the Land of *Canaan*, as both of the *Babylonian* and *Grecian* diſperſion, uſed Circumciſion in Heathens Lands, and uſed it lawfully; yet it was becauſe their claim and intereſt to the Land of *Canaan* did ſtill continue: nay, this was one reaſon why it held up ſome ſtore of years after Chriſt his coming and aſcenſion: but when *Jeruſalem* was deſtroyed, and their leaſe of that Land of promiſe, either expired or forfeited, or both; then did this ſeal of it fall and come to ruine alſo, and might not lawfully be uſed ever after: and when they muſt for ever relinquiſh the Land, they muſt for ever alſo relinquiſh this ſeal or Ceremony that had aſſured it. This well conſidered, will cauſe us alſo to obſerve:

Firſt, That the intereſt of *Iſrael* in the holy Land began to ſhake, when baptiſm came to ſhoulder out Circumciſion. Secondly, That *John* moſt properly preached much of *the Kingdom of Heaven*, for their earthly one began to ceaſe when baptiſm began to extinguiſh Circumciſion.

As Circumciſion it ſelf had relation to the inheritance of the Land of the *Canaanites*: ſo the fixed time for the adminiſtration of it; namely, the eighth day ſeemeth alſo to have ſome aim and reſpect to the ſame thing. For ſeven nations were in that Land, which the Children of *Abraham* were to ſubdue and dwell in their ſtead, *Canaanites*, *Hittites*, *Hivites*, *Perizzites*, *Girgaſhites*, *Amorites*, and *Jebuſites*, *Deut.* 7. 1. *Joſh.* 3. 10. In correſpondency to this number of ſeven Nations that were to be ſubdued, *Jericho* the firſt field fought in that Land, is compaſſed ſeven days, and ſeven times the ſeventh day. And in like anſwerableneſs, every child of *Abraham* for ſeven days, was like the children of thoſe ſeven Nations, but on the eighth day he was to receive circumciſion the pledge of that intereſt and claim that he had in that Land, which thoſe ſeven Nations had uſurped.

This then was the ground-work and Original of that Sacrament, that every Son of *Abraham* might bear in his body the ſeal of the inheritance of the Land of promiſe, and the badge of diſtinction from all other people, and that this viſible ſign might make him ſtrive after the inviſible grace which it ſealed, the inheritance of Heaven, and walking as the peculiar of the Lord. From which appropriated and reſtrictive ends of the Rite, the neceſſity of the changing of it at the coming of Chriſt doth plainly appear: for when there was to be no more diſtinction betwixt the children of *Abraham*, and other people, and no one land more peculiarized then another, but of every Land and Nation he that feareth God, and worketh righteouſneſs is accepted of him; that badge of appropriation, and ſeal of ſingularity, muſt either clean come to nothing, or become unneceſſary.

Now that baptiſm did ſucceed in the ſtead thereof, ſome reaſons may be given. As, firſt, becauſe the Sacraments of the New Teſtament were to be gentle and eaſie, in ſtead of the ſmart and burdenſom ones of the Law. Secondly, Becauſe God would comply with men even in their own common cuſtom, of waſhing children when they are newly born, *Ezek.* 16. 4. 9. and turn the common to a ſacred uſe, thereby to catch and win them the more. But, thirdly, this one main reaſon may ſerve for all; namely, the near correſpondency that is between the Sacrament, and the thing ſignified, and the full ſignificancy that the element beareth of the grace that it ſigneth forth. To which, fourthly, might be added, that baptiſm took place in the Chriſtian Church, to fulfil the types and predictions that had gone before of it under *Moſes* Law, and before. As in the flood and Ark, 1 *Pet.* 3. 21. in the paſſage through the red Sea and *Jordan*, 1 *Cor.* 10. 2. in the purifications and ſprinklings at the Sanctuary: But eſpecially in four remarkable particulars, was this fore-ſignified and typed out in a ſpecial manner.

Firſt, In *Jacobs* admiſſion of the preſerved Sichemites to his family and communion, Gen. 35. 2. *And Jacob ſaid to his houſhold, and to all that were with him, Put away the ſtrange Gods that are among you, and be clean, and change your garments.* Wherein he injoyneth them three things for their admiſſion to his Church. 1. To relinquiſh their idolatry. 2. To waſh or baptize their bodies, for ſo muſt the הטהרו *Make your ſelves clean*, be underſtood, and ſo it is well rendred by *Aben Ezra*. Eſpecially, 3. Since he giveth order

order for the changing of their garments: All three containing the cleanſing of their minds, bodies and cloaths. And there obſerve, firſt, that when Circumciſion in the next Chapter before had proved a Sacrament of death to the *Sichemites*; *Jacob* uſeth baptiſm for admiſſion of Proſelytes in the ſtead thereof. Secondly, That the company to be admitted are females, [unleſs there were ſome *Syrian* male Idolaters] for all the males of *Sechem* were ſlain, *Gen.* 34. 25. or at the leaſt, the moſt of them, and therefore he uſeth a Sacrament which women alſo might come under, for under circumciſion they did not come.

Secondly, In the admiſſion of the Iſraelites to the hearing of the Law, by ſanctification and waſhing, *Exod.*19.10. from which the Jews themſelves did ground the baptizing of Proſelytes, as a ſpecial ground.

Thirdly, At the making of the Covenant at *Sinai*, the introduction of *Iſrael* to the viſible Church, was by baptiſm, or the ſprinkling of water as well as of blood, as ſaith St. *Paul*, *Heb.*9.19. yea, and even the Jews themſelves. *Our Rabbins teach*, ſaith *Rabbi Solomon*, *that our Fathers entred into the Covenant, and baptiſm, and ſprinkling of blood: for there was no ſprinkling of blood without baptiſm.* *R. Sol. in loc.* 4. In that in the times of *David* and *Solomon*, when heathens were converted to the Jews Religion by multitudes, their admiſſion to their Church was by baptiſm, and not by circumciſion. And the groundwork of this their practiſe, was, becauſe, *Iſrael* coming out of *Egypt* waſhed their garments; and the Prieſts coming from their common employments, to their function, waſhed their bodies: Let all be concluded in the words of the Talmud, *Rabbi Akiba ſaid*, *O Iſrael you are bleſſed: Before whom are ye juſtified or cleanſed? Or who is he that cleanſeth you? It is your heavenly Father, as it is ſaid, I will pour clean water upon you.* In Kippurim.

Our Maſters ſay, That baſtards and Gibeonites, ſhall be all juſtified in time to come. And this is the doctrine of Ezekiel, *as it is written, I will pour clean water upon you.* In Kidduſhin.

Matth. 3. ver. 11. *Unto repentance.*

Here the Schools think they find a main difference between the baptiſm of *John*, and the baptiſm uſed in the Chriſtian Church; becauſe that was only the baptiſm of repentance, and the other of grace, and remiſſion of ſins: but that there was no eſſential or ſubſtantial difference between them, ſhall be ſeen anon.

Luke 3. ver.16. *But one mightier then I cometh.*

Though by this mightineſs of Chriſt above the Baptiſt, his omnipotency or all-powerfulneſs as he is God, may well and truly be underſtood, as many Expoſitors do take it, yet ſince *John* ſpeaketh of him, as he ſhould ſhew himſelf among the people when he came, and in compariſon with himſelf as concerning preaching and baptizing, it cannot be but his words have reſpect to ſome particular things, wherein Chriſt ſhewed this mightineſs above *John*, yea, even converſing among men in his humane fleſh, and in what reſpected his preaching and miniſterial Office. And theſe may be reduced unto theſe four heads.

Firſt, The power of miracles, which Chriſt had, but *John* had not: For *John* wrought no miracle, *Joh.* 10.41. Nor was it fit he ſhould, ſince he in whom that power reſted as in its proper center, was ſo near to come, and ſo ready to ſhew it.

Secondly, In the different power of the Preaching of *John*, and of our Saviour, and their converſion of the people, *John* many, but Chriſt far more, as *Joh.*3.26.

Thirdly, In the ſeal and confirmation of their Doctrine and Miniſtry; for whereas *John* ſealed it with his death, our Saviour did not only ſo, but alſo with his reſurrection.

Fourthly, In continuance and increaſe of their preaching, and Diſciples, and this difference *John* ſheweth himſelf, *Joh.*3.30. To which may be annexed the excellency of Chriſts baptiſm above that of *Johns*, which is the very thing that is in compariſon, *I baptize you with water, but he ſhall baptize you with the Holy Ghoſt.*

§. *The latchet of whoſe ſhoos I am not worthy to unlooſe.*

The ſenſe is but ſtrained which delighteth ſo many, namely, that *John* confeſſeth under this *ſimile*, that he is unable to reſolve the great myſtery of the incarnation; Seeing *Matthew* giveth this his ſpeech in other words, and *Mark* by adding one word more to theſe, maketh it more neceſſary to take them in their literal meaning. For *Matthew* hath it thus, *Whoſe ſhoos I am not worthy to bear*, and *Mark*, *The latchet of whoſe ſhoos, I*

am

am not worthy to ſtoop down and unlooſe. Both joyntly ſhewing, that the Baptiſt hath no myſtical and figurative meaning in this his ſpeech, but doth in plain and down-right terms aver his inferiority to Chriſt, that was to come after him, to be infinitely great, and more then a ſervants that ties his Maſters ſhoos, or carries them, is to his Maſter. For theſe meaneſt and baſeſt of offices of ſervant to Maſter, he inſtanceth in, that he might expreſs the infinite diſtance betwixt him and Chriſt, the more to the life, and to the peoples apprehenſion.

§. *He ſhall baptize you with the Holy Ghoſt.*

Hence ariſeth that opinion ſo mightily taken up in the Schools, and imbraced, concerning the great diſparity and difference betwixt the Baptiſm uſed in the Chriſtian Church, and the Baptiſm of *John*; for this (ſay they) could not confer grace, but the other doth, and *Johns* was but as a mean betwixt the purifications of the Jews, and the baptiſm of Chriſtians. In which, firſt, the words of the Baptiſt are miſconſtrued, and ſecondly, there is a difference pretended where there is none at all.

For, firſt, *John* compareth not his own baptiſm with ours, but his own with Chriſts. For that he meaneth not the baptiſm that Chriſt inſtituted to be uſed by others, but that he practiſed and exhibited perſonally himſelf, is plain, in that he mentioneth not water in Chriſts baptizing, which our Saviour himſelf doth, when he ſpeaketh of the baptiſm that they mean, *Joh.*3.5. and in that he ſaith perſonally that Chriſt ſhould baptize, which with water he never did, *Joh.*4.2.

Secondly, By the Holy Ghoſt, wherewith Chriſt ſhould baptize, is not meant the grace concomitant to our Chriſtian baptiſm, as they ſuppoſe, but his ſending down the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, as is plain by our Saviours own expoſition, *Act.*1.5. *For John indeed baptized with water, but you ſhall be baptized with the Holy Ghoſt not many days hence.* Where uſing the very ſame words with theſe of the Baptiſt, and applying the baptizing with the Holy Ghoſt plainly and undeniably to his ſending down of the Holy Ghoſt on Pentecoſt day, he hath given a ſure, plain and undoubted explanation of theſe words.

Thirdly, Neither, if the baptiſm of *John*, and the baptiſm uſed in the Chriſtian Church be well compared together, will any ſuch difference or diverſity be found betwixt them, nay, ſet the form of words aſide, no difference at all.

For, firſt, They both had the ſame inſtitution from Chriſt, for he that ſent the Apoſtles to baptize, ſent alſo the Baptiſt, *John* 1.33.

Secondly, They both had the ſame element, water.

Thirdly, They had both the ſame end, *repentance.* For though our Chriſtian baptiſm is called the *Baptiſm for remiſſion of ſins*, *Act.* 2. 38. *&c.* and a great deal of preeminence of this, above that of *John*, picked as is thought out of that title, yet is it no more then what is ſaid of the baptiſm of *John*, *Mark* 1.4.

Fourthly, Whereas it is commonly ſaid, that one end of our Saviours being baptized was, that he might ſanctifie our baptiſm, how can this be ſuppoſed, if he received not our baptiſm, but one different from it?

Fifthly, The Diſciples were baptized with no baptiſm but that of *John*, for Chriſt baptized them not, and who other ſhould do, it cannot be imagined, and therefore if this of ours be more excellent then *Johns*, we have a better baptiſm then the Apoſtles that firſt adminiſtred it.

Sixthly, and laſtly, Howſoever the Schools without any ſtumbling, do hold rebaptization of thoſe that had received the baptiſm of *John*, this croſſeth their own tenet, that his was a degree above the waſhings under the Law, for their imperfection was ſhewed by their reiteration, and in this they make his to differ nothing at all. And whereas it is ſaid, *Act.*19.5. that ſome that were baptized with the baptiſm of *John* upon *Pauls* inſtruction of them, were baptized in the Name of the Lord Jeſus: it was rather their renewing to their baptiſm, then their baptiſm to them, and not that they took any other then that of *John*, but that they now began to entertain and apply it to the right intent. As it may be exemplified in circumciſion in any heathen ſon of *Abraham:* as in *Jethro* for an inſtance. He was circumciſed while he was an unbeliever, becauſe he was a *Midianite*, a child of *Abraham*; now when he came to be a convert, and imbraced the true Religion, he was not to be circumciſed again, for that was not poſſible, but he then began to know and apply the right uſe and meaning of his circumciſion, and ſo was renewed to it, and not it to him: Or thoſe words, [When they heard this they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jeſus,] may be underſtood to be the words of *Paul*, and not of *Luke*, as ſee *Beza in loc.*

This phraze of *baptizing with the Holy Ghoſt* ſheweth, firſt, the reſtoring of the Holy Ghoſt, which long ago was departed from *Iſrael*, and gone up.

Secondly,

Secondly, The abundance and plenteousnes of that gift when it should be exhibited, that it should be as water poured upon them, as the word is used, *Joel* 2.28.

Thirdly, It sheweth whither all the washings and purifyings of the Law aimed, and had respect, namely to the washing and purging of men by the Holy Ghost.

§. *You.*

That is, some of you, as 1 *Sam.* 8. 11. *He will take your sons*, that is, some of them: or *You*, that is, the people, as *Deut.* 18. 15. The Lord shall raise to *thee* a Prophet, that is, to thy people, and unto him *you* shall hearken, that is, the Nation of your posterity.

§. *And with fire.*

From *Isa.*4.4. The Lord shall wash the filthines of the Daughter of *Zion*, and purge the blood of *Jerusalem* out of the middest thereof, by the spirit of Judgment, and by the *spirit of burning*. It is easily to be resolved what *John* meaneth here by *fire*, seeing our Saviour himself hath applied the other part of his speech to the coming down of the Holy Ghost on Pentecost day, when we know he appeared in the visible shape of Tongues of fire, *Act.* 2. Now Christs baptizing in this manner with fire, was, 1. That the giving of the Holy Ghost might fully answer the giving of the Law, both for time and manner, for both were given at Pentecost, and both in fire. 2. To express the various operations of the Holy Ghost, which are fitly resembled and represented by the effects of fire: As 1. To inlighten with knowledge; 2. To inflame with zeal; 3. To burn up corruption; 4. To purifie the nature; 5. To turn the man to its own qualification of sanctity, as fire maketh all things that it seiseth like it self. 3. To strike terror in the hearts of men, lest they should despise the Gospel, and to win reverence to the Holy Ghost, for fear of the fire. 4. Hereby was clearly and fully shewed, the life and significancy of the sacrifices under the Law, upon whom there came a fire from Heaven: intimating that they are lively sacrifices, and accepted, who are inflamed by the Holy Ghost from above.

And thus the two elements that have and shall destroy the world, water and fire, hath God been pleased to use for the benefit and salvation of his chosen.

Vers. 17. *Whose fan is in his hand.*

By *the fan* in the hand of Christ, the most Expositors understand the power of judgement that God the Father hath committed to him, *For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgement to the Son*, *Joh.* 5.22. And thus some take it for an argument against security to all: and others, against Apostasie to those that have been baptized with the Holy Ghost: and that as the Baptist in the former words hath told what Christ would do, at his first coming and appearance, so in these, what he will do at his second: but I rather adhere to the interpretation of them that by *the Fan* of Christ, understand the Gospel, and his preaching and publication of the same; and that upon these reasons:

First, Because unless it be thus taken, we have not here any testimony at all given by the Baptist to the people, concerning that part of the Office of Christ. Now that being a matter of so great importance, as that the Prophets do more insist upon the preaching of Christ, and his power in the Gospel, then upon any other thing that concerned him in the work of Redemption, and this being in several respects more regardable then his baptizing with the Holy Ghost, it cannot be imagined that *John* should omit to bear witnes of him for such a thing, nay it had been to neglect to bear witnes of him for the chief thing of all.

Secondly, Because the Gospel or the Word of God is the proper touchstone that trieth and differenceth betwixt gold and dross, truth and falshood, pure and vile: and this is the instrument wherewith he confoundeth every strong hold that exalteth it self against himself, *Isa.*11.4. 2 *Thes.*2.8. *Revel.*1.16. & 2.16. And,

Thirdly, Because *John* speaketh of Christ as he should presently shew himself among them, as it is apparent in the verse preceding, and not as he should shew himself at the end of the world.

§. *His floor.*

If these words and those that follow, be applied to the whole Church in all places, and at all times in general, the application may be very profitable and pertinent, as giving warning

warning to all men, to bring forth the fruits of repentance, for fear of the judgement to come, and ſo the end of this verſe may be of the ſame uſe with the end of the ninth to all men whatſoever; but that by the *floor of Chriſt* in this place is meant the Church of *Iſrael*, or the nation of the Jews alone, may be concluded upon theſe obſervations:

Firſt, That the title given, *His floor*, is but the very Epithet of *Iſaiah*, that he giveth to *Iſrael*, *Iſa.* 21. 10. *Oh my threſhing, and the corn of my floor:* which though ſome Expoſitors both Jewiſh and Chriſtian apply to *Babel*, yet let the Reader upon common reaſon, and ſerious examination be the Judge.

Secondly, Becauſe the phraſe of fanning of that Nation betokeneth their final deſolation, *Jer.* 15. 7. *I will fan them with a fan in the gates of the Land:* and the Baptiſt ſeemeth in theſe expreſſions his *fan* and his *floor*, to have reference to theſe two Prophets.

Thirdly, Becauſe the words being thus appropriated to *Iſrael*, they have the more agreement with the verſes preceding, which tell of the wrath to come upon that Nation, and of the ax already laid to the root of that tree.

Fourthly, The phraſe of *throughly purging*, which the Greek word importeth, [and the ſame word is uſed both by *Luke* and *Mark*] denoteth a final ſeparation of the Wheat and chaff, and an utter conſumption of the wicked, and this being ſpoken only to the Jews, and to thoſe Gentiles that were mingled with them, they cannot ſo fitly be applyed to any thing as to that Nation, and their utter deſolation; for God had often purged them before; but now their *thorough purging* is near at hand, when Chriſt by the fan of the Goſpel ſhall have ſifted and tried them, and found them out, who was Wheat, and who was chaff. And,

Fifthly, This Expoſition is conſented to, even by the Jews themſelves, the more ancient of whom have held, that the coming of Chriſt ſhould be the final deſolation of their Nation. So doth their whole *Sanhedrin* confeſs, *Joh.* 11. 48. *This man doth many miracles, and if we let him alone, all men will believe on him, and the Romans ſhall come and take away both our place and Nation.* And to the ſame tenor of confeſſion is that collection of the Talmud cited ere while from the laſt verſe of the tenth Chapter of *Iſaiah*, and the firſt of the eleventh, where the fall of the foreſt and *Lebanon*, and the coming of the branch out of the ſtem of *Jeſſe*, are laid together. And to the ſame purpoſe doth the Chaldee Paraphraſt render *Iſa.* 66. 7. *Before her pains came, ſhe was redeemed, and before the pangs of her birth, Meſſias her King was revealed.* A Text from which *Rabbi Samuel bar Nachaman* in *Bereſhith Rabba* concludeth that the deſtruction of the Temple, and the birth of the *Meſſias* ſhould be near together.

And laſtly, that this verſe, as it was ſpoken only, ſo alſo is to be applied only to the Jews, may be ſomewhat inferred from the Titles given to the parties ſpoken of, *wheat* and *chaff*, which both grow from one root, and come up upon the ſame ſtalk: reſembling fitly both the believing and unbelieving Jews, or the godly and wicked of them, both deſcended from the ſame National Original. And to back this obſervation, it is obſervable, that whereas our Saviour maketh his metaphor of Wheat and Tares, becauſe he would only ſhew the difference betwixt the righteous and the wicked, the Baptiſt doth his of Wheat and chaff, becauſe he would not only ſhew the ſame difference in condition, but alſo their agreement and identity in Nation.

5. *The Wheat he will gather.*

By *Wheat* and *chaff*, might very well be underſtood true and falſe doctrine, and the rather becauſe the Scripture elſwhere calleth them by ſuch terms, *Jer.* 23. 28. and maketh the fire of the Word of God, the trier and touchſtone of them both, 1 *Cor.* 3. 12, 13, 15. from *Deut.* 33. 2. and the rather ſtill, becauſe the words are ſpoken to Phariſees and Sadduces, which were both very erroneous in their tenets: but that it will be very harſh to apply the gathering into the Garner, and the unquenchableneſs of the fire in reference to doctrine: therefore the two different titles are ſeverally and properly to be underſtood of righteous and wicked mens perſons differenced in thoſe their ſeveral qualifications: and under this interpretation may the truth or falſity of doctrine be alſo underſtood: Now the righteous or Saints of God, are fitly compared to Wheat in diverſe reſpects, as in goodneſs, uſefulneſs, weight and fulneſs, whereas the wicked on the contrary are like chaff, in being refuſe, vile, unprofitable, light, empty, and fitteſt for the fire.

5. He

§. *He will gather.*

The obſervation is not far amiſs, eſpecially the ſignificancy and force of the Greek word regarded, that from hence inferreth, that the righteous lie ſcatteredly and diſperſedly among the wicked: but the word *gathering* doth not always neceſſarily import ſo much, for a Leper was ſaid to be gathered when he was cleanſed, 2 *King.* 5. 3. which was not from amongſt men, but unto them: and the manner of ſpeech here, ſeemeth to be taken from the gathering of harveſt or ripe fruits, *Exod.*23.16. or from the gathering of dying men unto their reſt, as *Gen.*25.8.17.

§. *Into the Garner.*

Seeing that the main intent of the verſe is to ſhew forth the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, as is proved before, by theſe words might well be underſtood the care and charge that God took of his faithful ones in that ruine, when by the warning of a voice in the Temple that ſaid *Migremus hinc, let us flit hence*, he removed them to *Pella*, a place far enough diſtant from the danger, but that our Saviour hath taught us to underſtand it of the reſt in Heaven, in his parable of the Wheat and Tares, *Matth.* 13.

SECTION X.

Chriſt inſtalled into his Miniſtry by baptiſm, and by the unction of the Holy Ghoſt: his Pedegree by his Mother Mary.

St. *MATTHEW.* CHAP. III.

Ver. 13. THEN *cometh Jeſus from Galilee to Jordan unto John, to be baptized of him.*

14. *But John forbad him, ſaying, I have need to be baptized of thee, and comeſt thou to me?*

15. *And Jeſus anſwering ſaid unto him, Suffer it to be ſo now: for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteouſneſs. Then he ſuffered him.*

16. *And Jeſus when he was baptized, went up ſtraightway out of the water: and lo, the heavens were opened unto him, and he ſaw the Spirit of God deſcending like a Dove, and lighting upon him.*

17. *And lo a voice from Heaven, ſaying, This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleaſed.*

St. *MARK.* CHAP. I.

Ver. 9. AND *it came to paſs in thoſe days, that Jeſus came from Nazareth in Galilee*---------- ---- *and was baptized of* John *in Jordan.*

10. *And ſtraight way coming up out of the water, he ſaw the Heavens opened, and the ſpirit like a Dove deſcending upon him.*

11. *And there came a voice from heaven, ſaying, Thou art my beloved Son in whom I am well pleaſed.*

St. *LUKE.* CHAP. III.

Ver. 21. NOW *when all the people were baptized: And it came to paſs that Jeſus alſo being baptized and praying, the heaven was opened.*

22. *And the Holy Ghoſt deſcended in a bodily ſhape like a Dove upon him, and a voice came from heaven which ſaid, Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleaſed.*

23. *And Jeſus himſelf began to be about thirty years of age being* [*as was ſuppoſed*] *the ſon of Joſeph, which was* the ſon *of Heli,*

24. *Which was* the ſon *of Matthat, which was* the ſon *of Levi, which was* the ſon *of Melchi, which was* the ſon *of Janna, which was* the ſon *of Joſeph,*

25. *Which was* the ſon *of Mattathias, which was* the ſon *of Amos, which was* the ſon *of Naum, which was* the ſon *of Eſli, which was* the ſon *of Nagge,*

26. *Which was* the ſon *of Maath, which was* the ſon *of Mattathias, which was* the ſon *of Semei, which was* the ſon *of Joſeph, which was* the ſon *of Juda,*

27. *Which was* the ſon *of Joanna, which was* the ſon *of Rheſa, which was* the ſon *of Zorobabel, which was* the ſon *of Salathiel, which was* the ſon *of Neri.*

28. *Which was* the ſon *of Melchi, which was* the ſon *of Addi, which was* the ſon *of Coſam, which was* the ſon *of Elmodam, which was* the ſon *of Er,*

29. *Which*

29. *Which was* the ſon *of Joſe, which was* the ſon *of Eliezer, which was* the ſon *of Joram, which was* the ſon *of Matthat, which was* the ſon *of Levi.*
30. *Which was* the ſon *of Simeon, which was* the ſon *of Judah, which was* the ſon *of Joſeph, which was* the ſon *of Jonan, which was* the ſon *Eliakim,*
31. *Which was* the ſon *of Melea, which was* the ſon *of Menan, which was* the ſon *of Mattatha, which was* the ſon *of Nathan, which was* the ſon *of David,*
32. *Which was* the ſon *of Jeſſe, which was* the ſon *of Obed, which was* the ſon *of Booz, which was* the ſon *of Salmon, which was* the ſon *of Naaſſon,*
33. *Which was* the ſon *of Aminadab, which was* the ſon *of Aram, which was* the ſon *of Eſrom, which was* the ſon *of Pharez, which was* the ſon *of Juda,*
34. *Which was* the ſon *of Jacob, which was* the ſon *of Iſaac, which was* the ſon *of Abraham, which was* the ſon *of Thara, which was* the ſon *of Nachor,*
35. *Which was* the ſon *of Saruch, which was* the ſon *of Ragau, which was* the ſon *of Phaleg, which was* the ſon *of Heber, which was* the ſon *of Sala,*
36. *Which was* the ſon *of Cainan, which was* the ſon *of Arphaxad, which was* the ſon *of Sem, which was* the ſon *of Noah, which was* the ſon *of Lamech,*
37. *Which was* the ſon *of Methuſala, which was* the ſon *of Enoch, which was* the ſon *of Jared, which was* the ſon *of Malelel, which was* the ſon *of Cainan,*
38. *Which was* the ſon *of Enos, which was* the ſon *of Seth, which was* the ſon *of Adam, which was* the ſon *of God.*

Reaſon of the Order.

THERE can be no doubt or ſcruple about the ſubſequency of the beginning of this Section to that that was next before, for the three Evangeliſts have ſo unanimouſly ranked them together, that the order needeth no more confirmation. But about this latter part or the genealogy of Chriſt there is ſomething more difficult. For ſome Harmoniſts have brought this line of *Luke*, and that of *Matthew* together, ſome bringing *Matthews* hither with *Lukes* to Chriſts baptiſm, and others this of *Luke*, to the time of *Matthews* to *Chriſts* birth: But as the Evangeliſts have laid them aſunder, ſo are they to be kept aſunder, and to be diſpoſed in the Harmony according as they lie: for pregnant reaſons may be given why the two have laid them at times ſo far diſtant. Why *Matthew* at our Saviours birth, the reaſons were given their, in there proper place; and why *Luke* at his baptiſm, may be the better ſeen by looking on the promiſe, *Gen.*3.15. *The ſeed of the woman ſhall break the head of the Serpent. Matthew* wrote his Goſpel chiefly for the Jews; and therefore it was neceſſary for him to ſhew and approve *Jeſus* for the *Meſſias* by his Pedigree, which was the manifeſt and the chiefeſt thing that Nation looked after, for the judging of the true Chriſt; this he doth therefore, at the Story of his birth, and beginneth it from *Abraham*, who was the *ultima Analyſis*, or the furtheſt that they cared to look after, as concerning his diſcent. But *Luke* a companion of the Doctor of the Gentiles in all his travailes writeth his Goſpel for the Gentiles, as well as for the Jews: and therefore he ſheweth Chriſts deſcent at the Story of that time, at which he was firſt born toward the Gentiles, that is, at his revelation at his baptiſm, from whence he firſt began to preach the Goſpel. The firſt words of the promiſe, *the ſeed of the Woman*, the Evangeliſt ſweetly expoundeth in this genealogy, ſhewing through ſeventy five deſcents, that he was the ſeed of the woman promiſed to *Adam* in the garden, and therefore he draweth his line from *Adam*, in whoſe loins the Gentiles were, for whom he writeth as well as the Jews, when the promiſe was made. The latter words, *ſhall break the head of the Serpent*, begin to take place from the baptiſm of Chriſt and forward: and firſt in his victory againſt Satans temptations, which is the very next ſtory that the Evangeliſt handleth, and then in his preaching of the Goſpel, the power of which muſt deſtroy the Kingdom of *Satan*, from that time forward.

Harmony and Explanation.

Mat. 3. ver. 13. *Then Jeſus cometh, &c.*

THE Tabernacle in the wilderneſs was ſix months current in working and preparing for, before it was finiſhed and ſet up. For on the tenth day of the month *Tiſri*, which anſwereth to part of our September, *Moſes* cometh down from his third Faſt of forty days, and bringeth with him the glad tydings of Gods reconciliation to his people, and in ſign thereof the renewed Tables, and the welcome command to make the Tabernacle. From that time forward the working and offerings for the making of the Sanctuary began, and ſix months after it was finiſhed and erected, namely, in the month of *Abib*, *Exod.* 40. So long a time was the Baptiſt conceived and born before the conception and birth of our Saviour, *Luke* 1. 26. and ſo long a time did he preach and baptize and pre-

pare for the great building of the Gospel before our Saviour himself came, and by his own baptism and preaching reared it up. For as our Saviour was baptized and entred into his ministerial function, when he began to be thirty years of age, and that according to a legal ordinance, as shall be shewed ere long; so likewise did the Baptist begin to preach when he began to be thirty, which was six months current before. And this may be the better supposed if it be but considered how great multitudes were baptized of *John* before the baptism of Christ, and how far he travailed up and down to preach. Of the latter, *Luke* witnesseth thus, *And he came into all the Region round about Jordan, Preaching the baptism of repentance*, Luke 3. 3. And *Matthew* of the former thus, *There went out unto him Jerusalem, and all Judea, and all the Region round about Jordan, and were baptized of him.* A space of ground not to be travelled over [with resting in many places by the way] and a number of people not to be baptized in a short space of time.

Now the reasons, why Christ that needed no cleansing, being purity it self, would be baptized, are given divers.

As first, that by this Symbole he might enter himself into the society and fraternity of the Christians, as by Circumcision he did of the Jews: like a King, [it is *Jansenius* his comparison] that to unite and indear himself to any City of his Subjects, condescendeth to be made a freeman of it, as are the ordinary Citizens.

Secondly, that he might bear witness to the preaching and baptism of *John*, and might receive testimony from him again.

Thirdly, that by his own baptism he might sanctifie the waters of baptism to his Church.

Fourthly, that he might give example himself, of the performance of that, which he injoyned to others, and by his own coming to be baptized, teach others not to refuse that Sacrament.

Fifthly, that he might receive testimony from heaven that he was the son of God.

Sixtly, that he might occasion the revealing of the Trinity.

Seventhly, that he might shew the descending of the Holy Ghost on the waters of Baptism.

But eightly, the main reason of all, and that which is equal to these all, is that which is given by Christ himself, namely, that he might fulfill all righteousness; of which anon.

Ver. 14. *But John forbad him.*

So *Peter* forbad Christ to wash his feet, not in any surly frowardness, but in an holy humility, having an eye upon his own unworthiness. This refusal of *John*, being of the same nature, seemeth to have had respect to three things according to the several persons there present, Christ, the people, and himself.

First, in regard of Christ, because he needeth no baptism, in that he needed neither repentance nor remission of sins.

Secondly, in regard of the people, lest they might mistake, and seeing *Christ* baptized as well as they, might judge him sinful as well as themselves.

Thirdly, in regard of the Baptist himself, who had told the people so oft, and so constantly of him that came after him, that he was greater then he: and that his baptism was more excellent then his, and how would this cross that testimony of his, in the eyes and hearts of the people, when they should see him as an inferiour, come to be baptized of *John?* But,

Fourthly, and chiefly this his reluctancy proceeded from his true and right comparing of Christ and himself together, the Majesty and purity of him, with the baseness and sinfulness of himself, and therefore he saith, *I have need to baptized of thee, &c.* Not refusing the service, nor crossing the will of Christ, but confessing the unworthyness of himself, and ponderating the inequality of the persons.

But it may not unfitly nor unseasonably be questioned here, how the Baptist knew that this was Christ, seeing that he saith himself, *I knew him not, but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, on whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending and abiding on him, the same is he that baptizeth with the Holy Ghost*, *Joh.* 1. 33. Now the descending of the Holy Ghost was after he was baptized, and these words, *I have need to be baptized of thee*, were spoken before. To this doubt and scruple many answers are given, but not so many resolutions.

First, some take the words *I knew him not, &c.* to be spoken by *John*, to make his testimony to be without suspition: For *John* and Jesus being a kin by birth, [for their Mothers were Cousins, *Luke* 1.36.] it might be surmised that *John* gave so high and large a testimony of him for kindred and affections sake, therefore he protesteth that he knew him not in any such a way, but only by divine revelation. Thus *Chrysostome* and *Theophylact.*

phylact. In which anſwer if there be any ſatisfaction at all, which is but little, yet is it not to our whole *quære*, but only to the leaſt part of it.

Secondly, ſome thus, that *John* before his baptiſm knew that he was the Chriſt, but not that it was he that ſhould baptize with the holy Ghoſt and with fire, till he ſaw the Spirit deſcend upon him; and thus *Theophylact* again, and upon this he fixeth, as on the moſt genuine and proper reſolution, which is very hard to apprehend or collect out of the words of *John*, in his whole Sermon: for this maketh him to diſtinguiſh betwixt *Chriſt*, and him that ſhould baptize with the Holy Ghoſt, and to make them two diſtinct perſons in his opinion, whereas both his own words, and no doubt the expectation of the people did take him for one and the ſame to be Chriſt.

Thirdly, their opinion is yet far more ſtrange, that think that the Baptiſt took not Chriſt for Chriſt, when he gain-ſayeth his being baptized by him, but for ſome extraordinary holy man, and continued in this opinion till the deſcending of the holy Ghoſt confimed him in the Truth, that he was the *Meſſias:* For it is not imaginable that *John* having the peculiar Commiſſion from God to baptize all that ſhould come unto him, ſhould himſelf deſire to be baptized by another man.. And again, his words, *I have need to be baptized by thee*, ſhew that he underſtood that it was he that Baptized with the Holy Ghoſt, as will appear by and by.

Fourthly little leſs improper and equally ſtrained is the Expoſition of *Auguſtine*, that *John* knew indeed that he was the Chriſt, and that it was he that ſhould baptize with the Holy Ghoſt, but till he ſaw the deſcending of the Holy Ghoſt, he knew not that it was *only he* that ſhould baptize with the Holy Ghoſt, or that he reſerved the propriety of the power of baptizing to himſelf alone, and did not communicate it to his Miniſters. And this propriety the Schools make to conſiſt in theſe four particulars: 1. That he reſerved to himſelf the power of inſtituting baptiſm, though he communicated the power of baptizing to others. 2. That he can confer the grace or effect of Baptiſm, without the adminiſtration of the Sacrament, which the Miniſters cannot. 3. That he giveth efficacy to baptiſm by his death. 4. That Baptiſm is adminiſtred and given in his name. Which gloſs as the Father ſtrained out of the Text to retort upon the *Donatiſts*, that maintained that this Sacrament adminiſtred by a wicked miniſter availed nothing, ſo is it but ſtrained, and that ſtrangely too, for how can it poſſibly be collected, that *John* ſhould collect any ſuch thing from the deſcending of the Holy Ghoſt?

Fifthly, More plauſible is their reſolution that hold that *John* knew Chriſt indeed in ſome meaſure before his baptiſm, but not ſo fully as after, when the Holy Ghoſt deſcended. But,

Sixthly, a plenary and ſufficient ſatisfaction to the queſtion may be had by theſe three obſervations.

Firſt, that *John* though he knew the myſtery of the incarnation of the *Meſſias*, and his excellent and divine graces, and that he was neer at hand, yet had he never ſeen his face till now, nor knew he him by ſight till he came to be baptized.

Secondly, That then he knew him by a preſent revelation, as *Samuel* knew *Saul*, 1 *Sam.* 9. 15, 17. For if in his Mothers womb he leaped at the approach of Chriſt in the womb of his Mother, much more may it be conceived, that by the revelation of the Spirit he knew him and acknowledged him now.

Thirdly, That the ſign which was given him when he began to baptize, *On whomſoever thou ſhalt ſee the Holy Ghoſt deſcend, &c.* was not given him for his firſt knowledg of Chriſt, but for the confirmation of that knowledge that he had of him before: and for his aſſurance and confidence to point him out unto the people. And ſuch a one was the ſign given to *Moſes*, *Exod.* 3. 12: not for firſt his inſtruction that he was ſent by God, but for his confirmation in that wherein he was before inſtructed, nor that neither ſo much for himſelf as for the people.

§ *I have need to be baptized of thee.*

He meaneth not, with the baptiſm of water, which he himſelf adminiſtred to others, but with the baptiſm of the Holy Ghoſt. For, firſt, Chriſt himſelf baptized none with water at all, *Joh.* 4. 2. but referred the adminiſtration of this Sacrament to others.

Secondly, the Baptiſm wherewith he baptized, was of the Holy Ghoſt, *ver.* 11. and it cannot be doubted that when *John* ſpeaketh of being baptized by Chriſt, he meaneth the proper baptiſm wherewith Chriſt baptized.

Thirdly, it is not conſonant to reaſon, that *John* ſhould complain of the want of that which he ſo plentifully afforded unto others: but though he himſelf were not baptized, in water, yet his ſpecial deputation from God, to be the firſt and chief baptized, made that he needed it not.

Fourthly, be it granted that *John* ſpeaketh of baptizing with water, as ſome Commentators would have it, yet are not his words to be underſtood ſimply of any abſolute neceſſity that he had of baptiſm, but comparatively betwixt him and Chriſt, that it was fitter that he ſhould be baptized by Chriſt, than Chriſt by him. For ſo the Phraſe *I have need*, is uſed, not always to import neceſſity, but ſometimes conveniency. And ſo doth the Rabbinical word צריך indifferently ſignifie, and divers words that ſignifie neceſſity in other tongues.

Ver. 15. *Suffer it to be ſo now.*

The Emphaſis of this clauſe is held to be in the word *now*: As ſhewing that howſoever Chriſt was the Son of God, and ſhould in time reveal himſelf mightily ſo to be, as *Rom.* 1. 4. yet *now* the time required that that his glory ſhould be veiled under his humiliation, and his divinity concealed till its proper ſeaſon to be revealed. This expoſition is as currant as any among Expoſitors, how ſubſtantial let the Reader judge. For,

Firſt, the baptizing of Chriſt by *John*, was not ſo great a means to veil his Divinity as it was to reveal it: for then he had the teſtimony from Heaven, that he was the Son of God.

Secondly, there needeth no other reaſon to be looked after why Chriſt ſaith, *ſuffer it to be ſo now*, than what he himſelf giveth, in the very next words following: *For thus it becometh us to fulfill all righteouſneſs.* The word *now*, as it lyeth in the *Engliſh*, might be taken for the ſenſe of נא or עתה ſo ordinary in the Hebrew, words of intreating or perſwaſion, and might very well alſo ſuit with that ſenſe here, if the LXX traſlated them by the Greek word here uſed Ἄφες, but they do not: therefore may we the more juſtly ſuppoſe the word to be emphatical in ſome reſpect, and the reſpect ſeemeth to be this. Whereas *John* had told the people before of Chriſts baptizing with the Holy Ghoſt, and had told Chriſt in the verſe preceeding, that he had need of that baptiſm, to that it is that our Saviour giveth this anſwer, *Suffer it to be ſo now*, as meaning thus: That it was true indeed that he was he that ſhould come after him, and he that ſhould baptize with the Holy Ghoſt, of which baptiſm *John* had more need from him than he of *Johns*; yet the time of that his baptizing was not yet come, for firſt muſt he fulfil all the righteouſneſs required of himſelf, before he was to pour out or beſtow that baptiſm of the Spirit upon others: And therefore muſt *John* ſuffer him to be baptized *now* with the baptiſm of water, for that baptiſm of his with the Spirit was not yet to be exhibited.

§ *For thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteouſnes.*

The greateſt doubt and difficulty in this clauſe is, what our Saviour meaneth here by *righteouſneſs*, which being reſolved upon, the other ſmaller words, and leſs ſcrupulous in it, will offer themſelves the more readily to be underſtood.

Firſt, *Hilary*, though ſomewhat obſcurely, ſeemeth to conſtrue it of the righteouſneſs of the Law, for *by him*, ſaith he, *all righteousneſs was to be fulfilled, by whom alone the Law could be fulfilled.*

Secondly, but *Hierom* ſpeaks it out more plainly and fully and underſtandeth it of all righteouſneſs of the Law and of nature, either of which indeed were not an unproper gloſs to be applyed unto Chriſt alone; but ſince the word *us*, joyneth the Baptiſt alſo in the ſame fulfilling with him, it is not ſafe to underſtand it of all the righteouſneſs of the Law, becauſe it is not pious to hold *John* the accompliſher of it, as well as he.

Thirdly, *Theophylact*, and ſome others with him go the ſame way with theſe Fathers named, but they go ſomewhat further, for they add, that Chriſt had fufilled all the Law already, but only in this one particular of being baptized, and when he had performed that, he had compleated all righteouſneſs. But the word *us* ſpoyleth this expoſition, as well as it did that before: and it will be ſome work to prove that baptiſm, taken in its proper ſenſe, or as *John* adminiſtred it, was any part of the Law that Chriſt was to fulfill.

Fourthly, others deſcant upon the words litterally, and take righteouſneſs for juſtice diſtributive, and baptiſm for a ſpecial part or act of it: *For he that is baptized*, ſaith *Ludolphus*, *pleaſeth God, pittieth his own ſoul, and edifieth his neighbour by his example, and ſo fulfilleth all juſtice, in that he doth to God, himſelf, and his neighbour what he ought.* An *Encomion* of baptiſm, and a new invention of fulfilling the Law, which I ſuppoſe was never dreamed of before.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, to omit other expoſitions much like this, which ſome have given, not near to the text, nor truth: *Janſenius* and ſome with him, but not ſo largely as he, do paraphraſe it thus. *According as I by an humble ſubmiſſion deſire to be baptized by thee, ſo it becometh us, becauſe we are ſent of God the Father, to call men away from all unrighteouſneſs, and to teach the people, to fulfill and perform in work whatſoever is right, omitting nothing, be it never ſo little, which we know to be agreable to the will of God. Therefore he importeth not, that by the receiving of baptiſm all righteouſneſs is fulfilled; but that by them that are Maſters and Teachers of all righteouſneſs, nothing is to be paſſed over which is right, although they be not bound thereto by neceſſity, and though the thing it ſelf ſeem never ſo ſmall.* Which expoſition though it be good and ſound in regard of the truth contained in it, yet ſeemeth it not to be punctuall and ſeaſonable for this place. For whereas the very marrow and pith of it lyeth in this, that Chriſt and *John* being teachers of the people, muſt practice themſelves what they teach others to practice; and therefore muſt Chriſt be baptized for example to others: let the Reader judge whether the inference be good by this, that *John* himſelf was never baptized: and conſequently whether the application of ſuch a ſenſe to theſe words, be fitting and agreeable.

Sixthly, *Chemnitius* yet goeth nearer the text and the mark, and bringeth the word *Righteouſneſs* to reflect upon men: explaining it thus: that ſince Chriſt came to conferr and apply righteouſneſs to men, and accordingly to ſanctifie every thing and means that might conduce to convey the ſame unto them, therefore would he thus conſecrate baptiſm by his own being baptized, and give vigor to it to be a ſeale and ſtrengthener of righteouſneſs and grace begun: and in this ſenſe he ſaith that it becometh him to fulfill all righteouſneſs, or every thing whereby the righteouſneſs of man may be forwarded and promoted, and becauſe *John* was the Miniſter of Baptiſm; therefore in the word *us*, he joyneth him alſo in the fulfilling with him. To this purpopoſe he and far more largely coming as cloſe to the mark, as any we meet with, and yet [if I judge aright] not ſo cloſe as to hit it in theſe two reſpects.

Firſt, in that he ſeemeth to hold, and ſo alſo do many others with him, that Chriſts performance of the ſeveral parts of righteouſneſs, perſonally in himſelf, was requiſite to the ſanctifying of ſuch things to others, whereas his very inſtitution of any ſuch a thing giveth validity ſufficient to it without his own actual example: As in this very thing in hand concerning baptiſm, if Chriſt inſtituted that in the hand of *John* for a Sacrament to continue in his Church for ever, I cannot ſee what vertue, vigor, or efficacy his being baptized by *John* added to it, more than his inſtitution of it before had done, ſave only for the more ſenſible reverence of it in the eyes of the People.

Secondly, and chiefly, becauſe it is harſh and bold, to conceive that Chriſt in the performance of any thing that might tend to mans juſtification, ſhould take a man to be a ſharer and co-worker in ſuch equality as the words *thus* and *us* do make the Baptiſt.

By *righteouſneſs* therefore in this place may rather be underſtood the equity and juſtice of the Law, and Chriſts fufilling of the ſame. Not the moral, for that opinion we refuſed before, but the other parts of it, which were either Prophetical, or figurative and tipical. Not denying his fulfilling the moral Law neither, for that he performed to a tittle, being without the leaſt taint of ſin, either in thought, word, or deed, but rather illuſtrating and ſetting forth his performance of that the more, in that he was alſo ſo punctual to fulfill the other parts of the Law which were leſs material. And to this expoſition of *righteouſneſs*, namely, for the equity of the Ceremonial or typical Law, not only the matter or thing in hand it ſelf, but even every word alſo that is in this clauſe do give their conſent and confirmation.

For, firſt, if we look upon the Ceremonial Law it ſelf, and the reaſon why it was given, we ſhall find that it was neither ſo exact and exquiſite in regard of it's injunctions, nor ſo ſtrict or neceſſary to be performed in it ſelf according to the Letter, as it was in regard of its ſignificancy of good things to come; the force and vertue of it conſiſting not ſo much in its very verbal precepts, and corporal obſervances, as in its repreſentative and typical predictions and fore-ſhewing of ſome better things to come thereafter. And howſoever thoſe Rites and Ceremonies had their obedience in the practices of the Jews, yet their equity and very intent indeed they had not but in the fulfilling of Chriſt.

Secondly, if we look alſo upon baptiſm which was the matter now in agitation, and the baptiſm of Chriſt alſo, how they were both fully and plainly prefigured under legal Rites and Ceremonious obſervances, was ſhewed before.

Thirdly, it was requiſite that Chriſt ſhould fulfill the Ceremonial Law, as well as the moral, in ſome kind of neceſſity, though not as much for the one as for the other. For as the Moral was a Law of Faith, ſo alſo was the Ceremonial a Law of hope, as the judicial was alſo of Charity. In the Moral Law it was ſhewed to man what he was to do, but withall he ſaw by the ſame Law his own diſability and impoſſibility of performing what was to be done. The ſight of this driveth man to lay hold of Chriſt that performed that Law

Law for him; and thus the Law, though it be according to the letter a meſſage of death, yet in the ſpirit it is a doctrine of Faith unto life. The Jew being thus entred by the moral Law into the School of Faith, then came in the Ceremonial, and was as an uſher of hope: for by thoſe rites and legal obſervations, the memory of Chriſts coming was continually kept freſh, and the eye and expectation, and the fruit and application of his performance of the moral Law for the good of men dayly read in thoſe typical and ſhadowed lectures: As therefore as it was abſolutely neceſſary that Chriſt ſhould fulfil the moral Law in regard of all men, ſo was it reſpectively neceſſary that he ſhould anſwer and accompliſh the Ceremonial, in regard of the Jew. For if the outward obſervance thereof were for nothing ſo much, as to lead his eye and expectation to Chriſt, and the very life and equity thereof were included in him, how neceſſary was it that for the ſake of that people, and for confirmation both to them and all others, that he was Chriſt that was to come, that he ſhould fulfill that part of the Law, as well as the other? At the leaſt how fitting? And ſo he ſaith in the place in hand, Thus it becometh us to fulfill all the equity of the Ceremonial Law. Now the Ceremony to which our Saviour looketh in theſe words, was the waſhing of the Prieſts in water, when they entred into their function, *Exod.*29.4. *Lev.*8.6. the equity of which appeared in him, when he was baptized at his entrance into his Miniſtry. And this indeed was the manifeſt and propereſt end and reaſon of Chriſt being baptized; namely, that by baptiſm he might be inſtalled into his Miniſterial office.

Luke 3. ver. 21. *Now when all the people were baptized, &c.*

Not all that were to be baptized by *John*, for the contrary is evident, *Joh.*3.23. where *John* is baptizing a twelve month after this; but all thoſe that were reckoned by the Evangeliſt before, from *Jeruſalem* and *Judea*, of Phrariſees, Sadduces, Publicans, and Soldiers, which he now reckoneth up in this *ſumma totalis* of *All the people*, to ſhew what multitudes were baptized into Chriſt, before Chriſt came to be revealed.

But it may be queſtioned among all this number, whether there were any women baptized by *John*, or no. And the doubt may ſeem to be equally ballanced, for as the ſilence of the Text doth ſeem to deny it, ſo reaſon on the other ſide doth ſtrongly affirm it.

For, firſt, the baptiſm of *John* was ſuch a thing as women might receive as well as men, in regard of poſſibility, which they could not poſſibly do by Circumciſion.

Secondly, it was ſuch a thing as they might receive as well as men, in regard of capability, for women were as ready to repent, as they.

But, thirdly, that which putteth it out of all doubt, that women were baptized by him, is the teſtimony of our Saviour, *Matthew* 21. 32. *John* came unto you in the way of righteouſneſs, and ye believed him not, but the Publicans and *the Harlots believed him.*

§ *Jeſus alſo being baptized.*

About the time, place, and manner of our Saviours baptiſm, the Evangeliſts have been ſo ſilent in this place, that what is to be reſolved upon them is to be fetched from and by compariſon of other texts, and collection from other places, which about the firſt will give very full ſatisfaction, about the ſecond indifferent, and about the laſt, little or none at all. The time then of his being baptized, that is, the time of the year, is only, or at leaſt, chiefly to be found, by computing the time or length of his Preaching, and therewith conſidering the time or ſeaſon of his death. Now the length of his Preaching, or from his baptiſm to his death, was juſtly and exactly three years and an half, as was touched before: And from that very thing or in relation to it, that number is ſo very renowned in Scripture, being ſometimes expreſſed in the plain terms, of *three years and ſix months*, *Luke* 4. 25. ſometimes by *half a week*, *Dan.* 9. 27. ſometimes, by a *time, times, and half a time*, *Dan.* 12. 7. *Rev.* 12. 14. and ſometimes, by a thouſand two hundred and threeſcore days, *Rev.* 11. 3. & 12. 6. and ſometimes, by *forty and two months*, *Rev.* 11. 2. To evidence which account of his Miniſtery, firſt may be produced the Text of *Daniel* alledged inſtanly before, *chap.*9. 27. where it is ſaid, that Meſſias ſhould confirm the Covenant for many for one week: *or in that one week* rather, namely, which he reckoneth the laſt of the ſeventy: for firſt, he nameth ſeven weeks by themſelves, and then ſixty two by themſelves, *ver.* 25. which every one knoweth made ſixty nine; and then coming to ſpeak of the laſt week which was to make up the ſeventy, he ſaith, that *in that one week*, Chriſt ſhall confirm the Covenant for many: and then deſcribing and declaring the exact time of that his work, he ſaith, *And in half that week ſhall he cauſe ſacrifice and oblation to ceaſe.*

Now that by theſe weeks are meant weeks of years, or as many years as a week hath days, hardly any man ever denyed, or ſuſpected the contrary; and that then by half a week

week, is meant half ſeven years, or three years and an half, there can be as little doubt or ſcruple: This then the Angel *Gabriel* telleth was the exact time in which the *Meſſias* did confirm the Covenant, and was bringing to an end Sacrificing and other Ceremonies, or the time of his Preaching the Goſpel, which was from his Baptiſm to his death.

Secondly, if not for proof, yet for better illuſtration of the ſame, may be produced that place of the Goſpel alledged ſo lately alſo before, namely, *Luke.* 4.25. where *Elias* is a glorious type and reſemblance of Chriſt, in a ſweet and harmonious diſcord and difference: For as he ſhut up heaven by his prayer, and there was no rain for three years and ſix months, ſo Chriſt opened heaven at his baptiſm, as it is ſaid in the verſe in hand, and continued to diſtil the divine dew and rain of his heavenly doctrine, as *Deut.* 32. 2. for the ſame ſpace of time.

And thirdly, as there is ſuch evidence for the time averred; from a Prophecy, and ſuch illuſtration from a type, ſo is there a full confirmation of it in the Evangelicall ſtory. For *John* hath plainly parcelled out the three years by four Paſſeovers: as the firſt, *chap.* 2. 13. the ſecond, *chap.* 5. 1. the third, *chap.* 6. 4. and the fourth, *chap.* 13. 1. &c. and the odd half year [which ſince he dyed at the laſt Paſſeover muſt be laid before the firſt] was taken up in theſe particulars, of his journey into the wilderneſs, and forty days faſt, *Mat.* 4. 1. his return to *Jordan*, and abode thereabout, *John* 1. 29. 35. 44. his voyage into *Galilee*, and miracle at *Cana*, *John* 2. 1. his removal after ſome ſpace to *Capernaum*, and ſome abode in it, *chap.* 2. 12. and thence his journy to *Hieruſalem*, to the firſt Paſſeover of the four, *John* 2. 13. So that it being thus apparent that the length or ſpace of his Preaching was three years and an half, from his baptizing to his ſuffering, it being withall conſidered that he dyed at Eaſter, it will readily follow that he was baptized half a year before that time of the year, namely, in the month *Tiſri*, or *September*; And it being again conſidered that he was baptized, when he was juſt entring upon a new year of his age, as ſhall be obſerved anon, it will thence likewiſe follow that he was born at the ſame time of the year alſo. And who is he that can imagine that the renownedneſs and fame of this month in the Old Teſtament, both befor the Law and under it, was for any other thing ſo much as in reference and prefiguration to, and of theſe glorious things?

Now though there be theſe aſſured evidences of the time of the year when our Saviour was baptized, yet is there but conjecture of the time of the month: And that may moſt conſtantly be conceived to have been at the Feaſt of Tabernacles, which began on the fifteenth day of the month, *Levit.* 23. 33. upon theſe probable and not altogether un ſatisfactory reaſons.

Firſt, becauſe he dyed on the fifteenth day of the month *Abid* or *Niſan*, the day after the Paſſeover, and to make the odd half year, ſpoken of before, an exact and juſt half year indeed, his baptiſm muſt be fixed on the fifteenth of *Tiſri*.

Secondly, the two other of the three ſolemn Feſtivals, the Paſover and Pentecoſt, Chriſt accompliſhed, or fulfilled what they ſignified, by his death at the one, and by the giving of the holy Ghoſt at the other, and there is no reaſon to think the third, or the Feaſt of Tabernacles any leſs figurative, or typical then the other, and as little to think that he ſhould leave the equity of that unſatisfied more than the other, and if he anſwered not that in his birth and baptiſm, he anſwered it in nothing at all.

Thirdly, the very nature of the Feaſt of Tabernacles, and the occaſion and reaſon of its inſtitution have a forcible reference to ſuch a thing. For though *Moſes* hath given but this reaſon for one Cuſtom and practice which they uſed in the Feaſt, *Ye ſhall dwell in booths ſeven days, that your generations may know that I made the children of Iſrael to dwell in booths, when I brought them out of the Land of Ægypt*, *Levit.* 23. 42, 43. Yet had the original and inſtitution of the Feaſt a great deal more in it. For the main occaſion was this: *Moſes* having after long faſting and prayer made the peace of *Iſrael* with God about the Golden Calf, and having obtained the Tables renewed, which himſelf had broken, and regained the commiſſion to build the Tabernacle, which had been ſuſpended becauſe of that ſin; on the tenth day of the month *Tiſri*, [which according to our account was about the two or three and twentieth day of our *September*] he coming down from the Mount, bringeth theſe glad tydings of peace and reconciliation to the people, for which that day was obſerved for the day of reconciliation or expiation ever after: and the people now hearing that they muſt make the Tabernacle in which God would dwell among them, and that they muſt not remove from the place where they were, *viz.* from Mount *Sinai*, till that be finiſhed, they then addreſſed themſelves to pitch their tents, and make them booths for their winter abode there, and inſtantly fall upon the work of the Sanctuary, and this was it that was the occaſion of that ſolemn Feaſt in ſucceeding times. Now let the ſubſtance be laid unto the ſhadow, and the Antitype and figure brought together, and the application is not only ſweet, but alſo ſomewhat evincing. For ſince the occaſion of

that

that Feaſt was God coming to dwell among the people in his Tabernacle and that now firſt begun or exhibited, and this juſt half a year after their firſt delivery from *Egypt*; obſerve how fully theſe are anſwered in Chriſts ſhewing himſelf to the world at his baptiſm, in whom God dwelleth among men; and this the firſt revelation of him to the world, and this juſt half a year ſince *John* began to publiſh the delivery of men from the bondage of Sin and Satan, by the preaching of the Goſpel.

Fourthly, the Conſecration of the Temple of *Solomon* was at this very time, namely, in the ſeventh month, or the month *Ethanim*, which is all one with *Tiſri*, and thence the ſervice of it began, 2 *Kings* 8. 2. Now ſince Chriſt himſelf averreth that the Temple was a figure of his body, *John* 2. we may follow the Allegory with the more boldneſs, and apply the dedication of that, and the time of the dedication, to his conſecration by baptiſm, to his miniſterial ſervice, and parallel them both in the very ſame time.

Secondly, the certain and determinate place where our Saviour was baptized, cannot abſolutely be fixed and reſolved upon by any warrant of Scripture: though many have been ſo confident as to point it out, and to ſhew a croſs ſet in the very place of the River, and miraculous curing of Lepers in the water. The Evangeliſts have given no more ſettlement of it then this, that it was in *Judea*, and that it was in *Jordan*: Two circumſtances the more remarkable.

Firſt, becauſe that after that baptiſm of our Saviour, we cannot certainly find *John* baptizing either in the ſame Country, or in the ſame River ever again. For whereas there is mention of his being about ſix weeks after this in *Bethabara*, *John* 1. 28. that was both on the other ſide *Jordan*, and it was a water different from *Jordan*, *Jud.* 7. 24. and of his baptizing in *Enon*, a whole twelvemonth after this, *Joh.* 3. 23. that was alſo out of the precincts of *Judea*, and diſtant ſomewhat from the banks of *Jordan*, and the waters there, the waters of the place it ſelf and not of that River. And this ſheweth the reaſon more plainly, why *Luke* in the clauſe next before this that we have in hand, ſummeth up the baptiſm of all the people, before he ſpeak of our Saviours: becauſe that there were now collected out of *Judea*, all the harveſt of believers that might be gathered in by the preaching of *John*, and when Chriſt was baptized, *John* was to remove to another place.

Secondly, from this, that Chriſt was baptized of *John* in *Jordan*, and in *Judea*, it will almoſt inevitably follow, that he was baptized in the place, where the river was dryed up, and the Iſraelites firſt entred into the Land of *Canaan*. For if it be conſidered, 1. That the Army marched through the channel in two main bodies the one on the one ſide of the Ark, and the other, on the other. 2. That either of theſe main bodies were two miles diſtant from the Ark on either ſide, and conſequently four miles from each other.

Thirdly, That theſe two great ſquadrons conſiſting either of them of ſo very many thouſands marched in an extraordinary breadth, becauſe they were to paſs over in a reaſonable time, it will follow hereupon, even paſt all denyal, that this their paſſage took up all the length of *Jordan*, that it had in *Judea*, or very near it, ſo that the place we ſeek for, is within this compaſs: and by this we may obſerve the ſubſtance ſweetly anſwering to the figure, and way made through the waters of *Jordan*, to the heavenly *Cannan* by baptiſm, in the very ſame place where there was to the earthly, by its drying up.

Thirdly, The manner of his baptizing differed not from the common manner that *John* uſed with others, ſave in one particular. For he went into the water, had water ſprinkled on him, and prayed as well as they, but whether *John* uſed the ſame form of words in baptizing of him that he did to the other, or ſome other, or none at all, is ſome queſtion or ſcruple. The leaſt is of the firſt, for it may be readily reſolved that he baptized not him in the ſame words, that he did the others, becauſe he then ſhould have baptized him in his own name, which who can imagine? and into him, or in his name which was to come, which had been to have pointed out another Chriſt. Betwixt the two latter the ſcales are ballancing, and they weigh ſo even, that it is not much material which way your allowance doth turn them, for the *Quære* it ſelf is of far more curioſity then neceſſity: For why might not *John* baptize him in varyed words? As, I baptize thee with water to the Preaching of the Goſpel; or why might he not baptize him without any words at all, ſince he received baptiſm, not ſo much for a Sacrament, as for ſatisfaction of the typical Law? Let the Readers judgment weigh down the ſcale.

Mat. 3. Ver. 16. *He went up ſtreight out of the water.*

The invention of Auricular confeſſion hath invented a ſtrange Expoſition of this clauſe. For the reſt of the people, ſay ſome, ſtanding in the waters, I know not how deep, after they were baptized, confeſſed their ſins unto *John* before they came out, being detainded there by him, until they had ſo done, but Chriſt, becauſe he had no ſin,

ſin, needed no ſuch confeſſion, and therefore he came ſuddenly out of the water after he was baptized. A gloſs that includeth impoſſibilities. For neither was it poſſible that ſo great multitudes ſhould be baptized in ſo ſhort a time, if every one made a ſingular confeſſion of their ſins to *John*; nor was it poſſible that *John* ſhould indure ſo long in the water as this work would require, and never come out, for if they ſtood up to the neck in the river, I cannot think but that he alſo ſtood ſome deepneſs in the water. But this ſpeedy coming of our Saviour out of the water after he was baptized, is expreſſed by the Evangeliſt, only to ſhew how near and cloſe the opening of the heavens was to his baptizing, namely, that it was almoſt in the very ſame inſtant, as *Mark* explaineth it; *And ſtraightway coming up out of the water he ſaw the heavens opened, &c.*

Luke 3. verſ. 21. *And praying.*

This it ſeemeth was the manner of thoſe that were baptized, as ſoon as they were baptized, to come up out of the water and pray, and this explaineth that before, about confeſſing their ſins, that it was not to *John*, but to God, as ſoon as they came out of the water. Now ſince Chriſt had no ſins to confeſs of his own, the tenour of his prayer tended to another purpoſe. If we think it was for the glory of God, for the converſion of many by his Miniſtry which he was now beginning, for the preſervation of the Elect, and the ſanctifying of the Church, and the like, we think not much amiſs, ſince we find his prayers in other places to be made and tendered to the ſame effect. But it ſeemeth rather that his prayer at this time was for what followed upon his prayer, the ſending down of the Holy Ghoſt, and the glorifying of him by a teſtimony from Heaven. For, firſt, the Text hath laid his prayer, and the opening of the Heavens ſo cloſely, and ſo conſonantly withal together, *Jeſus praying the Heavens were opened*, as that it ſeemeth to point out what was the tenour of his prayer by the conſequent upon it.

Secondly, In another place there is the like return upon the like prayer, *Joh.* 12.28. *Father glorifie thy name; there came therefore a voice from Heaven, &c.*

Thirdly, It being conſidered that our Saviour was to enter now upon the great work of Redemption, and the preaching of the Goſpel, it will be the leſs ſtrange to conceive that he prayed for the viſible ſealing of him to that work and office by the Holy Ghoſt, and for a teſtimony of him that he was the *Meſſias*.

Matth. 3. ver. 16. *Lo the Heavens were opened.*

There is no material difference in the thing, though *Luke* hath put *the Heaven* in the ſingular number, and *Matthew*, *the Heavens*, in the plural, for one followeth the *Idiome* of the Hebrews, and the other of the Greeks. For the Hebrews cannot call the Heaven by its proper name, but in the plural or dual number שמים, *Heavens:* but the Greeks can in the ſingular. And ſo little doth the Syriack make of this difference of number in the two Evangeliſts, that he tranſlateth it juſt croſs, *Matthews* plural in the ſingular, and *Lukes* ſingular in the plural.

About the opening of the Heavens or the manner of the ſame, as it is of far more conſequence to inquire, ſo it is of difficulty to reſolve, becauſe of diverſity of opinions, and probabilities ſeveral ways.

Firſt, Some deny the opening of the Heavens at all, but underſtand that Chriſt ſaw them opened, and the Holy Ghoſt deſcending intellectually only, or by ſpiritual viſion, as *Ezekiel* ſaw the Heavens opened, *Ezek.* 1. 2. But this expoſition is very improper, for *John* ſaw the ſame alſo, and the deſcending of the Holy Ghoſt was in a bodily ſhape and not imaginary, and the voice was Articulate and Audible, and not viſionary.

Secondly, Others deny alſo the opening of the Heavens, but with another manner of evaſion, and expoſition. For there was, ſay they, no ſeiſure or parting of the Heavens aſunder, becauſe they are incorruptible, but a great, glorious, and miraculous light ſhone round about Chriſt, as if the very higheſt Heaven had been open, and the light thereof imparted clearly to the Earth: But this opinion alſo is confuted by the word that *Mark* uſeth, differing from the other two. For though the phraſe, *The Heavens were opened*, would admit of ſuch a Metaphorical or comparative expoſition, yet when *Mark* ſaith expreſly, that the Heavens were *cloven*, or parted aſunder, for ſo is his word in the Original, [the Syriack expreſſeth it by the very ſame word that the Chaldee Paraphraſt uſeth in *Lev.* 11. for parting of the hoof] it inforceth us to look for a literal interpretation in it, and not a tropical.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, *Aquinas* evadeth the real opening of them with this gloſs ſtranger than both the other, and by another intellectual viſion than that that was ſpoken of before: For it may alſo be underſtood, ſaith he, of an intellectual viſion, namely, that Chriſt [baptiſm being now ſanctified] ſaw Heaven open unto men. But this expoſition the word of Saint *Mark*, newly mentioned, confuteth much more than it did the other.

Fourthly, *Mark* therefore tying us to a litteral ſenſe, and to underſtand a real and proper cleaving of the Heavens indeed, the doubt now only reſteth, what Heaven it was, whether the Aereal or Æthereal, for ſo are the heavens properly diſtinguiſhed, according to the ſignificancy of the Hebrew word *Shamaiim*, which importeth a duality, or a thing doubled. *Anſwer*, It was only the Aereal, for that is called Heaven, and the Firmament, *Gen.* 1. 8, 20. as may be confirmed by theſe reaſons:

Firſt, Becauſe there needed no further ſeiſure in the Heavens, than the renting of the clouds in the middle Region, either for the deſcending of the Holy Ghoſt, or of the voyce, or for the ſatisfying of the eyes and ears of the ſpectators, and hearers, that they came from Heaven.

Secondly, Becauſe the Scripture in other places ſpeaking of things which came but out of the clouds, yet uſeth the very ſame term to expreſs the clouds by, that is uſed here, namely *Heaven:* As, The Lord that gave the Law out of a cloud, *Exod.*19.16. is ſaid to have ſpoken from Heaven, *Exod.*20.22. So the like voice to this here, that came out of a cloud, *Luke* 9.35. yet is ſaid to come from Heaven, 2 *Pet.*1.18. And *Elias* that by his prayer ſhut up the clouds, that there was no rain, is ſaid to have ſhut up Heaven, *Luke* 4. 25. The opening of the Heavens then was the renting of the clouds, as we ſee them rent, when the lightning comes forth, and out of that rent came the Holy Ghoſt in viſible ſhape, and the heavenly voice. And thus did the Goſpel or Preaching of Chriſt begin with the opening of the Heavens which the Law had ſhut, and thus were the heavens ſhaken, when the deſire of all Nations came firſt to be revealed openly, as *Hag.* 2. 6, 7. The very ſame difference of expreſſion that is betwixt Saint *Mark* and the other Evangeliſts, is betwixt the Hebrew, and the LXX in *Iſa.*64.1. for the Original readeth קרעת, *thou wouldeſt or haſt rent*, but the Greek, Ἐὰν ἀνοίξῃς, *If thou open* the Heavens, &c.

Matth. 3. ver. 16. *The Heavens were opened to him.*

To him, to whom? To *Chriſt*, or to *John*? Why, to the eyes and beholding of them both, for in that *John* ſaith, he ſaw the Holy Ghoſt coming from or out of Heaven like a Dove, *Joh.*1.32. he maketh it paſt denial, that he ſaw the opening of the Heavens; but the word *to him* in this place muſt be reſerved and referred in a ſingular peculiarity to Chriſt, and the opening of the Heavens *to him*, importeth a more emphatical propriety than their opening to his ſight. For, the Syntax and Grammatical conſtruction that *Mark* uſeth, maketh it impoſſible to fix the words *to him*, any other ways than upon Chriſt: *And ſtraightway*, ſaith he, *coming up out of the water, he ſaw the Heavens rent, or cloven, &c.* This then being the propriety of the words, that the Heaven was opened to our Saviour, and yet ſince it was alſo opened to the ſight of *John*, it doth neceſſarily inforce us to underſtand it otherwiſe than only to his view or beholding, namely, to his prayer: as the phraſe is uſed by him himſelf, *Knock, and it ſhall be opened unto you.* For had the Evangeliſt intended only to ſhew how he ſaw this apertion in the Heaven, he might have joyned *John* with him in the ſame ſight; but he would give us to underſtand by the phraſe that he hath uſed ſingularly of Chriſt alone, that the Heavens were not only opened to his ſight, but for his ſake. And from hence may be confirmed what was ſpoken before concerning his prayer, namely, that it aimed at ſuch a thing, as *Elias* prayed, and the Heaven was opened and fire came down upon his Sacrifie. Thus Heaven that was ſhut to the firſt *Adam*, becauſe of his ſin, is opened to the ſecond, becauſe of his righteouſneſs, and to all that by faith are partakers of it.

Mark 1. Ver. 10. *He ſaw the Heavens cloven.*

This is to be underſtood as that before, of Chriſt only, and after the ſame ſenſe, or to the ſame purport. But ſince it is certain that *John* ſaw this as well as he, as is alſo obſerved before, and yet none of the three Evangeliſts that record the Story, have given any undoubted o plain evidence of any ſuch a thing; it may likewiſe be queſtioned whether the reſt of the people which were there preſent did ſee this ſight as well as *Chriſt* and *John*. *Theophylact* is peremptory in the affirmative; For *all of them*, ſaith he, *ſaw the Spirit coming upon Jeſus, leſt they ſhould think that the voice, This is my beloved Son,*

had

had been ſpoken concerning John; *but upon the ſight of the Holy Ghoſt they might believe that that voice was concerning Chriſt.* And of this opinion are very many others with him, and no marveil; for who could conceive any other thing? And yet upon the weighing of theſe Reaſons following, we may very well be perſwaded to believe the contrary, or that this Heavenly ſpectacle, and divine voice was conſpicuous and audible to none, but only to *Chriſt* and *John*.

Firſt, Becauſe *John* after this doth himſelf tell thoſe that were preſent at this time, that there had ſtood one among them, but they knew him not, that that was he that was to come after him. For the Greek word ἑστηκεν, *John* 1. 26. muſt of neceſſity be rendred in its preterfect ſignification; for *John* ſpake not thoſe words till after Chriſt was baptized and gone, for he was at that time in his temptation in the wilderneſs.

Secondly, Becauſe Chriſt himſelf alſo telleth the Jews, that they had never heard his Fathers voice, *John* 5. 37. and among thoſe to whom he ſpeaketh, were divers that had imbraced the doctrine and baptiſm of *John*, *ver.* 35. and it may very well be ſuppoſed, ſome that were preſent at his baptiſm at this very time. The maintainers of the contrary Opinion have ſpied this ſcruple and difficulty ariſing upon that Text, and have gone about to ſalve it, but with a very improper and dangerous plaiſter: holding that though they heard this voice, yet they heard not the voice of the Father, but of an Angel which ſpake in his Name, which ſhall be examined by and by.

Thirdly, It is improbable that when Chriſt had ſuch another teſtimony from Heaven at his transfiguration, that he ſhould conceal it from nine of his Diſciples, and charge the three ſilence that heard it, and ſaw what was done, *Matth.* 17. 9. and yet ſhould let this voice and viſion from Heaven be ſo publick, as to be heard and ſeen of all the people.

Fourthly, *John* himſelf telleth that this Revelation was given chiefly, if not only, for his ſake, *John* 1. 33.

Fifthly, The preaching of the Baptiſt was the means that God had ordained to bring the people to the knowledge of Chriſt, *John* 1. 7, 31. and this Revelation, to bring the Baptiſt to it.

Sixthly, Had all the people been partakers of this ſight and voice, *John* had needed no more to have pointed Chriſt out, but the people would have known him as well as he, nor could the opinion have ever prevailed, as it did, that valued *John* above him.

Seventhly, When *John* ſhewed him forth-with the finger, with *Behold the Lamb of God*, preſently Diſciples followed him, which they would have done much more, had they thus ſeen and heard him, pointed out from Heaven; but it is plain they did not the one, and thereupon it may be boldly concluded that they did not the other.

Eighthly, To which may be added, that God ordained preaching, partly of *John*, partly of Chriſt himſelf, and partly of his Diſciples, the way to bring the world acquainted that he was Meſſias. And theſe divine Revelations were for the inſtruction and confirmation of them his preachers, who were choſen witneſſes for ſuch a purpoſe, that they thereupon might the more confidently confirm the people. And herepon it is obſervable, that while the Baptiſt was at liberty, our Saviour contented himſelf with his teſtimony and preaching, but when he was ſhut up, then inſtantly choſe he others.

Now if any doubt of the poſſibility of this, and queſtion how could *John* ſee and hear theſe things, and the other company that was preſent not do ſo as well as he: The anſwer may be readily given by example of *Eliſhaes* ſervant, 2 *King.* 6. 17. and the two men that went to *Emmaus*, *Luke* 24. For the mountain was full of Horſes, and Chariots of fire, and *Eliſha* perceived them, but his ſervant did not till his eyes were opened in a more ſpecial manner. And Chriſt it is like was in the ſame ſhape and appearance upon the way when they knew him not that he was in the houſe when they did, but till then their eyes were holden. Yet if any one will ſuppoſe that the people ſaw the flaſhing of the opened Heaven, and heard the noiſe of the voice that came from thence, and took the one for lightning, and the other for thunder, as *John* 12. 29. we will not oppoſe it, for now was the ſeaſon of the year fit for lightning and thunder: but that either they ſaw the Holy Ghoſt, or diſtinguiſhed the words of the voice, any more then *Pauls* companions did, *Act.* 9. 7. compared with *Act.* 22. 9. the reaſons alledged do inforce to deny, till better information.

Matth. 3. verſ. 16. *And he ſaw the Spirit of God.*

The Syntax and conſtruction of *Mark*, doth tye and fix theſe words [*He ſaw*] only to our Saviour, as it did thoſe before; and both for the reaſon mentioned; namely, to ſhew the return and anſwer of his prayer. But theſe words of *Matthew* are not ſo ſtrict, but that they may equally be applied unto *John*.

For, firſt, there may be obſerved a diſtinction in the verſe, and a kind of difference of ſpeech betwixt what goeth before about the opening of the Heavens, and this ſight of the Holy Ghoſt. For of that he ſpeaketh thus. *And Jeſus being baptized went ſtraightway out of the water, and lo the Heavens were opened unto him.* And then cometh he on with a diſtinct clauſe concerning the other, *And he ſaw the Spirit of God deſcending*, leaving it at the leaſt in an indifferency, whether to apply it to Chriſt or *John*.

But, ſecondly, it ſeemeth rather to be underſtood of *John*, becauſe he ſaith himſelf that this deſcending of the Holy Ghoſt was given to him for a ſign, and that he ſaw it; and if it be not to be ſo taken here, none of the three Evangeliſts have mentioned it in the ſtory at all.

And, thirdly, the rather may it be taken of *Johns* ſeeing it, becauſe he ſaith, He ſaw him deſcending and coming, Ἐπ' αὐτον upon him. Had it been ſaid, ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν *upon himſelf*, it muſt needs have been underſtood of Chriſt upon whom the Spirit came, that he ſaw the Spirit coming upon himſelf: but ſince it is *upon him*, without any reciprocation, it may be the better applied to *John*, that *he ſaw it*. It is true indeed that Αὐτὸς ſometimes ſignifieth reciprocally *himſelf*, as our Lexicons do give examples, and as it is of force to be taken in Saint *Mark* in this place, like as Ἑαυτῶ ſometimes doth not ſignifie reciprocally, as in the LXX, in *Judg.* 7.24. But why ſhould we take the word out of its commoneſt and propereſt ſenſe, unleſs there were neceſſity to do it, which in *Matthew* there is not, though in *Mark* there be.

Fourthly, and laſtly, Theſe words *he ſaw*, being underſtood of *John*, it maketh that the three Evangeliſts being laid together, the relation ariſeth out of them the more full, and the ſtory more plain. For *Luke* telling that the Heavens were opened, and the Holy Ghoſt deſcended, *Mark* addeth, that *Jeſus* ſaw this, and *Matthew*, that *John*.

Matth. 3. ver. 16. *The Spirit of God.*

רוח אלהים; *Gen.* 2. 2. *The Spirit of God* moved upon the face of the waters in the beginning of the old world, and ſo doth it here, of the new: It is needleſs to inſtance, how oft in Scripture the Holy Ghoſt is called *the Spirit of God*, as *Gen.*41. 38. *Exod.* 31. 3. *Numb.* 24. 2. and very many other places; but it is moſt neceſſary to obſerve that whereſoever he is ſo called, it is in the Hebrew *the Spirit of Elohim*, in the plural number, and ſheweth his proceeding from more perſons then one. Contrary to the opinion of the Greek Church that holdeth, that the Holy Ghoſt proceedeth not from the Father and the Son, but from the Father only.

Luke 3. ver. 22. *The Holy Ghoſt.*

As he is called *the Spirit*, not ſo much in regard of his own nature, as in regard of his manner of proceeding, ſo alſo is he called *Holy*, not ſo much in reſpect of his perſon, for the Father and Son are Spirits, and are holy as well as he, but in regard of his Work and Office, which is to ſanctifie the Church of God. And in this reſpect he is called by the Hebrews, not רוח קרושה *The Holy Spirit* onely, but רוח הקדש *Ruahh hakkodeſh*, *the Spirit of Holineſs*, for this phraſe *the Holy Ghoſt*, is taken from the common ſpeech of the Jews: And ſo is he called by *Paul*, Πνεῦμα ἁγιωσυνης, *Rom.* 1. 4. and ſo doth the Syrian call him *Rubba dekudſha*, in this place.

5. The Holy Ghoſt deſcended.

This deſcending of the Holy Ghoſt was, firſt, partly for the ſake of *John*, for this token had been given him, when he firſt began to preach and baptize, whereby to know Chriſt when he ſhould come, *Joh.* 1. 33.

Secondly,

Secondly, Partly for Chriſt, that he might thus receive his Conſecration and Inſtitution for the Office that he was now to enter upon, the Preaching of the Goſpel. This was as his anointing to inſtal him into his Function, as *Aaron* and his Sons were with material oyl to enter them into theirs, as *Iſa.* 61. 1. *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, therefore hath he anointed me, he hath ſent me to Preach the Goſpel.* And,

Thirdly, Partly for the buſineſs and matter that was now to go in hand, namely, Chriſt beginning to preach accordingly. For,

Firſt, The Goſpel is the Spiritual Kingdom and Scepter of Chriſt, in and by which he was to rule all Nations for ever, and therefore it was agreeable that the Spiritualneſs of that ſhould be ſealed and confirmed by the Holy Spirits ſhewing himſelf even in the beginning of it. The carnal rites of *Moſes* were now to vaniſh, and his Corporal and Ceremonial obſervances to be changed into a Spiritual Worſhip: and neither at *Jeruſalem*, nor at mount *Gerizim*, nor elſewhere, muſt there be any more adoration, with fleſhly and earthly Ceremoniouſneſs, but he that will worſhip God muſt worſhip him in Spirit, as *Joh.* 4. 21. Therefore it is no wonder, if the Holy Ghoſt doth now reveal himſelf, now when his ſway of ſpirituality, and dominion, by ſanctification is to begin.

Secondly, The Holy Ghoſt was departed from *Iſrael*, after the death of the laſt Prophets, as was obſerved before, and now he is to be reſtored again, therefore himſelf cometh viſibly and apparently at this his reſtoring, and lighteth upon him to whom it belonged to give and diſtribute the gifts of the Spirit, to whom he pleaſed. For as *John* had told that Chriſt ſhould baptize with the Holy Ghoſt, ſo is that power and priviledge now ſealed unto him in the ſight of *John*, when the Holy Ghoſt cometh down upon him and there abideth.

§. *Deſcended in a bodily ſhape.*

God is ſaid to deſcend, not that he moveth from place to place, or cometh where he was not before, for he is incircumſcriptible, and every where and filleth all places: but in that he ſheweth this his preſence upon Earth, in ſuch or ſuch a place, by ſome external ſign, and viſible appearance: And ſo he is ſaid to come down to ſee whether the wickedneſs of *Sodome* were according to the cry that was come up unto him, becauſe he revealed himſelf to *Abraham*, *Lot*, and the Sodomites in the viſible and conſpicuous repreſentation of men: So is he ſaid to have come down upon Mount *Sinai*, becauſe of the outward revealing and expreſſion of his preſence there. And ſo the Chaldee Paraphraſt underſtandeth the Trinities deſcending, *Gen.* 11. 5. for a conſpicuous appearance of it, for he tranſlateth, *The Lord revealed himſelf to take vengeance, &c.* And ſo is the Holy Ghoſt ſaid to deſcend in this ſtory, and in that in *Act.* 2. not but that he was preſent in the ſame places before, by his power and Godhead, but that he revealed and expreſſed his preſence by ſo ſenſible an evidence, and by, and in ſo revealed a work.

§. *In a bodily ſhape.*

Firſt, It was convenient that the Holy Ghoſt ſhould reveal himſelf at this time: Firſt, for the ſake of *John*, who was to have a ſenſible ſign, whereby to inform him which was the *Meſſias*, as *Joh.* 1.

Secondly, In regard of the Holy Ghoſt himſelf, whoſe work in the Church was now in a more ſpecial and frequent manner to be ſhewed under the Goſpel, namely, that he might be expreſſed and revealed to be a perſonal ſubſtance, and not an operation of the Godhead only, or qualitative vertue. For qualities, operations and acts cannot aſſume bodily ſhapes, nor ought but what is in it ſelf ſubſtantial.

Thirdly, That a full and clear, yea, even a ſenſible demonſtration of the Trinity might be made at this beginning of the Goſpel. For it may be obſerved in Scripture, that the Holy Ghoſt hath a ſpecial regard to expreſs this myſtery upon ſingular occaſions, that we might learn to acknowledge the three Perſons in one Godhead, as he alſo doth the two natures of Chriſt, that we might acknowledge them in one perſon. So the very firſt thing that is taught in all the Bible, is this very myſtery: For when *Moſes* beginneth the Story of the Creation, he beginneth alſo to teach that the three Perſons in the Trinity were co-workers in it. *God Created*, there is the Father. *God ſaid*, there is the Word, or the Son. *And the Spirit of God moved*, there is the Holy Ghoſt. And the very ſame myſtery is intimated by the Prophet, treating upon the very ſame Subject, *Iſa.* 42. 5. Thus ſaith God the Lord, he that created the Heavens, and

and *they* that ſtretched them out: That we might learn, that *Of him, through him, and to him*, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, *are all things*, *Rom.* 11. 36. So *Moſes* alſo when he is to teach concerning the creation of man, he firſt teacheth that it was the Trinity that created him, *Gen.* 1. 26. *And God ſaid, Let us make man after our Image.* He ſaith, *Let us*, to ſhew the Trinity of perſons: and he ſaith, *In our Image*, not in *our Images*, to ſhew the unity of eſſence; That every man, even from the reading of the ſtory of his Creation might learn to remember his *Creators* in the days of his youth; as *Solomon* with the word בוראיך *Boraiecha*, anſwereth the ſame myſtery, *Eccleſ.* 12. 1. So likewiſe at the confuſion of Tongues the Trinity is expreſſed, *Gen.* 11. 7. Let *us* go down and confound their Language: as it is alſo at the gift of Tongues, *I* will ſend *the Comforter* from *the Father*, *Joh.* 15. 26. *Act.* 1. 4. Such a one alſo was the bleſſing pronounced by the Prieſt upon the people, when he diſmiſſed them from the daily ſervice of the Temple, in the name of the Trinity, *Numb.* 6. 24, 25, 26. the name *Jehovah* or *the Lord*, three times repeated, for denotation of the three Perſons, as *Paul* explaineth it, 2 *Cor.* 13. 13. When *Moſes* alſo beginneth to rehearſe the Law to *Iſrael*, and to explain it, the firſt thing he teacheth them is the Trinity in Unity, and Unity in Trinity, *Deut.* 6. 4. Hear O Iſrael, *the Lord*, *our God*, *the Lord*, is one. Three words anſwering the three Perſons, and the middle word *our God*, deciphering fitly the ſecond, who aſſumed our nature, as is well obſerved by *Galatinus*. To theſe may be added, the entrance of *Moſes* his revelation with the Name of the Lord, three times rehearſed, *Exod.* 34. 6. The Viſion of *Eſay* with three *Holies*, *Iſa.* 6. 3. The beginning of *Pſal.* 50. and of *Pſal.* 136. and many of the like nature, which the heedful reader will obſerve himſelf. How fitting then was it that at the beginning of the new world, and the new Law, and the baptiſm of Chriſt, the three Perſons ſhould be revealed, eſpecially ſince he ordained baptiſm to be adminiſtred in their Names; Baptize them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt. *Matth.* 28. 19.

§. *Like a Dove.*

It is thought by *Auſtin*, and after him by *Aquinas*, that this was a very living Dove, not of the flock indeed of common Doves, but immediately created by God for this purpoſe, but created as true a living Dove, as any of them: and the reaſon they give for this their opinion is this. *Becauſe it is not to be ſaid that Chriſt alone had a true body, and that the Holy Ghoſt appeared deceiveably to the eyes of men, but that both thoſe are to be ſaid to be true bodies: for as it was not fit that the Son of God ſhould deceive men, ſo was it not fit that the Holy Ghoſt ſhould deceive them neither. But it was no difficulty to the Creator of all things, to make a true body of a Dove, without the help of other Doves, as it was not hard for him to frame a true body in the womb of the Virgin without the ſeed of man.* So they, too punctual where there is no neceſſity, nor indeed any great probability. For,

Firſt, What needed there a real living Dove, when an apparent only would ſerve the turn? For the deſcending of the Dove was, that there might be a viſible demonſtration of the Holy Ghoſt his reſting upon Chriſt, and anointing him for his Miniſtration: ſo that the viſibility of the Spirit was as much as was required, and there needed no reality of a living body.

Secondly, The Text ſaith expreſly in all the Evangeliſts, that it was ὡσὶ περιστερὰν, *like* or *as it were a Dove*; which plainly ſheweth the ſimilitude to ſuch a thing; and not the being of the very thing it ſelf.

Thirdly, In apparitions of the like nature, when the furtheſt end of the body appearing, was but for viſibility, the bodies that were ſeen, were not of the very exiſtency and nature of thoſe that they repreſented, but of another. As the Angels that appeared in humane ſhapes, had not very living humane bodies, but only bodies aſſumed and framed to ſuch a repreſentation: And ſo the fire in the buſh, on *Sinai*, and with the cloven Tongues, was not very real fire, but only a viſible reſemblance of it; and the like muſt be held of this Dove, or elſe it will be ſuch an apparition as never was before, nor ſince.

Fourthly, The parallel betwixt the appearing of our Saviour, in humane fleſh, and the appearing of the Holy Ghoſt, in a living Dove, is not only very improper, but alſo ſomewhat dangerous. For if they appeared alike, then may the Holy Ghoſt be ſaid to be a very Dove [for Chriſt was a very man,] and that were improper, and in its kind, to be incarnate, [for Chriſt was incarnate,] and that is dangerous. And,

Fifthly,

Fifthly, As for fallacy or deceiving there could be none, no more than there had been in all other apparitions ſince the world began, ſince in ſuch things, the verity and reality of the body that appeared, was not looked after, but only the conſpicuity, and the ſpirit that lay hid under that body.

Now reaſons why the Holy Ghoſt appeared in the ſhape of a Dove, rather than of any other creature, are conceived, ſome to have concerned Chriſt, ſome to have concerned the Holy Ghoſt himſelf, and ſome to have concerned man. As,

Firſt, To ſhew Chriſts innocency, purity, ſimplicity, charity, and love, for all theſe qualities are obſervable in a Dove.

Secondly, To ſhew the like graces of the Holy Ghoſt; and *Aquinas* and *Ludolphus* do parallel the ſeven graces of the Spirit, *Iſa.* 11. 2, 3. to ſeven properties of a Dove; as if any be ſo curious as to ſee them, he may, *in Lud. in loc.* and *Aquin. par.* 3. *queſt.*39. *Art.* 6.

Thirdly, To ſhew what innocency and harmleſneſs ſhould be in thoſe that are baptized.

Fourthly, To anſwer the figure in *Noahs* flood; for as a Dove did at that time bring tidings of the abating of the waters, ſo doth it now of the abating of the wrath of God, upon the preaching of the Goſpel. Theſe are the common and moſt current reaſons that are given by Expoſitors, to which may be added:

Fifthly, That ſince Chriſt was to have viſible teſtimony from Heaven, it was fitteſt it ſhould be by the likneſs of a fowl of Heaven; For it was not fitting that fire ſhould have come thence upon him, for he was to baptize, and not to be baptized with fire: and for a cloud to come from thence upon him, was reſerved till another time, namely, at his transfiguration: and what then can be imagined to deſcend upon him, but a bird? And what bird ſo fit as a Dove which was the only fowl that was clean, and allowed for ſacrifice? *Lev.*1.14.

Matth. 3. ver. 16. *And lighting upon him.*

In the ſtrictneſs of the Greek, it is *coming upon him*, which is to the very ſame ſignification: eſpecially the addition of the Baptiſt himſelf being laid unto it, *viz. that it abode upon him*, *Joh.* 1. 32. Some conceive and that not improperly, that the Dove ſate upon his head: which if it did, it was like the inſcription in the golden plate, that was on the fore-head of the High Prieſt, and declared him to be *Kodeſh Laihovah*, *The Holy one of the Lord*, *Exod.* 28. 36. How long the Dove ſat upon him, is not to be queſtioned, becauſe not to be anſwered, it is not unlike, that it did ſo, all the while he was in the ſight of *John* at this time, eſpecially ſeeing that the Text ſaith, that ſtraightway this Spirit drove him into the wilderneſs.

Ver. 17. *And lo, a voice from Heaven.*

The teſtimony of two witneſſes, is a confirmation paſt denial, and greater witneſſes than theſe two could not be produced, the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, becauſe a teſtimony could not be given to a greater than to Chriſt. Nor could theſe two witneſſes have properly gone ſingle, one without the other: the deſcending of the Dove to point out to whom the voice was intended, and the deſcending of the voice explaining what was meant by the deſcending of the Dove.

§. A voice.

Both the Talmudick, and the latter Rabbins make frequent mention of *Bath Kol*, *Filia vocis*, or an Echoing voice, which ſerved under the ſecond Temple, for their utmoſt refuge of revelation: For when *Urim* and *Thummim*, the Oracle was ceaſed, and Prophecy was decayed and gone, they had [as they ſay] certain ſtrange, and extraordinary voices upon extraordinary occaſion, which were their warnings, and advertiſements in ſome ſpecial matters. Infinite inſtances of this might be adduced, if they might be believed; one allegation in the *Talmud* ſhall ſerve for all, concerning *Jonathan* the Chaldee Paraphraſt. *When* Jonathan *the Son of* Uzziel, ſay they, *had compoſed the Targum of the Prophets, there came* Bath Kol, *or a divine voice, and ſaid, who hath revealed my ſecrets to the Sons of men? And when he went about to explain the Chetubbim, or the books of Holy Writ, there came a* Bath Kol, *or a divine voice again, and ſaid, It is enough. What is the reaſon? Becauſe in them is revealed the end of the Meſſias.* In *Megillah.*

Now

Now here it may be doubly queſtioned: Firſt, Why they called it *Bath Kol*, *The Daughter of a voice*, and not a voice it ſelf? And ſecondly, Whether this voice that we have in hand, were ſuch a voice as that or no? To the firſt, If the ſtrictneſs of the Hebrew word *Bath* be to be ſtood upon, which it always is not, it may be anſwered, that it is called the *Daughter of a voice*, in relation to the Oracle of *Urim and Thummim*: for whereas that was a voice given from off the Mercy Seat, within the vail, and this upon the decay of that Oracle, came as it were in its place, it might not unfitly, nor unproperly be called a *Daughter*, or ſucceſſor of that voice. But to the ſecond, and which is more material and pertinent to the ſubject in hand, it may be anſwered, that this voice was not of the nature of their *Bath Kol*, upon theſe two reaſons.

Firſt, Becauſe this voice came deſcendingly from Heaven, but their *Bath Kol* cannot be proved to have deſcended; or at leaſt to have conſtantly come from Heaven. For the *Migremus hinc*, which gave warning of the deſtruction of the City, came not from above, but from the Temple, as *Iſa.* 66. 6. And this can hardly be denied to have been one of their *Bath Kol* voices: And if we will believe the Jewiſh Authors in every place where they give examples of this their *Bath Kol*, it will appear rather to be ſuch a voice as came to *Samuel*, which was ſo far from a perpendicular deſcending voice, that he could not diſtinguiſh whether it were the call of *Eli*.

Secondly, Becauſe, whereas the Jews repute their *Bath Kol*, both the laſt and the loweſt kind of divine Revelation among them, this kind of a voice from Heaven, was both moſt ancient, as *Gen.* 21. 17. & 22. 11. and alſo moſt honourable, *Exod.* 20. 22. *Deut.* 4. 33, 36.

§. *From Heaven.*

The opinion that theſe words were ſpoken by an Angel, deputed by God for that purpoſe, which ſome do hold, is not only improper, but alſo dangerous: improper, becauſe it croſſeth a plain and facile Text; and dangerous, becauſe it bringeth a created Angel into a kind of equality, and compartnerſhip with the ſacred Trinity. For,

Firſt, Why ſhould there be any ſurmiſe of ſuch an Angel, uttering theſe words, unleſs it might be thought that God could not utter them himſelf?

Secondly, As *Paul* ſaith, *To which of the Angels ſaid God at any time, Thou art my Son?* So may it be ſaid much more, which of the Angels ever durſt or might call Chriſt his Son?

Thirdly, *Peter* ſpeaking of the Parallel, or like voice to this, which was uttered at our Saviours transfiguration, he ſaith, it came *from the excellent glory*, which doubtleſs ſheweth more than from an Angel, 2 *Pet.* 1. 17.

Matth. 3. Ver. 17. *This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleaſed.*

In *Mark* and *Luke* it is, *Thou art my beloved Son, &c.* whereas *Matthew* expreſſeth it, *This is:* which though it ſhew ſome difference, yet is it not material: nor doth the difference breed ſo much difficulty, as it doth ſatisfaction to the Reader, and fulneſs to the ſtory: For the two Evangeliſts firſt named, relate it as ſpoken to Chriſt, for the ſealing of his perſon, and in anſwer to his prayer; but the other expreſſeth it only as ſpoken of Chriſt, and not to him, but pointing him out to the notice of *John*.

Now this whole ſpeech is taken from 2 *Sam.* 7. 14. *Pſal.* 89. 26, 27. and *Iſa.* 42. 1. and when it is uttered again from Heaven, at our Saviours transfiguration, this addition *Hear him*, is put to it, *Matth.* 17. 5. *Luke* 9. 35. ſealing him then for the great Prophet of his Church, whom all muſt hear, *Deut.* 18. 15. as it ſealeth him now for the high Prieſt of his Church, being now to enter into his Miniſtry.

Luke 3. ver. 23. *And Jeſus himſelf began to be about thirty years of age.*

Agreeable to this age of Chriſt, when he began his Miniſtery, was the age of the Prieſts, when they entred their Office, *Numb.* 4. 3. the age of *Joſeph*, when he came to promotion, *Gen.* 41. 46. and the age of *David*, when he began to Reign, 2 *Sam.* 5. 4. Now how this is to be underſtood is ſome controverſie: Some there are that take it thus, that *Jeſus* was now fully and perfectly thirty: Others thus, that he now began or drew on to be full thirty, and ſo preaching three years and ſix months, that he died at thirty three years old and an half.

But

But this interpretation, the phraſe uſed by the Evangeliſt, and the common and ordinary manner of the Scriptures reckoning of the ages of men, and of other things doth ſufficiently contradict: For,

Firſt, In that *Luke* ſaith, ἀρχόμενος ὢν ὡσεὶ, he was baptized, *beginning to be as it were thirty:* the word *beginning to be*, denieth his *being* thirty compleat; and the word *as it were*, denieth his *drawing* upon thirty compleat likewiſe: For if he were *full* thirty, then he *began* not to be ſo: and if he were drawing on to *full* thirty, then was he not drawing to *as it were* thirty, but to thirty indeed. By the phraſe therefore, is to be underſtood, that he was now nine and twenty years of age compleat, and juſt now entring upon his thirtieth: and this the Evangeliſt hinteth ſo clearly, that it needeth not much confirmation: For that he was in his thirty current and not compleated is plain by the word ὡσεὶ, *as it were* thirty, that is, thirty years old, after a certain reckoning: and that he was but now entring upon this his thirty current, is as plain by the word ἀρχόμενος, *he began* but to be ſo.

To which alſo, ſecondly, may be added the common and current uſe of Scripture in reckoning of ages, either of men or beaſts, to account the year which they are now paſſing, for a year of their age, be it never ſo newly or lately begun: Examples of this it is needleſs to give, the thing is ſo uſual and obvious to every eye.

So that now to take up the times of the world, and of our Saviour, according to this computation, they reſult to this.

Firſt, That ſince he was born in the year of the World 3928. *ſtilo veteri*, but newly begun, he was baptized in the year of the World 3957. but newly begun, by the ſame ſtile likewiſe.

Secondly, That ſince he was born in *Tiſri*, he was alſo baptized in *Tiſri*.

Thirdly, That ſince his laſt reſidence in *Bethlehem*, to his firſt appearing publickly in the work of the Goſpel, were full ſeven and twenty years: all which time he had lived either in *Nazareth*, the Town of his Mother, or in *Capernaum*, the Town of his ſuppoſed Father, and ſo his birth in *Bethlehem*, is utterly grown out of the thoughts and obſervation of the people.

Fourthly, That he hath now three years and a half to labour in the Goſpel from his Baptiſm to his crucifying, *Rabbi Janna* ſaid, *Three years and a half the glory of God ſtood upon Mount Olivet, and preached*, ſaying, *Seek the Lord while he may be found, call upon him while he is near.* Midr. Tillin.

Fifthly, That he lived but two and thirty years and an half: and that his thirtieth year was the firſt year of his preaching, and not the laſt year of his private life. Compare the date of *Davids* reign in *Hieruſalem*, 1 *Chron.* 29. 27. *The time that David reigned over Iſrael, was forty years: Seven years reigned he in Hebron, and thirty three years reigned he in Heiruſalem.* Exactly, *Seven years and ſix months reigned he in Hebron*, 2 *Sam.* 5. 5. and then thirty and two years and ſix moneths reigned he in *Hieruſalem.*

Sixthly, That if *Hieruſalem* were deſtroyed exactly forty years after our Saviours death, as it is apparent it was, both in Chriſtian and Heathen Stories, then that deſtruction of it befel juſt in the four thouſand year of the world, and ſo as the Temple of *Solomon* had been finiſhed *Anno mundi* exactly 3000, ſo in *Anno mundi* exactly 4000. both the City and the Temple that then was, was deſtroyed never to be repaired or rebuilt again. And from that time moſt properly began *the Kingdom of Heaven*, and the new *Hieruſalem*, when that earthly Kingdom, and that old City were utterly ruined.

ſ. Being [as was ſuppoſed] the ſon of Joſeph, which was the ſon of Heli.

At every deſcent in this Genealogy, the word *Jeſus* is to be underſtood, otherwiſe the firſt and laſt deſcents are improper, and different in ſtile from all the reſt. For *Joſeph* was not the Son of *Heli*, but only his Son in Law, and *Adam* was no more the *Son of God*, than any of the other holy men, that were named before. The ſupply therefore is thus to be made to make all proper, *Jeſus, being as was ſuppoſed the Son of* Joſeph, Jeſus *the Son of* Heli, Jeſus *the Son of* Matthat, *&c.* Jeſus *the Son of* Seth, Jeſus *the Son of* Adam, Jeſus *the Son of* God.

And the like ſtile of Genealogy, *Moſes* uſeth, *Gen.* 36. 2. *Aholibamah the daughter of Anah, the daughter of Zibeon*, where *Anah* is not called the daughter of *Zibeon*, for he was a man and not a woman: no more was *Joſeph* the Son of *Heli*, for he was only his ſon in Law, but the word *Aholibamah* is to be ſupplied thus, *Aholibamah the daughter of Anah, Aholibamah the daughter of Zibeon.*

Heli or *Eli* [for the name ſeemeth to be the ſame with his in 1 *Sam.* 1. 3. &c.] was not the natural Father of *Joſeph*, for *Matthew* told us plainly before, that it was *Jacob*

Jacob that begot *Joseph*, but *Heli* was the Father of *Mary*, and Father-in-Law of *Joseph* only: Now because it is not used in Scripture to mention any women in a pedigree, or to run the line from the Mother, but from the Father to the Son, therefore *Mary* is not here named at all, but intimated or included, when the line begins from her Father, and calleth her husband his son, which he was only because of her.

So that *Luke* intending to shew Christ the seed of the woman, must of necessity reckon by *Mary* the daughter of *Heli*, as *Matthew* intending to shew him the heir of the Crown of *David*, doth reckon by *Joseph* the heir male apparent. In comparing and laying together these men that *Matthew* and *Luke* have named, in the ancestry of *Joseph* and *Mary*, betwixt the returning out of the captivity, and the times of our Saviour, we find that every one man in the stock of *Joseph*, did almost outlive two of those in the line of *Mary*, the one line affording twenty descents betwixt those two periods, and the other but one above half so many: which easily and readily confuteth that opinion that some have strangely held, that the persons in the two Genealogies have been the same men, only under different names: and it helpeth somewhat to settle the times between those two periods, against the different miscountings of several men, some stretching them longer than the eleven persons named in *Matthew* could stretch to live, and some cutting them shorter than the twenty named in *Luke* could be comprehended in.

Ver. 27. *Which was the Son of Salathiel, which was the Son of Neri.*

Neri was the natural father of *Salathiel*: he seemeth to have been so named from the candle which the Lord reserved for *David* and his house, 2 *Chron.* 21. 7.

Ver. 31. *Which was the Son of Nathan.*

2 *Sam.* 5. 14. 1 *Chron.* 3. 5. It is like that he was named after *Nathan* the Prophet, who brought *David* word of the promise, 2 *Sam.* 7. and of the cotinuance of his house, which failed in the race of *Solomon*: but continued in the race of this *Nathan*, till the King came that was to sit on *Davids* Throne for ever. Here again the number of persons in the Genealogy of *Mary*, betwixt *David* and the captivity, exceed the number in the Genealogy of *Joseph*, in *Matth.* 1.

Vers. 36. *Which was the Son of Cainan, which was the Son of Arphaxad.*

In *Moses* it is said *Arphaxad begat Shelah, and Shelah begat Eber*, *Gen.* 10.24. & 11. 12. And so is it briefly reckoned, 1 *Chron.* 1. 24. *Shem, Arphaxad, Shelah*, without any mention of *Cainan* at all, nor is there any memorial of such a son of *Arphaxad* throughout all the Old Testament, nor indeed was there ever any such a man in the world at all. Here therefore is an extraordinary scruple, and a question of no small difficulty meeteth us; where *Luke* found the name of this man, which is not to be found elsewhere in all the Bible? And whether it be not an error in the Text, and were not a miscarriage in the Evangelist, to reckon a man for an ancestor of Christ, that the world never saw, or that never was upon the Earth.

Answer, It is easie indeed to resolve, where *Luke* found this name of *Cainan*, and from whence he took it, namely from the Greek Bible, or the Septuagint, which hath inserted it in those places of *Moses* that are alledged; but when this is resolved, the greater scruple is yet behind, of his warrantableness so to do, and of the purity of the Text, where it is so done.

The Seventy Translatours indeed read *Gen.* 10. 24. thus, *Arphaxad begat Cainan, and Cainan begat Sala, and Sala begat Eber.* And in Chap. 11. they say, *Arphaxad lived one hundred and thirty five years, and begat Cainan, And Cainan lived one hundred and thirty years and begat Sala, and Cainan lived after he begat Sala three hundred and thirty years.* And from hence hath Saint *Luke* without controversie taken in *Cainan* into this Genealogy, a man that never was in the world, but the warrantableness of this insertion will require divers considerations to find it out. As let the Reader be pleased seriously to ruminate upon these.

First, That the Seventy Translatours did that work unwillingly, and for fear: For the Scripture was the Treasure of the Jews, which made them more glorious than any Nation under Heaven. Therefore to communicate this their riches to the Heathen, whom they abominated and detested, was as much against their heart as what was most. So that had not the fear of the power of *Ptolomy* brought them to the work of

of the Tranſlation, more than their own good will, there had been no ſuch thing done. *Ptolomy Lagus*, the Father of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, for whom they tranſlated, had carried away an hundred thouſand Jews captive into *Egypt*, as ſaith *Ariſteas*, ſo that the fear and dread of that houſe lay upon them, that they durſt deny it nothing, which otherwiſe they would moſt vehemently have done ſuch a thing as this, to have communicated their Scriptures to the Heathen in a vulgar Tongue.

Secondly, The Tranſlation then being undertaken for fear, and with ſo ill a will [that as *Ariſteas*, who was preſent at the work, ſaith, the Tranſlatours were very unwilling to go for *Egypt*, though he interpret it, becauſe loath to go from *Eliazar* the High Prieſt] and that the Jews kept a mournful faſt every year, ſorrowing for that work of the Tranſlation. It cannot be expected that the Tranſlation will be done with any more fidelity, than barely what will keep the Tranſlatours out of danger.

Thirdly, Therefore they ſtrive as much as they can, to conceal the Truth and Treaſure of the Scripture from the Heathen, and as much as they dare to delude them. Their chief means for this, is to uſe an unpricked Bible, in which the words written without vowels, might be bended divers ways, and into divers ſenſes, and different from the meaning of the Original, and yet if the Tranſlation were queſtioned, they might prick or vowel the word, ſo as to agree to their Tranſlation. How they have dealt in this kind, there is none that ever laid the Hebrew Bible, and the Septuagint together, but hath obſerved.

Fourthly, Their differences from the Original, which were innumerable, were partly of ignorance, they themſelves not being able to read the Text alway true in a Copy unvowelled. But this ignorance was alſo voluntary in them, they not caring to miſtake, ſo that they might do it with their own ſecurity.

Their general care was, that ſince of neceſſity they muſt Tranſlate the Bible, as little of it might be imparted and revealed by the Tranſlation as was poſſible.

Their particular and ſpecial heed was alſo, that thoſe places of the Text, which Tranſlated Literally, or according to the true meaning, might prove dangerous any ways to the Nation of the Jews, or bring them into diſtaſte with the potent King for whom they Tranſlated, ſhould be ſo tempered and qualified that no hazzard might ariſe, nor any ſuch matter might be ſeen.

Fifthly, It was a common ſpeech among the Jews, and rang ordinarily in their Schools, and Pulpits, *That the ſeventy Souls of Jacobs family, that went down into Egypt, were equivalent, or anſwerabe in worth to all the ſeventy Nations of the World.*

This was a dangerous doctrine for the Jews, if it ſhould come to be known, (as it could not chooſe but be) eſpecially when their puiſſant enemies ſhould find the numbers agreeable, of ſeventy Souls, *Gen.* 46. and ſeventy Nations, *Gen.* 10. To prevent any ſuch danger, the Tranſlators thought it a ſure way, to ſpoil the juſt number in both places, and ſo they did reckon ſeventy five Souls, and ſeventy two Nations, both which accounts are followed by Saint *Luke*, *Act.* 7. and in this place.

Sixthly, The ſeveral perſons reckoned *Gen.* 10. Every one of which was the Father and original of a ſeveral Nation, be juſt ſeventy. The Tranſlatours to ſpoil the ſum, which might prove perilous, have added two more, and both of the ſame name, *Cainan*, the one the immediate ſon of *Sem*, the other his Grandchild, or the ſon of *Arphaxad*. For ver. 22. of that Chapter, they read thus. *The ſons of Sem were Elam, and Aſſur, and Arphaxad, and Lud, and Aram, and Cainan*; and verſ. 24. thus, *Arphaxad begat Cainan, and Cainan begat Sala.*

In which additions, theſe two things are very obſervable.

Firſt, The place where they have thruſt in theſe two men: Namely, ſo cloſe to *Sem*, as could not poſſibly be cloſer, unleſs they would have had him to have had two ſons of the ſame name, *Cainan*.

Secondly, The name it ſelf, that they have thus choſen twice over, namely *Cainan*, which ſignifieth *mourning* or *lamenting*. So *Enoſh* called his ſon, *Gen.* 5. 9. Becauſe of the lamentable corruption of Religion in thoſe times: And it is without doubt, the Tranſlatours in the iterated choice of this word, or heavy and doleful name, intended to ſhew ſome inward ſorrow: the cauſe of which may be beſt imagined, by laying the name, and the place of it together.

The

The bleſſing of *Noah* upon *Japhet*, *God ſhall inlarge Japhet, and he ſhall dwell in the tents of Sem*, *Gen.* 2. 27. The Jews themſelves of old, underſtood, to aim at the Greek Tongue, *viz.* that God ſhould uſe that as a means for the admiſſion of the Heathen to the ſecrets and myſteries of the Jews Religion. This was their vexation at all times, to hear, or to think of the Gentiles being called, as appears by *Jonah*, Chap. 4. 1. by the *Nazarites*, *Luke* 4. 28. and by them of *Jeruſalem*, *Act.* 22. 21, 22. For *Moſes* had plainly told them, that their calling in, ſhould be the others caſting off, *Deut.* 32. 21.

Therefore, it could not but be a moſt vehement ſorrow, and main vexation to theſe Tranſlators, that they, perforce, and ſo ſore againſt their wills, muſt be made the inſtruments, by tranſlating the Bible into Greek, to let *Japhet*, or the Heathen, into the tents of *Sem*.

This ſorrow, as their Nation expreſſed by a mournful Faſt, ſo did they themſelves among other things, by a *lamenting* and *ſorrowing* name, *Cainan* twice over, put in ſo cloſe to *Sem*, as if they called on him to mourn with them, becauſe his tents were now unlocking for the entrance of the Gentiles.

Seventhly, God uſing the Septuagint, as the Key for admiſſion of the Heathen, and as an Harbinger to the New Teſtament, left it not there, but therein uſed it alſo in allegations from the Old, yet oftentimes differing from the letter of the ſame, but never without ſpecial reaſon.

Eighthly, Saint *Luke*, as he followed the Doctor of the Gentiles, Saint *Paul*, ſo he wrote his Goſpel for the Gentiles: therefore whereas *Matthew* writing his for the Jews, deriveth the Genealogy, but from *Abraham* the firſt Father of the Jews, This Evangeliſt writing for the Gentiles, fetcheth the Line from *Adam*, the common Father of all, both Jews and Gentiles.

This is the aim and ſcope of this Genealogy, and the reaſon why it is ſet at Chriſts Baptiſm:

Firſt, To ſhew that there was no diſtinction of perſons in the promiſe given to *Adam*, for all Nations were then equally in his loins: for this, the holy line runs down to him.

Secondly, That therefore all Nations have equal intereſt in the *Meſſias*, and that in the Preaching of the Goſpel, which Chriſt began from his Baptiſm, there ſhould be no difference of people made, as there was before. This being the intent of the Pedegrees placing here, as the very placing of it doth inevitably evince, it is not only warrantable, but alſo admirably divine, that *Luke* taketh in *Cainan* from the Seventy.

For, firſt, writing for Heathens, he muſt follow the heathens Bible in his quotations.

Secondly, In Genealogies he was to be a Coppier, not a Corrector.

Thirdly, and chiefly, In following this inſertion of the Seventy, he imbraceth not their error, but divinely draweth us to look at their intent.

When *Jude* mentioneth *Michaels* ſtriving with *Satan* about the body of *Moſes*, he approveth not the ſtory as true, which he knew to be but a Talmudick Parable: but from the Jews own Authors, he uſeth this as an argument againſt them, and for their inſtruction.

So though *Luke* from the Seventy, the Bible of the Heathen, have alledged *Cainan* the ſon of *Arphaxad*, he alledgeth it not as the truth more than the Hebrew, but from the *Septuagints* own authority, or from the matter which they inſerted in diſtaſte of the calling of the Heathen, he maketh comfortable uſe and inſtruction to the Heathen concerning their calling.

Firſt, They put in two men, *Gen.* 10. that they might diſſemble their arrogating of ſingularity above all Nations, and to make *Ptolomy* believe, that there was no ſuch diſtinction of people held by them: [but they thought otherwiſe.]

Luke reſerves the one of theſe in his pedegree (for the other could not come in it,) to teach the Gentiles really, what they did in diſſimulation, that there was no ſuch diſtinction of Nations in the ſight of God, even the Seventy themſelves being witneſſes.

Secondly, They uſed a mournful name for the men whom they inſerted, in deteſtation of the coming in of the Gentiles; *Luke* reſerves this alſo for the comfort of the Gentiles, which were now to be called in: To teach them from the Jews own confeſſion, that the divulging of the Goſpel in vulgar languages, ſhould bring *Japhet* into the tents of *Sem*: which thing was now ready to begin, when Chriſt at his Baptiſm is anointed to Preach the Goſpel, and to ſend it abroad to be

Preached

Preached both to Jew and Gentile. And what the Seventy in their *Cainan* ſorrowed to ſee afar off, *Luke* in his *Cainan* calls to behold now with comfort near at hand.

Thus are the Cenſers of *Korah* and his company though ordained for an evil end by them, yet reſerved in the Sanctuary for a good by the command of GOD.

Ver. 38. *Which was the Son of Adam, which was the Son of God.*

Thus hath the Evangeliſt ſhewed Chriſt to be the ſeed of the woman, promiſed to *Adam*, and deſcended from him: And that, he that was proclaimed the *ſeed of the Woman to Adam*, in the garden, was now pointed out and proclaimed the Son of God, from Heaven to *John*, at *Jordan*. And thus doth the Evangeliſt conclude this Genealogy with a clear expreſſion of Chriſts two natures, his humanity, for he was the *ſon of Adam*; his divinity, for he was the *Son of God*: And this leſſon, of theſe two natures being knit and united in the perſon of our Saviour, the Evangeliſts all of them teach very frequently as they go along, as a thing of chief and choice obſervation: which we ſhall take up and obſerve, as we proceed.

The End of the firſt Part.

THE

HARMONY

OF THE

Four Evangelists,

Among themselves, and with the

OLD TESTAMENT.

The Second Part.

FROM THE

BAPTISM of our SAVIOUR,

TO THE

First Passover after.

WITH

An Explanation of the Chiefest DIFFICULTIES both in LANGUAGE and SENSE.

By *JOHN LIGHTFOOT* D.D.

LONDON,

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MDCLXXXII.

THE SECOND PART OF THE HARMONY OF THE Four EVANGELISTS.

SECTION XI.

The second Adam *tempted like the first, but overcometh in such temptations, as in which the first was overcome.*

St. *MATTHEW.* CHAP. IV.

THEN was Jesus [a] *led up* [b] *of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the Devil.*

2. *And when he had fasted forty days and forty nights, he was afterward an hungred.*

St. *MARK.* CHAP. I.

AND immediately the Spirit [a] *driveth him into the wilderness.*

13. *And he was* [d] *there in the wilderness forty days tempted of* [e] *Satan, and was with the wild beasts.*

St. *LUKE.* CHAP. IV.

AND Jesus being full of the Holy Ghost, returned from Jordan, *and was* [a] *led by the Spirit into the wilderness.*

2. *Being* [c] *forty days tempted of the Devil, and in those days he did eat nothing: and when they were ended, he afterward hungred.*

[*aaa*] Each Evangelist hath his peculiar expression, and each expression its peculiar meaning; though some Translators do not much mind their differences: as the *Syriack* that useth the same word in *Matthew* and *Luke*; and the *Arabick* the same in *Matthew* and *Mark*, only either of them take it actively in the one, and passively in the other. 1. *Luke* saith ἤγετο. *He was acted* or *moved*; *actus est*, & *agebatur*, in *Beza* and the *Vulgar*, intending the internal moving of the Spirit within him; for so the manner of speech is used, *Rom.* 8. 14. *Gal.* 5. 18. 2. *Mark* saith ἐκβαλλει, the *Spirit casteth, bringeth*, or *driveth him out*, for in these senses is the word used, *Matth.* 12. 35. *Luke* 9. 40. *John* 10. 4. *Gal.* 4. 30. &c. And he implieth by it; First, his parting him from the company at *Jordan*. Secondly, his sending him out upon his office and function; for so the word is also used, *Matth.* 9. 38. And thirdly, it seemeth to denote some visible vehemency and rapture wherewith all the Spirit separated him from the company, as *Philip* was taken away from the Eunuch, *Acts* 8. 39. 3. *Matthew* saith ἀνήχθη, *He was led up*, as our English hath well rendred it; from the low grounds about *Jordan*, to the high mountains of the wilderness; some conceive he was rapt up into the air, and there carried aloft till he came into the wilderness; which if it were so, the evil spirit imitated this act of the holy Spirit, when he carried him in the air to the pinnacle of the Temple.

[*b*] The *Syriack* in *Matthew* addeth, *By the holy spirit*; *Luke* saith ἐν πνεύματι; where ἐν is put casually, as ב is in Hebrew very frequently, *Psal.* 33. 6. *Hos.* 1. 7. &c. so ἐν, *Matth.*

Matth. 12. 28. for this temptation of Christ was not in vision, as *Ezekiels* carryiny into the valley of dried bones was, *Ezek.* 37. 1. where he saith of himself, ἐξήγαγέ με ἐν πνεύματι κύριος, as the Seventy render it; but it was really done, and Christ was bodily driven, or carried into the wilderness; and therefore *Matthew's* ὑπὸ πνεύματος, and *Luke's* ἐν πνεύματι, must thus far bear the same sense, that they denote a real, and not a visionary action, and the power and activity of the Holy Ghost moving and driving our Saviour in it, and to it. Though *Luke's* ἦγετο ἐν πνεύματι may more singularly express the internal motion, and *Matthew's* ὑπὸ πνεύματος, the external impulsion.

[c] The *Vulgar Latine* reads it thus, *Forty days, and was tempted of the Devil*, joyning *the forty days* to the story of the Verse preceding, as that he was in the wilderness forty days before any temptation at all began; *Agebatur*, saith he, *in Spiritu in deserto, diebus quadraginta & tentabatur*; and to the like sense he seemeth to drive the same passage and phrase in *Mark* translating it thus, *erat in deserto quadraginta diebus*, [yea, he addeth, *& quadraginta noctibus*] *& tentabatur:* But the Text of both the Evangelists is clear and facil, and sheweth that Christ suffered some temptations for the forty days, as well as those three temptations that are mentioned after them.

[d] *Beza* conceiveth that the words, *in the wilderness*, might have been spared, because that having mentioned immediately before, That *the Spirit drave him into the wilderness*, it had been enough to have added, And he was *there* forty days; without any more repetition of the word *wilderness* at all: And which is equal to such a conceit, the *Arabick* and the *Vulgar Latine* have left the word *there* out, and read it only, *And he was in the wilderness:* But the *Syriack* hath well reserved both, observing belike what they did not, that this duplication or מלות שנוות (as the Jews call such passages) is a common and usual Hebraism, as *Gen.* 39. 20. *Josephs master put him into prison, and he was there in the prison, &c.*

[e] There are three names of the Devil in this story, Σατανᾶς, Διάβολος, & ὁ πειράζων, *Satan*, *Devil*, and *Tempter:* or *Enemy*, *Accuser*, and *Tempter:* and they do very fitly and very fully set out the Devils actions and affections in reference to man; and here all these hellish actions and affections are practised towards him that is God himself.

S. *MATTHEW* Chap. IV.	S. *LUKE* Chap. IV.
3. *And when the tempter came to him, he said, If thou be the Son of* [f] *God, command that* [g] *these stones be made bread.*	3. *And the Devil said unto him, If thou be the Son of God, command that* [g] *this stone be made bread.*
4. *But he answered and said, It is written, man shall not live by bread alone, but by* [h] *every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.*	4. *And Jesus answered him, saying, It is written that man shall not live by bread alone, but by* [h] *every word of God.*

[g] The Greek reads it, *say*, or *speak* to these stones, as *Numb.* 20. 8. and accordingly it is rendred by the *Syriack* and *Vulgar:* for Gods speaking is commanding, and his commanding is operative in things of this nature. And so, *he spake*, or *said*, and all things were made, *Gen.* 1. which the Psalmist expresseth, *he commanded*, *Psal.* 148. 5. And the Devil doth purposely and pertinently use this phrase, because he saith instantly before, *If thou be the Son of God*; and if God speak, it must be done.

[g] The difference in number used by the Evangelists, the one saying, *This stone*, and the other, *These stones*, is no strange thing in Scripture, but of common and familiar use, as *Gen.* 28. 11. *He took of the stones of the place*; which in Verse 18. is expounded, *He took the stone:* E. *Luke* sheweth, that *Matthews* expression, *These stones*, is to be understood for *one of these stones*, as *Judg.* 12. 7. *Jephthah was buried in the Cities of Gilead*; that is, in one of the Cities: And 1 *Sam.* 18. 21. *Thou shalt be my Son-in-law in the two*; that is, in one of the two, &c. And that speech of *Reuben*, *Gen.* 42. 37. seemeth to be to a sense and construction not very far from this kind, *slay my two sons*, that is, slay two of my sons; for *Reuben* had four sons at this time, *Gen.* 46. 9.

[h] In the Hebr. in *Deut.* 8. 3. from whence these words are quoted, it is על כל מוצא פי *By every thing that cometh out of the mouth*; without any determinate naming of *a word:* but the *Chaldee* and the *Seventy* have rendred it, *by every word* that proceedeth or cometh forth: and *Matthew* useth the very words of the *Septuagint*. *Luke* gives the sense of מוצא פי rather than the very construction or translation of the words. מוצא שפתי is *Gods promise*, *Psal.* 89. 34.

S. *MAT-*

S. MATTHEW Chap. IV.

5. *Then the Devil taketh him up into the* [i] *holy City, and ſetteth him on a* [k] *pinnacle of the Temple.*

6. *And ſaith unto him, If thou be the Son of God, caſt thy ſelf down: for it is written, He ſhall give his Angels charge concerning thee, and in their hands, they ſhall bear thee up, leſt at any time thou daſh thy foot againſt a ſtone.*

7. *Jeſus ſaith unto him, It is written again, Thou ſhalt not tempt the Lord thy God.*

LUKE Chap. IV.

5. *And the Devil taking him up into an high mountain ſhewed unto him all the Kingdoms of the world in a moment of time.*

6. *And the Devil ſaid unto him, All this power will I give thee, and the glory of them: for that is delivered unto me, and to whomſoever I will I give it.*

7. *If thou therefore wilt worſhip me, all ſhall be thine.*

8. *And Jeſus anſwered and ſaid, Get thee behind me Satan, for it is written, Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve.*

[i] *The holy City*, was the common and ordinary name of *Jeruſalem*; as *Eſay* 48.2. & 52. 1. *Dan.* 9. 27. *Nehem.* 11.1. *Matth.* 27. 53. &c. yea, even when it was full of all abomination and corruption; yea, even when the ſtory is relating that it is crucifying Chriſt, as in the place laſt cited, yet is it ſo called, in regard of Gods preſence, and his worſhip which he had placed there: Separiſts might do well to meditate a little upon this conſideration. The ſhekel of *Iſrael* had an inſcription on the one ſide of it carrying this ſame title, though not in the very ſame words, ירושלם קדושה *Jeruſalem the holy:* The Turks own the place by the ſame name and title at this day: and the Papiſt, in the ſame notion and nature: But when that worſhip and religion, and preſence of God in them, which he himſelf had planted there was removed, then was *Jeruſalem* no more holy than other places: nay, more accurſed for their other abominations, and eſpecially for crucifying the Lord of Life: And the Lord buildeth up for himſelf a new holy City, a new *Jeruſalem*, when the old one is deſtroyed; namely, a ſpiritual building, a City not made with hands, a Church under the Goſpel, when that under the Law had undone themſelves, *Rev.*21.2. &c.

[k] Πτερύγιον ἱερῦ: this is underſtood variouſly, but it ſeemeth to mean the battlements of the Temple wherewithal it was ledged round about; as *Deut.*22.8. called there מעקה *an hedge*, or, incloſure, as *R. Sol.* renders it: the *Chaldee* expreſſeth it by the Greek word Θήκη, חיקא *a caſe*. The Seventy by Στεφάνη *a Crown*. The *Vulgar* and *Eraſmus* uſe *Pinnaculum* here, as our Engliſh doth, meaning ſome ſpire or broach that ſhot up from the roof. *Camerarius* indifferently takes it for the top or higheſt part of the Temple, be it pinnacle, battlement, ſpire, fane, or what elſe it would: The Prieſts uſed to go to the top of the Temple, *Talm. in Taanith*, *R. Sol. on Eſay* 22. 1.

S. MATTHEW Chap. IV.

8. *Again the Devil taketh him up into an exceeding high mountain, and ſheweth him all the Kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them.*

9. *And ſaith unto him,* [l] *All theſe things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worſhip* [o] *me.*

10. *Then ſaith Jeſus unto him, Get thee hence Satan: for it is written,* [p] *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve.*

11. *Then the Devil leaveth him, and behold Angels came and miniſtred unto him.*

S. LUKE Chap. IV.

9. *And he brought him to Jeruſalem, and ſet him on a pinnacle of the Temple, and ſaid unto him, If thou be the Son of God, caſt thy ſelf down from hence:*

10. *For it is written,* [m] *He ſhall give his Angels charge over thee to keep thee.*

11. *And in their hands they ſhall bear thee up, leſt at any time* [n] *thou daſh thy foot againſt a ſtone.*

12. *And Jeſus anſwering ſaid unto him, it is ſaid, Thou ſhalt not tempt the Lord thy God.*

13. *And when the Devil had ended all the temptation, he departed from him for a ſeaſon.*

MARK Chap. I. ver. 13.

And the Angels miniſtred unto him.

[l] This helpeth to conſtrue the phraſe in *Luke*, Ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἅπασαν: that it is to be taken for the Realms and Kingdoms themſelves, which *Satan* ſhewed him, rather than for the

the dominion and rule over those Realms: For that expression which *Matthew* useth, *All the Kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them*, of which *Satan* saith, *All these things will I give thee*, *Luke* uttereth it, ἡ ἐξουσία πάντα & ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν.

[*m*] The *Chaldee Paraphrast* on the 91 *Psalm*, out of which this allegation is produced, applieth the promises made there, to *Solomon*; but *Aben-Ezra* to the days of the *Messias*.

[*n*] This phrase seemeth to allude to *Balaams* miscarriage in his way, *Numb.* 22. 25. Now the Devil in this quotation from the *Psalm*, doth visibly and palpably play legerdemain two ways. In the allegation it self, he omitteth this clause, *To keep thee in all thy ways*: For such an action as he was now tempting our Saviour to, namely, to tempt the Lord, was none of the ways of Christ. And secondly his allegation reacheth not to take in the words that next follow, *Thou shalt tread upon the Lion and Adder, &c.* for those directly propheſie of *Satans* own ruine and treading down, and he cannot find in heart to meddle with them.

[*o*] The two Evangelists expressions laid together, may make this useful result and observation, That if to worship before the Devil, be to worship the Devil, (for whereas *Matthew* saith, *if thou worship me*; *Luke* expresseth it, *if thou worship before me*) sure to worship before an Image, is to worship an Image; whatsoever evasion Popery would make to the contrary: or else let it shew a reason of the difference.

[*p*] In the Hebrew in *Deut.* 6. 13. & 10. 20. from whence this citation is taken, it is 1. *Thou shalt fear the Lord*, which the Evangelist renders, *thou shalt worship*: 2. The word *only* in the second clause, is not extant. But first our Saviour applies the Text close to the present occasion; for the Devil had perswaded him to worship him: and he retorts the Scripture so, as to face the temptation most directly; and since *the fearing of God* contains and includes all mans duty towards God, be it what it will, whether in affection, or action, and whether in worship, or in holy conversation, our Saviour doth reduce it to such a particular, as was most pertinent and agreeable to the thing in hand: And so parallels might be shewed in great variety, where one place of Scripture citing another, it doth not retain the very words of the portion cited, but doth sometime change the expression, to fit the occasion, as *Matth.* 2. 23. translates *Netzer a branch*, in *Esay* 11. 1. *A man of Nazareth*. And that which is *sorrows* in *Esay* 53. 4. he hath rendred *sickness*, *Matth.* 8. 17. because he is there discoursing of Christs healing diseases: And divers more of this nature will the Reader take up by his own observation, so that it is needless to insist upon examples. Secondly, Although the word *only* be not in the Hebrew Text, yet is it in the Septuagint, in the place first cited, and it is most ordinary for the Evangelists to follow that copy: And that translation hath warrantably added it, seeing as *Beza* well observeth, so much is included in the emphatical particle *him*, and is also understood, by comparing other places.

Reason of the Order.

THE juncture and connexion of the two stories of Christs baptism, and of his temptation, and the speedy succeeding of the one to the other, is so clear and manifest in all the Evangelists, that it were but loss of time to go about to prove or confirm it; especially since *Mark* hath tied them so close together with the word *immediately*, that it is impossible to put them asunder. But it is a difficulty that requireth some study and seriousness, *viz.* how to reconcile the two Evangelists *Matthew* and *Luke* together in their relating of this story of the temptation, they do so much differ in their order. For whereas *Matthew* hath laid that temptation that was on the pinnacle of the Temple, for the second temptation; and that upon the high mountain for the last: *Luke* hath laid that upon the mountain for the second, and that upon the pinnacle for the third. And in the laying down their Text, I have suffered each to retain his own order, and have not been so bold as to alter and transpose it.

Now for the reconciling of the difference, and satisfying of the difficulty, let these things be taken into consideration:

1. That the order in which *Matthew* hath laid the temptation is the proper method and order in which they were done and acted. And this is plain by those particles which he hath used to express the time, which *Luke* hath not done, as *vers.* 5. *Then* the Devil taketh him; and *vers.* 8. *Again* the Devil taketh him: which clearly methodize and rank, the second temptation after the first, and the third after the second.

2. That *Luke* was not punctual in setting down the order, since he saw *Matthew* had done it before, but he changeth and inverteth it for special reason.

3. The reason of his alteration may be conceived to be this: He had in the Chapter and Section preceding, laid the genealogy and proper pedegree of our Saviour at his baptism, and had drawn his line up to *Adam*: and this he did in reference to, and in explanation

explanation of that part of the promise made to *Adam*, *The seed of the woman:* In this story of the temptations, and of *Christs* victory over *Satan* in them, he illustrateth the other part of the promise, *Shall break the head of the Serpent.* Now that he may the clearer explain that latter part, concerning *Christs* breaking the Serpents head, he doth not only shew how he conquered the Devil in his temptations, as our first parents were conquered by him, but he also giveth such a hint by this dislocation of the story, that we might observe that these temptations were agreeable to the temptations by which we fell, and that this second *Adam* overcame the Devil, in such temptings, as in which the first *Adam* was overcome.

Our mother *Eve* had been tempted of the Serpent, *by the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life*, as 1 *Joh.* 2. 16. By the lust of the flesh, for *the woman saw that the tree was good for food*; by the lust of the eyes, for *she saw that it was pleasant to look upon*; and by the pride of life, for she conceived that *it was a tree to be desired to make one wise*; and she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, *Gen.* 3. 6.

Accordingly was our Saviour assaulted at this time by the same tempter: 1. He would have tempted him to lust of the flesh, when perceiving him hungry, he moveth him to turn stones into bread. 2. To lust of the eyes, when he shewed, and offered to him the glory and pomp of all the Kingdoms of the Earth. And 3. to pride of life, when he would perswade him from the ordinary way of coming down from the top of the Temple, but would have him to cast himself headlong, presuming upon a promise.

The order laid down by *Luke* is so point-blank correspondent to the order of those first temptations, that we may well conceive that the reason of his ranking these in this method, is, that the Reader might compare and consider the one from the other.

4. Now the reason why the Devil did not tempt our Saviour in the very same order and method that he tempted our first parents, is very difficult to determine: But this is plain to observe, that he tempted him first to works of power, *to make stones bread*, and *to fly in the air*; and when in these he could not prevail, then he tempted him to a work of sinful weakness, *viz. to adore the Devil*; such is the impudency of the Devil, as even to cross himself in the tenor of his temptations, and if he cannot speed in one, to take up another clean contrary to it, rather than to fail, and to go away without speeding in what he desireth, if it may be done.

Harmony and Explanation.

OUR Saviour being installed into his function of the Ministry by baptism, and by the the unction of the Holy Ghost, as the Priests under the Law were into their office by washing and anointing, *Lev.* 8. 6, 12. he beginneth now to act no more as a private man, but as the great High Priest, the Redeemer, the *Messias*, and Captain of our Salvation, and such an one is he held out in this story; and such an one is he offered to this combate by the Holy Ghost: 1. That the work of the Redemption might begin to parallel the fall, for both of them were with temptations. 2. That *Christ* from the very first entrance into his function, might be looked on as the subject of the promise, *Gen.* 3. 15. *That seed of the woman that shoul break the head of the Serpent* in the end, when he thus bruised him in the beginning. 3. That this beginning of his Ministry might vindicate and glorifie his Ministry all along, when *the Prince of this world had come and found nothing in him.* And 4. that a greater than *Adam* in innocency might be acknowledged here; for he by temptation had been overcom, but this in temptation overcame. Other reasons of Christ being tempted, referring to men, may be given diverse: As 1. to shew, that even the holiest of men cannot expect to be free from temptations. 2. That *Christ* might teach us how to combate against the temptations of *Satan*, namely, with fasting, prayer, and the Word of God. 3. To shew that we are to overcom through him who overcame temptations for us, as he overcame death for us. 4. For our assurance of help and succour in our trials, since our Redeemer was tempted like unto us, as *Heb.* 4. 15. See *Aquin. part.* 3. *quest.* 41. *Art.* 1.

Luke IV. ver. 1. *And Jesus being full of the Holy Ghost.*

For the better understanding of these words, there are two things very material to take into consideration. The first is, what need there was of Christs being now filled with the Holy Ghost, when *all the fulnese of the Godhead* had dwelt in him hitherto. And secondly, in what the fulness of the Holy Ghost that was in Christ, these gifts that were in him did differ from that fulness, and from those that were in other men.

For the first, it is to be observed; 1. That by the term the *Holy Ghost*, is to be understood the Prophetick gifts, wherewithal Christ was filled, for the preaching and publishing

liſhing of the Goſpel, as the revealing of the will of God, and working miracles. The expreſſion רוח חקודש or *the Holy Ghoſt*, is a phraſe and manner of ſpeech uſed by the Jews in their writings, and very common and frequent there, and from them muſt the ſenſe of it be explained, for from them it is taken; and moſt commonly and conſtantly uſed in their ſenſe in the New Teſtament: Now the Jewiſh Authors do conſtantly mean by it the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, which he beſtowed upon Prophets and Prophetick men, enabling them for that employment unto which they were called.

As if we ſhould go about to multiply examples from them to this purpoſe, we might do it infinitely.

The Holy Ghoſt, ſay they, *was one of the five things that were wanting in the ſecond Temple*, Maſlecheth Ioma. cap. 1. cited by R. Sol. and Kimchi, on *Hag.* 1.8.

Thou haſt ſhewed that the Holy Ghoſt dwelleth not on thee, to know that I am not drunk, Raſi. on 1 *Sam.* 1.13.

The Holy Ghoſt was gone from Eli, therefore prophecy came to Samuel, D. Kimch. on 1 *Sam.* 3.2.

The Holy Ghoſt was born in him from that day and forward, and he uttered Pſalms and Songs by the Holy Ghoſt that was born in him; for under this general term the Spirit of the Lord, is the Holy Ghoſt and the Spirit of power, or *ſtrength*, underſtood, Idem. on 1 Sam. 16. 13. *The Holy Ghoſt reſted on the falſe Prophet*, Idem. on 1 *King.* 13.20.

Our Wiſemen ſay, before Elias was taken away, the Holy Ghoſt was in Iſrael, when he was taken away, the Holy Ghoſt departed, R. Sam. Lanjade. on 2 Kings 2.

In all which ſpeeches, and in divers others which might be produced, it is apparent that the Jews by this phraſe, *the Holy Ghoſt*, do conſtantly and continually intend, Prophetick gifts, wherewith men and women were indued either for the managing of ſome publique employment to which they were called, or for the ſuiting to ſome ſingular and ſpecial occaſion wherewithal they met. And in this ſenſe is the expreſſion moſt conſtantly to be taken in the New Teſtament, [when it ſpeaketh not of the third perſon in Trinity it ſelf] as *Luke* 1.15,41,67. *John* 7.3,9. *Acts* 2.4. & 8.18. & 10.44. & 13.52. & 19.2. and in very many other places. And ſo is it to be underſtood here, that Chriſt being now to enter upon the publique Miniſtery of the Goſpel, and to act as the great Prophet of his Church and people, he is at his baptiſm anointed, and ever after filled with the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt befitting ſo great a work, and befitting ſo great a Prophet.

Now 2. it is to be obſerved, that theſe Prophetick gifts that the Holy Ghoſt beſtowed upon ſome particular perſons, did really, and very far differ from the grace of ſanctification, which he beſtoweth upon all his Saints: They might indeed ſometimes be, and very often they were in one and the ſame perſon, but they were very far from being one and the ſame thing. For

1. Prophetical gifts were ſometimes in wicked and prophane men, as in *Balaam*, the falſe Prophet at *Bethel*, *Judas*, &c.

2. Theſe were given for the benefit of others, rather than for his own that had them, but ſanctifying grace is given for his benefit chiefly that doth enjoy it.

3. They did not make a man any whit the holier towards God, but only the more able for ſome occaſions amongſt men.

So that by this expreſſion, *Jeſus being full of the Holy Ghoſt*, is not intended any addition of grace or ſanctity, which he had not before, but the collation of Prophetick qualifications at the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt upon him, which he had not till then. For though by the union of the humane nature to the Godhead that nature did partake of glorious and moſt excellent perfections ariſing and reſulting from that union; yet did it not partake of theſe gifts or perfections that we have in hand, becauſe theſe were not properly fruits of that union, but of a donation: And not things conducing to the ſatisfaction of God in the work of Redemption, but to the ſatisfaction of men in his work of the Miniſtry: The proper fruits of that union, were the qualifying of the perſon of Chriſt ſo, as that he ſhould be abſolutely without ſin, that he might exactly perform the Law, and might be able to ſatisfie Gods juſtice, and overcom death; for theſe were the proper ends and reaſons for which ſuch an union was required: but to work miracles, to expound difficulties, to heal diſeaſes, to teach divinity, to foretel things to come, and the like, were not ſo properly the fruit of that union, for even meer men have been enabled to do the ſame: nor did they ſo directly tend to the moſt proper end of the incarnation; namely, the ſatisfaction of Gods juſtice, as to the inſtruction, conviction, benefit, and advantage of men. And therefore although the humane nature of Chriſt, through the uniting of it to the Godhead, did abound in all holineſs, and wiſdom, and graces, as to the knowing of God, and the beſt things, to the enjoyment of the viſion of God, and communion with him, to the being and perſiſting abſolutely without the leaſt corruption, to the entire performing of the whole Law, and to a non-poſſibility of committing ſin, all which capacities tended towards the ſatisfaction of Gods juſtice and mans redemption; yet for the miniſtration of the Goſpel, and for his working upon the bodies,

bodies, minds, and affections of men, by teaching, preaching, and working miracles, he is indued with the immediate gifts of the Spirit, [as it was the way of God to deal with Prophets and prophetick men] which gifts did not so properly accrew from the union of the two natures, as from the unction of the Spirit; The result of the union of the two natures, being more properly acceptance with God in the work of Redemption, and the fruits of this unction being to the acceptance with men in the work of the Ministery. And whereas it is not to be denied, but that Christ before the Holy Ghost came upon him at his baptism had the power of miracles, and Prophetick wisdom in him, as appeareth by his disputing with the Doctors at twelve years old, this was through the fulness of the Holy Ghost that was in him even from his mothers womb, as it was, and much more than it was with *John* the Baptist, *Luke* 1.15. and that with this difference from what it is now, that it was then upon him as one to be ordained, and now upon him as ordained already to the Ministery.

Now the difference of the fulness of the Holy Ghost in Christ from other men, who are also said to have been filled with the Holy Ghost; as, *Luke* 1.67. *Acts* 6. 5. may appear in these particulars:

1. In the measure, which may be measured, by consideration of the difference of the persons, and of their employments: for Christ was more capable by infinite degrees of the fulness of the Holy Ghost, than meer men were, or could be; and his employment being also so infinitely beyond the employment of men, the measure of the Holy Ghosts fulness in him must needs be accordingly beyond all measure.

2. In the manner and vigor of acting; The power of the Prophets in working of miracles was exceeding great indeed, and wondrous, and their descrying and discovering the will of God and things to come was exceeding wonderful and sublime, but they could neither do nor tell all things, nor could they act upon all occasions, but had always their bounds, and had sometimes a recess of the Spirit, or departure of it from them. As *Isaac* can see what shall befal *Jacob* and *Esau* many hundred years after, yet cannot know *Jacob* from *Esau* when he is in his arms: And *Jacob* can tell what shall become of all his sons in the last time to come, yet cannot tell what is become of his best son *Joseph* in his own time for 13 years together.

So *Moses* hath power over *Egypt*, yet hath not power over his own stammering: and the Prophet at *Bethel* can command the Altar that it rent it self, but cannot command the Lion not to rent him.

Thus to this great gift of Prophecy on men, as to the Ocean, God set its bound, which it might not pass, and so far might the operating of it go, and might go no further; but with *Christ* it was not so. He could work what miracles he would, when he would, how he would, and on whom he would; he could reveal all truths, resolve all doubts, clear all difficulties, know all thoughts, and had no limit of the vigor and acting of the Spirit upon him, but his own will.

§. *Was led by the Spirit into the wilderness.*

Namely into the wilderness of *Judea*. For 1. that was in mention in the story next preceding, *Matth.*3.2,3. and a wilderness being here spoken of, without any further mention what wilderness it was, none can so properly be understood as that of *Judea*, which was last named before. 2. It is said by *Luke*, that *Jesus returned from Jordan:* by the word *returned*, importing that he came back [when he went to his temptation] on the same side *Jordan* on which he was baptized: Now that the wilderness of *Judea* lay on that side is more evident than needeth any demonstration. *Chemnitius* indeed hath supposed this wilderness where our Saviour was tempted, to have been the great desert of *Horeb* or *Sinai:* and he giveth these three reasons for it: 1. Because other wildernesses have their distinguishing titles, as of *Ziph*, 2 Sam.23.14. *Shur*, Exod.15.22. *Engedi*, 1 Sam.24.11. &c. but this wilderness of *Horeb* is called *the wilderness*, by a special emphasis, without any other addition, and so is *the wilderness* mentioned in this story. But this is easily answered, that it wants its distinctive title here, because it was named by it a little before, and called *the wilderness of Judea.*

2. Because saith he, *Mark* saith, that Christ in this wilderness *was with the wild beasts:* now in other wildernesses there are either dwellings of men here and there, or they are not altogether remote from the converse of men; but in the great desart of *Horeb* there were only wild beasts, as there are mentioned to have been here.

Ans. Mark when he saith, *Christ* was with wild beasts, doth not therefore inforce that that wilderness was without either men or dwellings; But first, That Christ for that time avoided both the one and the other, and kept himself in the wildest places, and most retired from humane society. And secondly the Evangelist seemeth to regard rather the state of Christ, than the state of the place: and to shew Christ to be the second

ſecond *Adam*, as in the temptation which he was now about, ſo in his ſafety and ſecurity among the wild beaſts [as *Adam* in innocency had been] and they hurt him not. The wilderneſs of *Judea* had indeed both cities, and villages, and dwellings of men in it, but withall it had ſome places wild in it without any ſuch habitations, and it had wild beaſts in it in thoſe places, 1 *Sam.* 17.28.34. 2 *Sam.*23.20. *Jer.*49.19.

3. By this ſuppoſal [he addeth] that this wilderneſs where *Chriſt* was tempted, was the great deſart of *Horeb*, there is a fair anſwerableneſs found out, between this ſtory, and the ſtory of *Iſrael* in that place, and betwixt this faſting of *Chriſt* and of *Moſes* and *Elias* in the ſame deſart. *Anſwer*: it is true, there would be ſo indeed, but the being of the thing cannot be grounded upon this correſpondency, but this correſpendency muſt be built upon the thing firſt found ſo to be: and if this may argue for *Horeb* deſart, we may as well argue for *Judea* wilderneſs, for there the ſore tryals of *David* under the perſecution of his enemies, and otherwiſe may be as fit parallels to harmonize with this temptation, as *Iſraels* being in that deſart, ſee 1 *Sam.* 17. 34 & 23. 14, 19, 24. & 24. 1. *Pſalm* 61. in title, &c.

Mark 1. ver. 13. *And was there forty days tempted.*

For theſe forty days together, *Satan* was tempting him inviſibly,and did not yet aſſume any viſible or conſpicuous ſhape, which at the end of forty days he did; and ſo is *Matthew* to be underſtood, when he ſaith, *The tempter came to him*, that is, in an apparent and viſible form.

Now if we look upon the time and place, and Chriſts preſent poſture, we may ſee what materials or occaſions the Devil had to frame theſe his inviſible temptations of, all this while.

1. The time of the year, was from about the middle of the month *Tiſri*, ſix weeks forward, that is, from the beginning of our *October*, till about the tenth of our *November*, and then was the cold increaſing, the nights growing long, and the winter driving on apace; but very comfortleſs ſubſiſting in the open plain of a deſert wilderneſs.

2. The place of our Saviours reſidence all this while, be it where it will in the wilderneſs of *Judea*, whether two miles from *Jericho* at *Quarantania*, as it is pointed out by ſome, or further ſouthward along the banks of the *dead Sea*, as the more deſert place, or whereſoever elſe, it was in the company and danger of wild beaſts, and no humane company near him to comfort him, nor houſe to ſhelter him.

3. His poſture in this time and place was not only in a faſting, but in an impoſſibility of getting ſuſtenance unleſs by miracle; in ſolitude, in want of company, in want of neceſſaries, and in a condition that made a life as comfortleſs, as likely might be.

Upon theſe outward occaſions as fit opportunities for ſuch a matter, *Satan* would be buſie with his ſuggeſtions to inject them into Chriſt if it had been poſſible, either to have moved him from that reſolved work upon which he was, or to have moved him to the acting or entertaining of ſomething which ſhould not have been.

And herein did theſe forty days and nights faſting of our Savlour, exceedingly outgoe the like dated faſtings of *Moſes* and *Elias*. For he did not only faſt, but he was in continual watching and conſtant combat with *Satan*, and did not ſo much as enjoy the repoſe of his body, or of his thoughts in reſt and contemplation, as *Moſes* and *Elias* had ſweetly done in their faſts, without ſuch diſturbance.

Compare the combate in 1 *Sam.* 17. 16.

Luke 4. ver. 2. *And in thoſe days he did eat nothing.*

Matthew mentioneth the nights of his faſting, as well as the days, that it might be diſtinguiſhed from the ordinary faſtings of other men, who though they ate nothing of all day, yet at night they did, 1 *Sam.* 14. 24. 2 *Sam.* 1. 12. &c. But the faſt in *Suſan* was for three days and nights, *Eſth.* 4. 16. Now this long and miraculous faſt of Chriſt was not for imitation, no more than were the like of *Elias* and *Moſes*, but as theirs was, ſo was this for another end: For as *Moſes* faſted three times forty days and forty nights at his giving of the Law, and ſetling of religion, that the authority of the one, and the honor of the other might be the more advanced; and as *Elias* faſted forty days and forty nights at his reſtoring of decaying prophecie, and beginning of a reformation, that the one and the other might be the more dignified in the hearts of the people, upon this very conſideration, that the agents in theſe things, did as it were for a preface to the acting of them, lead ſo Angelical and miraculous a life for ſo long a time.

So was this like action of our Saviour for the greater honour and authority of the Goſpel which he was now to preach; when he that preached it,had led ſo the long life of an Adgel without meat and drink, had foiled the Devil upon the greateſt advantages imagina-

ble,

ble, and had dwelt among the den of wild beaſts, and was hurt by them; compare *Eſay* 11. 6.

Thus did *John* the *Baptiſt* begin the Goſpel with wonderous abſtemiouſneſs, and *Chriſt* with miraculous abſtinence, both of them thereby not only honouring the Goſpel which they preached, but alſo thereby inſtructing them to whom they preached it: 1. That *the kingdom of heaven is not of meats and drinks.* 2. That *man is not to live by bread only, but by the Word of God.* And 3. That the liberty of the Goſpel is not licentiouſneſs, but liberty of another nature.

§ *And when they were ended he afterward hungred.*

It is not ſo ſaid either of *Moſes* or *Elias*, though the ſame thing were true likewiſe of them; but it is expreſſed thus of *Chriſt*: 1. To evidence his humanity. 2. And chiefly to give light unto the ſtory following, namely, to ſhew that *Satan* took occaſion for his firſt propoſal to turn ſtones into bread, from Chriſts hungring. And 3. that this and the firſt temptation might be parallelled, where *Satan* aſſaulted *Eve*; when ſhe now began to hunger, and it was eating time.

Matth. 4. ver. 3. *And when the tempter came to him.*

Now is the ſeed of the Woman and the Serpent met viſibly together, and the enmity which was ſet betwixt them from the firſt day of *Adam*, is now breaking into an open combate. And the Evangeliſt in the Epithet, *the Tempter*, doth plainly call us to take notice of the firſt temptation, that occaſioned the fixing of that enmity. The Devil now appeareth to *Chriſt* in a viſible ſhape, as he had done to *Eve*; but in what appearance, the text is ſilent: It is moſt likely, like an Angel of light: and as ſhe was deceived by him in taking him for a good Angel, in the trunk of the Serpent; ſo that he goeth now about to deceive *Chriſt* alſo in the repreſentation of a glorious Angel: For in that he requireth *Chriſt* to worſhip him, and promiſeth him all the kingdomes of the world, it is very unlikely that he carryed the image of a meer plain ſimple man, or of any brute beaſt; for either of them it was moſt improper to make any ſuch overture: but that he carryed indeed a humane ſhape, but with that luſtre, majeſty, and glorioufneſs, that the holy Angels uſed to appear in, *Judg.* 13. 6. For that the Devil can transform himſelf into ſuch a faſhion and garb, the Apoſtle doth tell us.

§ *He ſaid, if thou be the Son of God.*

He tempteth *Chriſt* under the notion of his two natures, twice in reference to his Godhead. *To turn ſtones into bread, and to fly in the air*, works of divine power; and once in reference to his manhood, to fall down and worſhip him for wordly preferment, an act of humane ſinfulneſs and weakneſs. When the Devil doth twice uſe this expreſſion, *If thou be the Son of God*; it argueth not that he was ignorant who *Chriſt* was, as ſome conceive, [for the miracle of his birth, his adoration by the Wiſemen, his wiſdom at 12 years old, the voice from heaven, and his ſaftety among wild beaſts at this time, ſhew that impoſſible.] But concluding the thing it ſelf to be ſo, he argueth from it to perſwade *Chriſt* to act as the Son of God, and to do things miraculouſly. And the *If* in his ſpeech is not ſo much of doubting as of aſſurance, as the *If* in thoſe words of *Lamech*, *If Cain ſhall be avenged ſeventy fold*; and he forceth it as the conſequence upon a thing undoubted, *Seeing thou art the Son of God, as the voice from heaven did proclaim thee, it is very agreable to thy ſo being, that thou ſhouldſt exert thy divine power, and command theſe ſtones into bread for the ſatisfying thy hunger.* And ſo in the other temptation that carryeth the ſame front, *Seing thou art the Son of God, it is very fit thou ſhouldeſt act according thereunto, and not go down the ſtairs as men do, but caſt thy ſelf headlong, and ſhew thy power.* In both which temptations, though a cloſe perſwaſive to diſtruſt Gods proviſion for him in the wilderneſs, to rely too much upon ſecond cauſes, and to preſume without warrant upon a promiſe, be included, yet *Satans* main bent and aim is to move him to act according to the dictate and direction of the Devil. And as he had perſwaded *Eve* from the commandement of God, to follow his advice, ſo would he fain do *Chriſt* from that work and injuction which God had laid upon him, for the Miniſtery, and for mans redemption, to do things tending nothing at all to that purpoſe, but rather to vain-glory and ſelf-exalting, and the Devil had had enough if he could have moved the Redeemer to have acted any thing upon his inſtigation. *Ignatius Martyr*, *Hilary*, and others of old; and *Beza*, *Chemnitius*, ſome others of late, ſuppoſe that *Satan* knew not yet the myſtery of the incarnation [no more than the Diſciples did till after the reſurrection] but that he propoſeth this, *if thou be the Son of God*, as doubting of the truth of the thing,

and ſeeking to be reſolved in it: nay, that by the phraſe, *the Son of God*, is to be underſtood, and was ſo in *Satans* apprehenſion, only a very holy, and an extraordinary qualified man; as whereas the Centurion calls Chriſt *the Son of God*, *Mat.* 27.54. *Luke* expreſſeth it only *a righteous man*, *Luke* 23.47.

Anſwer 1. It is moſt true indeed, that the myſtery of the Incarnation is a myſtery moſt high and deep, and which created underſtandings cannot ſadome, and that the Diſciples were exceedingly ignorant of it, till more than fleſh and blood revealed it to them: but yet for all this, the Angels good and bad might know the truth of the thing, though they could not reach the myſtery of it: and the Diſciples have ſome light of it before, though they had the more perfect underſtanding of it after the reſurrection, as ſee *Mat.* 16.16. The Devil was not ignorant of the Angels proclaiming him *Chriſt the Lord*, or *Jehovah*, *Luke* 1.16, 17. & 2.11. of an Angels and Gods proclaiming him, *The Son of God*, *Luke* 1.35. & 3.22. Of the Prophets calling him, *Jehovah*, *Jer.* 23.6. *And the mighty God, and Father of Eternity*, *Eſay* 9.6. and an hundred ſuch expreſſions as theſe, which could not but put him paſt all queſtoning, who it was with whom he dealt.

2. It is true indeed that the Church and people of God are called *his Sons*, but it will be hard to find this applyed to any one particular perſon, or ſingle man in all the Scripture: That in 2 *Sam.* 7.14. *Pſalm* 89.28, 27. is readily known to be ſpoken of *Chriſt*, and that in *Luke* 3.38. we have explained before.

3. It is likewiſe true, that whereas the Centurion in *Matthew*, is brought in, ſaying, *This was the Son of God*, *Luke* hath brought him, ſaying, *This was a righteous*, or *juſt man*; but muſt it therefore follow, that he took him not for *the Son of God*, but that he called him ſo only becauſe he was a holy man? In very many of the Evangeliſts, various expreſſions, we are not always to take the one to mean the other, but we muſt take them both in their proper ſenſe to make up the full ſenſe, as will fall to be obſerved in divers places: And ſo is it to be done here: The Centurion and his company upon the ſight of the wonders that attend our Saviours death, concluded that not only he was a moſt holy man, but ſome roſe higher, and ſure, ſay they, *He was the Son of God.* Compare and examine the places.

Now the daring impudence of the Devil, thus to aſſault and aſſail him whom he knew to be the Son of God, will be the leſs wondrous and ſtrange, if we conſider [joyntly with his pride, deſperate wickedneſs, and malice] the ground that he might think he had to undertake ſuch an attempt as this, to go about to foil him, who his own heart told him was *the Son of God:* And that was from thoſe words of God in the garden to him, when upon the denunciation upon him, that the ſeed of the woman ſhould break his head; yet God tells him withall, That *he ſhould bruiſe his heel.* Hence did his impudence take its riſe to do and dare what he did and dared at this time; and the having this very paſſage in ones eye and conſideration upon the reading of this ſtory of the temptation, will help exceedingly to clear, inlighten and explain it. For whereas two main ſcruples may ariſe about this temptation, [beſides this that we have in hand of the Devils daring to aſſault Chriſt thus] namely, how chance it was now, and not before, and why it is ſaid by *Luke* after theſe temptations, that *the Devil departed from him for a ſeaſon*; the conſideration of this thing doth give ſo much ſatisfaction to both theſe doubts. For, 1. it is indeed ſome matter of wonder that *Chriſt* ſhould live to thirty years, and the Devil never attempt to tempt him of long a time, but ſhould now come to aſſail him, when he had a teſtimony from heaven that he was *the Son of God*, and when he had the fulneſs of the Spirit in him above meaſure, which were greater diſadvantages to *Satan* than ever; but the reaſon was becauſe that now *Chriſt* was offered to the Duell in an apparent manner, which he never had been before, to try that maſtery with the Devil about *breaking and bruſing head and heel:* and the Devil having an aſſurance that he ſhould bruiſe his heel, undertakes the combate, and dares be thus impudent. And 2. when he ſaw that he could not prevail with him this way to bruiſe him, namely, by temptation, he departs from him for a ſeaſon, till he can find an opportunity for another way to do it, namely, by open and actual perſecution.

Sect. *Command that theſe ſtones be made bread.*

To change the form of a Creature is the greateſt miracle, as coming neareſt to creating: and therefore when the power of miracles was firſt given, the firſt that was wrought was transforming, *Exod.* 4.3. And ſuch a one was the firſt that was wrought by our Saviour, *John* 2.9. The Devil therefore aſſaying *Chriſt* in a work of wonder, tryeth him in one of this nature: and when he cannot move him to ſhew his power upon another Creature, in Changing the form of it in this temptation, he ſeeketh in the next to move him to ſhew his power upon his own body, in altering the quality of it, and making it fly.

Now

Now to enquire what ſins they were that the Devil would have perſwaded him to in this temptation, *in turning ſtones into bread*, whether to gluttony, or diſtruſt of providence, or what elſe, is not ſo material and pertinent, as to conſider why he tryed him firſt by ſuch a manner of temptation. And the ſatisfaction to this is facil and obvious; namely, 1. becauſe he took advantage of his preſent hungring. And 2. becauſe he had ſped ſo ſucceſsfully to his own mind, by a temptation about a matter of eating, with the firſt *Adam*, he practiſeth that old manner of his trading with the ſecond.

Ver. 4. *It is written.*

This is the firſt ſpeech that proceeded from our Saviours mouth, ſince his entrance into his Miniſterial function, that is upon record; and though it be very ſhort, yet is it very material for obſervation of theſe things:

1. That the firſt word ſpoken by Chriſt in his miniſterial office is an aſſertion of the authority of Scripture.

2. That he oppoſeth the word of God as the propereſt incounterer againſt the words of the Devil.

3. That he alledgeth Scripture as a thing undeniable and uncontrolable by the Devil himſelf.

4. That he maketh the Scripture his rule, though he had the fulneſs of the Spirit above meaſure.

§ Man ſhall not live by bread only, but, &c.

He doth moſt properly and divinely produce this place of *Moſes*, *Deut.* 8.3. it being a Leſſon which the Lord had read to *Iſrael*, when they had fallen into, and in a temptation, not much unlike to this that *Satan* would have tript *Chriſt* in at this time. Now the ſenſe of the Text alledged is ſomewhat controverted; ſome take it to mean, that man hath not only a life of the body to look after, which is ſuſtained by bread; but alſo, and rather a life of the ſoul, which is ſupported by the Word of God: And ſome again, by *the Word of God*, underſtand *the Word of Doctrine*; others, *the Word of Gods power, providence, and decree*, as meaning that mans life doth not depend upon bread only, but that God can ſupport and ſuſtain it by other means as he ſhall ſee fit. Any of which carry a moſt proper, and a moſt conſiderable truth along with them. But the moſt facil interpretation of theſe words, and the moſt agreeable to the context in *Moſes*, with which they lye, is, by *every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God*, to underſtand *Gods commandments*, by the obſerving of which a man ſhall live, proſper, and it ſhall go well with him: for to this ſenſe the firſt verſe of that Chapter in *Deuteronomy* ſpeaketh, *All the commandments that I command thee this day, ſhall ye obſerve to do, that ye may live, &c.* Now our Saviour retorteth this in this ſenſe, againſt the Devils temptation, that incited him to have turned ſtones into bread; 1. To ſhew that it was his meat and drink to do the will of him that ſent him, and to finiſh his work, as *John* 4. 34. And 2. that obedience of Gods commandments is more propely the way to live, than by the uſe of the Creature.

Matth. 4. ver. 5. *Then the Devil taketh him up.*

Here it is controverted, whether this were done really and truly, or only in viſion and apparition. And there be that aſſert the latter, conceiving that *Chriſt* was brought no otherwiſe to the pinnacle of the Temple, or to the high mountain, than *Jeremy* went to *Euphrates* to hide his girdle, *Jer.* 13. or *Ezekiel* ſlept on his right, and left ſide, &c. *Ezek.* 4. or other things of this nature mentioned in Scripture, which it is paſt all denial, were done only in viſion, *vid. Janſen. in loc.*

But that theſe tranſportings of our Saviour from place to place, were really and actually done, even in the body, and not in viſion, may be ſtrongly confirmed by theſe conſiderations.

1. Otherwiſe they had been no temptations, which the Evangeliſts tell plainly that they were: For what had it been for *Chriſt*, to have ſeen a thouſand of ſuch things as theſe in a viſion, and to have nothing more to do with them, but only ſee them; what temptation could this be to him?

2. The next place that we hear *Chriſt* was in after the temptations were finiſhed, was beyond *Jordan*, as ſhall be ſhewed in the next *Section*: now it will be hard to find how he was got inſtantly after his temptations to the other ſide *Jordan*, if he were not carryed thither in the next temptation after this that is now in hand. For in the temptation before this, he is in the wilderneſs of *Judea*; in this temptation he is at *Jeruſalem* on the top of the Temple; and in the next on the top of an high mountain; and the next tydings of him after is, that he is beyond *Jordan*.

Now this taking him up, was bodily, and locally, and really, the Devil catching him up into the air, and carrying him in the air to the battlements of the Temple, and from thence in the next temptation to the high mountain: And here may the Reader fix his meditations upon four or five material things very pertinent and profitable to conſider of upon this paſſage.

As 1. the horrid impudency of the Tempter, that cannot but ſuppoſe him *the Son of God*, and yet dare aſſail him as the baſeſt of men.

2. The wonderful humiliation of the Redeemer, that was even now proclaimed *the Son of God* from heaven, and now is hurryed by the Devil in the face of heaven.

3. The power of evil Spirits over mens bodies, if they be permitted, and let looſe to execiſe their power upon them.

4. The conſtant and continued providence ſhewed in our preſervation, that we are not hurryed away bodily by *Satan* every moment, who is thus buſie here even with our Redeemer, who was *the Son of God.*

5. That in all the Scripture there is no mention of the like ſtory, that the Devil ever thus carryed any man in the air, unleſs he had firſt bodily poſſeſſed him: For having firſt done ſo, it is ſaid of the poor wretch among the *Gaderens*, That *he was driven of the Devil into the Wilderneſs.* And ſo, we have obſerved elſewhere, that it is probable that the Devil took *Judas* into the air, and there ſtrangled him, and threw him down to the earth, and burſt out his bowels, for the Devil was bodily in him before: but for one not poſſeſſed to be ſo tranſported from place to place, by the evil ſpirit, is a thing that hath no parallel in all the Scripture from end to end. Now whether it be not probable that the Devil would have poſſeſſed our Saviour bodily, if he could have done it, and when he could not do it betook himſelf to this violent Rapture of him, be it alſo referred to the Readers conſideration.

§ *Into the holy City, and ſetteth him on a pinacle of the Temple.*

There are two main ſcruples and queſtions ariſe out of theſe words: 1. Why the Devil bringeth *Chriſt* to this place in this temptation. And 2. whether his flying in the air, and ſtanding on the Temple, were viſible, or no.

As to the firſt; It cannot be doubted, but ſomething more was in the Devils thoughts when he brought our Saviour hither, than meerly his precipitation, or caſting down headlong, or flying in the air: For had that been all, he might have found promontories, rocks, precipices by hundreds; from whence to have got him caſt down, would have ſerved the turn, as well as from hence, if his precipitation had been all that was intended and aimed at. But certainly there was ſome reflecting in *Satans* mind upon the very place, as well as upon the very thing. And that being apprehended what it was, if it be poſſible to apprehend it, it will help to reſolve both the queſtions at once. Conjecture is all that we can go upon here, and it is better to conjecture at *Satans* mind in ſuch a thing as this, than to be acquainted in it; and in a matter of this nature if one fail in conjecture, it is as excuſable on that hand, as it is difficult to hit aright on the other.

1. Therefore it may be conceived, that the Devil according to his conſtant practice, would make the utmoſt advantage he could of his deceipts in this paſſage and temptation: and that he meant not only evil to our Saviour, whom he had in hand, but ſome deluſion alſo to the men of *Jeruſalem*, amongſt whom he brought him: For why ſhould he take him from the ſolitude of the wilderneſs, into the middle of a City, if he meant no more than what he might have equally acted in that ſolitarineſs? or why ſhould he ſet him upon the Temple, if he intented no more than what he might have done upon any precipice in the deſert.

2. It ſeemeth therefore, and is very probable, that our Saviour as he flew in the air, and as he ſtood on the Temple, was viſible and conſpicuous to the eyes of the people: and that *Satan* acted thus, that the people might be deluded with ſome miſapprehenſions concerning him. And truly I cannot but conjecture, that he intented to deceive them with miſpriſion concerning *Elias*, who was ſo much in their thoughts and expectation, to come perſonally as the fore-runner of the *Meſſias*: For he having been rapt away into the air, and ſo into heaven, when the Lord took him from the earth, as is related in the ſtory of his tranſlation, 2 *King.* 2. how readily might the people have their thoughts on him, when they ſaw a man in a mantle flying in the air, and taking his pitch upon the Temple, and away again? and this they might be deceived in the rather, becauſe of the miſconſtruction which they blindly made of thoſe words of the Prophet, *Mal.* 3. 1. *Of the Angel of the Covenant coming to the Temple*, which they underſtand of *Elias*, as ſee *D. Kimch. in loc.* But it will be ſaid, what could *Satan* gain by this deceit? Why, this, that they would be confirmed in the miſtake of *Elias* his perſonal coming at the laſt converſe among them, and ſo the preaching of the Baptiſt, and the appearing of Chriſt after him would be the leſs regarded.

3. Now

3. Now the acting of the Devil in reference to *Chriſt*, affords us theſe conſiderations:

1. That whereas in his former temptation, he would have injected into *Chriſt* diffidence and deſpair in God, now would he do the clean contrary, and inſtigate him to preſumption; then would he have ſuggeſted that God was mindleſs of him, and that there was no truſt to be had in providence, for he muſt either turn ſtones into bread, or be without: but now he will have him to caſt all upon providence and promiſes preſumptuouſly, and neither to uſe any means, nor regard any rule.

2. That the Devil doth here ſomewhat parallel his firſt temptation of our firſt parents, for that was in the garden a place of happineſs, this is on the Temple the place of holineſs; that in the paradiſe of delight, this in the paradiſe of Religion.

3. That though the Devil could ſet *Chriſt* on the top of the Temple, yet could he not throw him off. Our Saviour refuſed not to ſuffer him to bring him to a temptation, but he would not ſuffer him to have the leaſt power over him in it: either to perſwade him into the leaſt ſin, or to caſt him into the leaſt danger.

4. Whereas *Chriſt* had uſed Scripture to him before, he uſeth Scripture to *Chriſt* now, and ſo goes about to aſſault him with his own weapon.

5. That he might the more feaſibly caſt him upon a preſumptuous relyance on the guard of Angels, he hath now brought him to a place as likely to have Angels ready about it, as any place under heaven: for where might they more readily be thought to be, than about the Temple?

What part of the Temple it was that *Chriſt* was ſet upon at this time, it is in vain to go about to determine, whether on ſome turret of it, as is conceived by ſome; or on the battlement ledge, as by others; or on ſome of the flying fanes, as by a third ſort; or on the ſharp broches that were ſet there to keep off birds, as by a fourth: it is as little material, as it is little determinable; only take this teſtimony of *Joſephus* concerning the terrible height of ſome part of the Temple, and then be it left to ruminate upon. He ſpeaking concerning the South ſide of the Temple, and of the Βασιλικὴ στοὰ, *the Kings porch* there, he ſaith thus; *It was one of the moſt renowned works under the Sun; for there being a great depth of a valley, even not to be ſeen to the bottom of, if any one above looked down: Herod, raiſed a vaſt height of a Porch over it, ſo that if any one from the roof of it looked down,* σκοτοδινιᾷν ἂν ἐξικνουμένης τῆς ὄψεως εἰς ἀμέτρητον τὸν βυθὸν: *his head would be giddy, his ſight not reaching to the unmeaſurable depth*, Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 14.

Verſ. 8. *Again the Devil taketh him up into an exceeding high mountain.*

It is as undeterminable what mountain this was, as it is what part of the Temple it was that he ſet him upon, and it is as little material: Only this is conceivable upon good probability, that this mount was beyond *Jordan* eaſtward, becauſe the firſt appearing of *Chriſt* after this amongſt men, is at *Bethabara* on that ſide, *Joh.* 1.28. Now whether it were *Piſgah*, *Nebo*, *Horeb*, or what elſe, is but loſt labour to make enquiry, becauſe we are ſure we cannot find; only this again is worth our thoughts, to compare together the being of *Moſes* in the mount with *God*, and the being of *Chriſt*, in a mount with *Satan*: and the Lords ſhewing to *Moſes* from an high mount all the Kingdoms of *Canaan*, and ſaying, *All theſe will I give to the Children of Iſrael*; and the Devils ſhewing to *Chriſt* all the Kingdoms of the Earth, and ſaying, *All theſe will I give thee, &c.*

§ *And ſheweth him all the Kingdoms of the world.*

Here are two things mainly conſiderable: 1. The object repreſented to the eyes of *Chriſt*. And 2. the manner of *Satans* repreſenting it: The firſt, the text expreſſeth to be *all the Kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them*: upon which, if we come to ponder, by weighing and conſidering the ſtate of the world at this time, it will appear, that the object that the Devil preſented Chriſt withall in this ſpectacle, was *Rome*, her Empire and glory. For 1. That Empire is called by the very name of *all the world*, *Luke* 2. 1. and the very ſame word that *Luke* uſeth to expreſs it there, he uſeth here, ἀπογεγράφθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην there; and πάσας τὰς βασιλείας τῆς οἰκουμένης here.

2. Where was there any pomp or worldly glory to be ſeen any where upon all the earth at this time, but what belonged to the *Roman* State? nay, where was there almoſt any Country or Kingdom, but was within the compaſs and dominion of that Empire? or where was there any power or rule [as *Luke* uttereth it πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην] either comparable to the power and rule of that State, or indeed where was there any power or rule that was not now under it? The *Roman* ſtories that deſcribe the State of *Rome* at theſe times, do give an abundant account of her wealth, pomp, power, revenues, extent and largeneſs even to the amazement of the Reader, they were all ſo vaſt: and they do ſo commonly and familiarly call the *Roman* Empire, *the Empire of the whole world*, that ſcarce any

any thing is more ordinary among them: Let but one be a taſt of the reſt, and let us take up all in little, in that prayer that *Paterculus*, a man that lived in theſe very times, makes in reference to *Tiberius*, who was Emperour and Lord of this vaſt pomp and power at this very preſent, in the concluſion of his Book: *Voto finiendum volumen ſit. Jupiter Capitoline—Gradive Mars—Veſta—& quicquid numinum hanc Romani Imperii molem* in ampliſſimum terrarum orbis faſtigium extulit, *—deſtinate ſucceſſores quam ſeriſſimos ſed eos quorum cervices tam fortiter ſuſtinendo* terrarum orbis Imperio *ſufficiant quam hujus ſuffecriſſe ſenſimus.*

3. If *Satan* had claim and intereſt in any place, ſtate, or pomp under heaven, it was in *Rome* and her appurtenances: and if thoſe words of his which *Luke* hath added, *All this glory will I give thee, for that is delivered to me, and to whomſoever I will give it*, were true of any place, it was true of this. For, firſt, obſerve the characters and dechipherings of *Rome*, as it is ſet out in Scripture, and ſee whether it carry not the very image and ſuperſcription of the *Dragon* upon it. In *Numb.* 24. 24. the firſt place that it is pointed out, it is doomed to eternal perdition; for both Jews, and even ſome Romaniſts themſelves, underſtand *Rome* by *Chittim* in that place. In *Iſa.* 11. 4. it is called *The wicked one*, as the Chaldee Paraphraſe there: And *Paul*, 2 *Theſ.* 2. 8. do expound it. *The abominable armies*, *Dan.* 9. 27. *The abomination of deſolation*, *Matth.* 24. 15. *The mother of fornications and abominations of the Earth*, *Rev.* 17. 5. &c. Secondly, obſerve that in it was met together all the cruelty, bloodines, and perſecution that was in the four beſtial Monarchies, that were enemies to the Church before *Chriſts* firſt coming, *Dan.* 7. compared with *Rev.* 13. And thirdly, obſerve that this was the ſeat of *Satan*, *Rev.* 13. 2. and that he gave his power, and ſeat, and authority to the beaſt of this City, That this was as his ſpecial heritage, and his heir apparent, *the ſingular ſeed of the Serpent*, *Antichriſt* was to ariſe here. And laſtly, obſerve, that the Kingdom of *Chriſt*, and the oppoſite kingdom of *Antichriſt* were both now beginning, and that now the Serpents head began to be in danger, according to the prophecy ſo long ago, *Gen.* 3. 15.

Now after all theſe conſiderations may the Reader take up ſome ſuch hints as theſe; and enlarge them in his own thoughts, according as he finds them fixing on his thoughts, and worthy meditation.

1. How probable it is that *Satan* when he maketh this offer to our Saviour, doth intentionally point out this very Antichriſtian City and her glory.

2. How much truer he ſpeaketh, than he commonly doth, or is commonly obſerved to do here, when he ſaith, that all power was delivered to him, and he might give it to whom he would.

3. How he doth offer to ſeat *Chriſt* in the very throne of *Antichriſt*, and would perſwade the ſingular ſeed of the woman, to become the ſingular ſeed of the Serpent, and his own heir placed by himſelf in his own ſeat.

4. How by this curſed overture, he would have ſtopped and ſtifled the Goſpel in the very beginning and riſe of it, by choaking the great Preacher of it with all the power and pomp of the *Roman* State.

5. How, that he might prevent the breaking of his own head by the Kingdom of *Chriſt*, he ſtriketh at the very head of *Chriſt*, tempting him with the glory of the Kingdom of *Antichriſt*; and would have him to do as *Antichriſt* would do, fall down and worſhip the Dragon.

6. How *Rome* is laid by the Devil for a ſtumbling block in the way of the Goſpel, as ſoon as ever *Chriſt* appeareth towards the preaching of it.

7. How when *Satan* cannot at the entrance of Goſpel, perſwade Chriſt by all the pomp of *Rome*, to do like *Antichriſt*, he ſetteth up *Antichriſt* at *Rome*, to be an enemy to the Goſpel, in all the continuance of it.

8. Compare Chriſts refuſal here, with the Jews choice hereafter, *John* 19. 13. Here he is offered to be the *Cæſar* and Lord of the *Roman* Empire, which he refuſeth; there he is refuſed, and *Cæſar* preferred before him.

Now for the reſolution of the ſecond *Quære*, *viz.* After what manner *Satan* repreſented this object before him, theſe things may be conſidered:

1. That it is not poſſible that this was a real and a very repreſentation of theſe things indeed, for divers things do contradict it: For, firſt, there is ſcarcely any mountain under Heaven from whence any one kingdom can be viewed over: and if there were, there is ſcarcely any eye under heaven that could view it. And whereas the Devil brought *Chriſt* into an exceeding high mountain when he would ſhew him this ſpectacle, it was rather to colour the deluſion, than to realize the proſpect; for what he ſhewed him from that mountain, and as he ſhewed it him, he could have preſented it as well upon any flat or valley. For,

Secondly,

Secondly, *Matthew* ſaith, that he ſhewed him not only all the Kingdoms of the world, but alſo the glory of them; now this clearly argues that *Satan* preſented ſomething, more than could be ſeen in a common proſpect. For though it had been poſſible for any eye to have ſeen all the Kingdoms of the world, that is, all the Countries of them as they lye, yet would not that view and proſpect ſhew their pomp and glory. He that from *Highgate* vieweth *London*, ſeeth the City; but he that will behold the glory of *London*, muſt go into it.

And thirdly, *Luke* addeth, that he ſhewed him all theſe things *in a moment of time*: by which very expreſſion he ſeemeth to intimate, that here was ſomething different from common proſpecting or beholding: for men looking upon a goodly proſpect from an high place, view it *ſucceſſive*, one part after another, and muſt turn themſelves round; and if they will look further than that place will ſuffer them, they muſt remove to another hill where that proſpect terminates: but here all this vaſt object of all the Kingdoms of the Earth is preſented at one view, in a moment of time.

2. Therefore there was ſome jugling and deluſion of the Devil in this buſineſs, and he rather preſented an object of his own framing, than the eyes of Chriſt took up the ſight of theſe Kingdoms as they really were. And it is far more proper to conceive thus of this matter, than either to underſtand theſe Kingdoms for the Spiritual Kingdoms of Sins, as ſome do, and to little ſenſe, or to think that his ſhewing theſe Earthly Kingdoms and their glory, was but pointing out where ſuch a Countrey and Kingdom lay, and telling what wealth, pomp, and power it was of, as it is interpreted by others. Nor is it any derogation to our Saviour at all, to conceive, that deluſion was practiſed and propoſed to him in this matter, any more than it was derogation to him, to be aſſaulted and uſed by the Devil in the other temptations. For,

1. Though here had been *deceptio viſus*, and our Saviours eyes had taken and received this, as a real and a true object, which was but fictitious and phantaſtical, it had but ſhewed the truth of his humane nature, and neither ſin nor imperfection at all. For, 1. Error of ſenſe ſimply conſidered, is not ſin. And 2. ſuch a thing as this might have been done to *Adam* in innocency, ſeeing *deceptio viſus*, or error of any other ſenſe, is *conſequens naturæ*, rather than *fructus peccati*; an invincible neceſſity in the finiteneſs of our nature, rather than any proper iſſue or fruit of ſinfulneſs.

2. But our Saviour was ſo fully accquainted with the legerdemains of the Devil, and with the courſe of natural things, as that he could not be thus deceived by ſhadows, but judged of this proſpect according as it was indeed, airy, deluſory, and phantaſtical, though the Devil preſented it to him under the notion of real.

3. Now the acting of *Satan* in this deluſion, was, the framing of an airy *Horizon* before the eyes of *Chriſt*, carrying ſuch pompous and glorious appearances of Kingdoms and States, and royalties, and riches in the face of it, as if he had ſeen thoſe very Kingdoms, and their very State indeed. For this prince of the air doth moſt commonly work his deluſions by that element, when he frameth them to the outward ſenſes. And that expreſſion uſed by the Apoſtle, *The Prince of the power of the air*, *Epheſ.* 2.2. is worth the looking after to this purpoſe. Κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος, *In time paſt ye walked according to the courſe of this world*, [*Secundum ſæculum mundi hujus*, doth the *Vulgar* and *Eraſmus* render it, and it may be with reference to the worlds age of Heatheniſm] *according to the Prince* [which the *Syriack* explaineth, *as is the will of the Prince*] *of the power of the air*: or according to *Beza*, *Secundum Principem cui poteſtas aeris*: Now what is to be underſtood by, *the power of the air*, is of doubtful and various conjecture; whether to take it for *darkneſs*, or for the power that the Devil hath upon that element, or, which I rather conceive, for the *principality of the air*, that is, for the Devils; for in that ſenſe the word ἐξουσία cometh ſo oft in Scripture, that it were needleſs to exemplifie, yet ſee *Luke* 4. 6. *Rom.* 13. 1, 2. *&c.* And according to this conſtruction, the phraſe, *the Prince of the Principality of the air*, is but the ſame with that in *Mark* 3.22. *the Prince of Devils*: And ſo the ſcope of the Apoſtle ſhould intend this, to make a gradation, or to heighten the conception of the *Epheſians* former impiety, by this aggravation, that they walked not only according to the garb of the world, but according to the will of the very Prince of Devils; and κοσμος ουτος, & ἐξουσια ἀερος, *this world*, and the *principality of the air*, to ſtand in *Antitheſis* one to another, for the viſible world of men, and for the inviſible world of Devils, and αἰὼν and ἄρχων, to ſtand in the like oppoſition, for the rule and courſe of the one, and for the Ruler and Prince of the other. But be the ſenſe of the expreſſion which of theſe it will, it holdeth out the dominion and power that the Devil hath in the air, and upon it, which he exerciſeth accordingly, ſometimes in real and very ſenſible effects indeed, as in raiſing ſtorms and tempeſts, and ſometimes in deluſive and phantaſtical apparitions, as in the thing in hand, and in the blood and frogs of *Egypt*, which the ſorceres produced: Now in the exhibition of ſuch phantaſmes as theſe, he doth a threefold act at once, namely, condenſate the air that it may

may become a viſible object, ſhape it into ſuch or ſuch a figure, and colour it into ſuch or ſuch colour, that it may be an object of this or that repreſentation; and this is no hard thing for the Devil to do, conſidering the activity of his nature as he is a Spirit, and his readineſs to act this activity, that he may deceive. In ſuch a way as this did he deal in his falſe and deluſive miracles in *Egypt*, in turning water into blood, and producing frogs; not that he did either really, [for it is impoſſible for any creature either to create forms, or to change forms] but his acting was upon the air, by colouring it over the waters, and by condenſating it to the repreſenting of frogs. And it is obſervable, that of thoſe frogs that *Moſes* produced upon the land, it is ſaid, They dyed and were gathered by the people on heaps, and ſtank, *Exod.* 8. 13,14. for they were frogs indeed; but of thoſe that were brought up by the Magicians, there is no more mention, for they were but airy and phantaſtick apparitions.

9 If thou wilt fall down and worſhip me.

Here is impudency come to its height, and the Devil ſhewing himſelf in his own colours indeed. Neither of the former temptations, had ſo viſibly and deſperately invited *Chriſt* to impiety, as this doth with open face: for in the firſt perſwaſion, to *turn ſtones into bread*, there was ſome colour of *Chriſts* own benefit, for he was now hungry, and bread might have been a thing of welcomneſs to him: and in the ſecond, *to have flown in the air*, there might be ſome colour of his honour and repute, in ſhewing himſelf ſo miraculous before the people; as we read that ſome vain men have ſought eſteem by ſuch a vain courſe, as *Icarus* mentioned by *Suetonius* in the life of *Nero*, *chap.* 12. And *Simon Magus*, ſo reported of by all Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians, and both theſe not very many years after this time. And *Bladud* mentioned in our own ſtories, if he lived at any time at all. But to be invited in plain anddown right terms, to fall down and worſhip the Devil, hath no colour at all upon it but naked impiety. What, did not the Devil know *Chriſt* who he was? that we have proved before that he did: or, did he think that *Chriſt* knew not who he was? that he could not think, if he knew *Chriſt* as he did. What ſhall we ſay then to this damned overture of having *Chriſt* to adore him? why? here he joyneth all his power of temptation together; and would 1. bring *Chriſt* into a more low fall than he had done *Adam*; and 2. makes a ſtroke deſperately at him to have bruiſed his head, whereas it was told him only he ſhould bruiſe his heel; and all this, becauſe being of an intolerable impudency, he would obtrude any thing, even beyond all ſenſe, reaſon, and modeſty, to compaſs his own deſign; and ſeeing Chriſt had condeſcended ſo far as to be hurryed by him in the air, he would leave no way unattempted of tempting, if ſo it might have been poſſible to have corrupted innocency now, as he did once in *Adam*; and to have power over his mind, as he ſaw he had ſo far over his body. And thus hath he done his worſt, and ſhewed his Devilſhip to the utmoſt, to have brought the ſecond *Adam* to have been a ſinner like the firſt, but here the ſeed of the Woman that was promiſed *Adam*, bruiſed the head of the Serpent, who would have bruiſed his.

Ver. 10. *Get thee hence Satan.*

Lukes expreſſing of this hath bred ſome ſcruple, for he hath phraſed it ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου, rendred by our Engliſh, *Get thee behind me Satan*; being the very ſame words that our Saviour uſeth to *Peter*, *Mark* 8. 33. when he would have perſwaded him not to have been *Chriſt*, as the Devil would here have perſwaded him to be *Antichriſt*: Hence hath a doubting been bred with ſome, whether *Chriſt* commanded the Devil clean away, any more than he did *Peter*, or only commanded him either to get behind his back, or not to offer to adviſe or direct him in any thing further, as he had impudently done hitherto. The *Syriack* hath omitted that paſſage in *Luke* wholly, and ſo hath the *Vulgar Latine*; and *Beza* mentioneth four ancient Greek copies that wanted it alſo: *But*, ſaith he, *in the other, and in Theophylact theſe words are found*; and ſo are they in the *Arabick*, and moſt authentick copies, expoſitions and tranſlations. Now the meaning of Chriſt in theſe words, is to pack *Satan* clean away from him indeed, as is apparent by the expreſſion of *Matthew*, who ſaith only ὕπαγε, *be gone*; and by the ſequel it ſelf, for *Matthew* telleth, that upon theſe words, *the Devil departed*; But *Luke* hath added the words ὀπίσω μου, *Behind me*, becauſe he hath mentioned another temptation after this: and it would have ſeemed that *Chriſt* had not had command over the Devil, if he had bidden, *Be gone Satan*, and he had not departed. Therefore though it were true indeed, that the Devil did depart upon theſe words, and tempt *Chriſt* no more, yet ſince it ſeemeth not ſo in *Lukes* method, therefore he uſed ſuch an expreſſion as was ſuitable and agreeing to his own method and order; and which might both ſerve the ſame ſenſe that *Matthew* intended in his expreſſion, and yet withall ſave the ſenſe of *Luke* himſelf in regard of the ranking of theſe temptations. By the phraſe therefore,

therefore, *Get thee behind me*, he meaneth not, that *Satan* ſhould only leave adviſing and inſtructing *Chriſt* what to do, and come behind him, as a diſciple doth behind his Maſter, yet following, and not departing from him: but by it he commandeth the Devil never to offer to tempt and aſſault him in the like kind again; and curbeth his hideous impudency and ſaweineſs that durſt thus aſſail him, &c. And to the ſame tenor may the ſame words of our Saviour to *Peter*, be readily and facily underſtood, the intention of the temptation only differing.

Luke 4. ver. 13. *The Devil departed from him for a ſeaſon.*

It is not ſo much material, to queſtion, whether to render this *for a ſeaſon*, [as our Engliſh, and ſome other Tranſlators do] or, *till a ſeaſon*, [as the *Syrian*, *Arabick*, and ſome others ſeem to do, and the word ἄχρι will very well bear] as it is to inquire, when it was that the Devil returned to aſſault *Chriſt* again, as this expreſſion of the Evangeliſt ſeemeth to inforce he did. But we ſhall take the conſideration of all theſe together. The Evangeliſt ſaith firſt, That *the Devil having finiſhed all the temptation, departed.* Now this ending or finiſhing all the temptation, is underſtood by ſome to mean, that when he had propoſed theſe temptations, he had propoſed all manner of temptations whatſoever; and ſo he had, for he had tempted him to luſt of the fleſh, luſt of the eye, and pride of life, which the Apoſtle *John* makes the heads or generals of all the things that are in the world, 1 *John* 2. 16. and he had tempted him viſibly and inviſibly, which are the two only ways of his temptations in his own perſon: But it may withal, and rather be underſtood, that the Devil having now done his worſt to have tempted him to ſin, and not ſeeing himſelf prevail in it, he departed, reſolving to aſſail him afterwards in another way. It was told him in the garden, that he ſhould bruiſe his heel; but here, if you obſerve him in all theſe his temptations, he ſtriks at his very head, namely, to have brought *Chriſt* to have ſinned, and ſo to have ſpoiled himſelf and redemption: but when he ſeeth that his endeavour in this hath been in vain, and that ſtill he was far from bringing *Chriſt* to ſin, but that *Chriſt* did foil him in every temptation, he will try no more at this time, nor to this purpoſe, nor in this way, but will reſerve his further enterpriſe till another time, end, and way of tempting. And the firſt of theſe the Evangeliſt means, when he ſaith, He departed from him, ἄχρι καιροῦ: and indeed includeth the other two. The words ἄχρι καιροῦ, if we render them, *till a ſeaſon*, [which is the moſt natural ſignification of them] may be taken in a double ſenſe; either, *till a ſeaſon opportune*, or, *till a ſeaſon fixed.* And I take the latter to be the moſt proper and very meaning of the words. For a more opportune ſeaſon for his temptations than he had had already, *Satan* could not have wiſhed; for he had had *Chriſt* alone, he had had him ſo, in the bitter inconveniences of hunger, cold, and watchfulneſs, and had had him ſo much in his power, as to carry him in the air from place to place, and yet with all theſe advantages on his ſide, he could not have his will over him: and therefore there was no expecting any better convenience, or ſeaſon, to bring him to ſin, as he would have had him: But there was a ſeaſon fixed, when *Satan* muſt bruiſe his heel, for God had ſo told him in the garden, and when he muſt have ſome power over him in ſomething elſe, though he could have none over him to bring him to ſinning; and therefore he departs now unſped of what he came about, for he could not cauſe *Chriſt* to ſin; but he will wait till that fixed time come, when he is ſure he ſhall ſpeed againſt him ſome other way; and that was when he cauſed his death. And to this very thing *Chriſt* himſelf ſeemeth to allude in thoſe words, *Joh.* 14.30. *The Prince of this world cometh, and hath nothing in me*; where almoſt every word in a manner faceth ſomething in this ſtory that we have in hand. The phraſe, *The Prince of this world*, anſwereth that offer that *Satan* had made him, of giving him all the Kingdoms of the World, *For they*, ſaith he, *are mine to give.* The word, *cometh*, anſwereth the words here, *Departed till the ſeaſon:* And the words, *He hath nothing in me*, meaneth, his not being able to infuſe any ſin into *Chriſt* in any of theſe temptations, that he might thereby lay any claim to him. And this coming of this Prince of the world, was to work his death, as is apparent by the very verſe it ſelf, and as our Saviour himſelf doth further explain it, *Luke* 22.53. *This is the power of darkneſs.*

Satans departure therefore from him at this time when he had ended all the temptation, was, 1. With intent to aſſault him again, at the fixed ſeaſon; when he knew he ſhould have power over him to do him ſome hurt, though he could not now. 2. Then to bruiſe his heel, and to cauſe his death, though he could not now break his head, and cauſe him ſin. 3. To aſſault him then by his wicked inſtruments, whom he could not now damage by his wicked ſelf; In one inſtrument [not properly his, but abuſed by him for ſuch a purpoſe] he once tempted *Chriſt* to ſin, before he aſſaulted him to bring him to ſuffer, and that was in the mouth of *Peter*, *Mark* 8. 32. who received the very ſame check for his pains, *Get thee behind me Satan*, that *Satan* himſelf did for his laſt temptation.

Matth. 4. ver. 11. *And behold, Angels came and miniſtred unto him.*

Mark hath told the ſtory of the temptation very ſhort, *He was there in the wilderneſs forty days tempted of Satan, and was with the wild beaſts, and the Angels miniſtred unto him:* In which relation as he hath given us account of his temptation, which ſhewed him man, ſo hath he alſo of two other things which ſhewed him more: and thoſe were, his ſafety among wild beaſts, and his viſible attendance by Angels: Now he mentioneth only his forty days temptation, which was by *Satan* inviſibly, and ſpeaketh not a word of the three temptations, when *Satan* aſſailed him in a bodily ſhape, and yet he ſaith that the Angels miniſtred unto him: which if you will ſtrictly conſtrue according to the very letter of his relation, you muſt conclude, that this miniſtration of Angels was before *Satan* appeared viſibly to him; and ſo it will follow that the Angels miniſtred to him viſibly, and *Satan* tempted him inviſibly at the ſame time. But ſince the briefneſs of one Evangeliſt is to be cleared by the larger relation of the other, we are to underſtand *Mark* by the fuller ſtory of *Matthew*, and ſo as *Matthew* doth ſhew you the full hiſtory of the temptation, and teacheth you how to conſtrue *Mark's* briefneſs upon it; ſo muſt he alſo explain the time of the Angels miniſtration, namely, after all the temptation was ended; which *Mark* hath left undetermined.

It were no very great Soleciſm in Divinity, to hold, that the Angels might be viſibly attending of *Chriſt* all thoſe forty days that the Devil was inviſibly tempting him: but ſince it is moſt probable, that *Chriſt* expoſed himſelf in the nakedſt manner, I mean, in the greateſt plainneſs and meanneſs that might be, to *Satans* tempting, that ſo his victory over him might be the more glorious; it is alſo very probable, that he called not for ſuch attendance of Angels, but ſuſpended it till his combate was done and the victory obtained. And then [howſoever they did before] *The Angels came*, ſaith *Matthew*, *and miniſtred unto him.*

When the Scripture ſpeaketh of Spirits or Angels coming or going, it doth moſt generally mean it of a viſible and apparent manner, as *Gen.* 19. 1. & 32.1,2. *Jude* 6. 11. and in very many other places, and ſo is it to be underſtood here: that after the evil Angel, or the Prince of the evil ſpirits was departed, who had aſſailed Chriſt in a viſible ſhape; the good Angels in viſible appearances alſo came and gave their attendance on him. Their miniſtring unto him, as to particulars, was in bringing to him neceſſaries and proviſions in that his hunger, and in that place where it is likely proviſions were not otherwiſe ſuddenly to be had: ſo the Son of man eateth Angels food, and like *Elias* is fed by the Angels of the Lord in a deſert place.

And thus hath Chriſt been ſhewed the Son of God by the voice of the Father, and anointed for the great King, Prieſt, and Prophet viſibly by the Holy Ghoſt: And thus hath he ſhewed his power and command over the evil Angels; and the good Angels have owned his Lordſhip and dominion over themſelves; and thus every way atteſted, is he preſently to appear amongſt men as the Miniſter of the Goſpel.

SECTION XII.

S. *JOHN* Chap. I. Verſ. 15.

JOHN [a] *bare witneſs of him, and cried, ſaying, This* [b] *was he of whom I ſpake, He that* [c] *cometh after me is preferred before me, for he was before me.*

16. *And of his fulneſs have all we received, and grace for grace.*

17. *For the Law was given by Moſes, but grace and truth came by Jeſus Chriſt.*

18. *No man hath ſeen God at any time; the only begotten Son, which is* [d] *in the boſom of the Father, he hath declared him.*

[a] In the Greek it is, *John beareth* witneſs, and *cryed*, μαρτυρεῖ καὶ κέκραγε, the former word in the preſent tenſe, and the latter in the præter tenſe; the tenſes being either indifferently put one for another, as the the Tranſlator of *Cyrill* hath rendred them, *Teſtatur, & clamat*, or *Nove hoc*, (as *Eraſmus* phraſeth it) this ſtrange conſtruction is uſed by the Evangeliſts, to ſhew in the former word μαρτυρεῖ, the continuance of *Johns* teſtimony; and in the latter word κέκραγε, the openneſs, clearneſs, vigor, and powerfulneſs of it: So *Chemnitius*, *Grotius*, *Beza*, *&c.* Change of tenſes indeed is no ſtrange thing in Scripture language, as *John* 4. 28. ἀπῆλθε καὶ λέγει, *ſhe departed, and ſaith, &c.* yet this alteration ſeemeth to carry ſomething more with it, than meerly change of tenſe, without difference of conſtruction, eſpecially if the ſenſe and ſcope of the whole verſe be conſidered and taken up together, which ſhall be done hereafter in the explanation of it.

[b] *Beza*

[*b*] *Beza* conceiveth here that ἦν is put for ἐστὶ, *was*, for *is*, for he ſaith he can ſee no reaſon why the præterimperfect tenſe is uſed in this place; but on the other hand, I ſee as little reaſon why *John*, if he meant to ſay here, *this is he*, ſhould not ſay, Οὗτος ἐστὶν here, as well as he doth in *verſ.* 27. & *verſ.* 30. and I ſuppoſe it will be very hard to give a reaſon, why in the one place he ſhould ſay Οὗτός ἦν, and in the other Οὗτός ἐστὶ, if he meant the ſame thing. But this alſo ſhall be taken into explanation afterward.

[*c*] Or, that is to come after me, as ὁ ἐρχόμενος ſignifieth, *Rev.* 1.8.

[*d*] Εἰς doth often carry the ſenſe of ἐν, as *Matth.* 2. 23. *Luk.* 1. 20. *Act.* 7.4. & 8.23. and ſo may εἰς ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης, *Rom.* 8. 21. be beſt interpreted in the ſenſe of ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ, *Becauſe the creature it ſelf alſo ſhall be delivered from the bondage of corruption in the glorious liberty of the ſons of God.* The prepoſition ἐν, or *in*, denoting the time; as, ἐν κλάσει ἄρτου, *As he was breaking bread*, *Luke* 24.35.

The phraſe, *in the boſom*, ſee *Numb.* 11. 12. *Deut.* 13. 6.

S. *JOHN* Chap. 1.

19. *And this is the record of John, when the Jews ſent Prieſts and Levites from Jeruſalem to ask him* [*e*] *Who art thou?*

20. *And he confeſſed and* [*f*] *denied not: but confeſſed, I am not the Chriſt.*

21. *And they asked him, What then? Art thou Elias? And he ſaith,* [*g*] *I am not. Art thou that Prophet? And he anſwered, no.*

22. *Then ſaid they unto him, Who art thou, that we may give an anſwer to them that ſent us? What ſayeſt thou of thy ſelf?*

[*e*] It is more than probable that they that ask him this queſtion, did know who *John* was both by birth and name: And therefore their *quære*, *who art thou?* Is propoſed to him in regard of his function, rather than in regard of his perſon; and meaneth rather, what kind of Miniſter art thou, than, what man art thou? So *Ruth* 3. 16. מי את בתי *Quænam tu filia mea? Who art thou my daughter?* that is, *Quo ſtatu tu*, or, *how is it with thee?* So 1 *Sam.* 17. 55. בן מי זה whoſe ſon is this? Not *filius cujus*, but *filius qualis viri hic*, *what kind of mans ſon is this?* as is noted there.

[*f*] It is a common elegancy of the Scripture, to uſe an affirmative and a negative together, to make out the ſame ſenſe, ſometimes the negative firſt, as *Pſal.* 118. 17. *I ſhall not die but live*, *&c.* ſometimes the affirmative firſt, as *Eſay* 38. 1. Thou ſhalt die and not live: but a negative between two affirmatives, as here, is for the greater *emphaſis* and expreſſion.

[*g*] *I am not.*] His anſwer is to their queſtion in their ſenſe: For although *John* were that *Elias* that was prophecied of to come, *Mal.* 4. 5. as our Saviour doth clearly expound it, *Matth.* 11. 14. and the Angel doth tell how it is to be underſtood, *Luke* 1. 17. yet was he far from being that *Elias* that the Jews looked for, and in their ſenſe, as ſee hereafter. The Scripture doth ſometimes title things not as they be really in themſelves, but as they be in mens apprehenſions, or to mens purpoſes: as when the Apoſtle calleth preaching, *fooliſhneſs*, 1 *Cor.* 1. 21. and when the Holy Ghoſt calleth *Ahitophels* counſel good, 2 *Sam.* 17. 14. &c. And ſo *John* giveth his anſwer here according to the apprehenſions of thoſe that ask him the queſtion concerning *Elias*.

S. *JOHN* Chap. 1.

23. *He ſaid, I am the voice of one crying in the wilderneſs; Make ſtreight the way of the Lord, as ſaid the Prophet Eſaias.*

24. *And they which were ſent, were of the Phariſees.*

25. *And they asked him, and ſaid unto him, Why baptizeſt thou then, if thou be not that Chriſt, nor Elias, neither that Prophet?*

26. *John anſwered them, ſaying, I baptize with water, but there* [*h*] *ſtandeth one among you, whom you know not;*

27. *He it is who coming after me, is preferred before me, whoſe ſhoo latchet I am not worthy to unlooſe.*

28. *Theſe things were done in* [*i*] *Bethabara beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing.*

[*h*] The *Syriack* readeth it in the preſent tenſe, as doth our *Engliſh*, and ſo doth *Beza* and divers others, and ſo indeed might the Greek word very well bear it; but ſince it is ſaid, *John ſaw Jeſus coming the next day*, it is an argument that he was not preſent there now, and therefore it is moſt properly to be read in the time paſt, there *hath ſtood one* among you.

[*i*] The *Syr. Arab. Vulg. Cyrill*, and divers others, read it not *Bethabara*, but *Bethania*; conceiving belike this place to be *Ænon*, in Chapter 3. ver. 24. with the word *Beth* put before it (which is moſt common in the Hebr. Tongue with names of places.) For ענון & עינא are of ſo near affinity in the root, and of not ſo far difference in the ſound, that it is poſſible they may be confounded one with another, and it is probable they were ſo in theſe mens opinions.

But the uncontroulable warrant of Authentick copies of Antiquity doth read it *Bethabara*, and even reaſon it ſelf telleth, that it ought not to be read *Bethania*: For firſt the

Scripture never mentioneth any *Bethania* near *Jordan* at all: for the *Bethania* that it ſpeaketh of, is many miles diſtant from *Jordan*. And ſecondly that *Ænon* and *Bethania* were not the ſame, we ſhall ſee elſwhere.

S. *JOHN* Chap. 1.

29. *The next day John ſeeth Jeſus coming unto him, and ſaith, Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the* [*k*] *ſins* [*l*] *of the world.*

30. *This is he of whom I ſaid, After me cometh a man which is preferred before me, for he was before me.*

31. *And I knew him not but that he ſhould be made manifeſt to Iſrael, therefore am I come baptizing with water.*

32. *And John bare record, ſaying, I ſaw the Spirit deſcending from heaven like a dove, and it abode upon him.*

33. *And I knew him not, but he that ſent me to baptize with water, the ſame ſaid to me; Upon whom thou ſhalt ſee the Spirit deſcending, and remaining on him, the ſame is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghoſt.*

34. *And I ſaw, and bare record, that this is the Son of God.*

35. *Again, the next day after, John ſtood, and two of his Diſciples;*

36. *And looking upon Jeſus as he walked, he ſaith, Behold the Lamb of God.*

37. *And the two Diſciples heard him ſpeak, and they followed Jeſus.*

38. *Then Jeſus turned, and ſaw them following, and ſaith unto them, What ſeek ye? They ſaid unto him,* [*m*] *Rabbi (which is to ſay, being interpreted, Maſter) where dwelleſt thou?*

39. *He ſaith unto them, Come and ſee; they came and ſaw where he dwelt, and abode with him that day; for it was about the tenth hour.*

40. *One of the two which heard John ſpeak, and followed him, was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother.*

[*k*] In the Greek it is *ſin*, in the ſingular number: which hath cauſed ſome to underſtand it of original ſin only, not minding, it ſeemeth, the common cuſtom of the Scripture to put one number for another, eſpecially by the word *ſin* in the ſingular number to underſtand all ſins whatſoever.

[*l*] Here is no ground at all for univerſal redemption; for the word *World*, ſtandeth here in oppoſition to the Jews, as this very Evangeliſt himſelf explaineth it, 1 *Joh.* 2.2. *And he is the propitiation for our ſins, and not for ours only*, of the Jewiſh Nation, *but alſo for the ſins of the whole world*; and of men of other Nations, and ſo he meaneth here, that Chriſt is *the Lamb of God*, a ſacrifice, not for the Jews only, but for the Gentiles, and other Nations alſo.

[*m*] *Rabbi.*] This and other titles of their Doctors, as *Rab*, and *Rabban*, and *Ribbi*, were but lately grown into uſe and requeſt among them, and ſprang up but very little before the birth of *Chriſt*. The Prophets, and the men of the great Synagogue, and all the generations till the times of *Hillel*, had been content with their bare proper names, as *Sadoc*, *Baithus*, *Antigonus*, *Shammai*, *Hillel*, *Shemaja*, *Abtalion*, and the like very frequent and common in mention in the Jewiſh Authors. But *Simeon* the ſon of *Hillel*, (he that took our Saviour in his arms, *Luke* 2.) was the firſt Doctor among them *cum titulo*, and he was called *Rabban*: From his times and forward, titles came exceedingly into requeſt and faſhion among them, and none more common than the title *Rabbi*, as appeareth frequently in the Goſpel, and infinitely in their own Writers. Now the reaſon why in theſe times, and not before, this titularity grew into uſe and cuſtom ſo much among them, may be gueſſed to be either one, or both theſe two: 1. Becauſe of the conteſtation that had been continually between the Schools of *Shammai* and *Hillel*, they commonly differing in opinion and judgment in every thing almoſt that came before them (like *Scotiſts* and *Thomiſts*) and very ſeldom or never having the luck to concur and conſent in any opinion: whereupon the Scholars of either took titles upon them, that they might, as it were, by their high ſwoln Epithets out-ſwagger one another. 2. Becauſe their learning, as they ſuppoſed, (at leaſt their pride) was come to its very *apex*, or perfection: that paſſage in the *Talmud* concerning the Scholars of *Hillel*, makes it ſeem no wonder, if they from thoſe times forward did ſwell into titles. *Hillel*, ſaith the Talmud, *had* 80 *Scholars*, 30 *of them were fit that the Divine glory ſhould reſt upon them, as it did upon* Moſes; 30 *others were worthy that the Sun ſhould ſtand ſtill for them as it did for* Joſhua; *and* 20 *were of a Form between, &c.* It was with the Jews now, as it proved afterward among the Chriſtian Doctors; who when piety, truth, and humility reigned among them, were content with their bare names, as *Auguſtine*, *Ambroſe*, *Jerome*, *&c.* but when pride and error were got aloft, then the titles of *Divus*, *Seraphicus*, *Angelicus*, and the like, came into faſhion and entertainment.

Theſe Jewiſh titles imported, *Maſterſhip*, *Doctorſhip*, or *Principality*; and were of higher dignity one than another: גדול מרב רבי וגדול מרבי רבן *Aruch. in* אבוי: Rabbi *was a more excellent title than* Rab; *and* Rabban *more excellent than* Rabbi: *Rab* was the more proper title of the *Babylonian Doctors*; *Rabbi* of the *Judæan*; and *Rabban* aſcribed to ſeven men only.

S. *JOHN*

S. JOHN Chap. 1.

41. *He firſt findeth his own brother Simon, and ſaith unto him, We have found the Meſſias,* [*n*] *which is, being interpreted, the Chriſt.*

42. *And he brought him to Jeſus, and when Jeſus beheld him, he ſaid, Thou art Simon the ſon of Jona, thou ſhalt be called Cephas, which is by interpretation, Peter.*

43. *The day following, Jeſus would go forth into Galilee, and findeth Philip, and ſaith unto him, Follow me:*

44. *Now Philip was of Bethſaida, the city of Andrew and Peter.*

45. *Philip findeth* [*o*] *Nathaneel, and ſaith unto him, We have found him of whom Moſes in the Law and the Prophets did write, Jeſus of Nazareth the ſon of Joſeph.*

46. *And Nathaneel ſaid unto him, Can there any good come out of Nazareth? Philip ſaith unto him* [*p*] *Come and ſee.*

47. *Jeſus ſaw Nathaneel coming to him, and ſaith of him, Behold an Iſraelite indeed, in whom is no guile.*

48. *Nathaneel ſaith unto him, Whence knoweſt thou me? Jeſus anſwered and ſaid unto him, Before that Philip called thee, when thou waſt under the figtree I ſaw thee.*

49. *Nathaneel anſwereth, and ſaith unto him, Rabbi, Thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Iſrael.*

50. *Jeſus anſwered and ſaid unto him, Becauſe I ſaid unto thee, I ſaw thee under the figtree, believeſt thou? Thou ſhalt ſee greater things than theſe.*

51. *And he ſaith unto him,* [*q*] *Verily, verily, I ſay unto you; Hereafter you ſhall ſee heaven open, and the Angels of God aſcending and deſcending upon the Son of man.*

[*n*] *Which is being interpreted, Chriſt.*] Theſe are the words of the Evangeliſt the hiſtorian, and not the words of *Andrew*: For it was needleſs for him to tell *Peter*, what was the meaning of *Meſſias*, and accordingly the *Syriack* Tranſlater hath omitted this clauſe: and that in Verſ. 42. *which is by interpretation, Peter*; and that alſo, Chap. 4. 25. *which is by interpretation, Chriſt*, as knowing it unneceſſary to tell an Hebrew, or a Syrian, what is meant by *Meſſias*, or *Cephas*.

[*o*] We find the name *Nathaneel* in the Old Teſtament alſo; as, 1 *Chron.* 15. 24. *Ezra* 10. 22. &c. But *Philip*, and *Andrew*, and *Nicodemus*, &c. were names of a latter edition, taken up into uſe ſince the Grecian power and language had overſpread *Judea*, and thoſe Eaſtern Countries. This *Nathaneel* was of *Cana* of *Galilee*, *Joh.* 21. 2. one of the firſt Diſciples called, and that continued with *Jeſus* to the very laſt, as it appeareth by that place in *John*: Now ſince all theſe that are mentioned in this Chapter by name, as *Peter*, and *Andrew*, and *Philip*, were made Apoſtles, it is ſomewhat ſtrange if *Nathaneel* miſſed the like place.

[*p*] *Come and ſee.*] A very common phraſe among Jewiſh Writers; תא חזי in the *Talmud* language; and בוא וראה in the common Hebrew. They uſe it when they are about to produce any demonſtration, or to declare a matter: and ſometime in ſtead of it they uſe תא שמע *come and hear*, and בוא ולמוד *come and learn*: as ſee *Tauch. fol.* 1. *col.* 2. and *fol.* 57. *col.* 1.

[*q*] *Verily, verily.*] Gr. *Amen, Amen*: This phraſe ſhall be opened in the explication of the Verſe: Here let the Reader only obſerve ſome peculiar uſe of the word *Amen* among the Jews: *The Judges adjured a man, ſaying, We adjure thee by the Lord God of Iſrael, or by him whoſe name is Merciful, that thou haſt nothing of this mans in thy hand, and he anſwered, Amen. Or they ſaid N. the ſon of N. is curſed of the Lord God of Iſrael, or of him whoſe name is Merciful, if ſuch a mans goods be in his hand, and he diſcover it not; and he anſwered, Amen. Maymon. tract. Shevugnoth. ver.* 11. And ſo he relateth concerning vows, That *whoſoever vowed any holy thing, and bound it up with Amen, he was tied, &c. Vid. Sam. Petit. variarum Lect. lib.* 1. *cap.* 7. who concludeth hereupon thus, *Cum dicit Chriſtus,* Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, *idem eſt ac ſi diceret, Juratus vobis dico.*

Reaſon of the Order.

THE Evangliſt *John*, of all the four, hath only given us an account of what paſſed from *John the Baptiſt* either in doctrine or action, from the time of *Chriſts* baptizing, till *Johns* impriſonment; yea, (ſet the temptation aſide) there is none of the four but he, that hath told us any paſſage concerning *Chriſt* himſelf in all that ſpace. For the very next thing that *Matthew* and *Mark* relate, after they have done with the ſtory of the temptation, is about *Johns* impriſoning, *Matth.* 4. 11, 12. *Mark* 1. 13, 14. And *Luke*, though he expreſs not that particular thing in clear terms, yet doth he in the very next ſtory after the temptation, ſpeak of paſſages that were not done till after that time, as will be ſeen in their due place. There is therefore in all the three a general ſilence of any actions of our Saviours, for the ſpace of above a whole twelve month together, namely from about the middle of our *November* when the temptation was ended, till about the latter end of *November* come twelve month, when *Jeſus* upon the report of *Johns*

Johns impriſonment, departs into *Galilee*, as we ſhall take up the time more particularly, when we come to *Joh.* 4. 35. Now why the three Evangeliſts ſhould be ſo unanimouſly ſilent in ſo great a matter, for ſo long a time, needs not be queſtioned, ſince the Holy Ghoſt hath provided that by a fourth, that ſhould be ſupplied what they had omitted. The Evangeliſt *John* therefore doth in this Section, and from hence forward to the end of the fourth Chapter, give us the ſtory of *John* the Baptiſt, and of our Saviour from the time of our Saviours being baptized by him, till his arrival in *Galilee* after *Johns* impriſonment: And whereas the other three had only mentioned the actions of *John*, and his teſtimony of *Chriſt* before his baptiſm, this Evangeliſt doth in this Section give us account of more actions of, and more teſtimonies concerning Chriſt after. Therefore it needeth not to breed any ſcruple to any intelligent Reader, to ſee in this Chapter *Peter* and *Andrew* following *Jeſus* before he call them, and that even while the *Baptiſt* is at liberty, and to ſee in *Matth.* 4. and *Luke* 4. *Peter* and *Andrew* called before they follow *Jeſus*, and the *Baptiſt* then ſhut up in priſon: I ſay, it needs not to breed any ſcruple, ſince theſe are relations of two ſeveral ſtories, done and acted at a great diſtance of time; that in this Chapter but a little while after Chriſt was baptized, and that in *Matth.* 4. a whole twelve month after.

Now this Section that is before us conſiſteth of ſeveral ſtories, and for the clearing and demonſtrating of their proper order, it will be requiſite to ſhew the ſubſequence of them one to another, and the ſubſequence of them all to the temptation of *Chriſt*, which was treated of in the Section before. For the evidencing of which, let it but be firſt obſerved, that all theſe paſſages here mentioned, came to paſs after *Chriſt* was baptized, as was ſaid before, and as it is apparent, Verſ. 15. 32, 34. and then to caſt the whole Section, or at leaſt the beginning of it, into an Hiſtorical paraphraſe, will beſt ſhew the order.

As ſoon therefore as *Chriſt* was baptized, and the Spirit was viſibly come down upon him, *immediately*, (as *Mark* expreſſeth it) the ſame Spirit driveth him, or catcheth him away from *Jordan* in ſome viſible rapture towards the wilderneſs; ſo that thoſe that were preſent could ſee it, as it is moſt probable, and take notice of it at the very inſtant and moment of his taking away, though they had not obſerved or taken notice of him before, nor ſaw him again at that time any more. And ſuch a ſodain rapture, and inviſible impulſion of the Spirit, ſeemeth to have given occaſion to *John* the Baptiſt, to cry out with vehemency, *This was he of whom I ſpake:* For it ſeemeth by thoſe words, that *Chriſt* had been there with that company to whom *John* ſpeaketh, but was not preſent at this time when he ſpeaketh to them: For had he been preſent, it had been more proper to have ſaid, This *is* he, than, this *was:* And had there not been ſome viſible demonſtration and pointing out of *Chriſt*, in the ſight, and to the knowledge of the people, they had been never the wiſer to underſtand, who it ſhould be that *John* meant by the word *this*; But when all the people preſent had ſeen one of the company rapt and taken away ſuddenly by a viſible catching of the Spirit from the midſt of them, and then heard *John* to cry out, *This was he of whom I ſpake*, all their thoughts would readily fix upon the proper object whom *John* intended, and they would underſtand then that that was the *Meſſias*, though they had not known, nor minded him whilſt he was amongſt them. And this ſeemeth to me to be the proper reaſon why the Evangeliſt uſeth the preterimperfect tenſe, (which *Beza* could ſee no reaſon why he ſhould) becauſe he ſpeaketh of *Chriſt* which had been with *John* at *Jordan*, and was but newly gone out of his ſight. So that the firſt verſe of this Section, according to this conſtruction, doth properly come in its order, in the time between *Chriſts* baptizing, and his getting into the wilderneſs; and accordingly it might have been laid after the very firſt verſe of the laſt Section, and there have made this *ſerics* of the Story, And *immediately after the baptiſm of Jeſus, the Spirit driveth him into the wilderneſs; and when he was rapt away, and but newly out of ſight, John bare witneſs, and cried, ſaying, This was he of whom I ſpake*; but I was unwilling to part that ſtory which lieth ſo joined, and it is timely enough to give notice of the order in this place.

Now the next ſtory in this Section, of the diſcourſe betwixt the meſſengers of the Jews and *John*, they queſtioning who he was, and what he meant to baptize, it was juſt in the time while *Chriſt* was under the laſt temptation, or as he was returning from the high mountain, whereſoever it was, to *Jordan* again: for the Text telleth expreſly, that on the next day after this diſpute, *Jeſus* appeareth at *Jordan* in the ſight of *John*, ver. 29. and from thence forward the connexion of the ſtories following is ſo clear, ver. 35. & 43. that it needeth no further demonſtration.

Harmony and Explanation.

Ver. 15. *John bare witneſs of him, and cried, &c.*

THE Evangeliſt from the beginning of the Chapter to this place, and in it doth purpoſely go about to ſhew what declarations and demonſtrations were given of *Chriſt*, both before his coming in the fleſh and after: what before, we ſhewed in their proper place upon the Chapter to the fourteenth verſ. what after, is ſhewed in this verſe, and the next that follows: In the fourteenth verſe, he tells, that *Chriſt* declared himſelf to be the only begotten of the Father, by converſing among his Diſciples, *full of grace and truth:* And in this verſe he ſheweth how *John* declared and publiſhed him to all that came to be baptized, and in the next verſe, how his Diſciples received of his fulneſs, &c.

Now *Johns* manner of teſtimony of him, he expreſſeth by theſe two words, *He beareth witneſs, and cried*, words of different tenſes, as was obſerved before, and of ſome difference of ſenſe in that diverſity.

The word μαρτυρεῖ of the preſent tenſe, is properly to be underſtood, 1. Of *Johns* whole Miniſtery, Function, and Office, as verſ. 7. explaineth it, *He came for a witneſs:* not to be reſtrained to this or that particular, vocal and verbal teſtimony that *John* gave of *Chriſt*, no nor to all the vocal teſtimonies that he gave of *Chriſt*, but to be dilated to *Johns* whole courſe and miniſtry that he beareth witneſs to *Chriſt*, in that God raiſed up ſuch a one to be his fore-runner: And the word κέκραγε in the præter tenſe, is to be applied to the particular teſtimony that *John* gave of Chriſt in that his miniſtery: ſo that the former word referreth to *Johns* perſon, and his whole function, and the latter only to the manner of his executing of one particular of that function.

2. The word μαρτυρεῖ may alſo include *Johns* martyrdom for the truth, by which he beareth witneſs unto *Chriſt* even unto this time, as *Abel* being dead, yet ſpeaketh, as *Heb.* 11.4. And in this ſenſe ſhould I underſtand thoſe words of this ſame Evangeliſt in his firſt Epiſtle, Chap. 5. verſ. 6, 8. *Jeſus Chriſt came by water and blood; and the Spirit beareth witneſs. And there are three that bear witneſs in earth, the Spirit, and the Water, and Blood*; that is, the Spirit of Propheſie, Baptiſm, and Martyrdom: all three agreeing in one teſtimony of *Chriſt*, that he is he: The Prophets ſpeaking ſo jointly of him, Baptiſm bringing in ſo many unto him, and Martyrs ſealing unto him with their deareſt blood: The ſcores that have propheſied of him, the thouſands that have ſuffered death for him, and the many thouſands that have been baptized into him, bearing witneſs of him on earth; as the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghoſt do in heaven.

§. *He that cometh after me, is preferred before me.*

We do not find that *John* had at any time before *Chriſts* baptiſm, given any ſuch teſtimony as theſe words. He had ſaid indeed, *A mightier than I cometh after me, whoſe ſhoos I am not worthy to bear, and whoſe ſhoo latchet I am not worthy to unlooſe*, as the other three Evangeliſts agree in the relating of it; but theſe words, *He is preferr'd before me, for he was before me*, we heard not of till now: Yet is it to be conceived that the *Baptiſt* ſpeaketh to the ſame ſenſe now that he did before, as verſ. 27. ſheweth his intention, though he have altered his expreſſions: For it is a very common cuſtom of Scripture, in alledging of former ſpeeches, to give the ſenſe, but not to keep exactly to the words. And yet it is not without its weight, that whereas *Johns* conſtant teſtimony of *Chriſt* before his baptiſm was, *A mightier than I cometh*, he ſhould as conſtantly after his baptiſm uſe this, *He coming after me is preferr'd before me*; as here, and verſ. 27. & 30.

Now the reaſon of this ſeemeth to be, becauſe *Chriſt* had now appeared, and no mighty work had been yet ſhewed among the people by him; no nor any thing done in their eyes or hearing, which might give them occaſion to conceive, that he was mightier or ſtronger than *John*. The appearance of the Holy Ghoſt, and the voice from heaven, they had neither ſeen nor heard; only his catching away from *Jordan* at this time, it is probable they ſaw, therefore *John* to clear their apprehenſions from any carnal miſconſtruction of his words, explains himſelf, that by ἰσχυρότερός μου, *A mightier than I*, they were not ſo to underſtand, as to look for any preſent viſible demonſtration of power or miraculouſneſs from him, but that they ſhould take notice that he of whom he ſpake thoſe words, was before him in rank and dignity, for he was before him in time and office, nature and qualifications, though he came after him.

§. *Is preferr'd before me.*

Ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν: which the *Vulgar Latine* hath dangerously translated, *Ante me factus est, he was made before me*; and accordingly the *Arians* in ancient time made use of this place in this sense, against the eternity of the Son. Whereas the word ἔμπροσθεν (as *Beza* well observeth it) in the New Testament, doth constantly refer to place, and not to time, as *Mar.* 1.2. *Matth.* 17.2. *Luke* 12.8. & 19.27, 28. and divers other places, and therefore our English hath well expressed it with an intimation of such a thing, is *preferr'd* before me: For ἔμπροσθέν μου & πρῶτός μου in this speech of the Baptist, must needs have a distinct and different sense, because the word ὅτι between them, doth shew that the one is made the reason of the other; *He was before me in place and preheminence, because he was before me in time and being.* Now the word γέγονε which seemeth to refer to the time past, (and which hath occasioned ἔμπροσθεν by some to be understood concerning priority of time) is to be construed in such a construction, as the word γενήσε is in *Matth.* 21.42. and γεγόνεν, *Acts* 4.11. words not of the present tense, and yet necessarily to be rendred in the present time, *I become the head of the corner.*

Ver.16. *And of his fulness have all we received, and grace for grace.*

I. These are the words of the Evangelist, and not of the Baptist, and so they are held to be by *Cyrill*, *Chrysostom*, *Chemnitius*, and some others; though there be that hold that they are the Baptists words; and some that think no matter whether's words they be taken to be, either the one, or the other.

They appear to be spoken by the Evangelist: 1. By their agreement with his words in ver. 14. for there he speaketh of *Christs being full of grace and truth*, and here, of their enjoying of his fulness. 2. By the agreement of the next following verse, which no question proceeded from the same speaker, with the 14 verse also. 3. By the agreement of vers. 18. which as doubtless proceeded from the same speaker likewise, with the same words of the same Evangelist, 1 *Joh.* 4.12. 4. Those that the *Baptist* was speaking to in the verse preceding, were as yet altogether ignorant of *Christ*, and unacquainted with his appearing, and therefore it was most improper for *John* to say of himself, and of them together, *All we have received*, when they had yet received little or nothing at all. 5. The very sense of the words will demonstrate them to be the speech of the Evangelist, and not of the *Baptist*, as will appear in taking them up.

II. The verse consisteth of two several and distinct clauses, and the word [*and*] in the middle of it, though it be a conjunctive particle, yet plainly forceth this distinction; for though it is not to be denied, that there is καὶ & ἡ ἐπεξηγητικὸν, very frequent in Scripture, that is, the word [*and*] very oft bringing on a latter clause, which speaketh but the very same thing, though in plainer terms, with the former, and in explanation of it, yet is this here unlikely to be such a one, though held by divers so to be; for I suppose it will be very hard to match or parallel this verse in all the Scripture with a καὶ that is of such a tenour: The verse therefore being thus two distinct and several clauses, it is inevitably and necessarily to be construed in such a kind of syntax and construction; *Of his fulness we have received somewhat: and we have also received grace for grace:* And this was well observed by *Austine* long ago, *He saith not*, saith he, *of his fulness we have received grace for grace*; but, *of his fulness we have all received, and grace for grace*; *so that he would have us to understand, that we have received somewhat of his fulness, and grace over and above.*

III. Although it be most true that all the Saints of God have received all their graces of the fulness of *Christ*, for so *Chrysostom* and *Cyrill* understand and interpret the word *we*; and though it be as true, that the holy Patriarchs and Prophets that were before *John*, received all their gifts and endowments from the same fulness; for so some others interpret that word *we*, as if *John* should mean them, and joyn himself with them, when he saith, *We have all received*, yet it seemeth that the meaning and intention of the Evangelist in this place, is neither the one nor the other, but that by the word *we* in this place, he understandeth himself only and his fellow Disciples: For 1. he had used the word in that sense, vers. 14. he dwelt among *us*, and *we* saw his glory; where the words *us* and *we* do necessarily signifie the Apostles or Disciples only, as was shewed there, and how can the same word *we* be taken in this verse, which is but two verses off, any way so properly as in the same sense as it was there. 2. The Evangelist is in this place shewing how *Christ* was declared and published by his Ministers, as well as he shewed himself in his own person: And as *John* the *Baptist* was the first, so *we* the Apostles and Disciples were next appointed to be Preachers and proclaimers of him, as we shall see by the scope of these verses that lye together, by and by.

IV. Now

IV. Now that the Apoſtles received exceeding much from, or of *Chriſts* fulneſs, there needeth no proving to thoſe that have read the Goſpel: They received of that, exceeding much favour, exceeding much ſanctification, exceeding much knowledge, exceeding much miraculous power, exceeding much of the Spirit, and over and beſide all this, *they received grace for grace.*

V. This latter clauſe hath almoſt as many ſeveral interpretations given of it, as there be words in the whole verſe, I ſhall not ſpare to preſent the Reader with the variety, becauſe I will not deny him his choice.

Auſtine in the place lately alledged, paraphraſeth it thus, *We received of his fulneſs, firſt grace, and then again we received grace for grace. What grace received we firſt? Faith; walking in faith we walk in grace. What meaneth grace for grace? By faith we * obtain God, juſtification, and life eternal.* * Promeremur.

Chryſoſtome in Homil. 14. *on John*, gives it thus, *Grace for grace, which for which? The New for the Old; for as there is a righteouſneſs and a righteouſneſs, a faith and a faith, adoption and adoption, a glory and a glory, a law and a law, a worſhip and a worſhip, a covenant and a covenant, a ſanctifying and a ſanctifying, a baptiſm and a baptiſm, ſacrifice and ſacrifice, temple and temple, circumciſion and circumciſion, ſo is there a grace and a grace; but they as types, theſe as the truth:* And much in the ſame tract goeth *Cyrill, lib.* 2. *on John, cap.* 21. comparing the Evangelical grace given by *Chriſt*, with the legal grace under *Moſes*; and of the ſame judgment is *Beza.* Phil. 3. 6. Rom. 1. 17. 2 Cor. 3. 11. Rom. 8. 4, &c.

Tolet on this place gloſſeth it thus, *Grace is given to us becauſe of the grace that is in Chriſt, and we are made acceptable to God becauſe of him:* or, as *Camerarius* that embraceth the ſame ſenſe doth expreſs it; *We have received the favour towards us, becauſe of the favour of God towards the Son.* Maldonat ſaith, *Grace for grace is, that ſome have received one grace, ſome another.* De Dieu taketh it, *one grace becauſe of another, the latter becauſe of the former, the firſt grace is the cauſe of the ſecond, and the ſecond of a third, and ſo on.* Some *take for one grace upon another*, or graces multiplied. Others, *for grace in us agreeable to the grace in Chriſt*, the like in kind, though not in degree: And for concluſion, there is that ſuppoſeth, that *grace for grace*, meaneth only grace freely beſtowed, and ἀντὶ χάριτος doth only interpret the Hebrew word חנם or *gratis.*

All which interpretations are Indeed true in regard of the matter contained in them, yet whether they are pregnant expoſitions of this place, the ſcope of the place, and the intention of the Evangeliſt in it, may give occaſion to doubt and ſcruple. For the Evangeliſt is apparently hitherto and here ſpeaking of manifold declarations that were of *Chriſt*, or of the ſeveral ways and means by which he was revealed, as hath been obſerved: and therefore it is the ſureſt way to interpret theſe words ſuitable to that ſcope and intention. And accordingly I cannot but apprehend and render theſe words ſo, as that the word *grace* in the firſt place ſhould ſignifie the *grace of Apoſtleſhip*, and *grace* in the latter place, mean grace in the hearts of the hearers, and the word ἀντὶ, or *for*, ſhould denote the final cauſe, which conſtruction being taken up in this paraphraſe, will more eaſily be underſtood. *And of his fulneſs all we his Diſciples have received exceeding full and eminent gifts: and withal we have received the grace of Apoſtleſhip for the doctrine of the free grace of God, and for the propagating of grace in the hearts of others:* And as the ſcope of the Evangeliſt draweth the verſe unto ſuch a ſenſe, ſo doth the force and vertue of the language juſtifie it. For firſt, the word χάρις is ſometime in Scripture applied to ſuch a conſtruction, as we put upon it in the firſt part of the clauſe, as *Rom.* 1. 5. Ἐλάβομεν χάριν καὶ Ἀποστολήν, *We have received grace*, (the very word uſed here) *and Apoſtleſhip*, which *Beza* well gloſſeth, *Gratiam & Apoſtolatum, id eſt, gratiam Apoſtolatus*, that is, the grace of Apoſtleſhip: *Beneficium eximiæ plane liberalitatis, quod alibi vocat,* χάρισμα, 1 *Tim.* 4. 14. 2 *Tim.* 1. 6. And in the ſame ſenſe the Apoſtle ſpeaking, 1 *Cor.* 15. 9. *I am the leaſt of the Apoſtles, which am not worthy to be called an Apoſtle*, he addeth, χάριτι δὲ θεοῦ εἰμὶ ὃ εἰμὶ, καὶ ἡ χάρις αὐτοῦ ἡ εἰς ἐμὲ, &c. *But by the grace of God I am what I am, and his grace* on me was *not in vain, &c.*

Secondly, The Propoſition ἀντὶ doth ſometimes, and very properly denote the end and intention of a thing, and hath regard to the final cauſe, as 1 *Cor.* 11. 15. *Hair is given to a woman,* ἀντὶ περιβολαίου, *that it may be a covering*, Heb. 12. 2. ἀντὶ τῆς προκειμένης, *Becauſe of the joy that lay before him*, Matth. 20. 28. Λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν, *A redemption in behalf of many, &c.* And ſo among prophane Authors it is not ſeldom uſed in the ſenſe of *Gratia*, or *for the ſake*, as ἀνθ' ὅτου, *cujus gratia*, ἀντὶ μηδενὸς, *non nullius gratia:* ἀντὶ τούτου τοῦ διδάγματος, *hujus doctrinæ gratia, &c.* And ſo may it very fitly be interpreted in this place, we received grace *becauſe* of, or *for the ſake of grace*, or, *in behalf of grace*; that is, that it may be advanced in the thoughts, and propagated and wrought in the hearts of others.

Ver. 17. *For the Law was given by Moses, &c.*

He had in the verses preceding treated concerning the declaration of *Christ* before his coming, and after it; both in the Law, and under the Gospel: And in the three last verses before, he had handled this latter head, *viz.* how he was declared in the Gospel after his coming.

1. In his own person and converse, vers. 14. *The Word became flesh, and dwelt in us, full of grace and truth, and we saw his glory, &c.*

2. In the Ministery of *John the Baptist*, ver. 15. John *bare witness of him, and cried, saying, &c.*

3. In the Ministery of the Apostles, ver. 16. *Of his fulness we have all received, &c.*

And now he cometh to weigh the tenor of the Law and of the Gospel; in both which *Christ* was thus declared, and to compare them together, and the two persons that were the chief Ministers in the exhibition of them, *Christ* and *Moses:* the two persons in regard of their Ministery of the doctrine of salvation: and the two things in regard of their tenor, clearness, and exhibition of that doctrine.

The word *For* in the beginning of the verse, joyneth this verse, and that that went before together, and it pieceth either to the whole verse, to make up this sense, *We received the grace of Apostleship for the preaching of the Gospel, as Moses did the Law*; or rather to the last word *grace*, to the result of this sense, *we received Apostleship for the propagation and advancement of grace, whereas Moses gave the Law for the advancement of works:* for so the opposition that is in this verse, doth hold it out; as may be observed.

§. *But grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.*

These two words *grace and truth* stand here in *Antithesis* or opposition to the moral and ceremonial Law, which was given by *Moses*; For though *Christ* was the giver of the Law, as well as of the Gospel, and though the giving of the Law was a work of grace, and the doctrine of the Law, a work of truth, yet if the tenor of the Law and the Gospel be compared together, they will be found to differ mainly in these particulars, though there be a grace and truth to be found in either of them.

First, The Law indeed held out the doctrine of Salvation, and taught of good things to come, but it was so darkly and obscurely, and in such vailed types and shadows, that it was rather groped after, than seen; and therefore those things are called *darkness* at the fifth verse of this Chapter: and the Jews that lived under them, yea and gained salvation from the knowledge of them, yet are said to be, *not perfect without us*, *Heb.* 11. 40. that is, imperfect in the knowledge of the doctrine of Salvation, till the Gospel brought us Gentiles in. But the Gospel revealed *Christ*, and the way of salvation so clearly, and in so evident and plain a manner, that all those types, shadows, predictions, and representations, received their equity, accomplishment, and fulfilling, and it shewed apparently, what was the substance and intention of them; so that what the Law held out in figures, the Gospel did in truth.

Secondly, Although the Law were in the spirit and marrow of it a Doctrine of Faith, yet in the letter and outward administration of it, it was but a messenger of Death, 2 *Cor.* 3. 7. challenging exact performance, which no man could yield, and denouncing a curse upon him that performed it not, and so concluded all men under sin and a curse; but the Gospel cometh and preacheth to another tune, and to a more comfortable tenor, promising remission to the penitent, though they had not performed what the Law required, and assuring salvation to the believer, though he had no works nor righteousness of his own to own; and thus it speaketh grace and pardon, whereas the other did a curse and condemnation: And therefore is it divinely thus opposed by the Evangelist, betwixt the Law and the Gospel in these two particulars, according to the two parts of the Law *Moral* and *Ceremonial*, and according to the two main Doctrines of the Gospel, *Repentance* and *Believing*.

For the Moral called for obedience, and challenged them under condemnation that obeyed it not: but grace and pardon came by *Christ*, and was offered in the Gospel to those that should repent for their not obeying.

The Ceremonial Law preached *Christ* under obscure representations, and difficult to grope him through, but the *truth* of what those obscurities involved, and what those representations figured, came by *Christ*, and the Gospel holds it out, and calls for faith in him that hath accomplished them: And thus is *grace and truth* said to come by *Jesus Christ*, and these to be the tenor of the Gospel in opposition to the Law, not as *grace* opposeth *ungraciousness*, but as it opposeth *condemning*, nor as *truth* opposeth *falshood*, but as it opposeth *shadows*.

Vers. 18.

Verſ. 18. *No man hath ſeen God at any time.*

This is ſpoken from *Exod.* 33. about *Moſes* his deſiring to ſee the Lord.

The foregoing verſe made a difference between *Moſes* and *Chriſt*, which this verſe purſueth; *Moſes* deſired to ſee God, but could not ſee him, *Exod.* 33. 20. for no man hath ſeen God, or can ſee him, and live, but *Chriſt* hath been in his boſom, hath ſeen him, and revealed him. *Moſes* beggeth to know *the way* of God, and God promiſeth him the company of his preſence, verſ. 13, 14. He beggeth again to ſee his *glory*, and God anſwereth him, that he will ſhew him his *goodneſs*, verſ. 18,19. and more of God he ſaw not, and ſo much of God hath none ſeen beſides him, but only the begotten Son which is in the boſom of the Father. The ſtory of *Moſes* is divinely alluded to in this place; for as concerning *the preſence of God*, the Evangeliſt ſaith, *he dwelt among us.* As concerning *his glory*, he ſaith, that *they beheld it*; and as concerning his *goodneſs*, he concludeth, he was *full of grace and truth*, verſ. 14. And though no man hath ſeen God at any time, yet *Chriſt* imaged him forth among his Diſciples, with a glory agreeing to the only begotten Son of God, and he hath declared him plainly in the doctrine of the Goſpel, a doctrine full of *grace and truth.*

§. *He hath declared him.*

It is apparent by this clauſe, that the Evangeliſts main intention hereabout, is to ſpeak of the doctrine and declaration of God, Chriſt, and the Goſpel, and the publication of all unto the world; He ſpeaks of *Johns* publiſhing of this, ver. 15. and of *Johns* publiſhing of this again, v. 19. and of *Moſes* publiſhing of this in his kind, ver. 17. and of *Chriſts* doing it in his kind, ver. 18. and therefore certainly it cannot but be unconſonant to the ſcope of the place, and to the purpoſe of the Penman, to interpret the 16 verſe clean to another tune, about receiving grace of remiſſion and ſanctification, and this is that that hath mainly induced me to interpret it as I have done, becauſe I ſee it plainly that the Evangeliſt applies himſelf in the whole context to treat concerning the witneſſes, and the publication and declaration of *Chriſt* and the Goſpel.

Verſ. 19. *The Jews ſent Prieſts and Levites.*

The Baptiſm and Miniſtery of *John* was of ſo ſtrange a tenor, as was obſerved before, [*viz.* that whereas the Law preached *for works*, he ſhould call for *repentance*, and whereas Baptiſm had been uſed hitherto for admiſſion of heathens to the Religion of the Jews, he ſhould now uſe it to admit the Jews to a new Religion] it is no wonder if that Court who were to take notice and cognizance of matters of this nature, were very inquiſitive and ſcrutinous after the buſineſs, to know *Johns* authority and his intention. It is rather to be wondred at, that they had let him alone all this while, and never had him in examination yet. *John* had now followed this courſe and calling, about eight months together, and ſix of theſe eight had he ſpent in *Judea*, in their own country, and yet for ought we read, they had never quarrelled with him till this very time: now what the cauſe of their long-forbearing ſhould be, is hardly worthy the inquiring after, only this we cannot but acknowledge a chief reaſon of it, namely, God ſo diſpenſing and diſpoſing, that his Miniſtery might run interrupted, or without any let, till *Chriſt* ſhould begin to ſhew himſelf in his Miniſtery; which the very next day after this diſpute he did: And ſo the Goſpel might have no ſtop in this beginning of it, but while *Chriſt* preached not, *John* ſhould preach without trouble, and when *John* began to be troubled, *Chriſt* ſhould then be ready to preach.

The ſcrutiny and judging of a Prophet, belonged only to the *Sanhedrin* or great Council at *Jeruſalem*; and ſo is the *Talmudick* tradition, in the Treatiſe *Sanhedrin Perek.* 1. *They judge not a Tribe, nor a falſe Prophet, nor the High Prieſt, but in the judicatory of Seventy and one*; and to this law and practiſe of theirs, thoſe words of *Chriſt* relate in *Luke* 13.33. *It cannot be that a Prophet periſh out of Jeruſalem:* becauſe a Prophet could not be judged upon life and death in any place but there.

This Court and Councel ſent theſe meſſengers to *John* to make enquiry after him, and after his authority; and ſo is the word, *the Jews*, to be underſtood in this verſe, for the repreſentative body of the Jews in the great Judicatory. And they ſend *Prieſts and Levites* to examine him, as men of the greateſt knowledge and learning in the Law, and men of the likelieſt abilities to try him, and to diſpute and diſcourſe with him according to that in *Mal.* 2. 7. *The Prieſts lips ſhould keep knowledge, and they ſhould ſeek the Law at his mouth.*

Verſ. 20. *But confeſſed I am not the Chriſt.*

We do not perceive by the Text, that this queſtion, *whether he were the Chriſt*, or no, was propoſed to him at all, yet he giveth ſatisfaction to this firſt: partly, becauſe the time of *Chriſts* appearing was now generally thought by the Nation to be at hand, *Luke* 2. 26, 38. & 19. 11. & 24. 31. *Joh.* 4. 25. *&c.* and partly, becauſe the eminency of *John* had made the people look upon him, with ſome queſtioning whether he were not the *Chriſt*, *Luke* 3. 15.

Verſ. 21. *Art thou Elias?*

When he hath reſolved them that he is not the *Meſſias*, they preſently queſtion whether he be not *Elias*, *Meſſias* his fore-runner: for their expectation was of the fore-runners bodily coming, as well as of *Chriſts*. Their opinions concerning *Elias* his firſt coming, and who he was then, and of his latter coming, and what they look for from him then, it is not impertinent to take up a little, in their words and Authors.

Some of our Rabbins of happy memory (ſaith Levi Gerſhom) *have held, that* Elias *was* Phinehas; *and this they have held, becauſe they found ſome correſpondency betwixt them. And behold it is written in the Law, that the bleſſed God gave him his covenant of peace. And the Prophet ſaith, My Covenant was with him of life and peace: And by this it ſeemeth that God gave to* Phinehas *length of days to admiration: And behold we find that he was Prieſt in the days of the Concubine at* Gibeah, *and in the days of* David *we find it written, And* Phinehas *the ſon of* Eleazar *was ruler over them of old, and the Lord was with him,* 1 Chron. 9.20. *And he was the Angel that appeared to* Gedeon *and to* Jephthah, *and the Spirit of the Lord carried him like an Angel, as we find alſo of* Elias. *And for this it is ſaid, They ſhall ſeek the Law at his mouth, for he is the Angel of the Lord; and for this cauſe alſo he ſaith, Before time, and the Lord was with him. And behold we find* Elias *himſelf ſaying unto the Lord, Take now my life from me, for I am no better than my fathers: meaning, that it was not for him to live always in this world, but a certain ſpace after the way of the earth, for he was no better than his fathers: We find alſo that he died not, after he was taken away from the head of* Eliſha, *for there came afterward a writing of* Elias *to* Jehoram *the ſon of* Jehoſhaphat, *as it is mentioned in the book of* Chronicles. Thus *Ralbag on* 1 *King.* 17. And thus the Jews hold *Phinehas* and *Elias* to have been but one and the ſame man.

And what they held concerning *Elias* his ſingular eminency for Propheſie whilſt he lived, it appeareth by *R. Samuel Lanjado*, in his Comment on 2 King. 2. Elias, *ſaith he, was ſo indued with Propheſie, that many of the children of the Prophets propheſied by his means: Our wiſe men of happy memory, ſay, Whilſt* Elias *was not laid up, the Holy Ghoſt was in Iſrael, as it is ſaid, the children of the Prophets that were at* Bethel *ſaid to* Eliſha, *To day God will take thy Maſter from thy head: they went and ſtood afar off, and they paſſed over* Jordan: *It may be becauſe they were but a few: the ſenſe telleth, that there were fifty men of the ſons of the Prophets. It may be they were private men: The text ſaith, Thy Maſter: It is not ſaid, our Maſter, but thy Maſter; ſhewing that they were wiſe men like* Elias: *When* Elias *was taken up* [ונגנז treaſured up] *the Holy Ghoſt departed from them, as it is ſaid, And they ſaid, Behold there is with thy ſervants fifty men, men of ſtrength, let them go and ſeek thy Maſter, &c.*

And concerning the departure of *Elias*, and his eſtate after, the ſame Author giveth the opinion of his Nation, a little after in theſe words: *I believe the words of our wiſe men of happy memory, That* Elias *was taken away in a whirlewind in the Heaven, that is, in the air, and the Spirit took him to the earthly paradiſe, and there he abideth in body and ſoul: therefore they ſay that* Elias *died not, and they ſay moreover that he went not into the firmament: And they ſay that ſome have ſeen him in the School* [בבית המדרש] *And that he ſhall come before the great and terrible day of the Lord come.*

Now his coming before the day of the Lord, they hold to be twofold, one inviſible, as that he cometh to the circumciſion of every child, and therefore they ſet him a chair, and ſuppoſe he ſitteth there, though they ſee him not: *And the Angel of the Covenant which you deſire, behold he cometh,* Mal.3.1. *The Lord ſhall come to his Temple, this is the King Meſſias, who alſo is the Angel of the Covenant, or he ſaith, The Angel of the Covenant in reference to* Elias: *And ſo it is ſaid, That* Elias *was zealous for the Covenant of Circumciſion, which the Kingdom of* Ephraim *reſtrained from themſelves, as it is ſaid, I have been exceeding zealous for the Lord God of Iſrael, for the children of Iſrael have forſaken thy Covenant. He ſaith unto him, Thou waſt zealous in* Shittim, [Phinehas in Numb.25.] *and art thou zealous here concerning Circumciſion? As thou liveſt, Iſrael ſhall not do the Covenant of Circumciſion, till thou ſeeſt it with thine eyes: From hence they have appointed to make an honorable Chair for* Elias, *who is called the Angel of the Covenant.* Thus Kimch. on Mal.3.1.

Of

Of this matter, and of the Jews preſent expectation of *Elias* at every circumciſion, learned *Buxtorfius* giveth an ample relation, in his *Synagoga Judaica, cap.* 2.

On the eighth day in the morning, ſaith he, *thoſe things that are requiſite for the Circumciſion are duly prepared. And firſt of all two ſeats are ſet, or one ſeat ſo made, as that two may ſit one by another in it, covered with rich coverings, or cuſhions, according as every ones ſtate will bear: In the one of theſe ſeats, when the child cometh to be circumciſed, ſitteth the Sponſor, or Godfather of the child, and the other ſeat is ſet for* Elias. *For they conceive that* Elias *cometh along with the Infant, and ſitteth down in that ſeat, to obſerve whether the Circumciſion be rightly adminiſtred: and this they conceive from* Mal. 3. 1. *And the Meſſenger of the Covenant whom ye ſeek, behold he cometh: when they ſet that ſeat for* Elias, *they are bound to ſay in expreſs words, This is the ſeat of the Prophet* Elias: *That ſeat is left ſtanding there, three whole days together.* Rabbi Juda *the holy, once perceived that* Elias *came not to one Circumciſion, and the reaſon was, becauſe the child circumciſed ſhould once turn Chriſtian, and forſake his Judaiſm. They uſe to lay the child upon* Elias *his cuſhion, both before and after his Circumciſion, that* Elias *may touch him.* Thus he, and more largely, about their fancy of *Elias* his inviſible coming upon that occaſion. And in *the thirteenth Chapter* of the ſame book, he relateth how they expect him viſibly at the other Sacrament even every Paſſover; when among other rites and fooliſh cuſtoms, they uſe over a cup of wine, to curſe all the people of the world that are not Jews as they are: and that they do in this prayer, *Pour out thy wrath upon the Nations which have not known thee; and upon the Kingdoms that have not called upon thy name; Pour thine anger upon them, and let the fury of thy wrath lay hold of them, &c.* Which while the Maſter of the houſe is praying, one runs to the gate, or door of the houſe, and ſets it wide open, in ſign of their deliverance, and in hope of *Elias* his coming to tell them of the approach of the *Meſſias:* And preſently in comes one cloathed in white, that their children may believe that *Elias* is now come among them indeed.

And in *the eleventh Chapter* of the ſame book, he relateth, that every Sabbath day at night, they call hard upon *Elias*, and ſince he vouchſafed not to come among them on the Sabbath, which is now paſt, they earneſtly intreat him, that he would come the next Sabbath day. And their Rabbins and Wiſemen have taught them, that *Elias* every Sabbath day, ſitting under the tree of life in Paradiſe, takes account of, and writeth down the good works of the Jews in their keeping of the Sabbath.

I ſhall treſpaſs too much upon the Readers patience, if I trouble him with any more ſuch traſh and ridiculous ſtuff, as this is about this matter: I have been the bolder with him, that I might the more fully ſhew the earneſt and fooliſh expectation of that blinded Nation in this particular: I ſhall only crave leave to alledge ſome few expreſſions more out of their own Authors upon this ſubject, that here once for all, their doctrine and opinion of the coming of *Elias*, [which cometh in mention now and then in the Evangeliſts] may be handled, and may trouble us no more.

Their ſecond and greater expectation then of *Elias*, is, that he will come viſibly and bodily before the coming of the *Meſſias*; and that he will do great things when he cometh. The Diſciples well knew and ſpake the common opinion of the Nation, when upon our Saviours diſcourſe concerning his own reſurrection, they make this reply; *Why then ſay the Scribes that Elias muſt firſt come?* Matth. 17. 10.

And ſo are their Authors full of aſſertions to ſuch a purpoſe.

The four Carpenters in Zechary [*ſaith Rabbi Simeon*] *are Meſſias ben David, Meſſias ben Joſeph, Elias, and the Prieſt of righteouſneſs,* vid. Kimch. in Zech. 1.

Elias *ſhall reſtore three things in Iſrael,* [ſaith *Rabbi Tanchuma*] *the pot of Manna, the cruſe of the anointing oyl, and the cruſe of water. And as ſome ſay alſo,* Aarons *rod with its bloſſoms and almonds,* Tauch. on Exod. 1.

The Talmudiſts in *Erubhim, Perek.* 4. are diſcourſing of this coming of *Elias*, and inquiring the time; and they have this concluſion, *That Iſrael is aſſured that* Elias *will not come but on the evening of the Sabbaths, or on the evening of Feaſtival days: and when he cometh, they ſhall ſay to the great Sanhedrin, He is come,* fol. 43.

And in the Treatiſe of the Sabbath, they intimate, that one work of *Elias* when he thus cometh, ſhall be to deſtroy. *Every one* (ſay they) *that obſerves ſtedfaſtly three repaſts on the Sabbath, is delivered from three vengeances; From Meſſias his deſtroying, from the Judgment of hell, and from the war of Gog and Magog: From the deſtruction of Meſſias; It is written here, The day* [viz. *remember the Sabbath day*] *and it is written there, Behold I ſend unto you* Elias *the Prophet before the day come, &c.* Perek. 16. fol. 118.

And in a common and current proverb among them, they hold that another work of *Elias*, when he cometh, ſhall be to reſolve doubts and ſcruples, and to unite doctrinal knots.

And that he ſhall purifie Baſtards, and make them fit to come into the congregation, ארול בי אליהו יטהר הממזרים וישבם בקהלה *Vid. Kimch. in Zech. 9.*

And

And that he shall be one of the seven Shepherds and eight principal ones mentioned, *Michah* 5. 5. *Our Rabbins say, Who are the seven Shepherds?* David *in the middle*, Seth, Enoch, *and* Methuselah *on his right hand, and* Abraham, *and* Jacob, *and* Moses *on his left. And who are the Eight principal ones?* Jesse, Saul, Samuel, Amos, Zephany, Ezekiah, Elias, *and* Messiah, *Kimch. in Mich.* 5.

And for this coming of *Elias*, doth *Elias Levita* so heartily pray, *in Tisbi, in rad. Tisbi*, Elias *was in the days of* Gibeah: *So let it be Gods good will that he may be with us in this time, and let that verse be accomplished upon us, Behold I send you* Elias; *So is the prayer of* Elias *the Author.*

By these and divers other speeches of the like nature, which might be produced out of the Hebrew Authors, shewing the common opinion of that people concerning the coming of *Elias* bodily before the coming of *Christ*, it is no wonder, if when the Jews saw so eminent a man as *John* the Baptist come in so powerful a way of Ministry, so great a change of a Sacrament, and so strict austerity of life, they question with themselves, and with him, whether he be not the *Messias*, and when he denies that, then whether he be not *Elias*. But it is some wonder, [and that the rather, because our Saviour hath long ago resolved what was meant by that place of the Prophet, *Behold I send Elias*, and hath plainly told that *John the Baptist* was the *Elias* that was to come] I say, it is a wonder [this considered] that ever this Jewish opinion of *Elias* coming before the coming of the *Messias*, should be so transplanted into the hearts of Christians, under this notion of *Elias* his coming before *Christs* second coming, as that so many understand it as literally, personally, and really, as ever the grossest Jew in *Judea* did.

It were endless to reckon their names, both Ancient and Modern, that have verily believed, and as boldly asserted, that *Enoch* and *Elias* shall come visibly and bodily to destroy *Antichrist*, to convert the Jews, and to build up the elect in the faith of *Christ*. He that desires names, may see enow in *Bellarmine de Roman. Pontif. lib.*3. *cap.*6. where he proves that the Pope is not *Antichrist*, by this argument, that *Elias* and *Enoch* never came against him; in *Cornel. a Lapide in Apocal.* 11. where he holds the two witnesses to be these two men, *Enoch* and *Elias*.

It is somewhat beside our work, to take up this controversie in this place, but it may not be besides the advantage of the Reader, to take up two or three considerations upon this matter, and to ruminate and study upon them, towards the confutation of this groundless opinion.

1. That *the great and terrible day of the Lord*, before which *Elias* was promised to come, is exceedingly mistaken by those that understand it of the day of Judgment; for it meaneth only, *the day of the destruction of Jerusalem*; as might be proved at large by divers other places of Scripture, where the same phrase is used: And the like misconstruction is there of the phrase, *in the last days*, by taking it for the last days of the world, whereas it meaneth only the last days of *Jerusalem*.

2. Those two witnesses mentioned, *Rev.* 11. upon whom there are so various glosses, and different opinions, are pictured and charactered out like *Moses* and *Elias*, and not like *Enoch* and *Elias*, as is plain by the Text; for that speaketh of shutting up heaven, turning water into blood, and plaguing the earth, which had been the actings of *Elias* and *Moses*, and none but they, and no mention of *Enochs* ever doing such a thing at all. We have therefore from that place, as little warrant to look for *Elias* his bodily coming before the end of the world, as we have for the bodily coming of *Moses*.

3. The proper meaning of that Propheſie concerning the two Witnesses, is to set forth the state of the Church towards the end of the world, *when the Jews shall be called, and knit together into one Church with the Gentiles*; shewing that God will raise up a powerful Ministery among either people, which the Holy Ghost characters, by *Moses the first Minister and Prophet of the Jews, and* Elias *the first Minister and Prophet of the Gentiles:* These two people, and this double Ministery are *as two olive trees and two candlesticks, standing before the Lord of the whole earth:* This Ministery shall be opposed by *Antichrist*, and almost destroyed and brought to nothing: And as *Antichrist* hath caused a general defection and apostasie already in the world, having even slain Religion, and the preaching of the Truth, till in the age last past they revived again: So shall he cause a defection and falling away for a season in the Church of the Jews after their calling, so that Religion and the truth shall be in a manner extinguisht among them, that *Antichrist* may make the measure of his iniquity full. And as *Rome* in her heathenish power, did first destroy the old *Jerusalem*, and then persecute the new: so must she do in her *Antichristian* power and mischievousness: first undo the *Christian* Church consisting of Heathens only, as it hath done already in the dark time of Popery over all the world; and then undo the Church consisting of Gentiles and Jews united together; but God shall revive it; and then the true Religion and the Ministery of the Truth shall live again by the power and Spirit of God put into them.

That

That this is the aim of that prophecy *in the eleventh of the Revelation*, might be shewed, if it were seasonable, by many arguments, and consequently that the expectation of *Enoch* and *Elias* to come bodily, and to fight with *Antichrist*, &c. hath not the least colour or ground from thence at all; but this is not a place to dispute that Text.

§. *Art thou that Prophet?*

There is some question whether to read it in the force of the Article, or no; there are some that do read it so, and some that do not. The *Syriack* and the *Vulgar Latine* take no notice of the Article at all, but read it as if it were without, *Art thou a Prophet?* And so doth the margin of our English Bible: But others, with our English Text, do interpret the words as speaking of some peculiar Prophet, which was neither *Christ* nor *Elias*, but some other pointed at and intended by that prediction, *Deut.* 18, 15. *Vid. Cyril* and *Chrysost. &c.*

It is hard to guess at the mind of these Jews that speak these words we have in hand, for both the Greek expression in this Text, and the Jews exposition of that in *Deuteronomy*, do so indifferently carry it either to a Prophet in general, or to some singular Prophet in particular, that it may be an equilibrious case, whether to take it the one way, or the other. I rather take it the former, and cannot but apprehend that their questioning of the *Baptist* in these words, ὁ προφήτης εἶ σύ, is indefinitely meant, *art thou a Prophet?* Not this or that Prophet, but art thou a Prophet at all? For prophesie had been long decayed amongst them, and when they saw one appear now of so prophetical a character, as the *Baptist* was; and when he had resolved them he was neither *Christ* nor *Elias*, their properest question then was, art thou then any other Prophet come after so long a time as there have been no Prophets among us? And he answers, No; that is, not in their sense, not a Prophet of the same Ministery with those in the Old Testament, but of another nature; or not one of those Prophets of the Old Testament revived, as *Matth.* 16. 14. but a Minister foretold of by one of those Prophets, as *Esay* 40. 3.

The reason that I refuse the strict interpretation of this question, [Art thou *that* Prophet, as if they spake of some particular man] is, partly, because the article ὁ is not always to be construed in such a strictness, as pointing out a particular thing or person, but is very commonly, nay, most commonly of a more large and general signification. But chiefly, because I find not in the Jewish Writers any particular Prophet mentioned, whom they expected to come as they did *Christ* and *Elias*: and for ought I find, they do not interpret that place in *Deut.* 18. 15. of any such a particular person, but of the succession of Prophets in generall; It is true indeed, that *Aben Ezra* understands it of *Joshua*, and *Rab. Sol.* on *Jer.* 1. understands it of *Jeremy*, but this was of *Joshua*, and *Jeremy* in their times: but of any such singular person that they expected in the last times, I find no mention, unless *the Priest of righteousness* spoken of a little before, or *Messias ben Joseph*, should be reduced under this notion and name of *That Prophet.*

Ver. 25. *Why baptizest thou then?*

It is observable, that they never question what he meant by his baptism, but what he meant to baptize: they inquire not concerning the thing, but concerning his person and authority: And in all the time of his course and ministery, we never find that they made the least scruple what his Baptism was, or what it meant, but only they look on him, and wonder and question what he hath to do to baptize: And the reason of this was, because the rite and custom of baptizing, had been in common and ordinary practice and use among that Nation many hundreds of years before *John* ever appeared among them; And as this common and known custom of Baptism used among them continually and ordinarily so long before, and then, made them that they never wonder, nor question, nor make strange of *Johns* baptizing, as to the thing it self; so the consideration of this very thing may give us much light and satisfaction in that controversie that is now afoot among us, concerning the baptizing or not baptizing of Infants. It is urged by those that deny Infants baptism, that there is neither command for it, nor example of it in the Scripture, as there was for Infants circumcision. Now this consideration giveth one ready answer, if there were no other to be given; If baptism, and baptizing of Infants had been as strange, and unseen, and unheard of a thing in the world till *John Baptist* came, as circumcision was till God appointed it to *Abraham*, there is no doubt but there would have been a command or example expresly given for the baptizing of Infants, if God would have them to be baptized, as there was for the circumcising of Infants, because God would have them to be circumcised: But when the baptizing of Infants had been a thing as commonly known, and as commonly used long before *John* came, and to his very coming, as any holy thing that was used among the Jews, and they were as well acquainted with Infants baptism, as they were with Infants circumcision; it doth not follow, that there needed so expres and punctual command or example, to be given for the baptizing of Infants, which was well enough known already, as there needed for Circumcision of Infants

Infants or others, which was a thing that till its inſtitution had never been heard of, nor dreamed of in the world.

I ſhall crave a little leave of the Reader for ſo much digreſſion, [for ſo I know he cannot but account it] as from the Jews Authors and Antiquities, to give him ſome account of theſe two particulars, which it may be, may prove of ſome uſe in the point in mention, *viz.* 1. The ancient uſe and practice of baptiſm among the Jews, before the Goſpel began to be preached by *John the Baptiſt.* And 2. The common uſe and practice of baptizing of Infants in thoſe times.

1. Of the antiquity, and long and ancient uſe of baptiſm under the Law, we have firſt this teſtimony in *Maimonides*, the great regiſter of the Jews cuſtoms and antiquities, in his treatiſe *Iſſure Biah perek.* 13.

By three things (ſaith he) *Iſrael entred into Covenant, by Circumciſion, Baptiſm, and Sacrifice:*

Circumciſion was in Egypt, *as it is ſaid, No uncircumciſed perſon ſhall eat thereof: Moſes our Maſter circumciſed them, for they had all forſaken the Covenant of Circumciſion in* Egypt, *but only the tribe of Levi, as it is ſaid, And they keep thy Covenant.*

Baptiſm was in the wilderneſs, before the giving of the Law, as it is ſaid, And thou ſhalt ſanctifie them to day and to morrow, and let them waſh their garments.

And Sacrifice, as it is ſaid, And he ſent the young men of the children of Iſrael, and they offered burnt offerings, they offered them for all Iſrael.

And ſo in after times, when a heathen will enter into the Covenant, and be gathered and joyned under the wings of the divine Majeſty, and take upon him the yoke of the Law, Circumciſion and Baptiſm, and a freewil offering is required; and if it be a female, Baptiſm and an offering, as it is ſaid ככם כגר *As it is with you, ſo ſhall it be with the ſtranger. How is it with you? With Circumciſion, and Baptiſm, and a free offering: So alſo the ſtranger for ever, with Circumciſion, and Baptiſm, and a free offering, &c. But at this time, when there are no offerings, Circumciſion and Baptiſm are neceſſary, but when the houſe of the Sanctuary ſhall be built, then ſhall he alſo bring an offering. A ſtranger that is circumciſed and not baptized, or that is baptized, and not circumciſed, is not a proſelyte till he be both circumciſed and baptized.* Thus *Maimonides*; and to the ſame tenor the *Talmud* alſo in *Jebammoth perek.* 4.

A ſtranger that is circumciſed and not baptized, Rabbi Eliezer *ſaith, Behold he is a proſelyte, for ſo we find by our fathers, which were circumciſed and not baptized.*

He that is baptized and not circumciſed, Rabbi Jehoſhua *ſaith, Behold he is a proſelyte, for ſo we find by the Maids that were baptized, but not circumciſed: but the Wiſemen ſay, Is he baptized and not circumciſed, or is he circumciſed and not baptized? He is not a proſelyte, until he be both circumciſed and baptized.*

It is neceſſary, ſaith *Maimonides* again, *that he be baptized before a triumvirate, or before a conſiſtory of three: If a man come and ſay, I was proſelyted in ſuch a conſiſtory, and they baptized me, he is not truſted to come into the Congregation till he bring witneſs: As they circumciſe and baptize proſelytes, ſo they circumciſe and baptize ſervants taken from heathens.* And a little after he mentioneth the place and manner of baptizing, and what multitudes were proſelyted, in the days of *David* and *Solomon*, and baptized, before private perſons: becauſe the *Sanhedrin* would not then admit proſelytes ſolemnly as at other times, ſuſpecting they might be proſelyted either for fear of the power, or for love of the pomp of *Iſrael* in thoſe times; yet he concludes, that *Whoſoever was circumciſed and baptized though only before private perſons, and though for ſome by-reſpect, yet being circumciſed and baptized, he was come out of the ſtate of Heatheniſm.* Much more might be produced out of their own Authors, [men, enemies to our Baptiſm, and the teſtimony of an enemy is a double teſtimony] but this enough to ſhew the antiquity, common uſe, and ordinary knownneſs of Baptiſm under the law, long before the times of *John* the Baptiſt, ſometime uſed ſingle without circumciſion, but moſt commonly joyned with it; by which we may obſerve, that Baptiſm was no ſtrange thing when *John* came baptizing, but the rite was known ſo well by every one, that nothing was better known than what baptiſm was: and therefore there needed not ſuch punctual and exact rules about the manner and object of it, as there had needed, if it had never been ſeen before: what needed it in the Goſpel to tell, that ſuch or ſuch perſons were to be the objects of baptiſm, when it was as well known before the Goſpel began, that men, and women, and children were the objects of baptiſm, and were baptized, as it is to be known that the Sun is up when it ſhineth at noon day?

Theſe two things therefore are obſervable about our Saviours inſtituting baptiſm for a Goſpel Sacrament.

1. That *he took up Baptiſm which was uſed as an additional to circumciſion, inſtead of circumciſion:* And ſo did he alſo in the other Sacrament of the Lords Supper. For after the Paſchal Lamb was eaten, it was the common cuſtom of the Nation, that the Maſter of the

the family brake a piece of bread, and diſtributed it among the company, and after it he diſtributed a cup of wine: now *our Saviour took up this which was an additional to the Paſſover, to be a Goſpel-ſacrament in ſtead of the Paſſover.*

2. That he took up baptiſm as it was in common and known uſe, and in ordinary and familiar practiſe among the Nation, and therefore gave no Rules for the manner of baptizing, or for the age or ſex of the perſons to be baptized, which was well enough known already, and needed no rule to be preſcribed.

Now for the ſecond thing propoſed, and about which there is the greateſt difference and controverſie among Chriſtians in the matter of baptiſm, which is about the baptizing of Infants, the Jews uſed it alſo in as common and ordinary practice, as they did to baptize any others, as appeareth alſo by theſe their own teſtimonies.

In the *Talmud* in *Cetuboth perek.* 1. they have theſe words, *Rab. Hona* ſaith, *a little one they baptize by the appointment of the Conſiſtory* קטון מטבילין איתו על דעת בית דין. The *Hebrew gloſs* upon that place, ſaith, *If he have not a father, and his mother bring him to be proſelyted, they baptize him, becauſe there is no proſelyte without Circumciſion and baptiſm. And there muſt be three at his baptiſm* [*as three are neceſſary at the baptiſm of every proſelyte*] *and they become a father to him, and he is made a proſelyte by their hands.*

The *Talmud* Text proceedeth thus, מאי קמ"ל דזכות הוא לו ובין לאר שלא נפניו *What do we learn hence? That he hath benefit by it; and they priviledge a man, even though he knew it not,* for ſo doth the Gloſs interpret the words לא בפניו *not to his face,* that is, ſaith he, לא מדעתו *not to his knowledge, and a little one is not* בר דיעה *capable of underſtanding.*] תנינא ובין לאך שלא בפניו אין חבין לאדם שלא בפניו : *It is a tradition, that they priviledge a perſon though they know it not, but they do not diſpriviledge a perſon without his knowledge.* And thus do they anſwer that objection that is now afoot againſt Infants baptiſm, *viz.* that it is not fit that they ſhould be baptized, becauſe they have no underſtanding: they make it a *non ſequitur*, for ſay they, *a priviledge may be put upon a perſon, though he himſelf know not of it.* And in the very place out of which theſe words are cited, even a little before them, the *Talmudicks* ſpeak of *a proſelyteſs and a captiveſs, and a maid, redeemed, proſelyted, and manumitted, being leſs than three years old and an half,* and they have a caſe upon it about contracts and dower.

And *Maimonides* in the treatiſe *Abadim*, or *concerning Servants, Chap.* 8. at the very concluſion of the Chapter, hath this ſaying, וישראל שתקף בגוי קטן או מצא תינוק גוי והטבילו לשם גר הרי הוא גר *An Iſraelite that takes a little heathen, or that finds an heathen Infant, and baptizeth him into the name of a proſelyte, behold he is a proſelyte.* And in the treatiſe *Iſſure biah* in the Chapter cited erewhile; he ſaith, *A woman proſelyted and baptized, when ſhe is great with child, her child needeth not then to be baptized when he is born:* otherwiſe it was requiſite that he ſhould be baptized. By theſe and other teſtimonies which might be produced, it is apparent that baptiſm, and baptiſm of Infants was in common uſe before *John* appeared. And it doth not only ſhew a reaſon why the Jews never queſtion him what baptiſm meant, [but by what authority he didbaptize] but alſo it ſheweth a reaſon why the New Teſtament is ſo ſparing in expreſſing the object and manner of baptiſm, namely, becauſe both baptiſm it ſelf, and thoſe things were commonly and ordinarily uſed and known before.

Verſ. 28. *In Bethabara beyond Jordan.*

It is but as labour loſt to go about to ſhew how many tranſlators and expoſitors approve this tranſlation, *Beyond Jordan*, ſince there is not any to be found, that ever took this word πέραν in other ſenſe till *Beza* found a new. Now he tranſlates it *ſecus Jordanem*, not *beyond* but *beſides Jordan*, and ſo doth he likewiſe, *Matth.* 4.15. & 19.1. and indeed with ſome probability at the firſt appearance: But when the ſignification of the word πέραν, and the hiſtory, and hiſtorical ſenſe of theſe places alledged, is better viewed; we ſhall find his interpretation contradicted by both. For firſt, the word πέραν doth moſt properly and genuinely ſignifie *ultra* or *trans*, and not *juxta* or *ſecus*, *beyond* and not *beſides*; as might be evidenced by moſt copious examples both in Scripture and Heathen Writers, we ſhall not be tedious in allegations in which we might be even endleſs, take but theſe two pregnant ones for a pattern, *Matth.* 8.18. *Joh.* 6.1. & 17. 25. & 18. 1. *Mark* 4. 35. & 5.1. &c. And divers places in the LXX. and it will be hard, if not impoſſible to ſhew where ever πέραν ſignifieth *ſecus*. To which may be added the ſignification of ſeveral words derived from this, as περάω, περάω and others, which all carry in them the ſignification of *going beyond, over*, or *to the other ſide.*

Secondly, Conſider but the progreſs of *John* in his baptizing. He firſt beginneth in *Judea*, and coaſteth on that ſide *Jordan* within the land of *Canaan*, *Matth.* 3. 1. and kept not fixed to this or that place, but moved up and down at a large diſtance, and had diſciples come to him to be baptized from a very large circuit, as is evident by thoſe

expreſſions of *Luke* and *Matthew*, *He came into all the country about Jordan*, Luke 3.3. *And there went out to him all the regions about Jordan*, Matth. 3.5. And withal *Luke* ſaith, *that all the people were baptized* by the time that our Saviour came to his baptiſm, *Luke* 3. 21. which I cannot ſee how it ſhould be underſtood otherwiſe, than that *John* had made all his harveſt, and finiſhed all the Miniſtery that he ſhould uſe on that ſide the River which he had now coaſted upon a whole half year together, now therefore he was to remove to the other ſide.

Thirdly, It cannot but be an impropriety to talk of *Johns* baptizing *beſides Jordan*, as if when he baptized in *Bethabara*, he baptized in *Jordan* it ſelf, as *Beza* himſelf denieth not.

Fourthly, The people in Cap.3.26. ſay to *John*, *Rabbi, he that was with thee, πέραν Ἰορδάνου baptizeth.* Now if this be to be rendred *beſides Jordan*, how needleſs will this appear, ſince *John* all the half year that he baptized, was hardly any where elſe? And this impropriety it is very like cauſed *Beza* to tranſlate it there *ad trajectum Jordanis*, by what warrant of the Greek, I cannot ſee. And as for thoſe two places that he alledgeth to confirm his ſenſe, namely *Matth.*4.15. & 19.1. the ſhortneſs of the language that the Evangeliſt hath uſed in both places, was that that drove him into this interpretation: For the Text of *Matthew* 4.15. cited from *Eſay* 9. 1. doth ſo plainly ſpeak to the 2 *King.*15.29. that it is paſt all doubting, as will be cleared there: Now in that Text of the *Kings* there is evident expreſſion of affliction of *Iſrael* on both ſides *Jordan*, which *Eſay* ſpeaking to, doth utter it very ſhort, as it is uſual with the Scripture to do, when it ſpeaketh from known ſtories: And as for that in *Matth.*19.1. The Harmonizing of the Evangeliſts will ſhew it moſt undoubted; that *Jeſus* in that ſtory did go over *Jordan* indeed, as may be ſeen, *Joh.*10.40. & 11.7. which ſpeak in reference to this very ſtory; but both *Matthew* and *Mark* have given the ſtory in ſo ſhort terms, as breedeth ambiguity to him that ſhall look no further than their Texts for the expoſition one of another. For they only ſay thus, *He departed from Galilee*; *and came into the coaſts of Judea beyond Jordan:* but their meaning is this, that he came into the coaſts of *Judea*, and ſo beyond *Jordan*; for the ſtory of that one verſe comprehendeth as much ſtory, as is contained from *Joh.*7. *ver.*10. to *Joh.*10. *ver.*40. And whereas thoſe Evangeliſts ſay only thus much briefly, *He came into the coaſts of* Judea, the ſtory at length was this, He came to *Hieruſalem*, and there he ſtayed from the *feaſt of Tabernacles*, Joh.7.2, 10. which was in *September*, till the *feaſt of Dedication*, which was in *December*, *Joh.*10.22. Then he goeth to the other ſide of *Jordan*, ver. 40. as ſhall be cleared paſt denial, by Gods aſſiſtance, when his providence and goodneſs ſhall bring us thither: So that in both theſe Texts alledged, the *Ellipſis* or want of the conjunction *And*, which is moſt common in the Scripture ſtile, hath brec this difficulty, and that being added [as the very nature and truth of the thing it ſelf requireth it to be underſtood] the doubt had been removed: the places being read thus, *The way of the Sea beyond* Jordan *and* Galilee *of the Gentiles: And he came into the coaſts of* Judea, *and beyond* Jordan.

Now where this *Bethabara* was *beyond Jordan*, is ſtill under ſcruple; it is very commonly apprehended to be בית עברה *The place of paſſage*, either where *Iſrael* came over when they entred the Land, or the common Ford that the people went over from one ſide to another, from *Judea* to *Perea* at the Fords of *Jericho.*

Now as for the firſt, it is a very uncertain ſcantling; ſeeing that the ſpace of *Iſraels* paſſage, as was obſerved on *Luke* 3. 21. was very many miles: And as for the ſecond, it carrieth great probability with it, if it can but be ſatisfied, how *Chriſt* and his Diſciples, could travail from thence to *Cana* in *Galilee* in three days, nay to be there at a feaſt on the third day. The 10 Chapter of *John*, and the 40 verſe, muſt help us to ſome light in this obſcurity. It is ſaid there, that *Jeſus went again beyond* Jordan, *into the place where* John *at firſt baptized*; upon which Texts let us take up theſe obſervations:

1. That *Jeſus* in this ſtory, went *ultra*, or *trans Jordanem*, over the River, and not only aſide of it: for in *Joh.*11.7. he ſaith unto his Diſciples, *let us go into* Judea *again*; Now had he not gone over *Jordan*, he had been in *Judea* already.

2. That he went to the place *where* John *at firſt baptized*, that is, where he firſt baptized beyond *Jordan*; this was *Bethabara.*

3. That he went over *Jordan* at the Fords of *Jericho*, for he went the common rode from *Jeruſalem* to *Perea*; or at the leaſt, moſt certainly he came back again at that paſſage: compare *Luke* 18.31,35.

4. That *Bethabara* was not adjoyning to *Jordan* at that paſſage, but at ſome diſtance from it: For if we look into this ſtory of his journey beyond *Jordan* in the other Evangeliſts, we ſhall find that he had ſome journies beyond the River, as *Mar.*10. 17. *One came to him when he was gone forth upon his journey*, whilſt he was beyond *Jordan.*

The opinion therefore of *Jerome* cannot be current, that holdeth *Bethabara* to be buildings at the paſſage of *Jericho*, on either ſide *Jordan*, one over againſt another, on the Rivers brink; for then how could *Chriſt*, having paſſed over at that paſſage, travail

travail when he was beyond *Jordan*, and yet go but to *Bathabara?* But it seemeth rather to me, that this place was far more northward up *Jordan*, and lay over against *Galilee*; and that *Christ* going over at the passage of *Jericho*, coasted up a good way on the left hand, many miles before he came to *Bethabara*. And I should rather suppose, that it was called *Bethabara*, or *the place of passage*, as being the landing place on the other side of the point of the lake *Genazareth*, over against *Galilee*, than the landing place on the other side of *Jordan*, over against *Jericho*.

And the Reasons that induce me to place it there, are these:

1. Because *John* had coasted up and down *Jordan* on *Judea* side for a long time together, and there he had gathered up all the Converts that were to be had: what then would it avail him to go on the other side the River, just opposite to the places where he had been so long? The River was not above twenty or thirty yards over, or grant it twice or thrice so much, nay, grant it fifty, as *Baal haleurim* on *Numb.* 10. and the time that he had spent on *Judea* side, was all the Summer, and why should it be thought that converts were now to be had on the further side, which might with as much facility have come thirty or forty yards further to him to the other side *Jordan*, especially in Summer it being no great water to get over?

2. Because of the quickness of *Christs* journey from *Bethabara* unto *Cana*; which was travailed by him in far less than three days. The first night he came to *Capernaum*, the City of his abode, vers. 39. as we shall shew there; and that two hours before night, which from the Fords of *Jericho* was impossible to do, unless he had shewed a miracle, which in this we know he did not.

3. It is a great perswasive to believe, that *John* was now baptizing near *Galilee*, because of the *Galileans*, *Peter* and *Andrew* conversing with him.

Vers. 29. *Behold the Lamb of God.*

This is the first time that *John* pointeth out *Christ* personally, or demonstrateth to the people, *This is the man:* He had hitherto spoken of him, and born witness to him continually, to all that came to be baptized by him, both before *Christs* baptism and since, but till now he could never shew them who it was of whom he spake so much, and so much honour. When *Christ* came to be baptized, the Holy Ghost had no sooner come upon him, but he was rapt away into the wilderness: and then *John* sends this honorable testimony after him, *This was he of whom I spake, &c.* But then it was too late for the people to observe who he was, for he was gone out of sight. Since that time till now, he had been in the wilderness among the beasts, and this is his first revealing of himself among men again, and now it is seasonable and necessary for *John* to demonstrate him.

The title that he giveth him, *the Lamb of God*, plainly referreth to the Lamb of the daily sacrifice; and it is so called, according to the common stile and phrase by which things devoted to God were expressed, as, *The bread of God*, Lev.21.21. *The night of the Lord*, Exod.12.42. *A Nazarite of God*, Judg.13.5. *The candle of God*, 1 Sam.3.2. Now that Lamb was so familiar, common, and conspicuous a lecture of *Christ*, and it was the first conspicuous lecture of *Christ* that was in the world, *Revel.* 13. 8. that *John* could not have chosen an Epithet that would speak him out better, than to use an expression from the morning and evening Lamb that was offered at *Jerusalem*. For besides that, 1. *John* had had newly to deal with *Priests* and *Levites* whose chief employment was about that Lamb. And 2. besides that it was about sacrifice time on the second day when *John* useth these words, between three and four a clock in the afternoon, ver.39. And besides that 3. the Lamb represented the innocency and purity of *Christ*, in his being without spot; and the death of *Christ* in being offered up. Σημαίνει τὸ πάθος διὰ τῆς ἄμνου προσηγορίας, *Ignat. Mart. Epist. ad Tarsenses.* It was 4. most proper and pertinent to the doctrine and preaching of *John* which he had used before, to use now such an Epithet for *Christ* when he came in sight: For he had still spoken of *remission of sins*, and *remission of sins* still, to all that had come to be baptized, *Mar.* 1.4. a doctrine not usual among them that stood upon their own righteousness and performance of the Law: and therefore when *Christ* first appeareth, he from an allusion to the daily Lamb, upon whose head the sins of the people were confessed and laid, sheweth how remission of sins cometh indeed, namely, by the sacrifice of *this Lamb of God, Christ*, who should bear and take away *the sins of the world*, as that Lamb did in figure, *the sins of the Jews.*

Vers. 31. *And I knew him not.*

The clause is spoken to, and explained in the Notes on *Matth.* 3.14.

§. *But that he might be made manifeſt to* Iſrael, *therefore am I come baptizing.*

The baptiſm of *John* did tend to the manifeſting of *Chriſt*, eſpecially two ways: 1. Becauſe by the ſtrangeneſs of his Miniſtery, and the wonder of ſuch a baptiſm as his was, the eyes of all the people were drawn to look after what he meant by it: For though his baptiſm for the manner of it, was ſuitable to the baptiſm ſo well known among the Jews, as was obſerved before, yet was the doctrine and end of it ſo ſtrange to them, that it put the whole Nation to an enquiry what was in it. And 2. then did *John* preach *Chriſt* [as ready to come] to every one that came to be baptized.

Verſ. 39. *They came and ſaw where he dwelt.*

It is queſtionable whether μένω here doth intimate, his Inn, or his habitation, but I rather underſtand the latter, and that the place was *Capernaum*; where *Chriſt* had an habitation, and was a member or Citizen of that City: For though he was a *Nazarite* in regard of his mothers houſe and reſidence, yet it is very probable he was a *Carpernaite* by his father *Joſephs*. For,

1. Obſerve that *Capernaum* is called *his own City*, *Matth.*9.1. compared with *Mar.*2.1.
2. There he pays tribute, as the proper place where he ſhould pay it, *Matth.*17.24.
3. When he is refuſed at *Nazaret* his mothers Town, he goeth down to *Capernaum* his fathers, *Luke* 4.31.
4. His reſort to *Capernaum* was very frequent, and his abode there very much, *John* 2. 11. *Luke* 4.31. *John* 6.17. *Luke* 10.15.
5. That his father and mother are very well known there, *John* 6.42.
6. That in regard of this frequency of *Chriſts* being in this Town, and its intereſt in him as an inhabitant and member of it, *Capernaum* is ſaid to be *lifted up to Heaven.*

Now *Capernaum* ſtanding upon the banks of *Jordan*, and on the very point of the lake of *Genazaret*, as *Jordan* began to ſpread it ſelf into that lake, he, and theſe diſciples that go with him, paſs over the water before they come thither, for now they were on the other ſide *Jordan* where *John* baptized.

Verſ. 40. *One of the two was Andrew, Simon Peters brother.*

Who the other was, it is uncertain and undeterminable; poſſibly it might be the Evangeliſt *John* himſelf, but there is no fixing on him, or any other particular man: but this may be obſerved, that *Peter* was not the firſt that came in for a Diſciple to *Chriſt*, but his brother *Andrew* and another. And it was well he was not the firſt, that ſo much of the *Romaniſts* boaſtings may be ſtopped.

§. *We have found the Meſſias.*

Andrew ſpeaketh, 1. In reference to the expectation of the Nation, that looked ſo much, and ſo earneſtly for the coming of *Chriſt*, and for his coming at this time. 2. In reference to the opinion of the Nation, that held that when *Chriſt* came, none ſhould know whence he was, *Joh.*7.27. And 3. in reference to the common and conſtant teſtimony of *John*, that ſpake ſo much of *Chriſt* to come after him.

The word *Meſſias* doth ſolely and ſingularly betoken *Chriſt*, as it is interpreted moſt pertinently by the Evangeliſt here, and Chap. 4. 25. For though the word משיח in Hebrew, in the Scripture, ſignifieth any *anointed one* whatſoever; yet in this Greek form, *Meſſias*, it never ſignifieth but only *Chriſt*. Nor is the Hebrew word משיח uſed in Hebrew Authors, but in the ſame ſenſe, and ſo it is uſed infinitely among them: ſometimes ſet ſingle without any other addition, and very often with this addition מלך המשיח *The King Meſſias*; as he that is never ſo little verſed in Jewiſh Authors, will find in great variety. In this propriety the word is uſed, *Dan.* 9. 25, 26. and ſo was it confeſſed by the Ancient Jews, though the Modern would elude it. The Jews of the *Talmud* age, ſay, that *the end of the Meſſias was ſpoken of in the Book of Cetubbim*, aiming at this place; but how the latter generations turn off ſuch a ſenſee, ſee in *R. Saadias*, and *Rab. Sol. in loc. &c.*

Verſ. 42. *Thou art Simon.*

Chriſt nameth him at the firſt ſight, and hereby ſheweth that he was the *Meſſias*, in that he could thus name *Simon* and his father, with whom he had had no converſe before.

Simon,

Simon, or *Simeon*, as the *Syriack* renders it, [for they are all one, as *Acts* 15. 14.] was a name that was exceeding much in uſe among the Jews at this time, as *Matth.*27.32. *Mark* 3.18. *Luke* 2.15. *Acts* 8.9. & 13. 1. *&c.* And it was very frequent in uſe in their Schools in putting of caſes, as, *Reuben borrowed ſuch a thing of Simeon, &c.*

The Jews themſelves ſeem to have brought the Hebrew word *Simeon*, into this Greek manner of pronouncing, *Simon*; for their own Authors ſpeak of one *Rabbi Simon.*

§. *The ſon of Jona.*

Bar Jona in the *Syriack*, *Matth.*16.17. and *Simon Jona* in the Greek, *Joh.*21.15,16,17.

There are that conceive a corruption to be in the writing of this word; for [ſay they] it ſhould be *Joanna.* And of that mind is *Jerome*, the *Vulgar Latine*, *Eraſmus*, at *Joh.*21. 15. and of that writing is *Eraſmus* his Greek copy there, and ſome others here: But upon what ground this facil and moſt general reading, of *Jona*, [for ſo the *Syrian*, *Arabick*, moſt and beſt *Greek* Copies, and moſt tranſlations utter it] ſhould be forſaken, and one ſo far fetched and ſtrained as *Joanna* be imbraced, and taken for the right, I cannot yet underſtand or apprehend.

Certainly *Jona* is the Genitive caſe of *Jonas* in the LXX, *Joh.* 4. 8. and in the New Teſtament, *Matth.* 12. 21, 39. And why the father of *Peter*, ſhould not be thought to be *Jonas*, as well as *Joannas*, I believe it will be very hard to ſhew a reaſon; We have mention of *Rabbi Jona* among the Jewiſh Doctors; which ſheweth that the name was given to others beſides the old Prophet, and there is no reaſon why a private man might not carry it as well as a Doctor. Sure it is that the very word *Jona*, applied thus to *Peter*, doth give a very good hint, to compare him and the old Prophet together: For they were both preachers to the Gentiles, both of them declined that employment: and both of them declined it at *Joppa.* Compare *Jona* 1. and *Acts* 10.

§. *Thou ſhalt be called Cephas.*

I. Change of names in Scripture is frequent, and moſt common for the better, as *Abrams* into *Abraham*, *Jacobs* into *Iſrael*, *Hoſheas* into *Jehoſhua*, and *Solomons* into *Jedidiah*; though ſometimes there is a change for the worſe, as *Jerubaal* into *Jeruboſheth*, 2 *Sam.*11.22. *Sychem* into *Sychar*, *Joh.* 4.5. &c.

II. Chriſt changeth the name of three Diſciples only, *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, *Mark* 3. 16,17. as God had changed the names of three men only in the Old Teſtament, *Abram*, *Jacob*, and *Solomon.*

III. Now as concerning the name *Cephas*, which *Simon* carried hence-forward, 1 *Cor.*1. 12. & 15.5. *Gal.*2.9. it is a *Syriack* word, framed into an adjective, and into a *Greek* utterance, by addition of *s* in the latter end.

Ceph indeed is uſed ſometimes in the *Hebrew*, as *Jer.*4.29. *Job* 30.6. But *Cepha* ſoundeth of the *Chaldee* idiom, and is uſed very frequently by the Paraphraſts; moſt commonly to render the Hebrew word סלע as *D. Kimchi* noteth in *Michol*, and as may be obſerved in *Numb.*20.8,10,11. *Judg.* 20. 45, 47. & 21. 13. 1 *Sam.* 23.28. and divers other places: and ſometime to expreſs the word לשון when it ſignifieth, *a point of land, or ſea*, as *Joſh.* 15. 2. חלשון הפנה נגנרה the *Chaldee* renders it: כיפא דמתפנו לדרומא meaning, as ſaith *Kimchi* on the place, the *point of a Rock* that looked South-eaſt. But it will eaſily be agreed upon about the ſignification of *Ceph* and *Cepha*, namely, that it denoteth a *Rock*, in the moſt proper and moſt common meaning of it: But the ſcruple is whether *Cephas* be the very ſame with *Cepha* in ſignification, yea, or no, and whether the letter *s* added in the end, do change the ſound of it only, and not the ſenſe.

To me it ſeemeth, that *Cephas* is of an adjective ſignification, and betokeneth not *a Rock*, but *Rocky*, not *Petra*, but *Petroſus*, or *belonging to the Rock:* and I am induced to this opinion upon theſe grounds and arguments:

1. Becauſe it is uttered *Cephas*, and not *Cepha*; for although it is ordinary with the language of the New Teſtament to add *s* in the latter end of ſome words, to make them ſound of a Greek pronunciation, as *Ezekias*, *Manaſſes*, *Meſſias*, *Barnabas*, *&c.* and though I think it doth ſo here, yet do I not conceive it doth ſo here for that end only, but for ſome other further purpoſe and intereſt.

As 1. To mark it for a proper name, and to take it off from being taken otherwiſe: and ſo *Barnabas*, *Barſabas*, and *Elymas*, are marked with the ſame mark, for the ſame end.

2. To change its ſenſe, as well as its nature, and to alter it from a ſubſtantive ſignification to an adjective, as well as from a common noune to a proper: For as the Evangeliſt maketh a clear diſtinction between *Petros* and *Petra*, *Matth.* 16. 18. as all orthodox Expoſitors upon that place grant; ſo certainly is the like to be made betwixt *Cephas* and *Cepha*; for theſe *Syriack* words our Saviour uſed when he uttered that ſpeech.

And

And to this purpose it is also to be observed, that the word *Petros* is not used for a *Rock* in all the Scripture: It is in use indeed in that sense among Heathen Authors, but in the LXX. and in all the New Testament it is scarcely to be so found: Now if the Evangelist meant to tell us, that *Cephas* signifieth a *Rock*, it is wonder that he would use the word *Petros*, which never occurreth in that sense in all the Bible, and refuse the word *Petra*, which signifieth so in the Scripture hundreds of times; Nay, say some of our Greek Dictionaries, πέτρα κοινῶς, πέτρος ἀττικῶς: *Petra* is the common name for a *Rock*, even in the Heathen Greek Language, but *Petros*, is but the Attick dialect. And therefore I cannot but wonder that *Petrus* in this place should be translated *Petra*, as *Beza* in Latin, and *Brucioli* in Italian render it; and our English to the same sense, *Thou shalt be called Cephas, which is by interpretation, a stone.*

For the taking up therefore of the sense and meaning, and of the reason and occasion of this name given to *Simon*, these particulars are to be taken into consideration.

I. That *Christ* called him *Cephas*, *totidem literis*, and not *Cepha*: and that he was commonly so called among the Disciples, *Cephas*, with the *s* sounded in the latter end. I know it is a common opinion to the contrary, as *Beza* on *Matth.*16.18. utters it *Dominus Syriace loquens, nulla usus est agnominatione, sed utrobique dixit Cepha*: and accordingly the *Syriack* translater every where expresseth it.

But let it be observed, 1. That as the Jewish Nation was full of Greek names, which were Greek names indeed, as *Andreas*, *Nicodemus*, *Alexander*, *&c.* so did they frame many of their Jewish names, which were Jewish names indeed, into a Greek pronunciation, and so pronounced them among themselves, as *Theudas*, *Baithus*, and others in the *Talmud*; and *Herandes* for *Herod* in the *Syriack* translater, &c. And why *Cephas* should not be so used among them and other Greek-sounding *Syriack* names in the New Testament, I have not yet met with any reason that giveth any satisfaction, nor indeed with any Author that giveth any reason.

And let it be observed, 2. That whereas generally common nouns in the *Syriack* tongue, do end in *a*, as *Aceldama*, *Abba*, *Gabbitha*, *Talitha*, *Acts* 1.19. *Gal.*4.6, *Joh.*19.13. *Mar.*5.41. when they are to be framed into proper names of men, it is done by putting *s* to the end of them, as *Barabbas*, *Elymas*, *Barnabas*, *&c.* And of the same nature is *Cephas* here: Now since this change of nouns from common to proper was made among the Jews, what reason can be given why this letter that made the change should not be reserved among the Jews also? Did the Greeks only call *Simon*, *Cephas*, and not the Jews? And did the Greeks call the other men *Barnabas* and *Barabbas*; but the Jews *Barnaba* and *Barabba*?

Consider, 3. How common the *Greek Bible* or the LXX. was in use among the Jews at this time, and how much mixture of *Greek* words was used in their common language at this time, as appeareth by the *Syriack* translater, the *Chald. Paraphrasts*, the *Talmuds* and others the most ancient Jewish Writers, and then we have good cause to think, that they that used the whole Bible in *Greek*, and that used to speak so much *Greek* mingled with their *Syriack* language continually, would not stick to utter one letter that sounded of the *Greek*, when that letter was only and properly added to denote a proper name.

But you will say, that the New Testament writeth, *Ezekias*, *Josias*, *Jonas*, and the like, with *s* in the end, as these words are written, and yet there is none that can think that the Jews uttered those words so, but as they are written in the Old Testament, *Ezekiah*, *Josiah*, *Jonah*. It is true, that it is most like they did so, but the difference betwixt them and these words that we have in hand, is so apparent, that it is hardly needful to shew it: those were proper names originally, these were common names made proper: those had *s* added in the end, not to shew that they were proper names, but to supply the Hebrew *h* or ה, which the *Greek* in the end of a word cannot utter; but these have *s* added in the latter end, purposely and intentionally, to make them proper names, and to shew that they are so.

And 4. let it be observed, How it could be possible for the Disciples in those words of our Saviour, *Tu es Petrus, & super hanc petram*, *Math.* 16.18. to understand them otherwise than that *Peter* should be called *the Rock*, if *Christ* used *Cepha* in both places: *Thou art Cepha, and upon this Cepha*; *Thou art a Rock, and upon this Rock will I build my Church*: let any one but judge what interpretation they could make of it, by his own construing and interpreting it, according to the propriety, as the words lie before him. Therefore it is more than probable, that *Christ* called his name *Cephas*, uttering and sounding the *s* in the latter end; and that the addition of that letter was not from the Evangelist, but from *Christ* himself; and that in the speech mentioned, he thus differenced the words, Thou art *Cephas*, and upon this *Cepha* will I build my Church.

II. Now the reason why our Saviour giveth him this name *Cephas* or *Rocky*, was not so much for that he was built upon the Rock, for so were all the rest of the Apostles except *Judas*, but because he had a special work to do about that building which *Christ* was to found upon the Rock. For in those words, *upon this Rock will I build my Church* he meaneth

meaneth the Church of the Gentiles, which was now in founding, and in that building *Peter* had this ſpecial and ſingular work and priviledge, that he was the firſt that preached the Goſpel to the Gentiles, *Act.* 10. & *Acts* 15.7.

§. *Which is by interpretation Peter.*

For ſo ſhould the word be rendred, and not as our *Engliſh* hath it, *which is by interpretation a ſtone.* This is a paſſage like that in the verſe preceding, *Meſſias, which is by interpretation, Chriſt*; and that *Acts* 9.39. *Tabitha, which is by interpretation, Dorcas:* where our Tranſlaters have very properly obſerved and followed the intention of the Evangeliſts, which is, to give theſe proper names out of one language into another, and not to give them out of proper names into common nouns: And here they ſhould have followed the ſame courſe, which they have done in the margin, but have refuſed it in the Text: The *Arabick* and *Vulgar Latine*, and divers others, tranſlate it *Petrus* according to our ſenſe: but the *Syriack* tranſlateth not the clauſe at all.

Verſ. 43. *The day following.*

Janſenius dare not ſuppoſe this to be the next day after that *Andrew* and the other Diſciple followed *Jeſus* to his own home; but he thinks it was the day after *Chriſt* had named *Simon, Cephas.* The cauſe of his doubting is this, becauſe it being late towards night, when *Jeſus* and *Andrew*, and the other Diſciple came to the place where *Jeſus* dwelt, *ver.* 39. he cannot ſuppoſe how *Peter* ſhould be found and brought to *Chriſt* before the next day: and yet he confeſſeth *Epiphanius* to be of opinion againſt him. But it being obſerved that *Peter* and *Andrew* were brethren, that they dwelt together, *Mar.* 1.29. that they fiſhed together, *Matth.* 4.18. *&c.* it will be no difficulty to conceive how *Andrew* might find out *Peter* upon a ſodain, and bring him to *Jeſus* that very night that they came into *Capernaum*, though it were late; and accordingly there is no ſcruple to expound this, *day following*, of the very next day after.

Verſ. 44. *Bethſaida.*

This was a Town that ſtood beſide the lake of *Genneſaret*, changed by *Philip* the *Tetrarch* into the form or ſtate of a City, and named by him *Julia*, after the name of *Cæſars* daughter: ſo *Joſephus* witneſſeth, *Antiq. lib.* 18. *cap.* 3. Κώμην ὁ Βηθσαϊδὰν εἰς λίμνη ὁ τῇ γεννησαρείτιδι πόλεως ἀξιόχρεων ἀξίωμα, πλήθει τε οἰκητόρων, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει Ἰουλίᾳ συγάτηρ τῇ Καίσαρος ὁμώνυμον ἐκάλεσεν. *The Town Bethſaida by the lake of Genneſaret, he brought to the dignity of a City, both in multitude of inhabitants, and in other ſtrength, and called it after the name of* Julia *the daughter of* Cæſar.

Bethſaida, ſignifieth the houſe, or *place of hunting*; and it ſeemeth to have been ſo called, becauſe it ſtood in a place where was ſtore of Deer or Veniſon. And to this ſenſe is that paſſage of *Jacob* to be underſtood, *Gen.* 49.21. *Nephthali, a Hind let looſe*, that is, *Nephthali* ſhall abound in Veniſon, as *Aſher* with bread and oyl, *ver.* 20. and *Judah* with wine, *ver.* 11. view the places in the original. Now *Bethſaida* ſtood either in, or very near the tribe of *Nephthali*, as ſhall be ſhewed elſewhere.

§. *The City of Andrew and Peter.*

Andrew and *Peter* after this removed and dwelt in *Capernaum*, *Mark* 1.21,29. becauſe they would be near *Chriſt* whoſe reſidence was there, as was obſerved before: And there *Peter* pays tribute for himſelf, as in proper place, *Matth.* 17.27.

§. *We have found him of whom Moſes in the Law, and the Prophets did write, &c.*

Now to inſiſt upon the ſtudiouſneſs of *Philip* and *Nathaneel* in the Law and Prophets, as ſome collect it out of this expreſſion; there are theſe things moſt obſervable out of theſe words: 1. That the whole Scriptures of the Old Teſtament are comprehended under theſe two heads, *the Law and the Prophets.* And ſo again, *Matth.* 11.13. *Luke* 16.29. For though indeed the Law and the Prophets only were read in the Synagogues every Sabbath day, as *Acts* 13.15. yet the third part of the Old Teſtament called *Cetubhim* or *Hagiographa*, did propheſie of *Chriſt*, as well as the other two, and ſo muſt of neceſſity be included here: For what book of Scriptures is more full of propheſies of *Chriſt*, than the book of *Pſalms?* And what hath more clear prediction concerning *Chriſt*, than the book of *Daniel?* And yet neither of theſe are taken in among the books of the Prophets as the Jews did

did commonly divide them in their Bibles, and read them in their Synagogues, but they come under the third part, *Cetubhim*. And therefore as by *the Law* here, is to be underſtood all the Books of *Moſes*; ſo by *the Prophets*, is to be underſtood all the Old Teſtament beſide: And ſo what is ſpoken in a *Pſalm*, is ſaid to be ſpoken by a *Prophet*, *Matth.* 13.35. and *Daniel* is called a Prophet, *Matth.*24.13. And ſo the Penman of the book of *Job*, *Eſther*, *Chronicles*, *&c.* deſerve the ſame name. And this very conſideration were argument enough, if there were no more, to plead *Solomons* ſalvation.

2. That *Chriſt* is the general and chief ſubject of the Law and the Prophets. And here are we got into a very large field, if we would but traverſe it, to ſhew how Law and Prophets in types and propheſies did ſpeak before of *Chriſt:* but this conſideration, and particulars of it will be continually occurring and emerging as we go along.

3. That when *Nathaneel* ſaith, That *we have found him of whom Moſes and the Prophets did write, Jeſus of Nazaret*, he meaneth not, that either *Moſes* or *the Prophets* had ſo articulately named him, but that *Jeſus of Nazaret* proved to be he of whom they had written and ſpoken ſo much.

Verſ. 46. *Can there any good thing come out of Nazaret?*

This ſeemeth to be ſpoken by *Nathaneel*, not only as referring to the poorneſs and obſcurity of the City *Nazaret*, [as that it is neither mentioned by the Prophets to be a producer of any good, nor likely in it ſelf to be ſo, being a place of an inferior and contemptible rank] but as referring rather to the wickedneſs and prophaneneſs of the place, that it was ſo wretched and ungodly a City, that it was unlikely that any good thing ſhould come out of it? The wickedneſs of the people of this place appeareth, *Luke* 4.29. when they are ſo deſperate as to go about to murder *Chriſt* at his firſt appearing among them.

Verſ. 47. compare Jer. 9. 4, 5, 6. *Behold an Iſraelite indeed, &c.*

Although this be the character of every true Chriſtian, as *Eſay* 65.8. and it be accordingly conceived almoſt generally by Expoſitors, that our Saviour aimeth only at ſuch a thing here, namely, that this is one that ſerveth God ſincerely, and with a good heart, and this is ſuch a one as God requireth a man to be in the profeſſion of Religion, yet can I not apprehend this to be the ſole and proper meaning and intention of theſe words; for why might not the ſame have been ſpoken of, and to *Peter*, *Andrew*, and *Philip?* Certainly they were very ſincere and upright towards God, and were *Iſraelites indeed*, without guile or hypocriſie in matter of Religion, as well as *Nathaneel*; their fetching one another to *Chriſt*, and the readineſs of them all in imbracing of *Chriſt*, confirmeth this paſt all denial: and it is hard and harſh to think that *Chriſt* ſhould give that for a ſingular *Encomion* to *Nathaneel*, which might generally be given to any of his Diſciples: when he nameth *Simon Peter*, it was for ſome ſingular and peculiar reſpect, and ſo when he nameth *James* and *John*, *Boanarges*; and doubtleſs when he paſſeth ſuch a character as this upon *Nathaneel*, it was for ſome regard and reſpect in which he was differenced from other men.

The cauſe and occaſion therefore of this deſcription of him by our Saviour, I conceive rather to be *Nathaneel's* uprightneſs and deceitleſneſs towards men, than towards God, though his uprightneſs and ſincerity towards God is by no means to be denied. And it ſeemeth that this was a common name and title which *Nathaneel* had got among his neighbors, and thoſe that knew him, for his very honeſt, upright, and exemplary dealing, converſe and integrity amongſt them, that he was commonly called the *guiltleſs Iſraelite*, as that Roman was called *veriſſimus*, for his exceeding great truthfulneſs. And truly to me it is very probable, that the great variety of names that we find divers men in Scripture to have had, [as ſome to have two names, ſome three, ſome more] proceeded in very many of them from this very cauſe and occaſion, namely, their neighbors and acquaintance obſerving ſome ſingular quality in them, and action done by them, gave them ſome denomination or other agreeable to that action or quality: So *Gedeon* came by his name *Jerubbaal*, Judg.6.32. and *Jerubeſheth*, 2 Sam.11.21. So *Shemaiah* the falſe Prophet came to be called the *Nehelamite*, or *the dreamer*, Jer.29.31. and divers others mentioned in Scripture, and in *Joſephus*, ſome of which will be taken up in their due places: Now it being a common title that *Nathaneel* had got among all that knew him to be called the *Iſraelite without guile*; our Saviour when he ſees him come towards him, calls him by the ſame name; and thereupon *Nathaneel* queſtions him how he came to know him, that he could ſo directly hit upon his common denomination.

Verſ. 48. *When thou waſt under the figtree, I ſaw thee.*

This ſeemeth to refer, not only to his being under the figtree, but to ſome private and ſecret action that he did there; and for which he went thither: And as our Saviour convinceth the woman of *Samaria* that he was the *Meſſias*, by telling her of her evil actions that ſhe did in the dark and ſecret, ſo doth he *Nathaneel*, by hinting ſome good things that he did from the eyes of men under a figtree, before *Philip* light on him there, as praying, vowing, or ſome other action which none knew of but himſelf: And this appeareth rather to be the matter that *Chriſt* aimed at; and that worketh in *Nathaneel* for his conviction, becauſe that it was poſſible that *Chriſt* might have been near the figtree himſelf as well as *Philip*, and he might ſee *Nathaneel*, and *Nathaneel* not ſee him, and ſo might *Nathaneel* have ſuppoſed; but when he telleth of ſome ſecret action that paſſed from him under the figtree, which his conſcience told him that no mortal eye could be conſcious to but himſelf, then he crys out, *Thou art the Son of God, &c.*

Verſ. 49. *Thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Iſrael.*

This he ſpeaketh from 2 *Sam.* 7. 14. *Pſal.* 2. 6, 7. & *Pſal.* 89. 26, 27. Where God ſetteth his own and only begotten Son upon his hill of *Zion*, and throne of *David*, and to rule *over the houſe of Jacob for ever*, Luke 1. 33.

Verſ. 51. *Verily, verily, I ſay unto you.*

In the Greek it is *Amen, Amen:*] Now becauſe this manner of expreſſion is exceeding uſual in the ſpeeches of our Saviour through the Goſpel, ſometimes ſingle *Amen*, as in the reſt of the Evangeliſts, and conſtantly doubled in *John*, *Amen, Amen*; and becauſe this is the firſt place according to our Harmony-order and method, that we meet with the word at all, it will be pertinent here to take up the meaning of it once for all, and to conſider theſe two particulars concerning it: 1. What our Saviour doth properly intend and mean by *Amen*, when he uſeth it ſo oft: And 2. Why *John the Evangeliſt* doth conſtantly uſe it doubled, when the other three never uſe it ſo at all.

1, As to the firſt, it is to be obſerved, [and that is well enough known] that the word *Amen* is an Hebrew word, and is very commonly uſed in the old Teſtament; but this withall is to be obſerved [which it may be is not ſo commonly noted] that it is never uſed in the Old Teſtament, but by way of wiſhing or apprecation, (the ſixteenth verſe of *Eſay* 65. only excepted, of which anon) As when it cometh ſingle, as *Deut.* 27 twelve times over, where the LXX render it γένοιτο, *be it done.* 1 *Kings* 1. 36. where the LXX have it γένοιτο ὥτως, *ſo be it*, *Nehem.* 5. 13. *Jer.* 28. 6. *Pſal.* 106. 48, &c. Or when it cometh double, *Numb.* 5. 22. *Pſal.* 41. 13. & 72. 19. & 89. 52. which the LXX expreſs γένοιτο, γένοιτο, *be it done, be it done*, or *ſo be it, ſo be it.* In all theſe places it is uſed by way of prayer or imprecation, according as the ſubject matter was to which it was applyed, as *David Kimchi* expreſſeth it in *Micol* in the root אמן: *It is ſpoken*, ſaith he, עלדרך תפלה או הוא על דרך קבלה שקבלו על עצמם קללה אם יעבורו *either by way of prayer, or by way of undertaking, as that they take upon them a curſe if they tranſgreſs.*

But in theſe utterances of our Saviour the ſenſe of it is altered from precatory to aſſertory, or from the way of wiſhing, to the way of affirming: for what one Evangeliſt expreſſeth, *Amen I ſay unto you, This poor widdow, &c.* Mar. 12. 43. another uttereth Ἀληθῶς λέγω, *Of a truth I ſay unto you*, &c. Luke 21. 2. *Mathew* ſaith, *Amen, I ſay unto you, That ſome that ſtand here, &c.* which *Luke* giveth Λέγω ἀληθῶς, *Of a truth I ſay unto you*, *Luke* 9. 27. So Ἀμὴν in *Matth.* 23. 36. is rendred Ναὶ, *truly*, *Luke* 11. 51. &c. For indeed the word *Amen* doth properly betoken and ſignifie *truth*, at is apparent by the conſtruction of that verſe forementioned, *Eſay* 65. 16. He who bleſſeth himſelf in the earth, ſhall bleſs himſelf באלהי אמן *in the God of truth*; and he that ſweareth in the earth, ſhall ſwear באלהי אמן *by the God of truth*: as not only our *Engliſh*, but alſo *R. Sol.* and *David Kimchi* do well render it; and the gloſs of *Kimchi* upon the place is worth the citing; *He ſaith in the earth*, ſaith he, *becauſe in all the world there ſhall be one truth, and that ſhall be the truth of* אלהי אמן *the God of truth.*

Now *Chriſt* is called *Amen*, *Rev.* 13. 14. as being not only *the faithful and true witneſs*, but even he *in whom all the promiſes of God are yea and Amen*, 2 *Cor.* 1. 20. and even *truth it ſelf.*

Therefore when he cometh to publiſh the Goſpel, which is that one truth that ſhould be in all the world, (for the prophet *Eſay* ſpeaketh there apparently concerning the times of the Goſpel) he ſpeaketh of his own (as he ſaith the Devil doth when he ſpeaketh a lye, *Joh.* 8. 44.) and uſeth a different ſtile from the Prophets, (which uſed to authorize

thorize their truths with, *Thus ſaith the Lord,*) and ſpeaketh Αὐτοπίστως, upon his own Authority, as *the God of truth: Amen, I ſay unto you.* In this word therefore is included two things, namely, *the truth ſpoken*, and *the truth ſpeaking it*; and the expreſſion doth not only import the certainty of the things delivered, but alſo recalleth to conſider that he that delivers it is אלהי אמן *Amen the God of truth, and truth it ſelf.* And this conſideration will help to give a reſolution to the ſecond ſcruple that was propoſed, and that is, why *John* alone doth uſe the word doubled, and none other of the Evangeliſts.

I am but little ſatisfied with that gloſs that is given by ſome upon this matter, namely, that *John* doth conſtantly double this word, becauſe the matters ſpoken by him are of a more celeſtial and ſublime ſtrain, than the matters ſpoken by the other Evangeliſts, and therefore the greater attention is challenged to them by this gemination; for neither can I ſee, nor dare I think of any ſuch ſuperiority and inferiority in the writings of the Evangeliſts.

Nor do I ſuppoſe that *Chriſt* uſed this gemination himſelf, (for it is very ſtrange that in thoſe ſpeeches that this Evangeliſt mentioneth he ſhould do ſo, and in the ſpeeches that the others mention he ſhould not do ſo, when it may be ſometimes it was the very ſame ſpeech) but I conceive that the Evangeliſt hath doubled the word, that he might expreſs the double ſenſe which the ſingle word in our Saviours mouth, and in the other Evangeliſts includeth. And ſo he addeth nothing to what *Chriſt* ſpake, but explaineth his ſpeech to the utmoſt extent. He ſaith in the other Evangeliſts *Amen* ſingly, but he meaneth thus doubly, *This is truth, and I am truth that ſpeak it*: Now *John* that he might clear this double meaning, doth double the word *Amen, Amen*, the one whereof doth refer to the thing that is ſpoken, and the other to the perſon that ſpeaketh it. But the queſtion propoſed, is not yet reſolved, why *John* ſhould do thus, rather than any of the other; but the ſame anſwer that reſolveth why *John* ſhould relate ſo many things that none of the other three do ever mention, will reſolve this: namely, that it was Gods will and diſpoſal that there ſhould be four that ſhould write the Goſpel, and that ſome writing one thing, and ſome another, ſome after one manner, ſome another, the Story ſhould be divinely made up to its full perfection. Now *John* wrote laſt, and he had warrant and opportunity to relate what the others had omitted: And as for the particular in hand, he ſaw that the other had only produced this word ſingle, as *Chriſt* indeed had continually uttered it, and that they had ſome of them expounded it in a place or two Ἀληθῶς & Ναί, to ſhew that it was to be taken in theſe ſpeeches in a meaning different from that precatory ſtrain in which it was conſtantly uſed in the Old Teſtament: but yet that there was ſomething more included in the word, and therefore he is warranted by the holy Ghoſt to explain it to the full in two words, *Amen, Amen:* And thus the counſels of the Lord of old, uttered and revealed by the Prophets, do in the preaching of the Goſpel by our Saviour prove אמונה אמן *Truth, truth, Eſay* 25. 1.

§ *Hereafter ye ſhall ſee Heaven opened.*

Obſerve the manner of our Saviours anſwer; the text ſaith, he ſaith *to him*, but his words are aimed at them all, *Amen, Amen*, I ſay *to you*, Ye ſhall ſee, &c. He applyeth his ſpeech to all in general, though he ſpake more ſingularly, (as the Text telleth) to *Nathaneel* in proſecution of the diſcourſe that had been betwixt them before.

Now the main difficulty of this ſpeech lyeth in this, in what ſenſe to underſtand, *the opening of the Heavens*; and where and how theſe Diſciples ſaw the *Angels aſcending and deſcending upon Chriſt:* The words are capable of a double conſtruction, and ſome give them the one, and ſome the other: ſome underſtand them literally, that the Diſciples did at ſome times ſee the Heavens opened indeed, as *John the Baptiſt* had done, *Luke* 3. and the Angels aſcending and deſcending upon *Chriſt* indeed, though never a one of the Evangeliſts mention it. And fair arguments and probability they ſhew for this, which I ſhall not ſpend time to mention.

But others conceive the words are to be interpreted in a Metaphorical and borrowed ſenſe, and not according to the letter, and ſo taken, ſome interpret them one way, ſome another.

I confeſs that I have ſtood at this place, *tanquam in bivio*, a very long time, and can hardly tell which way to take: both the interpretations of the thing, both the literal and the tropical, carrying ſo fair a colour and appearance with them. But I cannot but incline to the latter, namely, to conceive that *Chriſt* here ſpeaketh in a borrowed ſenſe, and by the *opening of Heaven*, and the *aſcending and deſcending of Angels*, that he meaneth not hiſtorically, that that very thing was to be done, but myſtically meaneth ſome thing elſe, which he thought good to expreſs by theſe borrowed phraſes. And that which mainly ſwayeth me that way is, [beſides the ſilence of all the Evangeliſts, that never mention ſuch a thing really done] the force and ſignification of the word Ἀμήν. Our

Engliſh

Engliſh and *Eraſmus* render it *hereafter*; and ſo have left the time at a very large and uncertain ſcantling. But the *Syriack* and the *Vulgar* render it, *from this time*, or *henceforward*, and ſo it is moſt properly and naturally meaneth: For it ſignifieth not only a date of time, and ſome one action done after that date at a time uncertain; but a continuance of ſuch actions or things from that date forward.

Now our Saviours meaning in this phraſe is, that from this very time forward he would declare and ſhew himſelf in his Miniſtery glorioufly and with power, and henceforward ſhould his Diſciples ſee and perceive ſo much by glorious demonſtrations of him, that they might know that he was the *Chriſt*.

His expreſſions of *the Heavens opened*, and the *Angels aſcending and deſcending*, refer and allude to *Ezekiels* viſion at *Chebar*, *Ezek.* 1. 1. and to *Jacobs* at *Bethel*, *Gen.* 28. two as glorious revelations of *Chriſt*, as any viſion the Old Teſtament mentioneth.

His meaning may be given in a paraphraſe, thus; *Nathaneel* doſt thou think it ſo great a matter, that I could ſee thee though thou wert ſo cloſe, and private, and ſecret under the figtree? thou ſhalt ſee far greater things than theſe; for I tell you all: From this time forward I muſt begin to preach the Goſpel, and ye ſhall perceive that I have ſuch knowledge of things, as if heaven it ſelf were open to me: and ſuch power of miracles and doing wonders, as if the Angels were continually going on errands for me, and doing my will. And accordingly the Evangeliſt relateth that on the very next day he ſhewed a miracle at *Cana* in *Galilee*, and *manifeſted forth his glory*: and in the latter end of the ſame Chapter, he ſpeaketh of his miracles at *Jeruſalem*, and his knowledge of all men, *ver.* 24.

So that henceforth *Chriſts* Miniſtery in preaching and doing miracles doth begin; the place, *Cana*: the time, ſome two months after his Baptiſm, or thereabouts, for ought is to be perceived from the Evangeliſts to the contrary.

§ *The Son of Man.*

This title of *Chriſt*, which is ſo frequent in the Evangeliſts, [and yet which is obſervable, never but in his own words] meaneth not only to expreſs *a man*, according to the *Syrian* Dialect then uſed, בר נשא *Bar noſho*, nor only to expreſs *Chriſts* humanity, or that he was truly man, in all things like unto us, ſin only excepted; nor doth it only intimate his humility, when he doth not diſdain to call himſelf ſo oft by this humble name, though it may have ſome aim at all theſe things: but it ſeemeth to be uſed ſo oft by our Saviour concerning himſelf, as intimating him to be *the ſecond Adam*, and referring to that promiſe that was made to *Adam* inſtantly after his fall, *of the ſeed of the Woman that ſhould break the Serpents head*: And to this very purpoſe, as we obſerved in its place, the Evangeliſt *Luke*, at the ſtory of his Baptiſm, when he was to be inſtalled into his Miniſtery, and had that glorious teſtimony from heaven, deriveth his pedegree up to the firſt *Adam*, to draw all mens eyes to that firſt promiſe, and to cauſe them to own him for that ſeed there promiſed, and for that effect that is there mentioned, of diſſolving the works of *Satan*: And as that Evangeliſt giveth that hint, when he his now entring this quarrel with *Satan*, even in the entrance of his Miniſtery, ſo doth he himſelf as he goeth along in it, very frequently and commonly by this very phraſe, give the ſame intimation for the ſame purpoſe. *Nathaneel* had proclaimed him *the Son of God*, he inſtantly titles himſelf, *the Son of Man*; not only to ſhew his humanity, [for that *Nathaneel* was aſſured of by the words of *Philip*, who calls him, *Jeſus of Nazeret*, *the ſon of Joſeph*] but to reſolve the thoughts of the hearers to the firſt promiſe, and to lead them to look for reſtoring of that by this ſecond *Adam* which was loſt in the firſt. To him was heaven ſhut upon his fall, and he loſt his former converſe and attendance of Angels, but *ye ſhall ſee heaven open, and the Angels aſcending and deſcending upon the Son of Man*, that you may know that the ſecond *Adam* is here.

It is true indeed that *Ezekiel* and *Daniel* are called either of them *Son of Man*, *Ezek.* 2. 1. &c. *Dan.* 8. 17. and that all men in general are called the *ſons of Man*, בני אדם *Pſal.* 62. 9. as *nomen naturæ*, and ſo we deny not but this title doth denote and ſhew *Chriſts* humanity, and may tell us to what honour God raiſed our nature in him: But when he doth often ſtile himſelf by the title with ſuch an *Emphaſis*, it draws the eyes and thoughts of all to meditate alſo and conſider upon this further thing.

SECTION XIII.

S. JOHN. CHAP. II.

Christs first miracle, changing of forms.

His first Passover.

AND [a] *the third there was a marriage in* [b] *Cana of Galilee; and the mother of Jesus was there.*

2. *And both Jesus was called, and his Disciples to the* [c] *marriage.*

3. *And when* [d] *they wanted wine, the mother of Jesus saith unto him, They have no wine.*

4. *Jesus saith unto her, Woman, what have I to do with thee? mine hour is not yet come.*

5. *His mother saith unto the servants, Whatsoever he saith unto you, do it.*

[a] *The third day.*] There is much difference whence to date this day; whether from *Johns* last testimony of *Christ*, or from *Christs* coming into *Galilee*, or from his conference with *Nathaneel*: and this difficulty hath the rather risen, because this is another Chapter: for certainly if this verse had been in the Chapter before, they that date this third day, from *Christs* coming into *Galilee*, would more readily have inclined to another date, namely, from the testimony of *John*. And truly for all it is a new Chapter, yet I see not why it should not be linked to that chain of time that is in the Chapter before. Now there it is said, *John* stood and two of his Disciples, and he testified of *Jesus*, and they followed him. And *the day following Jesus would go into Galilee*, and meeteth with *Philip* and *Nathaneel*: and *the third day there was a marriage*: what doubt can there be of those three days thus linked together, especially it being considered that the Holy Ghost doth here date the time of *Christs* first acting and moving in the Ministery of the Gospel, and will shew how soon he wrought miracles after he began?

[b] The *Syr.* readeth, *In Catna of Galilee*, and so doth it again, *Chap.* 4. 6. & 21. 2. And so doth the Hebrew Map of *Canaan*, mention קטנא בגלול *Catna in Galilee*: for into this name, it seems it was grown in after times; and the *Syrian* calleth it by the name it bare in his time, as we find it common with the *Chaldee Paraphrast* to do by names of places in the Old Testament, as he calleth *Kadesh-barnea*, constantly *Reham*; he calleth *Argob*, *Trachona*, or *Trachonitis*, *Deut.* 3. 4. and so might be instanced in exceeding many.

[c] *Syr.* משתותא i. e. *the marriage Feast*: for a Feast ever attended a marriage, see *Gen* 29. 22. *Judg.* 14. 10.

[d] Ὑστερήσαντος οἴνου:] Some by the tense would collect that the wine was but now failing, and was not utterly spent, and upon this collection would interpret those words, *mine hour is not yet come*, to this sense that *Christ* would not work the miracle till the wine was clean gone; but neither is the tense of so *strict* a signification, nor are those words of such a meaning; as might be shewed at large for the former, and shall be touched upon for the latter by and by: see those instances about the tense, *Matth.* 26. 26. εὐλογήσας ἔκλασε. 27. εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκε. 30. ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον: which to spare more, do clearly intimate the action past; as *Christ* brake not the bread, nor gave the cup, while he was blessing and giving thanks, but after, &c.

S. JOHN, Chap. II.

6. *And there were set there* [e] *six water pots of stone, after the manner of the purifying of the Jews, containing two or three* [f] *firkins apiece.*

7. *Jesus saith unto them, Fill the waterpots with water; and they filled them up to the brim.*

[e] *Hydriæ*: The same word is used by this same Evangelist, *Chap.* 4. 28. And the very notation of the word in this place, conduceth to the heightning of the miracle, and the confirming of the truth of it. For these Vessels were *Hydriæ*, *water-vessels*, destined and used only for holding of water, and therefore no bottom or dregs of wine could be conceived in them, as by which some colour or taste might be given to the water to resemble wine. The vessels which women used to fetch water in from the wells, were also called *Hydriæ*, as is apparent by the place lately alledged, *Joh.* 4. 28. these in Hebrew were called כדים *Gen.* 24. 14. *&c.* which the three *Targums* express by three

several

several words מורכא לגיכא קולתא: but those vessels were either earthen or wooden, or of leather, or some such light and portable matter, but these here spoken of were of stone, because they were not to be carryed from place to place, but stood constantly in their dining rooms, or thereabouts, to have water ready for them to wash against they came to meat.

[*f*] Μετρητὰς] The LXX render three Hebrew words by this; 1. סאה in 1 *Kings* 18. 32. where it is said, *Elias* made a trench that would contain סאתים two measures of seed: the Greek hath it δύο μετρητὰς. 2. בת in 2 *Chron* 4.5. *Solomons* brasen Sea held 3000 baths בתים: the LXX have it μετρητὰς τρισχιλίους. 3. פורח in *Hag.* 2. 17. ἐξαντλήσαι πεντήκοντα μετρητὰς: where either they take פורח for a measure, which indeed signifieth a winepress, or else they express the measure which the Hebrew hath understood. What this measure μετρητὴ contained, shall be examined in the explanation of the verse.

S. *JOHN*, Chap. II.

8. *And he saith unto them, Draw out now, and bear unto* [g] *the Governour of the Feast: And they bare it.*

9. *When the Ruler of the Feast had tasted the water that was made wine, and knew not whence it was, (but the servants which drew the water knew) the Governour of the Feast called the Bridegroome,*

10. *And saith unto him, Every man at the beginning doth set forth good wine, and when men have well drunke, then that which is worse; but thou hast kept the good wine untill now.*

11. *This beginning of miracles did Jesus in Cana of Galilee, and manifested forth his glory, and his Disciples believed on him.*

12. *After this he went down to* [h] *Capernaum he and his mother, and his brethren, and his Disciples, and they continued there not many days.*

Christs first Passover after his Baptism.

13. *And the Jews Passover was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem.*

14. *And found in the Temple those that sold oxen and sheep, and doves, and the changers of mony sitting.*

15. *And when he had made a scourge of small cords, he drove them all out of the Temple, and the sheep and the oxen, and poured out the changers mony, and overthrew the tables.*

16. *And said unto them that sold doves, Take these things hence, make not my Fathers house an house of merchandize.*

17. *And his Disciples remembred that it was written, The zeal of thine House hath eaten me up.*

18. *Then answered the Jews, and said unto him, What sign shewest thou unto us, seeing that thou dost these things?*

19. *Jesus answered and said unto them, Destroy this Temple, and in three days I will raise it up.*

[*g*] Ἀρχιτρίκλινος.] There are three words couched and compacted in this one, and every one of the three refers and draws us to look upon three several things of the customs and fashions of those times; 1. κλίνος from κλίνη, *a bed*, because it was their manner of old to sit upon beds as they sate at meat, *Esther* 7. 8. *The King returned to the place at the banquet of wine, and Haman was fallen upon the bed where Esther was.* Ἀνεπαύετο ἐν κλινῇ ἐν ᾗ περ ἐδείπνει τῇ ἐμοῦ ἐχομένῃ, *Plat. in Sympos: He rested on the bed on which he had supped, which was near to mine.* 2. τρι-κλίνος; it intimateth *three beds*, for that was the common number that they had in their dining-rooms, and from whence that room was commonly called by the Latins *Triclinium*, or *the room with three beds:* But of these things they speak at large, that write of the Jewish and the Roman antiquities, whither the Reader is referred. And 3. as for the Ἀρχι-*triclinus*, or Governor of the Feast, who he was, shall be seen anon.

[*h*] *Josephus* calleth this Town *Cepharnome.* For in his relation of his own life, he tells, that he had a fall from his horse, and got a bruise, and was carried into the Town called *Cepharnome*; ἐκομίσθην εἰς κώμην Κεφαρνώμην λεγομένην.

Now this proper name is compounded of two words, *Cephar* and *Naum:* Now that *Cephar* signifieth a *village*, it is undoubted, for the word occurreth several times in that sense in the Old Testament, 1 *Samuel* 6. 18. 1 *Chron.* 27. 28. *Nehemiah* 6. 2. &c. But whether the latter word *Naum* were written נעום or נחום is some doubtfulness: The Hebrew Map of *Canaan* writes it כפר נחום *The Town of Nahum*, or *the Town of Consolation*, which name suited very well with it, now when *Christ* had his habitation in it, but it is commonly supposed that it was called כפר נעום or, *the Town of Beauty*, because of the pleasant situation of it on the banks of *Gennesaret*, and because of the beauty of the buildings of the Town it self.

S. *JOHN*

S. *JOHN*, Chap. II.

20. *Then ſaid the Jews, Forty and ſix years* [i] *was this Temple in building, and wilt thou rear it up in three days?*

21. *But he ſpake of the Temple of his body.*

22. *When therefore he was riſen from the dead, his Diſciples remembred that he had ſaid this unto them: and they believed the Scripture, and the word which Jeſus had ſaid.*

23. *Now when he was in Jeruſalem at the Paſſover in the Feaſt-day, many believed in his name, when they ſaw the miracles which he did.*

24. *But Jeſus did not commit himſelf unto them, becauſe he knew all men,*

25. *And needed not that any ſhould teſtifie of man, for he knew what was in man.*

[i] Ὠκοδομήθη.] This word may be conſtrued two ways; either *was in building*, or *hath been built*. And there may be ſome doubtfulneſs whether way to fix the conſtruction, in regard of the doubtfulneſs of whether Temple the Jews ſpeak here, whether of that that was built by *Zorobabel* upon the return of the people of the Jews out of captivity, or that that was built by *Herod* the great. When we come to explain the verſe, it will appear how fairly the word may be conſtrued and underſtood either the one way or the other, and how fitly in theſe ſeveral conſtructions it may be applyed to theſe ſeveral Temples that have been mentioned: And there if we can, we will fix it to its proper meaning, and to the Jews meaning and intention in theſe words.

Reaſon of the Order.

THERE need not any words, nor much pains to confirm the order and connexion of this Chapter with that that went before, nor the conjunction of theſe ſtories of this Chapter one to another. For the words, *on the third day*, uſed in the very front of the Chapter, do ſo plainly tye it to the preceding, that there needeth no more to be ſaid of it. And the tranſition of the ſtory from *Cana* to *Capernaum*, and from *Capernaum* to the Paſover at *Jeruſalem*, is ſo clear, that he that runneth may read the connexion, and none can make any doubt or ſcruple at all of it: Only when it is ſaid in verſ. 12. *After this he went down to Capernaum*; it is to be underſtood, with ſome ſtay made before in *Galilee*, as ſhall be ſhewed at the explanation of the verſe.

Harmony and Explanation.

Verſe 1.

NOT to be too curious in finding out reaſons why *Chriſt* ſhould work his firſt miracle at a marriage, and why by transforming water into wine, about which buſineſs ſome Expoſitors have been needleſly induſtrious; theſe particulars cannot be paſſed over without obſervation, they are ſo obvious and emergent out of the thing it ſelf: 1. That as marriage was the firſt inſtitution that God ordained, ſo at a marriage was the firſt miracle that our Saviour wrought. 2. That as he had ſhewed himſelf miraculous but a little while ago in an extraordinary faſt, ſo doth he now by an extraordinary proviſion for a feaſt. 3. That though he refuſed to turn ſtones into bread, to ſatisfie his own hunger, becauſe it would have been for the ſatisfaction of *Satan*, yet doth he not refuſe to turn water into wine, to make up the full feſtivity at a marriage, becauſe it would be for the ſhewing forth of his own glory. 4. That as the firſt miracle that was wrought in the world by man was transformation, *Exod.* 7. 9, 20. ſo is the firſt miracle that was wrought by the Son of man; and he worketh no more of the ſame nature. 5. That as the firſt time you hear of *John Baptiſt* in his publick Miniſtery, ye hear of his ſtrict diet, and that he cometh neither eating nor drinking; ſo the firſt time ye hear of *Chriſt* towards his publick Miniſtry, ye hear of him at a marriage feaſt, and turning water into wine. 6. If any will obſerve from his being at this marriage feaſt, that he honoured marriage, and allowed of moderate and ſober feaſting: Or, 7. if from this, and his turning water into wine, any will think of the marriage of *Chriſt* and his Church, and of things changed into a better condition under the Goſpel, and of the Elements of the Goſpel-Sacraments, water and wine, he hath liberty, if he can find any profit in ſuch obſervations. But how *Chriſts* being preſent at this marriage, ſhould diſcharge marriage of the diſorders where-in it was before by divorces, re-marriages, polygamies, and ſo make Chriſtian marriage a Sacrament, as the *Rhemiſts* note upon this place, is a thing ſo far fetcht, that it is an argument only fit for *Papiſts* that have ſuch an implicit faith, as to believe any thing. And if one ſhould have queſtioned the *Rhemiſts*, did not *Chriſt* by being preſent at this

and

and other feaſts, diſcharge feaſts alſo of their diſorders, of drunkenneſs, exceſs, and vanity, and make Chriſtian feaſting a Sacrament too? No doubt we ſhould have ſome very learned diſtinction to ſhew the difference.

§ *In Cana of Galilee.*

Expoſitors even generally do ſpeak here of a *Cana the great*, and *Cana the leſs*, the greater near *Sidon*; the leſs, they agree not where: the one, as *Maldonate* tells us, called, *Cana Sidoniorum*, or, *Cana of the Sidonians*; and the other, *Cana of Galilee*. I cannot track this diſtinction further back, than to *Hierom in locis Hebraicis*: and withall I cannot ſee why it ſhould be ſo currently and generally entertained as it is, unleſs he had given better grounds for it than I find any. It is true indeed, that the Scripture ſpeaketh of a double *Cana*, one in the tribe of *Aſher*, *Joſh.* 19. 28. and the other in the tribe of *Ephraim*, *Joſh.* 16. 8. & 17. 9. That in the tribe of *Aſher* is mentioned indeed with great *Sidon*, not with any inference that it lay ſo very near it, but that the lines of *Aſhers* coaſt went up towards *Sidon*, for of that, and not of *Cana's* being near *Sidon*, is that place to be underſtood: Now this *Cana* was certainly in *Galilee* paſt denyal [for *Aſher* was in *Galilee*;] and where to find another *Cana* in *Galilee*, I believe it will be impoſſible to tell: This therefore I cannot but conclude to be the place, and that it is called *Cana of Galilee*, to diſtinguiſh it from the other *Cana* in the tribe of *Ephraim* which was *Cana of Samaria*: And thus ſuppoſing this our *Cana* to be in the tribe of *Aſher*, as the Scripture ſheweth it us, thoſe words of *Jacob* may not unfitly be applyed to this preſent occurrence there, that now *Aſher yeeldeth royal dainties* indeed, *Gen.* 49. 20. when *Chriſt* turneth water into wine.

Joſeph once reſided in this Town, as he teſtifieth himſelf, *In vita ſua*, Διετριβον ὁ ΧΓ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐν κώμῃ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἡ μετωνομάσται Κανὰ, *I was at that time in the town of Galilee called Cana*; and he relateth, that having a ſudden occaſion to go from thence to *Tiberias*, he marched all night, and came thither early in the morning.

§ *And the mother of Jeſus was there.*

His Father *Joſeph*, it is like, was now dead, for there is no mention of him any more in the Goſpel; and when *Chriſt* dyed, then it is apparent that *Mary* was a widdow, for he commendeth her to his Diſciple *John*, and he taketh her to his own houſe, *Joh.* 19. 26. *&c.*

Now *Mary* had very near kindred in this town of *Cana*, namely, *Mary* the wife of *Alpheas*, or *Cleopas*, and all that family by that relation. For 1. *Mary* the wife of *Cleopas* is called her ſiſter, *Joh.* 19. 25. and that ſame *Mary* is called the mother of *James* and *Joſes*, *Matth.* 27. 56. which were undoubtedly the ſons of *Alpheus*, *Mark* 3. 18. So that *Alpheus* and *Cleopas* were but one and the ſame name, and *Mary* his wife was very near allyed to the Virgin *Mary*. 2. *Alpheus* and his family lived in *Cana*, as may be collected by this, that one of his ſons, namely, *Simon*, is called a *Canaanite*, to diſtinguiſh him from *Simon Peter*, *Mark* 3. 18. & 6. 3. And he is called a *Canaanite*, as meaning and importing that he was a man of *Cana*.

That this marriage therefore was in *Alpheus* his houſe, may be ſuppoſed upon this; That 1. *Mary* and *Jeſus* their near kindred are invited, and all *Jeſus* Diſciples for his ſake. 2. That *Mary* the mother of *Jeſus* is ſo careſull about the wine, leſt the feaſt ſhould be ſpoiled, and the Bridegroom and his family ſhould be diſgraced by it. And 3. in that the Evangeliſt preſently after the ſtory of this feaſt, ſpeaketh of *brethren of Jeſus*, that is, his kinſmen, that went with him to *Capernaum*, *ver.* 12. whereas he had no kinſmen in his company before this feaſt at all: Now theſe kinſmen or brethren were *James*, and *Judas*, and *Simon*, and *Joſes*, Mark 6. 3.

Ver. 3. *The mother of Jeſus ſaith unto him, They have no wine.*

As it is apparent by the very frame of theſe words, that the Virgin looked after a miracle; ſo it is ſomething ſtrange, upon what ground ſhe doth expect it. Had ſhe ſeen any miracle done by him heretofore? Some conceive ſhe had; as that, in the poor and indigent eſtate of *Joſeph*, he had ſometimes ſupplyed neceſſaries by miracle when he lived there as a private man: but this hath not ſuch certainty in it ſelf, or ground in Scripture, as to be a ſufficient reſolution that this was the ground upon which his mother now deſires a miracle. But this is undoubted, that ſhe knew him to be the *Meſſias*, and *the Son of God*; this ſhe had had ſo many evidences and aſſurances of, that that was paſt all denial with her, and it may be that was it that ſhe built upon, when ſhe propoſeth to him, to povide wine in a miraculous way. It is true, no queſtion, that her eye was upon that,

that, and upon that power that was lodged in his being *the Son of God*, as knowing that he was able to do such a thing if it pleased him; but what warrant had she to urge the acting of that power, since for ought we find, she had never seen him do any miracle before; nay, where, or whence had she intimation of his doing any miracle at all? Yes, she had intimation of such a thing, and of such a thing to be begun ere long, from those words of *Christ* spoken but the day before: *From henceforth ye shall see the Heavens opened, and the Angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man.* From those very words I conceive she took the rise of her demanding a miracle from her son. For in them he had plainly told his Disciples then present with him, (and there is very good ground to suppose her then to be in the company too) that they should see, ἀπ' ἄρτι, *from that time*, some divine and heavenly manifestation of him, though he were *the Son of man*, yet to be the *Son of God*; and that now he would begin to shew himself in his actings and working of wonders, agreeable and suitable to one that had Heaven and Angels at his will and attendance: Upon this it is that she builds her request and proposal at this time, and her words are words of faith, for *she believeth what Christ had spoken, and therefore she speaketh*; and although she receiveth some check in *Christs* answer to her, for her going about to limit and determine the *hic & nunc* of those his miraculous actions, yet was the proposal it self a fruit of her faith, and *Christ* seeth so much in her, and refuseth her not.

Ver. 4. *Woman what have I to do with thee?*

There is exceeding much ado among the *Romish* party, to mince and to qualifie these words, that they may not be a reprehension; for they cannot endure that any one should think, that the Virgin *Mary* ever did any thing worthy of reproof. The *Rhemists* gloss upon the words, shall serve to shew their industry in this matter, to spare the alledging of more, which might be done exceeding abundantly, and (when all is alledged) but to little satisfaction. *Christ then may mean here*, say they, *What is that woman to me and thee being but strangers, that they want wine; as some intepret it: or (which is the more proper use of that kind of speech in holy Writ) what have I to do with thee? that is, why should I have respect to thy desire in this case? In matters touching my charge, and the commission of my Father for preaching, working miracles, and other graces, I must not be tyed to flesh and blood. Which was not a reprehension of our Lady, or signification that he would not hear her in this or other things pertaining to Gods glory, or the good of men, for the event sheweth the contrary; but it was a lesson to the company that heard it, and namely to his Disciples, that respect of kindred should not draw them to do any thing against reason, or be the principal motion, why they do their duties, but Gods glory.* And a little after, *Our Lady knew it was no check to her, but a doctrine to others.* Now *quorsum hoc?* Why do these men, and generally all the Expositors of the same school keep such ado to clear this from a reprehension? why, because the Virgin *Mary* must have no check by no means: but if it had been any woman in the world but she, or any man in the world but *Peter*, it is a question whether we should have had all this ado to carry these words out of a reprehension.

The manner of the expression they cannot deny to be of a reprehensive nature, the common use of it in Scripture is so apparent, *Judg.* 11. 12. 2 *Sam.* 16. 10. *Ezr.* 4. 3. *Matth.* 8. 29. and divers of the most ancient Fathers have understood it here in such a sense; as *Irenæus*, *Chrysostome*, *Augustine*, *Athanasius*, produced by *Beza* upon the place. It is more pertinent, and to the purpose therefore, to examine the reason why our Saviour giveth his mother such a check, than to seek evasions and arguments to discharge it from being such a thing.

There be that have conceived that our Saviour that knew all hearts, did perceive a little pride and vain-glory breathing in these words of his mother, as if she sought for, and was tickled with some desire of esteem and glory, which would redound to her upon these actions of her son: But upon what ground they have built so uncharitable a gloss as this is far from apparency. Although we hold not the Virgin *Mary* free from sin, as the Papists do, (for upon *Mark* 3. 31. we cannot but lay a very foul sin to her charge) yet do I not know any cause for which to charge her with pride, especially here where the respect and care of her kinsmans credit in whose house she now was, did move her to propose this to her son, rather than any respect of her own. But others more charitably somewhat have construed it so, as if *Christ* should check her for going about to keep him still under her maternal correction and commands, when he was now come to so full an age, as that he might very well be guide of his own actions, and accordingly they have read the latter clause by way of question, *What is not mine hour yet come?* that I may be at mine own disposal, but still must be at the mothers command? but besides the quaintness of this interrogative reading, hardly warranted by any Copy extant, it may very well be supposed

poſed that there was ſomething more that our Saviour looked after in the matter, than his own priviledge and immunity from his mothers command, or elſe as the former expoſition laid ſome aſperſion of pride upon the mother, this doth very nearly do it upon the Son: The mind of *Chriſt* therefore in the uttering of theſe words, may beſt be underſtood by thoſe that he ſpeaketh with them, *Mine hour is not yet come*, as he being the beſt Expoſitor of himſelf, if we can rightly expound thoſe.

§ *Mine hour is not yet come.*

Not to trouble my ſelf and the Reader to ſhew that ὥρα, *an hour*, in Scripture is not allways taken in that ſtrict ſenſe, as *an hour* properly is taken with us, but that it very commonly and often is uſed to ſignifie *time* in general, and of an undefined meaſure; theſe words of *Chriſt* ſeem to have this aim. He had told the day before, that ἀπ' ἄρτι, *From thenceforth they ſhould ſee the Heavens opened, &c.* that is, that now he began to be revealed, and from henceforward he muſt declare himſelf in his Publick Miniſtery and in power. *Mary* taketh occaſion of her propoſal to him for this miracle from his own words, as was obſerved before; But *Chriſt* ſays no, upon this reaſon, becauſe his working miracles was to confirm his doctrine, and therefore it were fit he ſhould firſt preach and ſhew his firſt miracle rather upon a Sermon than upon a feaſt: And that this is his mind in this clauſe, may be concluded by his condeſcenſion, and in that he doth accompliſh what the Virgin his mother doth deſire, although he ſeem to deny her deſire: He firſt gives her a mild reprehenſion, for that ſhe will be medling ſo with his Miniſterial actings, as that when he hath but told that he muſt do miracles, ſhe will offer to preſcribe the time and occaſion. This he doth in thoſe words, *Woman, what have I to do with thee?* He then rectifies her in the doctrine concerning his miracles, namely, that they were not to be acted upon all offers and occaſions, but to confirm his Doctrine among thoſe uncredulous ones, that unleſs they ſaw a ſign or wonder would not believe: This he doth in this clauſe, *Mine hour is not yet come:* And then he acts the miracle that ſhe did deſire, becauſe he knew it would have the fruit here that his miracles aimed and looked after, namely, belief in thoſe that ſaw it; and ſo it had, for his Diſciples that he had choſen before in the former Chapter, beleived on him; *ver.* 11. and there were new ones added, of his own kindred: So that though the former part of *Chriſts* ſpeech in this verſe be a flat reprehenſion of his mother, yet is not the latter part a flat denial of her requeſt, but an expoſition of the moſt proper meaning of his former words. Now if it be queſtioned when that hour came of which he ſpeaketh, it is anſwered by ſome when *John Baptiſt* was laid up in his priſon, for that then it is ſaid, *Jeſus began to preach, &c.* but it is more than apparent that *Jeſus* both preached very much, and did miracles very many before that time, and therefore thoſe words, *From that time Jeſus began to preach*, are to be conſtrued in another ſenſe, than in an *antitheſis* to what he had done before, as ſhall be ſhewed when we come there. And this *hour* that he ſpeaketh of here, is to be underſtood of the firſt time of his publick Miniſtery and Miracles after this; which the text at the furtheſt gives account to have been at *Jeruſalem* at the Paſsover, *ver.* 23. For *Jeruſalem* was the chief City, and the place where *Meſſias* was eſpecially looked for, and therefore the Evangeliſt doth properly refer us thither for the miracles after this; and to obſerve *his hour* there come.

The ſtrangeneſs of *Chriſts* ſeeming to deny to do this miracle, and yet doing it, hath put ſome upon this manner of reconciling of the matter, namely, that while there was any wine remaining, he refuſed to do it, leſt the miracle ſhould not be apparent enough, but ſome ſuſpition might have been that there was ſome remnant of, or ſome mixture with the old wine; but when that was all gone, then he wrought the miracle, and then it was undeniable, and accordingly they underſtand the tenſe in the Greek, ὑστερήσαντος οἴνου, not when the wine was clean gone, but when it was in failing. But beſides that the Greek word will not make this out, the ſame cavil might have been now, if they would have cavilled, as before: for the croſs-grain'd unbelievers that would have ſaid before, that there was ſome mixture of the water with the wine that remained; might ſay now as well, that there was ſome mixture of the water with ſome wine that was concealed.

Ver. 5. *His mother ſaith unto the Servants, Whatſoever he ſaith unto you, do it.*

Here is a ſcruple, that *Mary* ſhould be denyed as ſhe was in the verſe before, and yet be ſo confident of the thing to be done, as ſhe is in this. Divers anſwers are given to it, as 1. That ſhe doubted not but that he would begin to work miracles the ſooner for her ſake. 2. That ſhe was aſſured of his power, and of his benignity towards all. 3. By her familiarity with him, and acquaintance with all his manner of ſpeeches, ſhe knew it was no repulſe. 4. The ſtrength of her Faith would not ſuffer her to doubt. 5. It may be after his check given her for inſtruction, he ſhewed ſome evidence that he would

do this thing, either by word or geſture, which the *Evangeliſt* hath concealed. 6. There is *negatio probationis*, ſometimes uſed in Scripture, as *Gen.* 19.2. the Angels ſay unto *Lot*, *Nay, but we will lodge in the ſtreets*, and *Mat.* 15.26. *It is not meet to take the childrens bread, and caſt it to dogs.* Not that the Angels were fixedly reſolved to lie in the ſtreets all night, but that they would try and put on *Lots* importunity: Nor that *Chriſt* was determinately reſolvedly not to help the woman of *Canaan*, but that he would try and exerciſe her faith: So may we underſtand the denyal here, and ſo did *Mary* underſtand it. Not that he did hereby totally and irreverſibly gainſay her deſire and propoſal, [the ſequel ſhews the contrary] but that he would inſtruct her and inform her underſtanding, and prove and ſtrain her Faith, to ſee how it would act upon ſuch a denyal. And it acted ſtrongly, and as ſhe asked in faith, ſo ſhe goes on in Faith, and according to her faith it was done unto her.

Ver. 6. *And there were ſet there ſix water-pots of ſtone, after the manner of the puri-fying of the Jews.*

By purifying here, is not meant thoſe ſprinklings and waſhings that were commanded by the Law for the cleanſing of the unclean, [for that uncleaneſs laſted till even, and what to do with thoſe waſhings at a feaſt?] but thoſe traditional and Pharaſaical waſhings of the hands, mentioned *Matth.* 15. 2. which the Jews uſed before they ate bread, and of Tables, and cups, and platters, mentioned *Mar.* 7. Now there is a ſpecial tract in the *Talmud*, concerning this waſhing of their hands, called ידים *Jadaim*, which may give ſome light to this matter in hand. There is diſcourſed, firſt, concerning the quantity of water neceſſary for one mans hands, or the *minimum quod ſic*, the leaſt meaſure that may be uſed, and ſuch as if there be leſs, the waſhing is not right; their rule for that is this, מי רביעית נותנין לידי לא אף לב' מחציות לוג לג או לד מלוג לחמשה ולעשרה ולמאה: that is, *they allow the fourth part of a Log of water to the hands of one man, yea, of two, half a Log to three or four, a whole Log to five, or to ten, or to an hundred:* Now this meaſure called a *Log*, mentioned *Lev.* 14. 12. we ſhall conſider of by and by.

Then they diſcourſe concerning the veſſels in which water is to be put for this purpoſe, and that matter they determine thus, בכל הכלים נותנים לידים אפילו בכלי גללים בכלי אבנים בכלי ארמה: *That water for the hands may be put in any veſſell, yea, even in a veſſell of oxe dung.* [for ſo the Hebrew gloſs upon the place explaineth גללים, *viz.* [את בקר] or, *in a veſſel of ſtone*, [ſuch were thoſe veſſels we have in mention here] or, in a veſſel of Earth: Then they ſpeak of the manner of waſhing, that it is by pouring of water upon the hands out of a veſſel, and they diſpute what water this muſt be, which will be more proper to conſider of upon *Matth.* 15. if the Lord bring us thither: And there alſo may be produced the prayer they made when they waſhed their hands.

But for our preſent purpoſe, it appeareth by the rule they give about waſhing the hands, that theſe veſſels mentioned here by the Evangeliſt, were not the veſſels out of which they poured water upon their hands when they waſhed, for theſe were too heavy for ſuch a purpoſe, but they ſtood here with water in them, to take out from thence either into the veſſels that they poured out of upon their hands, or for waſhing of their cups and tables as occaſion ſerved. Now the number of ſix was not either the ſet and conſtant number of ſuch veſſels at ſuch occaſions, nor is there any myſtical buſineſs in it, but the number of veſſels was now ſuted to the company of gueſts, and occaſion of much waſhing; and their number is mentioned for the ſetting forth of the miracle the more, when not only ſo much water was made wine in an Inſtant, but alſo in ſo many ſeveral veſſels.

§ *Containing two or three firkins apiece.*

In ſearching after the quantity and contents of theſe veſſels, we may very fitly preface the words that *Camerarius* uſeth upon them, *De menſuris atque nummis cum non potuerint a diverſorum populorum & temporum hominibus, niſi diverſa tradi, conſequens eſt eſſe incerta de his rebus nobis omnia*; Diverſity of coins and meaſures, in divers times and places, muſt needs breed an ambiguity, if not an impoſſibility of punctually determining and deciding what any meaſure or value of coin was of old, almoſt in any place that can be named.

The preſent difference of the names of meaſures, and of meaſures themſelves in our own Land, may be evidence and argument enough for one of theſe, and we need go no further. And therefore we ſhall not be ſo bold as to go about abſolutely to tell the Reader what a *Metreta* was, which is the meaſure here ſpoken of, but only to preſent him with ſome conjectures and opinions about this matter, and leave him to his own choice and judgment.

The

The *Syriack* expoundeth Μετρητὰς by רבעין *fourth parts:* but of what, it is uncertain: unleſs he allude to the meaſure alledged even now out of the *Talmud*, *the fourth part of a Log*, which was the leaſt meaſure that might be uſed in waſhing of their hands. The *Arabick* hath almoſt reſerved the very Greek word, and ſo he helpeth nothing to the underſtanding of it.

We obſerved before, that the LXX uſe it to expreſs בת & סאה by: Now if theſe two were of the ſame quantity and capacity, we might here take a riſe to aim at what a *Metreta* was; but they were not ſo. Certain it is that a *Bath* and an *Ephah*, were one and the ſame meaſure. The *Ephah* for dry things, and the *Bath* for liquid. This is plain, *Ezek.* 45. 11. *The Ephah and the Bath ſhall be of one meaſure, that the Bath may contain the tenth part of an Homer, and the Ephah the tenth part of an Homer.* But *Seah* was but the third part of a *Bath*; and ſo the *Talmud in Erubbim* ſaith, that a *Bath* containeth שלש סאין *three Seahs:* and ſo the *Caldee Paraphraſt* on that place of *Ezekiel* מקום חד יהוי לכון סכום תלת סאין: *The Ephah and the Bath ſhall be of one meaſure, to contain three Seahs.* And *Rabbi Solomon* on that place ſpeaketh the very ſame ſenſe, when he ſaith, *an Homer containeth thirty Seahs*; for then a *Bath* and *Ephah* which are the tenth part of it, contain three. And this both the *Caldee* and the *Septuagint* mean, when they render *an Ephah*, by תלת סאין and τρία μέτρα, *Exod.* 16. 36. & *Eſay* 5. 10. And this he helpeth to conſtrue that phraſe, *Gen.* 18. 6. *Make ready three meaſures of meal*; שלש סאים *three Seahs*, that is, *an Ephah*; and Matth. 13.33. *A woman hid leaven in three meaſures of meal*, εἰς ὰλα τρία, *in three Seahs*, that is an *Ephah*. By which difference of meaſure, and yet the *Septuagints* uſing but one and the ſame word to expreſs both, we ſee that they uſe the word μέτρητὴς in a general ſenſe, for this or that meaſure, and they ſettle us but little in the determination of what certain and fixed meaſure a *Metreta* was.

I will not trouble the Reader with curioſity to examine what meaſure this was among the Greeks, or among the Romans, for there is mention of it as being in uſe among both thoſe Nations, but as the ſtory we have in hand lyeth among the Jews, ſo will it be not only the eaſieſt and plaineſt for the Reader, but alſo the likelyeſt and neareſt way for reſolution of the thing, to look for this meaſure only among the meaſures of the Jews, by which they meaſured liquid things, for of ſuch things is the meaſure here in ſtory.

For the beſt diſcovery of which thing that we ſeek for, it will not be impertinent to ſuch a purpoſe, [certainly, it will not be unprofitable to the Reader] that we go by theſe two ſteps: 1. To reckon up in brief what meaſures were in uſe amongſt the Jews, eſpecially thoſe that were to meaſure liquid things. 2. To chooſe and pick out of all them as near as we can, which was the μετρητὴς that is here intended.

Firſt therefore to take a note of the Jewiſh meaſure in uſe among them:

1. The greateſt of all was the *Homer*, mentioned *Levit.* 27. 16. *Numb.* 11. 37. *Eſay* 5. 10. *Hoſ.* 3. 2. *Ezek.* 45. 11. derived either from *Humor*, which ſignifieth *an Aſs*, as being an Aſs-load, or rather meaning *an heap*, for ſo the word ſignifieth, *Exod.* 8. 14. *Heb.* 3. 15. as containing ſo much as would make a good heap. חומר

This meaſure is alſo called *Corus*, 2 *Chron.* 2. 10. *Ezra* 7. 22. 1 *King.* 5. 11. For that an *Homer* and a *Cor* were all one, is not only apparent by the LXX who tranſlate *Homer* by Κόρος, *Levit.* 27. 16. *Numb.* 11.32.&c. And by the *Caldee Paraphraſt*, who doth the like, *Ezek.* 45.11. and by the conſent of the Jews, but alſo by the expreſs text of Scripture it ſelf, *Ezek.* 45. 14. *Ye ſhall offer the tenth part of a Bath out of the Cor, which is an Homer of ten Baths, &c.* כור

2. Their ſecond meaſure was *Lethech*, mentioned *Hoſ.* 3. 2. and not elſwhere; this was half the *Homer*, or *Cor*, as the Greek and Hebrew interpreters there do generally agree, and as the very ſenſe of the place it ſelf doth inforce to conſtrue it. For the Prophet in that place is plainly deſcribing the value of all the ages of the males of *Iſrael*, as they were rated, *Lev.* 27. and this verſe expounded and conſtrued by that Chapter, doth of it ſelf tell, that a *Lethech of barly* was *half an Homer*, as our *Engliſh* hath well rendred it. לתך

3. Their third meaſure was the *Bath* and *Ephah*, the one for liquid things, and the other for dry, as was ſaid before; and either of them was the tenth part of an *Homer*, or a *Cor*, *Ezek.* 45. 11. The Jews on 1 *King.* 7. 26. apply the *Bath* in one kind, to meaſure dry things, for whereas it is ſaid there that the brazen Sea contained 2000 *Baths*, and in 2 *Chron.* 4. 5. that it contained 3000 *Baths:* they generally reconcile it thus, that it held only 2000 *Baths* of liquid things, but 3000 of dry, becauſe thoſe might be heaped above the brims, even to the quantity as to make up a third part; ſee the *Chald. Paraph. R. Sol. R. Lev.* & *Kimchi* there. בת איפה

4. Their fourth meaſure was *Seah*, which was the third part of an *Ephah*, of which before. And a fifth meaſure in uſe among them for liquid things, was the *Hin*, of which is mention, *Exod.* 29.40. & 30.24. *Numb.* 5.4,5. &c. This *Aben Ezra* on *Exod.* 29. holdeth to be an Egyptian meaſure, and his fellow Jews conclude that it contained 12 *Logs*; ſo סאה הין

Kimch. in Michol, and to the ſame ſenſe *R. Sol.* on *Exod.* 29. when he expoundeth the *fourth part of a Hin*, שלשה לוגין *three Logs*: The proportion that we read of betwixt flour and liquid things in their offerings, helps us but little to underſtand the quantity of this meaſure, when a *Hin* is proportioned to an *Ephah*, *Ezek.* 45. 24. and *half a Hin* to *three tenth deals*, which was not fully the third part of an *Ephah*, *Numb.* 28. 12, 14.

לוג 5. A fifth meaſure in uſe among them was *Log*, named inſtantly before, and mentioned *Lev.* 14. 12. and no where elſe, and there tranſlated by the LXX κοτύλην, *Cotylam.*

עמר 6. There was alſo the *Omer* mentioned *Exod.* 16. 36. This עמר *Omer* was the tenth part of an *Ephah*, as an *Ephah* was the tenth part of an *Homer* חמר This is called therefore עשרון a *tenth part*, as our Engliſh expreſſeth it, a *tenth deal*, *Numb.* 15. 6. & 28. 13, 14. becauſe it was the tenth part of an *Ephah*.

קב 7. There is alſo mention of a *Kab*, 2 *King.* 6. 25. in that ſad and ſtrange ſtory of the famine in *Samaria*, when *the fourth part of a Kab of Doves dung was ſold for five pieces of Silver.*

ξέστης 8. There is alſo mention of ξέστης, *Mark* 7. 4. or *Sextarius*, as it is well tranſlated by *Beza*, and that tranſlation backed out of *Galen*, and the ſenſe, as it ſeemeth, conſented to by the *Syriack*, who retaineth the very Greek word: but ſince this was plainly a Roman meaſure, we ſhall not inſiſt upon it.

And now if we come to the ſecond thing that was propoſed, that is, to pick and chooſe out of all this number of Jewiſh meaſures the μετρητὴς that our Evangeliſt mentioneth here, I ſhould as ſoon fix upon the *Bath* to be it, as any other whatſoever, and that upon this reaſon: Becauſe the *Bath* was the very ſtandard of all liquid meaſures, as the *Ephah* alſo was of the dry: The *Homer* and the *Cor* was meaſured out by the *Bath* and the *Ephah*, as our Quarter is by the Buſhel, *Ezek.* 45. 14. and all inferiour meaſures were fitted in their ſeveral proportions to the *Bath* and *Ephah*, *Ezek.* 45. 10, 11. And therefore the Evangeliſt mentioning a *Metreta*, or the *Meaſure*, as the very word ſignifieth with a kind of *Emphaſis*; I ſee not to what meaſure poſſibly it can be applyed ſo properly as to this ſtanding meaſure and ſtandard meaſure of the *Bath*. It is true indeed, that *the Hin* is made a ſtandard meaſure with the *Ephah*, *Lev.* 19. 36. but the reaſon is, becauſe it was ſo indeed for holy things, as for oyl or wine that were to be offered, and with other things than holy we never read it mentioned: but for things meaſured for common uſe, the *Bath* was the ſtandard for liquids, which there and in ſome other places is concluded under the word *Ephah*, with which it was equal: and therefore as amongſt us in *England*, where our Buſhel is the ſtandard meaſure for dry things, [and by which our Quarter is meaſured, and to which our half Buſhel and Peck are proportioned] we commonly by the word *Meaſure* underſtand a Buſhel, and when we ask, How is Corn ſold *a meaſure*? we are readily apprehended ſo to mean: So was the word μετρητὴς uſed both in *Greece*, where it was native, and in other places where the word was borrowed: and it was underſtood in thoſe places of that meaſure that was moſt ſtanding and indeed a meaſure to other meaſures, as the *Bath* was among the Jews to all liquid meaſures, and therefore I cannot but underſtand the *Bath* by μετρητὴς here.

Now to give account of the contents, and quantity of this and of the other meaſures mentioned before, as it is not a thing of facility, ſo ſhall we not be too curious in it, and as it is not a matter for this time and place, ſo ſhall not much time be ſpent upon it, but the Reader left to the peruſal of thoſe Authors that have purpoſely ſet themſelves to ſuch a work. Only theſe few particulars let him take up for the preſent.

Firſt, the Jews themſelves upon their own meaſures mentioned, ſet theſe gages.

1. רביעית *Quadrans*, or, *the Fourth part:* which they ſometimes mention without any more addition, but which meaneth, the fourth part of a *Log*, containeth ביצה ומחצה one egg-ſhell full and an half; ſo the Hebrew comment on *Miſhneh. Jadajim perek.* 1. thus much water was enough for the waſhing of two mens hands if there were no more water.

2. לוג a *Log* containeth four Quadrants, והוא שיעור ששה ביצים And it is the meaſure of ſix egg-ſhells full, *Kimch. in Michol.*

3. קב a *Kab* is four *Logs*; it containeth 24 egg-ſhells full, *Alphef. de Paſc. cap.* 5.

4. חין a *Hin* is twelve *Logs*, or three *Kabs*, containing 72 egg-ſhells full. *Idem.*

5. סאה *Satum*, is 2 *Hins*, 6 *Kabs*, 24 *Logs*, 144 Eggs; *Idem. & Kimch. ubi ſupra.*

6. איפה and בת an *Ephah* and *Bath*, is three *Seahs* or *Sata*, 6 *Hins*, 18 *Kabs*, 72 *Logs*, and 432 eggs-ſhells full, *Idem.*

Secondly, now upon theſe accounts which are generally current among the Jews, the meaſure of theſe Water-pots will fall exceeding ſhort of that gage that ſome give them, as that every *Metreta* ſhould contain a hundred weight of wine: and that *Chriſt* by this miracle afforded two Tun of Wine within 200 weight: The Jewiſh *Bath* was far from ſo great a reception, as if there were no other argument to prove it, might be cleared by this, that an *Ephah*, which was the ſame meaſure with it, was ſuch a quantity of Corn as would ſerve about ten men for bread for one day, and was little or nothing more.

This

This appeareth by *Exod.* 16. where the constant proportion of Manna for a man a day was an *Omer*, which was the tenth part of an *Ephah*: And by the *Chaldee Paraphrasts* supposal upon *Ruth* 3. 15. where according to his traslation, which seems to be very proper, *Ruth* carryeth two *Ephahs*, or six *Seahs* of barly in her skirt. And certainly in the *Septuagints* account the *Bath* was not of so vast a measure as to hold 100 pound weight of water, when they translate it κεράμιον ἕν, *one Pitcher-full*, *Esay.* 5. 10, where these words, *Ten acres of vineyard shall yeeld one Bath, and the seed of an Homer shall yeeld an Ephah*, are thus translated by them: *Where ten yoak of oxen work, it shall yield one Pitcher-full, and he that soweth six Artabæ, shall have three Measures*, meaning three *Seahs*: Where, and in other places of them, I cannot but observe that they call the *Seah*, which was an exceeding common measure, μέτρον, *the measure*, and I cannot but conceive that the *Bath* an *Ephah* which were the standard to it, are called μετρηταί, *the measures*. Their exact receipt I will not go about to determine, that requires a set and intentional discourse, but I shall leave the matter for the Reader to conjecture at, by what hath been spoken.

Ver. 8. *The Governour of the Feast.*

There is mention among the Heathen Authors of the *Symposiarchus*, *the Governour or Moderator in their Feasts*, of which *Plutarch* discourseth largely in *Sympos. lib.* 1. *quæst.* 4. out of whom it may not be impertinent to character him a little; that so we may the better skan and try whether our *Architriclinus* here, and their *Symposiarchus* there, were the same, yea or no.

He was one chosen among the guests, τῶν συμποτῶν συμποτικώτατος, μέτε τῷ μεθύειν εὐάλωτος, μήτε πρὸς τὸ πίνειν ἀπρόθυμος: that was most festivous of all the company, and that would not be drunk, and yet that would drink freely. He was to rule the company, and to prohibit their being disorderly, yet not prohibiting their being merry. He was to observe the temper of the guests, and how the wine wrought upon them, and how every one could bear his wine, and accordingly to apply himself to them, to keep them all in a harmony, and an equilibrial composure, that there might be no disquiet nor disorder. For the effecting of this, he used these two ways, first to proclaim liberty to every one to drink what he thought good. Ἐμαυτὸν ἀφῆμαι συμποσίαρχον ὑμῶν, καὶ κελεύω τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὡς βούλονται πίνειν ἐν τῷ παρόντι, *I am Symposiarchus*, said he, *and I license every one to drink at this time as they will.* And secondly, upon observing who among the guests was most ready to be touch'd and distempered with wine, to mingle the more water with his wine thereby to keep him in an equal pace of sobriety with the other: And so the work and office of this *Symposiarchus*, or *governour of the Feast*, was especially double, to take care that none should be forced to drink, and to take care that none should be drunk though unforced. Of such another office might the *Architriclinus* be conceived here; namely, someone that was specially appointed to give entertainment, and that had special employment about the distributing and disposing of the wine. And this might seem to appear the rather, because our Saviour directeth the Servitors to bring the miraculous wine to be tasted first by him: But I should understand rather by *Architriclinus* here, the chief guest at the feast, than such a *Symposiarchus*, which it may be some question, whether he were in use among the Jews, or no: For, [not to go about to give account of their manner of sitting at their Feasts, in this place, [it will be more proper elsewhere] though from thence might be shewed something toward the proof of this my supposal] let it but be considered, that the *Architriclinus* in mention, was a meer stranger to the business of the wine, and knew not how it went. Had *Plutarchs Symposiarchus* been here, he would readily have known what quantity of wine, and what variety there was in the house, he would have well known that all the wine was gone, and that they were at a loss for more, for the Yeomanry of the wine was his office at that time, above all other things, and above all other men: but this *Architriclinus* knew none of these things; but thought the Bridegroom had used a friendly deceit to reserve the best wine to make up their mouths, whereas others used to reserve the worst: And he speaks as a guest, and not as a Yeoman of the Feast: And our Saviour sends the wine to him, as to the chiefest man at the Table, and as the fittest from whom the taste of the wine, and the tast of the miracle wrought might be distributed and dispersed throughout all the company of the Feast.

Vers. 12. *After this he went down to Capernaum, and continued not there many days.*

Capernaum was his own City, as was said before, and his return is still thither; as *Samuel* after his circuit, his return was still to *Ramah*, for that was his own City, 1 *Sam.* 7. 17. see *Matth.* 4. 14. & 8. 5. *Matth.* 9. 1. compared with *Mark* 2. 1. *Matth.* 17. 24. *John* 6. 17. *&c.* Now his stay was but a little there, because the Passeover calls him up

to

to *Jerusalem*. And thus when the Passeover comes, there is half a year passed since he was baptized; forty days of which he spent in the Wilderness in his fast before the Tempter came to him, beside what time was spent in the threefold temptation, and in his going to, and coming from the Wilderness. Three days you have account of him, at *Jordan*, and going into *Galilee*, *John* 1.*ver.* 29,35,43. and the next day after he is at *Cana* at a Feast; this was the fourth day from his first appearing from the Wilderness, but the third from his saving and entertaining any Disciples. So that we have but the account of six weeks, or thereabouts upon record, of all the time he spent betwixt his Baptism and his first Passeover. The rest is concealed, and much of it was spent in his peragration and preaching through *Galilee*, to which he addresseth himself, *John* 1. 43.

Vers. 14. *And the Jews Passover was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem.*

There are none other of the Evangelists that mention any Passover at all after *Christs* Baptism, but that at which he suffered: but *John* reckoneth not only that, but three before; and so still amongst all the four Evangelists the story is made up and compleated, that there is nothing wanting. Three of his Passovers *John* nameth plainly and expresly by name, *viz.* this here; and another, *Chap.* 6. 4. and his last, *Chap.* 18.39. but a fourth he hath not so openly named, but meaneth it in *Chap.* 5. 1. as shall be cleared by Gods permission when we come there: And now hath *Christ* three years to his death, and he hath had half a year since his Baptism, and so is his time from his anointing by the Spirit for the work of the Gospel, till his offering up upon his Cross, three years and an half; see the notes on *Luke* 3. 21.

Now whereas the Evangelist calleth the Passover, *the Passover of the Jews*; *Jansenius* is of opinion that he doth it for distinction of it from *the Easter of the Christians*, which saith he, was observed by them throughout all *Asia*, when *John* wrote his Gospel, And *Baronius* yet goes further, and would prove it from *John*'s calling the Christian Sabbath, *the Lords day*, *Rev.* 1. *Annal. ad annum* 159. It is not worth the labour, at least not in this place, to look after the antiquity and originall of the celebration of *Easter* amongst the Christians in the Primitive times: the quarrel about the day between the Eastern and Western Churches is famous in Ecclesiastical Stories; but that this is not the intention of the Evangelist in this place, we need to go no further to prove, than to his own expression of the same thing in another, where he calleth it, *The Passover, a Feast of the Jews*, Chap. 6. 4. and so sheweth that in this short Phrase, The Jews Passover, he meaneth not so much to distinguish it from any festival of the Christians, as to shew what it was to Jews, and to distinguish it from other festivals of theirs.

And Jesus went up to Jerusalem.

1. In obedience to the Law, of the males appearing before the Lord, *Exod.* 23.17. from which none were excepted, but for some infirmity or incapacity. *All are bound to appear, but only the deaf, fools, little ones, the man that is bruised in his genitals, Hermophrodites, women, servants that were not set free, the lame, blind, sick and old*; thus the Tradition in the *Talmud*, *Hagigah*, *per.* 1.

Christ came no doubt to the Passover every year before this all the while he lived a private man, though only one of his journeys then is mentioned, *Luke* 2. but now he comes upon some reason and cause, besides that that brought him then: He came then in observance of the Passover only, and of that institution that did ordain it, and so he doth likewise now, but he doth it not only upon that reason. But 2. he cometh now up to the Passover also, that he might take the opportunity of the concourse of the people to shew himself, and to work his miracles. This was the first Festival that came since he was baptized, [the Feast of Dedication we reckon not with the great solemnities] and this was the greatest Festival of all the three, and now was the greatest concourse of people there to be expected, and therefore this was the fittest time for *Christ* to begin to shew himself, when he would shew himself in the most publick manner, and this had been enough to have brought him up thither, had not the religiousness of the Feast obliged him, and he owned the obligation.

The Ceremonial Law of the Jews obliged them, either as single and particular men, or as members of the Congregation and people of *Israel*: The Passover and the other Festivals were of the latter form; for in them all the males of *Israel* were together, as imbodied into one society, and the meeting it self was to teach them so much: Now though our Saviour did not so punctually set himself to perform the parts of the Ceremonial Law, that concerned men singly, and as particular men, for we do not find that he offered sacrifice, or that he was ever be-sprinkled with the water of Purification, or the like; yet was he constant in those things that referred to men, as joynt

members

members of the Church of *Iſrael*; eſpecially in the Sacraments, Circumciſion and the Paſsover, which aimed mainly at that communion. Let Separatiſts ſtudy upon this.

Verſ. 15. *And he found in the Temple.*

The whole *mountain of the Houſe*, [as the Jews do commonly call it] was called *the Temple*, that is, all that ſpace of ground, which with a wall about it, was diſtinguiſhed מחול from the prophane, or from the common ground, *Ezek.* 42. 20. This plot of ground thus incloſed, was 500 cubits long, and 500 cubits broad: *Ezekiel* in his dimenſions that he giveth, retaineth this number of 500 and 500, though inſtead of a cubit he ſpeaketh of a reed of ſix cubits and an hand breadth, *Ezek.* 42. 20.

Out of this ſpace of ground were taken theſe ſeveral meaſures: 1. The Court of the women, which was 135 cubits long, and 135 cubits broad. 2. The Court of Iſrael, the Court of the Prieſts, and the place of the Temple, all which took up 187 cubits in length, and 135 in breadth; the length from Eaſt to Weſt, the breadth from North to South: Now the length was thus diſtributed, דריסת ישראל אי עשרה Iſraels treading was 11 cubits; the Prieſts treading 11 cubits; the compaſs of the Altar 32 cubits; betwixt the Altar and the Porch 12 cubits; the length of the Temple it ſelf 100 cubits; and beyond the Oracle Weſtward 11 cubits, Thus doth the Talmud meaſure in *Maſſecheth Middoth, perek.* 2. & 4. 1. So that from the entrance of the Court of the women, to the wall that parted between the holy and prophane at the Weſt end of the Temple, were 322 cubits, and the breadth of all the Courts was the ſame, *viz.* 135 cubits. Now by this account the ſpace that lay without theſe Courts, and yet within the great wall that parted 'twixt holy and prophane, was 178 cubits broad at the Eaſt end, or before the Court of the women, and 365 cubits broad along by the ſides of all the Courts, as they ran along from Eaſt to Weſt; ſave what was taken up with the buildings which were at the corners of theſe ſeveral Courts, which took up forty cubits in this outward compaſs on either ſide. This outward compaſs by Chriſtian Writers, is moſt commonly called *Atrium Gentium*, or the *Court of the Gentiles*, becauſe into this the Gentiles might come to worſhip and bring their gifts: but the Jewiſh Writers do ſometimes expreſs it by הר הבית *The mountain of the Houſe*, when they ſpake of it in contradiſtinction to the Courts and Temple. This is called, *The Court without the Temple*, *Rev.* 11. 2. and yet commonly alſo called the Temple in Scripture, as *the Temple*, or the holy ground of it, is ſet in oppoſition to the City: This outward Court or ſpace lay on every ſide the other Courts either more or leſs: And this the *Talmud* ſeemeth to aime at when it ſaith, *The mountain of the Houſe was* חמש מאות אמה על חמש מאות אמה: *five hundred cubits upon five hundred cubits*, or 500 cubits ſquare: *And the greateſt ſpace of it was on the South, a ſecond part of it on the Eaſt, a third part on the North, and the leaſt on the Weſt, and the place where was the greateſt ſpace there was the moſt ſervice:* This Court or *Atrium Gentium*, had five gates into it, two on the South-ſide called שערי חולדה *The gates of Huldah, which ſerved to go in and out at: One gate on the Weſt called* קיפונוס *Cephunus, this was alſo to go in and out at; and one gate at the North, which ſerved not for any uſe, which was called* טדי *Tadi; and one gate on the Eaſt, which had Shuſhan the Palace Pictured on it*, Middoth, per. 1. *For* ſaith the Hebrew Gloſs, *When they came up out of Babel, the King of Perſia commanded them to Portray the Picture of Suſhan the Palace upon the gates of the Houſe, that the fear of that Kindom might be before them.*

The entring into this Court was not at the Eaſt-gate, for at that only the High-Prieſt went in and out to the burning of the red Cow, and they that aſſiſted him in that work went in and out with him, but the coming in for all that came to worſhip was on the South-ſide, where the two gates were, where they went in at the one of them, and came out at the other. Into this outer Court, came not only the Heathens that were proſelyted, but even Mourners, Lepers and Excommunicate Perſons.

A mourner was prohibited to waſh whilſt he was in his mourning, אבל אסור לרחוץ *Beracoth, per.* 2, yet might a mourner come into this place to worſhip; and he diſcovered himſelf to be a mourner, by coming in and going out a different way from other people: *And when it was queſtioned of him, why he did ſo, he anſwered, I am a mourner: And it was replyed, Now he that dwelleth in this Houſe comfort thee: Or he ſaid, I am excommunicate* שאני מנודה *and it was replyed, Now he that dwelleth in this Houſe, put into their heart that they may fetch thee in again*; or *He that dwelleth in this Houſe, put into thine heart, that thou mayſt hearken to the words of thy fellows, and they draw near to thee again.*

This Court was parted from the Court of the Women, with a wooden grate 13 hands breadth high. In the Northweſt corner of which womens Court, namely, in the very angle of the Court of the Prieſts, was a parcel of building called לשכת מצורעים *the Chambers of the Lepers*, who came thither, and were there as in a manner of an Hoſpital, while the Prieſts were about the try'al of them. The Heathens, Mourners, Lepers, Excommunicate

communicate perſons came to the publick ſervice of the Temple, and had the freedom of this outer Court; and hither were oxen and ſheep now got alſo, for in this Court it was that Chriſt found theſe cattle and the Mony-changers at this time.

§ *Thoſe that ſold oxen, and ſheep, and doves.*

Theſe were ſold for ſacrifices, lambs for the Paſsover, and bullocks for the feſtival after, and doves for the offerings of thoſe women, and thoſe Lepers cleanſed, that were not ſo rich as to reach to a Lamb, *Lev.* 12.8. & 14.21. And it may be ſparrows were in this Market too for the cleanſing of the Leper: and to that it may be our Saviour alludeth, *Matth.* 10. 29. *Are not two ſparrows ſold for a farthing, and five for a half-peny?* *Luke* 12.6. The Jews have a tradition, *That the burnt-offerings on feſtival days were* מן חולין *of common ſheep, or oxen, but their peace-offerings were of the tithes,* Chagigah per. 1. Now this tradition joyned with the matter of conveniency againſt ſuch times as there was like to be great ſtore of ſacrifices, cauſed a Market to be kept at *Jeruſalem*, of beaſts and fowls for that purpoſe; that thoſe that came from far to the Paſsover, or to the other Feſtivals, as our Saviour did at this time, and his company with him, might not be forced to bring their Paſsover lamb, or bullock, or ſacrifice lamb or bullock along with them, but might have ſuch things for ready mony when they came to *Jeruſalem*. And now too much love of convenience had brought this market into the Temple Court.

§ *And the changers of mony ſitting.*

There is the like ſtory to this a little before *Chriſts* laſt Paſsover, when he came riding triumphantly to *Jeruſalem*, *Matth.* 21.12. *Mark* 11.15. *Luke* 19.45. where he caſt the buyers and ſellers out of the Temple, as he did here, and it is like with the ſame courſe of whipping them, though it be not expreſſed, and with ſharper words, for here he calls them but *merchants*, [this was the firſt admonition] but there he plainly calls them *theeves*.

There the Evangeliſts *Matthew* and *Mark* uſe the word κολλυβισταὶ, for *Mony-changers*; here the Evangeliſt *John* uſeth both that and κερματισταὶ too. The *Syriack* in all the places retaineth but one word מערפנא and the *Arabick* doth the like. Now what theſe *argentarii* and *nummularii* were, [for by both theſe expreſſions do Latine tranſlaters call them] requires ſome inquiſition to find out: We find mention of ſuch kind of men frequently among the Romans, and one famous inſtance may be produced to ſerve for many, and that is what *Suetonius* reports concerning *Auguſtus*, namely, that ſome reviled him with the baſeneſs of his deſcent, as that he was *Nepos nummularii*, The grandchild of a Mony-changer, the deriſion is this, in an Epiſtle of *Caſſius Parmenſis*; *Materna tibi farina; ſiquidem ex crudiſſimo Ariciæ priſtino, hanc finxit manibus collybo decoloratus Nerulenſis menſarius: Of ſuch a meal art thou by thy mothers ſide; for Nerulonenſis a Mony-changer, having his fingers blackt with changing Mony, did mold her in a poor Mill at Aricia*, Suet in Auguſto cap. 4. for *Auguſtus* was ſaid to be a Millers grandchild: Here is mention of *Collybus*, from whence cometh the word κολλυβισταὶ, in the Text before us; and the *Collybiſta*, or Mony-changer, is called *Menſarius*, *a man of the Table*; becauſe their profeſſion was practiſed telling mony upon a table: As the ſame *Suetonius* giveth us another famous example in the life of *Galba*, Chap. 9. *Nummulario non ex fide verſanti pecunias, manus amputavit menſæq; ejus affixit: He cut off* (ſaith he) *the hands of a Mony-changer for cheating, and nayled them to his Table.* A man of this trade was called שולחני *Shulchani* among the Jews, *Menſarius*, or *a man of the Table*; for in the tract *Kiddußhin*, or concerning eſpouſals, *Per.* 3. this caſe is determined; *A man ſaith to a woman, I will ſhew thee two hundred Zuzim*, (this was the common ſum of mony undertaken by the Bridegroom upon eſpouſal) *if thou wilt be eſpouſed to me; if he ſhew it her, the eſpouſal is made, but if he ſhew it upon the Table, ſhe is not eſpouſed:* And the Gloſſary upon the place gives this reaſon היה שולחני ומחליף מעות של אחריהם *It may be he is Menſarius, a Mony-changer, and changeth the mony of other mens*, and ſhews her none of his own. And ſo it is apparent, that the שולחן *the Table*, is not to be underſtood for a common or ordinary table in every mans houſe, but the table of this trade τραπέζα κολλυβιστῶν, as the Evangeliſts calls it, *The Table of the Mony-changers.*

Now it is hard to tell what was the myſtery of this trade, whether change or brokage: It is generally held, that they ſate there to change great Mony into leſſer coin, with ſome profit upon the change: and ſo the words κολλυβισμὸς & κέρμα, doth more properly intimate; for κόλλυβος is rendred by the Greek Etymologiſts to be ἀργυρέου ἀλλαγὴ, *change of Mony*, and κολλυβιστὴς ἀργυραμοιβὸς, a Mony changer; κέρμα doth properly ſignifie ſmall Mony, λεπτότατόν τι, of the ſmalleſt value.

Camerarius

Camerarius out of a nameleſs Greek Author gives this account of this matter; ἡ λίτρα ἔχει ὐγγίας ιβ, &c. *A pound containeth twelve ounces: But the Hebrews dividing the ounce have called it by other names. For half an Ounce they call a Stater, becauſe half an Ounce being put in either ſcale, the ſcales ſtood even. Now a Stater, or the half Ounce containeth two Shekels; and the Shekel which is half the Stater, and the fourth part of an Ounce, contained twenty Lepta, which ſome call Obolos, or half pence. Now one gave two half pence, and received for it bread, or ſome other thing for food; therefore there ſate in the Temple at Jeruſalem mony-changers, which are called Collybiſtæ, which changed the ſilver Coin that was ſtamped with the Emperors picture, into leſs mony: For wheras that Coin [it was called argenteus] contained an hundred pence, and this was too high a rate for the buying of bread, pot-hearbs, and ſuch like things, it was brought to the Mony-changers, and they gave leſs coin for it, namely, pence and half pence, and the like.*

Ver. 15. *And when he had made a ſcourge of ſmall cords, &c.*

This action of our Saviour at his firſt appearing in his own Temple, did fulfill that prophecy of *Malachi*, Chap. 3. 1, 2, 3. *The Lord whom ye ſeek ſhall ſuddenly come to his Temple: but who may abide the day of his coming; and who ſhall ſtand when he appeareth? for he is like refiners fire, and like fullers ſope. And he ſhall ſit as a refiner and purifier of ſilver, and he ſhall purifie the Sons of Levi, &c.*

There was an Officer that uſed to walk up and down this Court, and the others to ſee that every one ſtood to his charge, and did his duty. He was called איש חר בית *The man of the mountain of the Houſe. He went about from ward to ward, and candles lighted before him, and whereſoever any man ſtood not upon his charge, the man of the mountain of the Houſe, ſaid, Peace be upon thee, and if it proved that he was aſleep, he ſtruck him with his rod: and he had authority to ſet fire on his coat: and they ſaid, What noiſe is that in the Court? Why, it is the noiſe of a ſon Levi that is beaten, and his cloaths burnt, becauſe he was aſleep upon his guard*, Maſſecheth middoth per. 1.

A greater than this man, nay, a greater than the Temple it ſelf is now come; and *Chriſt* by this paſſage doth not only ſhew his zeal moſt divine and fervent, but he acteth in the authority of a Prophet, and as one come from God, and ſo the Jews underſtand that he took upon him to do, when they propoſe to him as for the tryal of a Prophet, that he would ſhew a ſign, and work a miracle. The cords of which he maketh his whip, it is like he found lying up and down the floor, which had tyed ſome ſacrifices, or ſome other things, and after that uſe of them were caſt there: Now he uſeth a whip rather than a ſtaff, becauſe there were no ſtaves brought into the Temple. *A man may not come into the mountain of the Houſe with his ſtaff, nor with his ſhooes, with his purſe, nor with the duſt upon his feet*; Maſſecheth Beracoth per. 9.

Our Saviour ſeemeth to allude to this, when he bids his Diſciples as they go to preach, *To take neither ſtaves, nor ſhooes, nor gold, nor ſilver, nor braſs in their purſes*, and to ſhake off the duſt of their feet. *Mat.* 10. 9. 10. *No mony in their girdles* כפונך ות *Gloſſ.* אזור חלול שמשימים בו המעת עוברי דרכים *A hollow girdle in which travellers put their mony.* Compare this zealous action of our Saviour, with *Nehem.* 13. 25.

Verſ. 16. *My Fathers Houſe.*

He uſeth the ſame phraſe in the ſame place, *viz.* in the Temple, when he was found there among the Doctors at twelve years old: *Why ſought you me? know you not where to find me? know you not that I muſt be in my Fathers Houſe?* Luke 2. 49.

And he cometh off thus openly and plainly with the Jews, as to call God, his Father, 1. To aſſert himſelf for the *Meſſiah*, and to diſtinguiſh him from other Prophets, who at the utmoſt could but call God, *my God*; *There is no peace to the wicked, ſaith my God, Eſay* 57. 21. but he can, and doth call him *Father*, and doth ſo from his firſt appearing here in publick, that he might reveal himſelf to the full, and leave the obſtinate without excuſe. 2. He ſeemeth to have ſpecial reſpect to that paſſage, 2 *Sam.* 7. 12, 13. where when God is promiſing to *David*, *Chriſt* to ſit upon his Throne for ever, and *Solomon* to ſit upon his Throne for a while; he ſaith, *He ſhall build an Houſe for my Name, and I will eſtabliſh the Throne of his Kingdom for ever. I will be his Father.*

Verſ. 18. *What ſign ſheweſt thou?*

The power of miracles had never been ſeen in the Land, ſince their return out of captivity, nay, nor the Spirit of Prophecy, ſince the death of *Zachary* and *Malachi*, by their own Authors confeſſion, and therefore the reſtoring of miracles and prophecy, was as *the opening of heaven, and Angels aſcending and deſcending.* When they were ready to depart,

into *Babylon*, *Habakkuk* prayeth that God would keep alive his work of the power of miracles in that *midst of years* while they were in *Babylon*, and that they might not lose it now they went into a strange Land. And there he continued it among them in the hands of the three Children, as they are called, but more especially in the hands of *Daniel*: *Daniels* tying up the mouths of the Lions, was the last miracle that had been done by man, till water was turned into wine at *Cana* in *Galilee*: They had Prophets indeed came with them out of their captivity, and these saw visions, and had strange things done to them by God, but none ever since they came up till now, had done any miracles or strange things from God. And after that first generation after their return, their Prophets were ceased and gone, and they had no more, בחגי וכריה ומלאכי פסקה נבואה *In Haggai, Zachary, and Malachi Prophecy ceased*, D. Kimch. on Zech. 5. And therefore besides the constant unbelief of the Jew that would be still requiring a sign, it is no wonder if they demand one of one that now appeared and acted under the notion of a Prophet, when signs and Prophets had been so long strangers amongst them: Nor was this all that strained this question from them, but it is like that his calling God in such singularity *his Father*, did move them to demand some thing from him as from a singular man, which thing might be suitable to such a relation as he owned: In *John* 5. 17. they are ready to fly in his face, because he calleth God his Father; for there was *scandalum acceptum*, an offence taken at him, though none was given: they were moved at him, for that he had broken the Sabbath, as they interpret it, and then they are ready to catch at every word that fell from him, for they had entertained prejudice against him: but as yet he hath done here nothing that should cause them to be offended, the driving of the market out of the Temple was a thing so reasonable, and so Religious, that they could not open their mouth against it: and his calling of God his Father, is yet without offence, if he can answer both his action and his word, by doing something agreeable to them.

Vers. 19. *Destroy this Temple.*

1. *Christ* giveth them not a sign, otherwise then by telling them of that great sign, that he should once shew, which would *mightily declare him to be the Son of God*, and that is the raising of his body from the dead; which very thing he also meaneth, though somewhat more be included in it, when he giveth them afterward the sign of *Jonas*, *Matth.* 12. 39. He did many miracles instantly at *Jerusalem*, as is apparent, *ver.* 23. yet would he not do one miracle for the satisfaction of this the Jews curiosity and *quære*; partly because he would first give them some word of doctrine; and partly, because for his shewing of miracles, he would take his own time and moving, and not theirs. In all the Gospel *Christ* doth no miracle, where some necessity went not along with it.

2. In these words, *destroy this Temple*, he commandeth them not to do the thing, but he foretelleth that they should do it, as *Esay* 8. 9,10. *John* 13. 27. &c. yeeld examples of the like nature, *Associate your selves, and ye shall be broken in peeces; take counsell together, and it shall come to nought.* And *what thou dost do quickly, &c.*

3. His answer is very suitable to the present occasion: For as he had purged the Temple which they had defiled, for which they question his authority; so saith he, go yet further, and even destroy this Temple, and in three days I will raise it.

4. *But he spake of the Temple of his body*, vers. 21. Now he used not any such gesture or action as it seemeth, as that the Jews could perceive that he spake in that sense, but they make a double misconstruction of his words, namely, ignorant and wilfull. Ignorant, conceiving that he spake of the very material Temple; wilfull, in that whereas he only saith, *do you destroy it*, they accuse him for saying that he would destroy it himself, *Mat.* 26. 61.

5. Now he speaketh so closely to them, and to the matter or occasion before them, partly, because of the neareness of relation that is between the thing signifying, and the thing signified, as *Mat.* 26. 26. and partly because he would speak to them in parables and dark things, as *Matth.* 13. 34,35.

§ *This Temple.*

Meaning the Temple of his body, as the Evangelist himself explaineth it; which may be understood, either because his body was the Temple of the Godhead, as *Col.* 2. 9. or because it was represented by the material Temple in which God dwelt presentially, as the Godhead did in Christ bodily. The Temple was a glorious figure of Christ, in Gods dwelling there amongst men. In giving his Oracles there; in the services tendred and accepted there, &c. And therefore it was that whersoever the Jews were in any part of the world, they were in all their prayers to turn their faces towards the Temple, 1 *King.* 8. 38, 42,44,48. *Dan.* 6. 10. And thereupon it was that when the Jews destroyed Christs body, the Temple rent from the top to the bottom, in one of the choicest parts of it.

Vers.

Verſ. 20. *Forty and ſix years was this Temple in building.*

Although all that ſpace of time and ſtate of the Jews that paſſed betwixt the return out of *Babylon*, and the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, be generally and indeed properly ſaid to be under *the ſecond Temple*, yet in exact ſtrictneſs and reality there were two Temples in that ſpace, namely, that that was built by *Zorobable*, and that that was built by *Herod*: Of the former we have the relation in *Ezr.* 3. & 6. Of the latter we have the ſtory in *Joſeph. Antiq. lib.* 15. *cap*, 14. Expoſitots upon this place, take no notice of this duplicity, becauſe they account that *Herod* did not build, but only repair the Temple: and they generally underſtand this 46 years building, of the time and ſpace that the Temple was getting up in the days of *Zorobable*, or inſtantly after the return from the *Babylonian* captivity: The parcels of which ſum every ſeveral Expoſitor almoſt doth caſt and reckon up by ſeveral counters. It were endleſs to alledge, much more endleſs to examine them. I ſhall ſpare that labour, ſince I have given my thoughts concerning the reigns of the *Perſian* Kings of thoſe times in another place, and I cannot but hold ſtill unto that account, as conceiving it to be the very account of Scripture: namely, that *Cyrus* reigned 3 years, *Artaxerxes Ahaſhueroſh* after him 14 years, and *Artaxerxes Darius* 32 years, when *Nehemiah* went back to him, having finiſhed *Jeruſalem* ſtreet and wall: 49 years in all, or 7 *weeks*, as *Dan.* 9. 25. Out of theſe 49 years, if you ſeclude the two firſt of *Cyrus*, [for in his ſecond the Temple was begun] and the thirty ſecond of *Darius*, as years only current, you have exactly 46 compleat years, from the beginning of the founding of *Zorobables* Temple, to the finiſhing of the city, and compleating of the buildings and ſervice-diſpoſal of the Temple with it.

And reckoning alſo after ſuch a maner of reckoning, [namely, by caſting out years that were only current] it was exactly 46 compleat years ſince *Herod* began the building of the Temple, to this very time that *Chriſt* and the Jews have this diſcourſe: For *Herod* fell upon that work in the eighteenth year of his reign, as *Joſephus* relateth in the place fore-cited, and he reigned 37 years, even till *Chriſt* was two years old, as we have proved in the firſt part of the Harmony, at *Sect.* 7. or *Matth.* 2. And *Chriſt* at this time of his diſcourſe was in the thirtieth year of his age, or juſt twenty nine years old and an half. All which ſums if the Reader caſt up, and count as we did in the account before, he will find how fitly [if one will ſo take it] theſe words may be applyed to the Temple of *Herod*, *forty and ſix years* hath *this Temple been built.*

Verſ. 22. *They believed the Scripture, &c.*

The Scriptures whatſoever had ſpoken of Chriſts death and reſurrection, the Diſciples are ſaid here to have believed after his reſurrection. But did they not believe them before? It is undoubted they did, with a general hiſtorical belief, but after the reſurection they made uſe of thoſe texts and words with a more ſpecial and peculiar application and experience.

Verſ. 23. *Now when he was in Jeruſalem at the Paſsover, &c.*

It was the cuſtom of the Nation to come to *Jeruſalem* ſome ſpace of time before the Feſtival, that they might purifie themſelves againſt the Feſtival came: Now *Chriſt* in this ſpace was purifying the Temple, by caſting out buyers and ſellers, and driving out the cattle; and when he was then asked for a miracle, he would do none, but when the Feaſt was come, he beginneth to work miracles abundantly, and many believed on him. Now beginneth he moſt plainly and publickly to ſhew himſelf being now in the chief City, in the general concourſe of all the Nation, and in the greateſt ſolemnity of all the year.

Verſ. 24. *But Jeſus did not commit himſelf unto them.*

Some underſtand this of his not-committing and imparting the whole and full doctrine of the Goſpel to them; but the very carriage of the Text ſheweth, that it is to be underſtood of not-truſting his perſon with them, becauſe he knew their heart, and ſaw that there was miſchief and rottenneſs in ſome of them againſt him.

The End of the Second Part.

THE

HARMONY

OF THE

Four Evangeliſts,

Among themſelves, and with the

OLD TESTAMENT.

The Third Part.

FROM THE

FIRST PASSOVER

AFTER

Our SAVIOURS Baptiſm

To the SECOND:

With an Explanation of the Chiefeſt *Difficulties* both in

LANGUAGE and SENSE.

By *JOHN LIGHTFOOT* D.D.

LONDON,

Printed by *W. R.* for *Robert Scott*, *Thomas Baſſet*, *John Wright*, and *Richard Chiſwell*.

MDCLXXXII.

To my very much, and very worthily Honoured Friend and Patron
WILLIAM COTTON *Esq; of* Bellaport *in* Salop.

SIR,

I Have alwaies, and that not without very juſt cauſe, eſteemed it one of the choiceſt advantages that ever accrewed to me, that it was my hap, and happineſs at my firſt ſetting out into the Study of the Scriptures and Divinity, to be ſettled in the houſe, and to come under the tutorage and inſtructing of your Noble and Heroick Uncle Sir *Rowland Cotton*; A Gentleman of ſo rare qualifications, and reſpondent worth, that (let the word be without offence) his Country and his times produced not a man beyond him, and I wiſh the Nation and ſucceeding times may ſhew his equal.

With much care, tenderneſs, and condeſcenſion did he guide and lead on my ſtudies in the ſame way that he himſelf had been trained in, by that choice and incomparable Oracle of Learning Mr. *Hugh Broughton*: under whoſe inſtillings he had been ſo ſeaſoned with skill in the Hebrew Tongue, and knowledge in the Scriptures, that even a Child he ſpake and underſtood that language as it had been his Native, and in grown years he proved ſo exact, expedite, and ſolid a textualiſt, as few his equals.

He was alike tranſcendently ſingular in all accompliſhments: His activity of body, experimented to be without its parallel in the Nation; His hoſpitality generous, unto the admiration of all that knew it; and his wiſdom equally to be admired, that managed his eſtate ſo as to maintain ſuch hoſpitality; His Patriotſhip even till now fragrant in the memory of his Country, whoſe heart he had, and it had his; His tenderneſs to his Tenants ſo fatherly, that before his death he took care that all their leaſes ſhould be renewed, that they might be certainly provided for, when he was gone; His affection to, and his proviſion for his ſervants, may be exemplary, as it was not ordinary; for in one morning a little before his end, he ſealed nine or ten leaſes to them of handſom eſtates for their lives, and that ſo freely that he alſo paid liberally for their ingroſſing; His activity of mind was ſutable to the activity of his body, for he was a ſtranger to no kind of learning, ſingularly languaged both in the learned, and in the Weſtern Tongues; and of ſo deep a judgment in all affairs, that there was hardly any concernment, occaſion, or imploiment, in which he was not able to have given Counſel. And that which crowned all, ſo cordial and ſincere was his integrity, virtuouſneſs and piety, that a very few minutes before his expiring, he breathed out this fragrant teſtimony of a good conſcience in my hearing, and to my great rejoycing, *Lord thou knoweſt that I have loved honeſty, virtue, and goodneſs for it ſelf.*

Sir, This radiant worth of your gallant Uncle, as it was an attractive of the affections of all that knew him (for he was a man wholly framed to deſerve men and to gain hearts) ſo is it a moſt fair, beauteous and ſublime pattern and copy ſet before you to write after: and I have ſpoken thus much the rather, not as if I would inform you of him what you knew not before, but becauſe I know you delight to look upon his example, and to hear the founding of his name and virtues, not only for his honor, but alſo for your own imitation of him. And daily may his example of worth

worth and nobleneſs provoke your emulation and ſtriving after, that you may be his heir every way, namely of his virtues, as of his inheritance.

Beſides this accompliſht bravery of his in himſelf, which was enough to challenge eſteem from any one that knew what worth was; he laid ſuch doubled and redoubled obligations upon me, by the tender affecti-on, reſpect and favour that he ſhewed towards me, as have left ſo indeli-ble an impreſſion upon my heart, of honour to his dear name, and ob-ſervance to his houſe of *Bellaport*, that length of time may not wear it out, nor diſtance of place ever cauſe me to forget it. I might relate particu-lars of his kindneſs, but when I have ſaid all I can, I ſhall ſpeak too little.

As it is my rejoycing to have ſeen and heard what I have done, of your care to lay his Copy before you for your imitation, and your deſire to tread in his ſteps, ſo have I cauſe to acknowledge with thankfulneſs, your writing after that Copy in your favours expreſſed towards me, even as he did before you.

And as I ſtand in an hereditary obligation to your Family for his ſake, ſo have I found an hereditary affection from your ſelf, which doth double my obligation, and pleadeth your claim alſo. It is my unhappineſs that my tenuity is able to make no better a return for what I have received, than this poor paper Monument and Memorial, which I have preſumed to devote to your name, and betake to your patronage, that you might have this token of my gratitude and obſervance laid up with you, and by the peruſal of it, I might, though remote and out of ſight, yet ſome-time obtain the turning of your thoughts and remembrances towards

Much-Mundon in Hertfordſh.

Jan. 28. $16\frac{49}{50}$.

SIR,

Your moſt cordial and

humble Servant

John Lightfoote.

To

To the READER.

IT *was my promiſe in the Preface to* The firſt Part of the Harmony of the Evangeliſts, *that at the Publiſhing of the third, I would alſo ſet forth* A Chorographical Deſcription of the Land of Canaan, and thoſe adjoining places that we have occaſion to look upon as we read the Goſpels: *which task I undertook accordingly when I began the working up of this third part which is now publiſhed, and ſpent very much time and pains upon it, though it hath not found the hap to come forth with this part, as was my promiſe.*

My deſign was (and I had made ſome reaſonable progreſs upon it) to have deſcribed the Land of Iſrael, *in a way ſomething new indeed, and untrodden, and I believe unattempted (and ſo much the more difficult becauſe it was ſo) but yet which I ſuppoſed might be of very good uſe and advantage for the fuller underſtanding of the ſituation and ſtory of that Land. In reading of the two Talmuds, and other of the Jewiſh Authors of the greateſt Antiquity, I have obſerved, and that not without much delight and content, that as to the ſubject that we are ſpeaking of, namely, the deſcription of the Land of* Canaan, *theſe things may be picked up out of them diſperſedly in their writings to very good profit.*

1. *In exceeding many paſſages, when they come to ſpeak of places of the land, that are mentioned in the Scripture, they either deſcribe them, or ſhew their ſituation, or diſtance from ſuch and ſuch places, or all theſe together, which might be of ſingular uſe, to compare with the deſcriptions, ſituations, and diſtances that are given of ſuch places in Chriſtian writers.*

2. *They give us abundance of names of Cities, Mountains, and other places in that Land, which names are neither to be found in Scripture, nor* Joſephus, *nor in the Heathen or Chriſtian Records that ſpeak of the places of that Country, but in theſe Judaick writers only: and yet which carry with them ſo fair a probability and rational evidence, that there were ſuch names and places, that the looking after them might be exceeding pertinent to a* Canaan *ſtory.*

3. *They relate many choice, eminent and remarkable ſtories occurring in ſuch and ſuch places, which are not to be found in any records but their own, and of ſingular illuſtration, both of the ſituation, and of the Hiſtory of the Land and Nation: and eſpecially of the ſcholaſtical Hiſtory of their learned men and Doctors.*

I ſhall ſpare examples here (though I could produce them by multitudes of all theſe particulars.) He that doth read the two Tracts of mine about The Temple *and* The Temple Service, *will find ſo much falling in* obiter *of this nature, as may give him a taſte of the reſt, and ſome gueſs what uſe might be made of ſuch like antiquities, well weighed and examined in a Geographical and Hiſtorical deſcription of the Holy Land.*

It hath been my courſe and my care for many years together, as I have had occaſion to read theſe Talmudick writers, to obſerve and take notice of paſſages of this nature as I have met with them, and to be gathering ſuch ſtock of theſe rarities, as I thought might be convenient for my Chorographical work, when I ſhould fall upon it.

When I began to draw together my thoughts, notes, and notions, for the compiling of this third part of the Harmony of the Evangeliſts, *I began to do the like for the compiling of that work alſo with it, that as my promiſe was of their publiſhing together, ſo their growing up might be together, till they ſhould come to be ſo jointly publiſhed. I went on in that work a good while, and that with much cheerfulneſs and content, for me thought a Talmudical ſurvey and hiſtory of the Land of* Canaan, (*not omitting Collections to be taken up out of the Scripture and other writers*) *as it would be new and rare, ſo it might not prove unwelcom nor unprofitable to thoſe that delighted in ſuch a ſubject: But at laſt I underſtood that another Workman, a far better Artiſt than my ſelf, had the* Deſcription of the Land of Iſrael, *not only in hand, but even in the Preſs, and was ſo far got before me in that travail, that he was almoſt at his journies end, when I was but little more then ſetting out: Here it concerned me to conſider what I had to do. It was grievous to me to have loſt my labour if I ſhould now ſit down: and yet I thought it wiſdom not to looſe more in proceeding further, when one in the ſame ſubject, and of far more abilities in it, had got the ſtart ſo far before me. And although I ſuppoſed, and at laſt was aſſured even by that Author himſelf (my very learned and worthy friend) that we ſhould not thruſt nor hinder one another any whit at all, though we both went at once in the perambulation of that land, becauſe he had not meddled with that* Rabbinick *way that I had gone, yet when I conſidered what it was to glean after ſo clean a Reaper, and how rough a Talmudical penſil would ſeem after ſo fine a pen; I reſolved to ſit down, and to ſtir no more in that matter, till time and occaſion did ſhew me more incouragement thereunto, than as yet I ſaw. And thus was my promiſe fallen to the ground not by any careleſneſs or forgetfulneſs of mine, but by the happy prevention of another hand, by whom the work is likely to be better done.*

Yet was I unwilling to ſuffer my word utterly to come to nothing at all, though I might evade my promiſe by this fair excuſe, but I was deſirous to pay the Reader ſomething in purſuance of it, though it were not in the very ſame coin, nor the very ſame ſum that I had undertaken. Hereupon

I turned

To the READER.

I turned my thoughts and my endeavours to a deſcription of the Temple, after the ſame manner and from the ſame Authors that I had intended to have deſcribed the Land; and that the rather, not only that I might do ſomething towards the making good of my promiſe, but alſo that by a trial in a work of this nature of a leſſer bulk, I might take ſome pattern and aſſay how the other which would prove of a far larger pains and volume, would be accepted, If I ſhould again venture upon it.

But here by the way I cannot but mention, and I think I can never forget a handſom and deſerved check, that mine own heart meeting with a ſpecial occaſion did give me upon the laying down of the other task and the undertaking of this, for my daring to enter either upon the one or the other. That very day whereon I firſt ſet pen to paper to draw up the Deſcription of the Temple, having but immediately before laid aſide my thoughts of the Deſcription of the Land, I was neceſſarily called out toward the Evening, to go to view a piece of ground of mine own, concerning which ſome litigiouſneſs was emerging and about to grow. The field was but a mile from my conſtant reſidence and habitation, and it had been in mine owning divers years together, and yet till that very time had I never ſeen it, nor looked after it, nor ſo much as knew whereabout it lay. It was very unlikely I ſhould find it out of my ſelf, being ſo utterly ignorant of its ſituation, yet becauſe I deſired to walk alone for the injoying of my thoughts upon that task that I had newly taken in hand, I took ſome directions which way to go, and would venture to find out the field my ſelf alone. I had not gone far but I was at a loſs, and whether I went right or wrong I could not tell, and if right thither, yet I knew not how to do ſo further; and if wrong, I knew not which way would prove the right, and ſo in ſeeking my ground I had loſt my ſelf. Here my heart could not but take me to task, and reflecting upon what my ſtudies were then and had lately been upon, it could not but call me Fool, and me thought it ſpake as true to me as ever it had done in all my life, but only when it called me ſinner. A Fool that was ſo ſtudious, and had been ſo ſearching about things remote, and that ſo little concerned my intereſt, and yet was ſo neglective of what was near me both in place, and in my particular concernment. And a Fool again, who went about to deſcribe to others places and buildings that lay ſo many hundred miles off, as from hence to Canaan, and under ſo many hundred years ruines, and yet was not able to know or find the way to a field of mine own that lay ſo near me.

I could not but acknowledge this reproof to be both ſeaſonable, and ſeaſoned both with truth and reaſon, and it ſo far prevailed with me that it not only put me upon a reſolution to lay by that work that I had newly taken in hand that morning, but alſo to be wiſer in my bookiſhneſs for the time to come, than for it, and through it to neglect and ſink my eſtate as I had done. And yet within a little time after, I know not how I was fallen to the ſame ſtudies and ſtudiouſneſs again, had got my laid-by task into my hands again before I was aware, and was come to a determination, to go on in that work, becauſe I had my notes and collections ready by me as materials for it, and when that was done, then to think of the advice that my heart had given me, and to look to mine own buſineſs.

So I drew up the Deſcription of the Temple it ſelf, and with it the Hiſtory of the Temple Service, both of them partly from the Scriptures, and partly from the Talmudical records of the Jews Traditions and Antiquities: both which if the Reader will but look upon, as tendred in lieu of that which was promiſed concerning the deſcription of the Land, he will charitably judge I hope, that I have not been a wilful violator or neglecter of my promiſe, though I have not been ſo very punctual a performer.

The Tract of the Temple Service hath been in publick ſome ſpace of time already, and as for the other about the Temple it ſelf, I had thought to have kept it in ſuppreſſion till I could have obtained the graving of a Map of the Temple, which I drew alſo together with it, that they might have both come out together: But I am hopeleſs of obtaining that, even to this very moment, and yet have I been perſwaded to let the book forth though the Map be wanting, partly through importunity of ſome friends, and partly becauſe of my promiſe referring to this third part of The Harmony of the Evangeliſts now publiſhed.

I have been more tedious about this buſineſs, than either was needful in ſuch a trifle, or hath been pertinent in the enſuing diſcourſe. I muſt caſt my ſelf upon the Readers gentleneſs for excuſe, both of the failing of my promiſe, and of my troubleſom diſcourſe about that failing. I ſhall ſay nothing concerning the enſuing Tract of The Harmony of the Evangeliſts, nor of its fellow Tract of The Deſcription of the Temple, I ſhall refer them both to the Readers peruſal and charity, and commit him to the keeping and goodneſs of the Almighty.

Old Jewry London,

Jan. 30. 16$\frac{49}{50}$.

J.L.

THE HARMONY OF THE Four EVANGELISTS

Among themſelves, and with the

OLD TESTAMENT.

SECTION XIV.

St. JOHN Chap. III.

THERE *was a man of the Phariſees named Nicodemus, a Ruler of the Jews.*

2. *The ſame came to Jeſus by night, and ſaid unto him, Rabbi we know that thou art a teacher come from God: for no man can do theſe miracles that thou doeſt except God be with him.*

3. *Jeſus anſwered and ſaid unto him, Verily verily I ſay unto thee, Except a man be born* [a] *from above, he cannot* [b] *ſee the Kingdom of God.*

Verſ. 3.

[a] BORN *from above.*] The Greek word Ἄνωθεν is variouſly rendered here by Tranſlators and Expoſitors.

The *Syrian* read it מן דרש, by which very expreſſion, he tranſlateth πάλιν ἄνωθεν, Gal. 4. 9. which words of his *Tremelius* hath rendred *Ab integro:* and in the margin, *Ab eo quod eſt caput. Beza* paralleling it to the French *derechef*, expounds it by *recapitatio*, or *reinitiatio*, that is, ſaith he, *a mans returning to his head and beginning, becauſe a man is reſtored in Chriſt, returning to that loſt Image in which he was at the firſt created, to which ſenſe it may be, the word* Ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι aimeth, *Epheſ.* 1. 10.

Chryſoſtome ſpeaks of ſome that interpreted Ἄνωθεν by ἐξ Ἀρχῆς *From the beginning:* with which the *Arabick* ſeemeth to agree: but what ſenſe to make of it, is hard to tell, unleſs it be the ſame with that mentioned before.

The Vulgar Latine and all that follow it, namely the *Roman* party, read it, by *Denuo*; the Proteſtant party, moſt general by *Iterum*, *Again*, and they make, Ἄνωθεν γεννηθῆναι here and Ἀναγεννηθῆναι in 1 *Pet.* 1. 3. 23. to be but one and the ſame thing, and to bear but one and the ſame ſenſe, namely to ſignifie *to be born again*, as our Engliſh utters it in both places: And ſo *Chryſoſtome* and ſome others of the ancient have alſo underſtood it: *Eraſmus* and *Brucioli* have rendred it, the one *e ſuperne*, the other *di ſopra*, or *from above*, as our Engliſh margin alſo hath it, and which I have rather inclined to follow upon theſe two reaſons: 1. Becauſe the word Ἄνωθεν doth moſt commonly and generally ſignifie *from above*, both in Scripture and prophane Authors: as *ver.* 31. of this chapter. ὁ ἄνωθεν ἐρχόμενος, *He that comes from above*, *Chap.* 19. 11. *Thou ſhouldeſt have no power over me, if it were not given thee* Ἄνωθεν *from above*, Jam. 1. 17. *Every perfect gift is* Ἄνωθεν *from above*, *Jam.* 3. 17. Ἡ σοφία Ἄνωθεν, The *wiſdom from above:* See alſo what was noted on *Luke* 1. 3. on the word there.

And this ſenſe of it is ſo current in prophane Authors, that *Camerarius* having inſtanced in ſome examples to that ſenſe, comes off with an *ut verum fatear*, a conceſſion hardly ſtrained, that here it may ſignifie and be tranſlated, *Again*. 2. Now as to the matter it ſelf it is not much material whether it be rendred in this place, *Again*, or *from above*, for be it either way, the ſenſe is the ſame; for *to be born from above*, meaneth *to be born again*, and *to be born again*, is nothing elſe but *to be born from above*, but this latter interpretation doth make

make the more fair, eaſie and proper conſtruction in this place: as ſhall be ſhewed in the expoſition of the verſes. And this is the ſecond reaſon why I have fixed upon it.

Now whereas the anſwer of *Nicodemus*, *Can a man enter into his mothers womb a ſecond time and be born*, is taken up as a moſt undoubted argument to prove, that our Saviour uſed ſome ſuch *Syrian* word as ſignified *Again*, without all queſtion or ambiguity; I ſee not, why *Nicodemus* might not give the very ſame anſwer that he doth, if *Chriſt* uſed a word that as unqueſtionably did ſignifie *from above*: For might he very well ſay [ſince he underſtood the myſtery ſpoken of no better] *What? Doſt thou ſpeak of being born from above? Why, how can that be? Muſt a man have a ſecond birth of his mother, to conduce to it?* For if *Chriſt* did uſe an undoubted word to ſignifie *from above*, and *Nicodemus* did undoubtedly underſtand him to ſpeak of being *born from above*, yet certainly he could not underſtand it of being born from Heaven locally, any more, than when he ſaith, *that Chriſt was ſent from God*, he underſtood that locally too, which none will ſay he did: And then if he did not underſtand this birth from above locally, his anſwer [though indeed improper in it ſelf] yet is as proper to that phraſe of being *born from above*, as to the other of being *born again*.

[*b*] To *ſee the Kingdom of God*, is *to enter into it*, *verſ.* 5. or to partake of it: as *to ſee corruption*, *Pſal.* 16.10. *to ſee Death*, Luke 2. 26. Joh. 8. 51. *to ſee evil*, Pſal. 90. 15. *to ſee ſorrow*, Rev. 18.7. *to ſee good*, Eccleſ. 6.6. &c. is to be in theſe eſtates, or to partake of them: See verſ. 36. *To ſee life is to have life.*

St. JOHN Chap. III.

4. *Nicodemus ſaith unto him, How can a man be born* [*c*] *being old? Can he enter the ſecond time into his mothers womb and be born?*

5. *Jeſus anſwered, Verily verily I ſay unto thee, Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.*

6. *That which is born of the fleſh is fleſh: and that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit.*

7. *Marvel not that I ſaid unto thee* [*d*] *Ye muſt be born again.*

8. *The* [*e*] *wind bloweth where it liſteth, and thou heareſt the ſound thereof, but canſt not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth. So is every one that is born of the Spirit.*

9. *Nicodemus anſwered, and ſaid unto him, How can theſe things be?*

10. *Jeſus anſwered and ſaid unto him, Art thou a maſter of Iſrael, and knoweſt not theſe things?*

11. *Verily verily I ſay unto thee, we ſpeak that we do know, and teſtifie that we have ſeen, and ye receive not our witneſs.*

12. *If I have told you earthly things, and ye believe not: how ſhall ye believe if I tell you of heavenly things?*

13. *And no man hath aſcended up into Heaven, but he that came down from Heaven, even the Son of man which is in Heaven.*

14. *And as Moſes lifted up the Serpent in the wilderneſs: even ſo muſt the Son of man be lifted up.*

15. *That whoſoever believeth in him, ſhould not periſh but have eternal life.*

16. *For God ſo loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whoſoever believeth in him, ſhould not periſh, but have everlaſting life.*

17. *For God ſent not his Son into the*

[*c*] *Being old.*) So is the Greek *verbatim*: and being ſo rendred, it leaveth the matter leſs ſcrupulous, than being expreſſed *when he is old*, for that might ſeem to reſtrain the new birth ever till a man be old: The *Syrian* hath kept cloſe to the ſenſe given, *Can an old man be born?* דנת יליד גברא סבא.

[*d*] *Except a man be born* in ver. 3. is here explained, *Ye muſt be born:* And ſo doth not only ſhew a command included in a doctrinal leſſon, but alſo that the words *We* and *Ye* are ſometimes to be taken indefinitely though they ſeem only to ſpeak of a fixed number: And ſo in verſ. 2. *We know* that thou art a Teacher: the word *we* muſt be ſo taken; compare *Matth.* 5.3, 4, 5. &c. where it is ſaid *bleſſed are they*, with *Luke* 6.20, 21. where *bleſſed are ye.*

[*e*] The word πνεῦμα here uſed, hath been underſtood by ſome for *the holy Spirit*, which word indeed is uſed conſtantly for it in the Scripture: and ſome of that opinion have ſtrengthened themſelves in it by this, becauſe a voluntary action is aſcribed unto it; *It bloweth where it liſteth*, which cannot be aſcribed, ſay they, unto the wind.

The word indeed in the Greek is of various ſignification, as is the word רוח in the Hebrew; and as it doth very commonly and very properly ſignifie the eternal Spirit, the Holy Ghoſt, and the created Spirits, Angels and the ſouls of men, ſo doth it alſo the ſenſible Spirits, the breath of our mouths and the wind of Heaven. In this laſt ſenſe, which is the ſenſe that we have in hand, it is taken by the Septuagint *Gen.* 8.1. Καὶ ἐπήγαγεν ὁ θεὸς πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν: *The Lord brought a wind over the Earth.* And 1 *King.* 18. 11. Πνεῦμα μέγα κραταιὸν &c. οὐκ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι κύριος: *Behold a mighty ſtrong wind*, &c. *but the Lord was not in the wind*, &c.

And ſo doth *Ariſtotle* confeſs that Ἄνεμος καὶ πνεῦμα λέγεται, *lib. de Mund.* And in that

world

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world to condemn the world: but that the world through him might be saved.

18. *He that believeth on him is not condemned: but he that believeth not, is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the Name of the only begotten Son of God.*

19. *And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil.*

20. *For every one that* [g] *doth evil hateth light, neither cometh to the light lest his deeds should be reproved.*

21. *But he that* [h] *doth truth, cometh to the light, that his deeds might be manifest, that they are wrought in God.*

22. ¶ *After these things came Jesus and his Disciples into the* [i] *country of Judea, and there he tarried with them and baptized.*

23. *And John also was baptizing* [k] *in Ænon near to Salim, because there was much water there: and they came and were baptized.*

24. *For John was not yet cast into prison.*

25. [l] *Therefore there was a question of Johns disciples with the Jews about purifying.*

26. *And they came unto John, and said unto him Rabbi, he that was with thee beyond Jordan, to whom thou barest witness, behold the same baptizeth, and all men come to him.*

27. *John answered and said, A man can receive nothing except it be given him from Heaven.*

28. *Ye your selves bear me witness that I said; I am not the Christ, but I am sent before him.*

29. *He that hath the bride, is the bridegroom: but the friend of the bridegroom, which standeth and heareth him, rejoyceth greatly because of the bridegrooms voice: This my joy therefore is fulfilled.*

30. *He must increase, but I must decrease.*

31. *He that cometh from above, is above all: he that is of the earth is earthly, and speaketh of the earth; he that cometh from above, is above all.*

32. *And what he hath seen and heard that he testifieth, and no man receiveth his testimony.*

33. *He that hath received his testimony, hath set to his seal, that God is true.*

34. *For he whom God hath sent speaketh the words of God; for God giveth not the spirit by measure unto him.*

35. *The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into his hand.*

36. *He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life: and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him.*

sense do *Cyrill*, *Chrysostome*, *Theophylact* his mouth, and other of the Fathers take it here: For 1. otherwise here would be no comparison, which the word ὥτ⊖, *So*, doth shew there is: And to take the word πνεῦμα for the holy Spirit, in the beginning of the verse as well as πνίυματ⊖ in the latter end is to be taken in that sense, would make a very harsh and rugged construction. 2. It is very improper to say that *Nicodemus* now had heard the sound or voice of the Holy Ghost, being as he was yet, so far to seek in the things of Salvation. And 3. whereas it is said the πνεῦμα *bloweth where it listeth*, as if a voluntary action were ascribed to it, it is but such another speech as when the Sun is said to know his going down, *Psal.* 104. 19. Now there is as little knowledge in the Sun, as there is voluntariness in the wind (unless with the Jews we will hold the Sun, Moon, and Stars to be intellectual creatures) and yet such an expression is used of it for elegancy and fulness of expression.

[f] *Gr.* φωνὴν αὐτοῦ, *The voice thereof:* For even ἄψυχα φωνὴν διδόντα: Things without life are said to yield a voice, 1 *Cor.* 14. 7, 8. As blood, *Gen.* 4. 10. waters, *Psal.* 93. 3. miracles, *Exod.* 4. 8. thunder, *Rev.* 19. 6. &c. And whereas the Hebrew word קול doth indifferently signifie either an articulate voice or any other sound, the Greek word φωνὴ is also used very commonly in the Scripture to the same signification and extent.

[g] By this he expresseth the Hebrew phrase so common in the Old Testament עשה רע and which is used generally of all the Kings of *Israel*, and of too many of the Kings of *Judah*. *He did evil in the sight of the Lord.*

[h] עשה אמת: as *Gen.* 24. 49. וישום ועשינו עמך חסד ואמת *Josh.* 2. 14. חסד ואמת *&c.*

[i] Εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν γῆν. That is, *into Judea country*, meaning in opposition to *Judea City*. For the story next before (of the conference with *Nicodemus*) came to pass and was acted in *Jerusalem*, and there had Christ kept the Passover, and done divers miracles; and stayed some time and *after these things* mentioned before saith the Evangelist, Jesus leaveth the City and goeth into the Country, leaveth the chief City of *Judea*, and goeth into the Country of *Judea*: for to this sense do the Evangelists words mean if they be taken up at large. And therefore I see no reason why *Beza* should confine this place to the country that lay near *Jerusalem*, translating it *Judeæ territorium*, and expounding it to that sense. Nor do I see that it is any such great matter as he makes it to give a reason of this unusual phrase Ἰουδαία γῆ.

[k] *Ænon.*) The *Syriack* and *Arab*: read it in two words עין נון which some would have to mean *the Well of the Greeks*;

as if in the times of the *Grecian* and *Syro-Grecian* Monarchies, ſome Greeks had digged and laid up theſe waters: we ſhall enquire after this place in the expoſition of the verſe.

Reaſon of the Order.

THE ſubſequence and jointing of this ſtory of *Nicodemus*, unto that which is recorded in the latter end of the ſecond Chapter (of *Chriſts* doing many miracles at *Jeruſalem* at the Paſover) is ſo apparent out of *Nicodemus* his own words *ver.* 2. and out of the words of the Evangeliſt *ver.* 22. that it needeth no proof and evidence, but only to point at theſe verſes for the proving of it. Yet that we may obſerve both the connexion of this Chapter with the former, and alſo the times and juncture of this Chapter within it ſelf, let us view it a little at large, and take our proſpect from the three and twentieth verſe of the ſecond Chapter. *Now when Jeſus was in Jeruſalem at the Paſover on the Feaſt day, many believed in his name when they ſaw the miracles that he did. This feaſt day* at the Paſover, may beſt be conceived to be the firſt day of the feſtival week, or the day after the Paſover was eaten; for on that day was the appearance of the people in the Court of the Temple, as the Law appointed, that *thrice every year they ſhould appear before the Lord.* For *that appearing mentioned in the Law*, (ſaith *Rambam*) *was that every one appear in the Court, the firſt holy day of the feſtival, and bring an offering.* In *Hagg. per.* 1. On that day therefore, the concourſe of the people being the greateſt, it is moſt proper to ſuppoſe that *Chriſt* began to ſhew himſelf in his miraculous power, as he had done a day or two before in his Prophetick zeal, in driving the market out of the Temple.

What miracles they were that he wrought is not mentioned; it is moſt rational and moſt agreeable to his workings afterward; to hold, that it was healing of diſeaſes and caſting out Devils: but whatſoever the miracles were for particular and diſtinctive quality, the power ſhewed in them was ſo great, that it made *Nicodemus* confeſs and others acknowledge that none could do ſuch, but a teacher come from God: and it made the *Galileans* who were ſpectators now, to receive him when he came amongſt them afterward, *Joh.* 4. 45. Such works had never been done in their ſight till now, and they had never had ſuch miraculous ſpectacles at their appearances before: and ſo he ſhewed them at once that it is not in vain to wait upon God in his appointments, and that the great Prophet was come among them: and yet on that very day come three years they put him to death.

Nicodemus undoubtedly was a ſpectator and witneſs of what was done, and ſo the *Syriack* tranſlator ſeemeth to conclude, when he rendreth the beginning of this Chapter thus, *Now there was one of the Phariſees named Nicodemus there:* and ſo his own words ſeem to argue, as ſpoken not upon hearſay, but upon ocular witneſs, *we know thou art a teacher come from God, for none can do ſuch miracles, &c.* He having ſeen thoſe wondrous workings by day came to *Jeſus* that night, as may in moſt probability be conjectured and the word Νυκτὸς very properly rendred in ſuch a definite and determinate conſtruction: For there can be no doubt but he would come with the firſt conveniency he could, being taken with thoſe miracles, and deſiring to have ſome communication with *Chriſt*, and not knowing how ſoon he might be getting out of Town: However, if he did not come that night, yet doubtleſs he would delay as little as he might, and if he came any time before Chriſt left *Jeruſalem*, as it is paſt all controverſie he did, it is of force enough, to prove and clear the connexion of this ſtory of *Nicodemus*, to that of *Chriſts* working miracles at the Paſover, in the Chapter before.

Now how long our Saviour ſtayed at *Jeruſalem*, before he went into the country of *Judea*, which is the next ſtory that is related, and of which the two and twentieth verſe ſpeaketh, is ſomewhat uncertain. The next intimation that we have of a fixed time, in the following ſtory, is in Chap. 4. 35. where when *Chriſt* is fleeing out of *Judea* for his own ſafety, upon the report of *Johns* impriſonment, and how the Phariſees were informed that he made more Diſciples than *John*, he himſelf ſaith, that it was then *four months to harveſt:* that is, to the next Paſover, for then did their harveſt begin, as we ſhall ſhew when we come to that verſe: Now that paſſage will help us to take up the times of this Chapter the better: though we cannot ſo undoubtedly fix the actions and abode of our Saviour in this or that place, to their certain times; *Four months before harveſt*, fell out to be about the latter end of our *November*, and till that time had *Chriſt* remained at *Jeruſalem* and in *Judea*, ſometimes in the one place and ſometimes in the other, from the *Paſover* before, which was the ſpace of about eight months: What time he ſpent in either place is not attainable to know, nor much material to enquire after: certain it is that feaſt of Pentecoſt, and the Feaſt of Tabernacles came between, and it is very probable that he was at *Jeruſalem* at thoſe Feaſts, according as the Law appointed, howſoever he was in the Country both before and after.

And

And now to look a little after the times and progreſs of the Miniſtery of the Baptiſt alſo, of whoſe preaching and walking at liberty, you hear the laſt in this Chapter: his ſtaying and baptizing, is confined eſpecially to three places: to the *country of Judea*, *Luke* 3. 3. *Bethabara beyond Jordan*, *Joh.* 1. 28. and *Ænon* near *Salim*, *Joh.* 3. 23. In the firſt place he ſpent about half a year, namely from his beginning to baptize, which was about *Eaſter*, till he had baptized Chriſt, about the Feaſt of Expiation or of Tabernacles: For *John* being half a year older than *Chriſt*, *Luke* 1. 26. &c. is to be ſuppoſed to have entered into his Office of Preaching and Baptizing, ſuch a ſpace before Chriſt entered into his publick Miniſtery, which was at his Baptiſm, and which was in *September* as we have proved before. All that time therefore *John* continued in the country of *Judea* upon the coaſts of *Jordan* coaſting up and down there as he ſaw occaſion, and as it ſerved beſt for his imployment. When *Chriſt* is baptized by him, the next tidings that we hear of him is at *Bethabara*, but when he flitted thither, and how long he continued there, it is uncertain. When *Chriſt* returned out of the wilderneſs after his temptation, he finds him there, namely, about ſix weeks after his Baptiſm, but it is ſomewhat probable that he had removed thither preſently after our Saviour was baptized: for it ſeemeth by *Luke* Chap. 3 21. that even all the people that *John* had to gather on *Judea*-ſide of *Jordan*, were come unto him, before *Chriſt* came to his Baptiſm: So that having no more to do on that ſide of the River, he removes to *Bethabara* on the other. But how long ſtaid he there? It was now half a year to the next Paſſover or thereabout, and it may be that he ſpent this half year on this ſide *Jordan* as he had done the other on the other. And then hath he about half a year more, or ſomewhat above, to walk at liberty, and poſſibly he ſpent that time in *Ænon*, dividing his time of publick Miniſtery and liberty into three parts ſomewhat equally in theſe three places: but we need not to be ſo curious in ſearching after the very fixed times; it is enough to have the right account of the whole ſum of his time, and to carry his removals in the right *Series* of their ſtory.

Harmony and Explanation.

Verſ. 1. *There was a man of the Phariſees named Nicodemus, &c.*

THERE is a famous mention of one נקדימון *Nicodemus* in the *Talmud:* of whom they relate this ſtrange ſtory. That when all *Iſrael* were come up to *Jeruſalem* at one of the three Feſtivals, and there was no water for them to drink, *Nicodemus* borrowed twelve wells or ponds of water from ſome great man, to be repaid again ſo much water, or twelve talents of ſilver on ſuch a ſet day. Before the day that he had appointed came, there were no rains at all, and therefore it was unlikely he ſhould repay water for water again according to his ingagement: Upon the day ſet, the great man ſends for his water or for his money; Hereupon *Nicodemus ben Gorion* (for ſo they call him) went into his Divinity School, and vailed himſelf and prayed, and the Heavens were preſently covered with clouds, and there came down a great rain, in ſo much that the twelve ponds were filled with water and to ſpare. Then the great man cavilled, and ſaid, The Sun was ſet, and his day was paſt. *Nicodemus* went in again, vailed himſelf and prayed, and preſently the winds blew, the clouds ſcattered and the Sun appeared: And therefore ſay they, he was called *Nicodemus:* מפני נקדרה לו חמה בעבורו becauſe the Sun appeared ſo in his behalf: And they ſpeak high things alſo of his Daughter, as that ſhe had a bed made up of 12000 *denarii* of gold, &c. *Talm. bab. in Cetuboth fol.* 66. and *Taanith fol.* 19. *Avoth Rabbi Nathan per.* 6.

Now it is not worth debating either the truth of theſe ſtories, or whether this *Nicodemus* in the *Talmud* and he in the Goſpel were one and the ſame man. Certainly their times are concurrent, and why they might not be the ſame, as there is no danger to hold, ſo ſee I no reaſon to oppoſe, ſo ſtrong as this, becauſe the *Talmudiſts* make ſo honourable mention of him. The Author of *Juchaſin* yoketh him in the ſame time and the ſame ſociety with *Rabban Jochanan ben Zacchai*, who flouriſhed in the times of *Chriſts* being upon earth, and till after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem:* and of them two together he telleth this ſtory, That *Nicodemus ben Gorion* was once invited to a Circumciſion Feaſt with *Rabban Jochanan ben Zacchai*, and after the Feaſt *Rabban Jochanan*, and his Scholars went up into an upper room to expound the Law, and the houſe began to be all of a fire about, like mount *Sinai* (compare *Act.* 2.) *Juchaſin fol.* 23. & 51.

If our *Nicodemus* that we have in hand were the ſame with him in the *Talmud*, and that ſtory there have any thing of truth in it, we might ſay he was a Prieſt, and bare the office of the ממונה על המים *Overſeer of the waters*, for the peoples accommodation at the feſtivals: for ſuch an office one of the Prieſts had, *Maymon. in Keli Mikdaſh per.* 7.

But whether he were the ſame man and of that Office or no, the Evangeliſt hath ſet this

this double character upon him, that he was *a man of the Phariſees*, and ſo principled clean contrary to the doctrine of the Goſpel, and that he was a *Ruler of the Jews*, or one of the great *Sanhedrin*, *Joh.*7.5. and ſo had power in his hands to act in oppoſition of the Goſpel, according to his principles: It was not therefore an ordinary converſion, when *Nicodemus* is converted as it was in the converſion of other ſinners, but it was a work of a more ſingular wonder, when he and ſuch as he were brought home to the obedience of the Goſpel, who were not only under the power of corruption, and domineering of ſin as others alſo were, but under religious principles as they held them, clean oppoſite and contramilitant to the Goſpel. And thus in the converſion of *Nicodemus* a man of power, and of ſuch principles, at *Chriſts* firſt coming up to *Jeruſalem* in his publick Miniſtry, the power of the Goſpel and of the work of grace is demonſtrated, and a Patron for the riſing Goſpel is provided.

Verſ. 2. *The ſame came to Jeſus by night.*

This his coming by night is ſpoken of again by this ſame Evangeliſt, Chap.7.50. & 19. 39. and commonly is interpreted to be becauſe of the weakneſs of his faith, as not daring to own *Chriſt* in the ſight of the Jews. Which although we will not wholly deny, yet may there ſome other reaſons be given alſo of his coming by night, beſides fear and weakneſs of faith only: As 1. If his coming to *Chriſt*, was, to be inſtructed and ſatisfied by *Chriſt* in diſcourſe concerning the Kingdom of God, and whether he were the *Meſſias* or no, &c. as it may be well ſuppoſed it was, in that concourſe of people that was then at *Jeruſalem*, and eſpecially about *Chriſt*, all day long after they had once ſeen his miracles, it was not poſſible for him to have any privacy with him, but by night. 2. If he came the night after the day of the Feaſt, on which *Chriſt* did his miracles it ſhews his as much willingneſs toward the Goſpel in coming ſo ſoon, as it ſhewed weakneſs that he came by night. 3. The traditions of the Jews did ſet a ſingular eſteem and value upon the ſtudy of the Law and Divinity by night. *Although the command*, ſay they, *be to learn by day and by night, yet a man learns the moſt of his wiſdom by night, &c. Therefore whoſoever will obtain the Crown of the Law, let him ſtudy every night, and not loſe one. The wiſe men ſay The ſong of the Law is not but in the night: as it is ſaid, Ariſe, ſing in the night: and he that ſtudies the Law by night, a thread of mercy is drawn out for him by day. Every houſe in which they hear not the words of the Law by night, fire devours it*, Maym. in Talmud torah per.3.

§. *Rabbi we know that thou art a Teacher come from God.*

Rabbi, was the diſtinctive title of a man ordained, with which he was ſtiled when he received Ordination to be a Doctor, or a Judge; *How is ordination?* (ſaith *Maymony*) *Not that they always lay their hands upon the head of the Elder that is to be ordained, but that they call him Rabbi, and ſay to him, Behold thou art ordained, and thou haſt power to judge, &c. Sanhedr. per.* 4. But the word came into more inlarged uſe among them, ſo as to be given in compellation to any of learning, rank or Religion: And whether *Nicodemus* do ſo title *Chriſt* in the proper or in the common uſe of the word, it is not much material to look after: It is like he doth it, becauſe he acknowledgeth him a Teacher, and a *Teacher come from God*, as *John* is ſaid to be a man *ſent from God*, *Joh.* 1.3. and called *Rabbi*, *Joh.*3.26. Now theſe phraſes *come from God* and *ſent from God*, do ſtand in contradiſtinction, to teachers *coming from men*, and *ſent from men*. Which way of emiſſion of Teachers and Preachers by Ordination, though it were according to the Ordinance and way of God, yet becauſe the action was done immediately by the hands of men, it was of a very great difference from theirs, whoſe immediate commiſſion was from the Lord by revelation, inſpiration, or ſome ſuch Divine warrant of the Spirit of Prophecy. *Nicodemus* therefore when he calleth Chriſt a *Teacher come from God*, he meaneth ſome more ſpecial miſſion from God, than the ordinary and mediate one by ordination: and he acknowledgeth him to be a Prophet at leaſt immediately ſent from God, as the Prophets had been of old, by the word of the Lord, with the power of miracles in their hand: if he do not in the term acknowledge him more than a Prophet, of which hereafter.

But whom doth *Nicodemus* join with himſelf in this acknowledgment, when he ſaith *We know* in the plural number? Were there any of his Scholars with him now with *Chriſt* when he ſpeaketh theſe words? Or did he mean that himſelf and his fellows of the *Sanhedr.* were convinced of *Chriſts* being a Prophet? Truly were it not, that I knew the phraſe is otherwiſe taken and conſtrued, then always in a definite ſenſe, or fixed to a certain number, I ſhould as ſoon underſtand it ſo, as any other way, applied to any particular company or number of perſons. For do but imagin, upon the appearing of the great and wondrous miracles of *Chriſt*, after that the working of miracles had been out of date and uſe for ſo many ages together, what a ſerious recogniſance, and ſolemn debate

muſt

muſt the great *Sanhedrin* needs take up about this matter, whom it concerned to look after things of that nature? It is paſt all doubting that they would ſadly canvaſs the caſe amongſt themſelves, whether *Chriſt* were a true Prophet yea or no: and it can be but little doubted neither, that when they fully skanned the caſe, and weighed the miracles that he did, they could not but in heart conſent that he was a *Teacher ſent from God, for that no man could do ſuch miracles as he did, unleſs God were with him:* which thing indeed in action, and in their demeanour towards him they always denied, ſcorning, oppoſing and perſecuting him, as it appeareth all along in the ſtory, yet certainly they could not in heart deny it, and ſo their ſin in acting ſo, was ſo much the greater. If one ſhould therefore underſtand the word *we know*, in this ſtrict conſtruction, as if *Nicodemus* having been in the *Sanhedrin* all day, (and it in debate about *Chriſt*, and not able to gainſay his Divine miſſion becauſe of his wondrous workings) he ſhould come at night and tell *Chriſt*, how he and his fellows of the *Sanhedrin* were convinced that he was a Teacher ſent from God, it might not be contrary either to truth or to good ſenſe ſo to conſtrue it: But the phraſe *We know* is often taken to import, that ſuch a thing is commonly and certainly known, not ſo much with regard to ſuch or ſuch particular or definite perſons knowing of it; but with regard to the thing it ſelf, that it is well known, and of open cogniſance: and ſo it is cleareſt to underſtand it here; ſee the phraſe, *Joh.* 4.22. & 9.31. 1 *Joh.* 5.18. &c.

Verſ. 3. *Except a man be born.*

Expoſitors do uſe great variety of piecings to tie theſe words of our Saviour, to thoſe of *Nicodemus* before, in ſome ſutableneſs or conformity together. *Chryſoſtome* thus, *Thou holdeſt me for a Prophet only: here thou comeſt exceeding far ſhort of the full truth, and art not come ſo much as into the utmoſt porch of a right knowledge: Verily I ſay unto thee, except thou partake of the Spirit by the laver of regeneration, thou canſt not have a right judgement concerning me.* And much in the ſame ſteps treadeth *Theophylact. Cyrill* thus: *Nicodemus* thought he had done enough in coming to Chriſt, and confeſſing him, *but this is not enough* ſaith Chriſt, *but thou muſt alſo be born again:* And much after the ſame manner goeth *Toletus. Auguſtine* thus, *Nicodemus thou comeſt to me as to a Teacher come from God, but I tell thee there is no truſting my ſelf and the Goſpel with thee, unleſs thou be born again.* *Beza* conceiveth that *Chriſt* ſaw that it was in *Nicodemus* his thoughts to enquire of him about the Doctrine of Regeneration, and he prevents his queſtion. *Janſenius*, that he did inquire concerning the way to eternal life, but the Evangeliſt hath not mentioned it: and divers more like offertures of connexion between the words of *Nicodemus* and our Saviours might be produced which are tendered by ſeveral expoſitors, but I ſhall ſpare more alleadging, and firſt take up the conſideration of what is meant by *the Kingdom of God*, and that underſtood, the connexion that appears ſo difficult will be made the better.

§. *The Kingdom of God.*

1. This phraſe, and *The Kingdom of Heaven*, are but one and the ſame in ſenſe, though they differ in a word, as will plainly and eaſily appear by comparing theſe places.

Matth. 4. 7. *Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.*	Mark 1. 15. *The Kingdom of God is at hand, Repent ye.*
Matth. 5. 3. *Bleſſed are the poor in ſpirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.*	Luke 6. 20. *Bleſſed be ye poor, for yours is the Kingdom of God.*
Matth. 19. 14. *Suffer little children, &c. for of ſuch is the Kingdom of Heaven.*	Mark 10. 14. *Suffer little children, &c. for of ſuch is the Kingdom of God.*
Matth. 19. 23. *A rich man ſhall hardly enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.*	Luk. 18. 24. *How hardly ſhall they that have riches enter into the Kingdom of God?*
Matth. 11. 11, 12. *The leaſt in the Kingdom of Heaven is greater than he.*	Luk. 7. 28. *The leaſt in the Kingdom of God is greater than he.*
Matth. 13. 11. *To you it is given to know the myſteries of the Kingdom of Heaven.*	Luk. 8. *To you it is given to know the myſteries of the Kingdom of God.*
Verſ. 3. *The Kingdom of Heaven is like a grain of muſtardſeed.*	Luk. 13. 18, 19. *The Kingdom of God is like a grain of muſtardſeed.*
Verſ. 33. *The Kingdom of Heaven is like leaven.*	Verſ. 20, 21. *The Kingdom of God is like leaven.*

And many more ſuch like parallel places in the Evangeliſts might be produced, in which by the indifferent uſe of theſe expreſſions, they ſhew abundantly, that, *The Kingdom of Heaven* and *The Kingdom of God* do mean and ſignifie but one and the ſame thing.

And

And the reaſon of this indifferent uſe of it is, becauſe the Jews uſually called God *Heaven:* as *Dan.* 4.25. *Matth.* 21.25. *Luke* 15.21. *Joh.* 3.27. and their Authors infinitely in ſuch paſſages as theſe מורא רבו כמורא שמים *A man is to fear his Teacher as he is to fear Heaven.* פולחנא רשמיא *The ſervice of Heaven,* פורק יראת שמים *Such a one caſts off the fear of Heaven.* יהא ירא שמים בסתר *Let a man always fear Heaven in ſecret.* מיתה ביד שמים *Death by the hand of Heaven.* נתחלל שם שמים *The name of Heaven is blaſphemed, &c.* And *they call God Heaven* (ſaith *Elias Levita*) *becauſe Heaven is the place of his Habitation.* In Tiſhbi.

The *Talmudick* writers do ſometimes uſe the term or phraſe of *The Kingdom of Heaven* in a wild ſenſe, for the ſtrictneſs, height and pompouſneſs of their Ceremonioufneſs in Religion, and moſt eſpecially about the buſineſs of their Phylacteries. *Rabbi Joſhua the ſon of Korchah ſaith* קבל עליו מלכות שמים תחלה ואחר יקבל עליו עול מצוה *Let a man firſt take upon him the Kingdom of Heaven, and afterward let him take upon him the yoke of the command.* Thus the *Miſhneh* of the *Jeruſalem Talmud* readeth in *Beracoth per.* 2. and ſo likewiſe doth R. *Alpheſ.* But the *Babylon Miſhneh* hath it, let him firſt take upon him *the yoke* of the Kingdom of Heaven, &c. which ſaying meaneth but this, Let a man but firſt put on his Phylacteries, and then fall to his Devotions. And ſo the *Gemara* in the place cited doth expound it. *Rabbi Joſhua* ſaith, *He that will take on him the yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven, let him waſh his hands, put up his Phylacteries, rehearſe the ſentences of them over, ſay his prayer, and this is the yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven complete.* On whoſe words *Alpheſi* gloſſeth and deſcanteth thus, *Since he reads,* And thou ſhalt bind them for a ſign upon thine hand, and they ſhall be frontlets between thine eyes, *If he put not his Phylacteries on, he is found bearing falſe witneſs againſt himſelf, for what he ſaith is not true. And although he perform the command* (of ſaying his prayers) *ſo as to diſcharge his duty of ſaying over his Phylactery ſentences, yet he tranſgreſſeth on the other hand, becauſe he witneſſeth falſly againſt himſelf. And* Rabbi Jochanan *meaneth that even the command is not perfectly done, if he take not on him the Kingdom of Heaven. And he is like to one that offereth a Thanks offering without a meat offering: becauſe he rehearſeth thoſe ſentences without taking on him the Kingdom of Heaven.*

In the ſame place is another ſtory related and to be underſtood in the ſame ſenſe, concerning *Rabban Gamaliel, who on his wedding day at night, ſaid over his Phylacteries: His Diſciples ſaid unto him, Sir, haſt not thou taught us that a Bridegroom is free from ſaying over his Phylacteries the firſt night? He ſaith unto them, I will not hearken unto you to lay from me the yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven no not one hour.* And the ſame conſtruction is to be made of that which the Author of *Juchaſin* records of *Rabbi Akiba* שנפטר בקבלת עול שמים *That he died taking on him the yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven, fol.* 66. So that in theſe mens Dictionary, The phraſe of *The Kingdom of Heaven,* did ſignifie mainly, the height, zeal, and ſtrictneſs of their devotions joined with punctual Ceremonioufneſs and Phylactery rites. *Zohar* ſhall be our *Lexicon* for concluſion: *What is the yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven,* (ſaith he) *But as they put a yoke upon an Ox at firſt to produce by him benefit to the world, and if he take not the yoke upon him, he is unſerviceable: ſo alſo it behoveth a man to take upon him the yoke at firſt, and afterward to ſerve with it in every thing that is needful, and if he take not the yoke upon him, he cannot be ſerviceable: As it is ſaid, Serve the Lord in fear: what meaneth, in fear? Why what is written: The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wiſdom: And this is the Kingdom of Heaven.* Zohar. in Levit. fol. 53.

But in the language of the *Jews* in the Goſpel, and in ſome of their writers elſewhere alſo, *The Kingdom of Heaven* ſignifieth the days of the *Meſſias,* and the glorious times and their Religion and condition that they expected would be then. *When he ſhould reſtore the Kingdom of the houſe of David to its old glory, and build the Temple, and bring home all the diſperſed of Iſrael, and Iſrael ſhould be at reſt from the Kingdom of wickedneſs, to ſtudy the Law and the Commandments without diſquieture.* Maym. in Melachim. per. 11. and in Teſhubah per. 9.

See theſe places and paſſages, expounding plainly the phraſe, *of the days of Meſſias,* both in the conſtruction of the *Jews* and alſo of *Chriſt* and the Goſpel it ſelf.

John Baptiſt preached ſaying, *The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand, Matth.* 3.2. So did *Chriſt, Matth.* 4.17. and ſo he bad his Diſciples to do, *Matth.* 10.17. by which was meant no other thing, but the time was near when the Son of man ſhould be revealed: for ſo our Saviour himſelf doth interpret it, *Matth.* 16.23.

Luke 16.16. The Law and the Prophets were till *John,* but *from that time forward the Kingdom of God was preached:* which *John* himſelf expounded thus, *That Chriſt ſhould be manifeſt to Iſrael, therefore came I baptizing with water,* Joh. 1.31.

Luke 17.20,21. *The Phariſees asked him when the Kingdom of God ſhould come: And Jeſus anſwered, the Kingdom of God is among you.* Which in the next verſe after is uttered by *The days of the Son of man.*

Luke

Luke 9. 27. *There be some standing here which shall not taste of death till they see the Kingdom of God:* which *Matthew* utters, *till they see the Son of man come in his Kingdom*, Mark 16. 28.

Matth.21.31. *Publicans and Harlots go into the Kingdom of God before you:* and the next verse gives this reason, because *they believed not John*, from whom *the Kingdom of God*, began to be preached, and by whom the *Messiah* was pointed out.

Matth.21.43. *The Kingdom of God shall be taken from you.* And the reason is given in the verse before, because they refused the corner stone when he was among them: to which the gloss is agreeable, that *R. Solomon* maketh on *Jer.*13.17. *My soul shall weep in secret for your pride*, that is, מפני צאוותה של מש *because of the glory of the Kingdom of Heaven which shall be given to Idols*, or to the Idolatrous Heathen.

And of the days and revealing of the *Messias*, which the Nation so much looked after, are those passages to be understood; Luke 23. 52. *Joseph of Arimathea waited for the Kingdom of God:* and Luke 19. 11. *They thought that the Kingdom of God should shortly appear.* Sutable to which the Chaldee Paraphrast interprets those words, *Say to the Cities of Judah, Behold your God*, Esay 40.9. *Say to the Cities of Judah, The Kingdom of your God is revealed*, and Esay 53. 11. *They shall see the Kingdom of their Messias.*

Now although our Saviour and the Evangelists, and Apostles did use the Phrase. *The Kingdom of God* or *of Heaven*, for the days and affairs under the *Messias* as well as the *Jews*, yet in the exposition of the things of those days, they do as far differ as may be: For,

1. The Jews looked upon the appearance and days of the *Messias*, as things of incomparable earthly pomp, royalty and gorgeousness, therefore they called it *the Kingdom*, because they expected the restoring of the earthly glory of *Davids* throne. *Act.*1.6. *Luke* 24.21. *Mark* 20.20. and *The Kingdom of Heavon*, because they imagined they should be acquitted from under the power of an earthly Kingdom: For their *wise men held that there should be no difference betwixt this world, and the days of Messias, but only the oppression of the Kingdoms.* Talm. in Sanhed. per. 10. Maym. in Teshubah per.9.

But Christ professeth, that his coming is not with observation: *Luke* 17. 20. that his Kingdom is not of this world, *Joh.* 18.36. That the Kingdom of Heaven is of the poor, *Luke* 6.20. and to be received as by little children, *Mark* 10.15. &c.

2. They fancied a change in matters of Religion in the time of the *Messiah*, but all for the greater, and higher pomp of Ceremonies, and formal worship; that, the solemn Festivals, Sacrifices, Sprinklings, observations of carnal rites should be in a higher force and esteem, than ever yet, that their study and practise of the Law, according to such a carnal manner, should be incomparable both for zeal and diligence: And that there should be a punctual exactness in all formalities about meats and drinks, converse and worship.

But the Gospel tells that, no coming into the Kingdom of Heaven, unless their righteousness exceed this Pharisaical righteousness, *Matth.*5.20. That the worship of God was to be in the spirit, *Joh.* 4.23, 24. And that the Kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost, *Rom.*14.17.

3. They conceited that the happiness of the days of the *Messias* shall be appropriated only to them of that Nation, and that the Heathens should have no share nor interest in that felicity.

But the Gospel tells, that there should come from East and West and North and South, and sit down in the Kingdom of God, *Luke* 13.29. And that that Kingdom should be taken from them who took themselves only to be the children of the Kingdom, and should be given to another Nation, *Mark* 21.43. & 8.11,12.

The meaning therefore of this expression, *The Kingdom of God or Heaven*, which is so exceeding frequent in the New Testament, in the Gospel acceptation, is to this extent.

1. It signifieth the revealing or appearing of Christ, as is apparent by the places cited before, not so much his first appearing in humane flesh or when he was born, as his revealing, coming and appearing in the demonstration of his power and of his being the Son of God; And in reference to this matter, *the Kingdom of Heaven*, or of *God*, is dated by these two dates: sometimes from his resurrection and sometimes from the destruction of *Jerusalem*; from his resurrection, whereby he was declared mightily to be the Son of God, *Rom.*1.4. as *Luke* 22.18. *I will not drink of the fruit of the vine till the Kingdom of God be come*, meaning not till after his resurrection; for then he eat and drank with them, *Act.*1.4. *Luke* 24.43,44. And from the destruction of *Jerusalem*, *Luke* 21.31,32. *Matth.* 16.28. because then he triumphed over those that had despised his rule, and he transferred his Kingdom to another people, *Matth.*21.40,41,43.

2. It signifieth the changed administration of the way and things of Salvation; from the Ceremonial and carnal rites which were appointed before, to a worship of God in spirit and truth. Not but that that spiritual service was inwrapped under those formalities,

ties, if they could have found it out, but that now the change was ſo apparent and ſo great, that thoſe outſides of Ceremonies were to be laid aſide, and the internal ſubſtance only to be looked after. In this ſenſe, the *Kingdom of Heaven* is dated from the beginning of *John Baptiſts* Miniſtery, when this change did firſt begin, *Luke* 16.16. and that time called the *beginning of the Goſpel*, *Mark* 1.1. this change is called *the regeneration*, *Matth.*19.28. And *new Heavens*, and *new Earth*, *Eſay* 65.16.

3. It ſignifieth the planting of the Goſpel, and of the ſpiritual Kingdom of *Chriſt*, among the Gentiles, *Matth.*8.11,12. & 21.43.

4. It ſignifieth the work of the Goſpel, grace wrought in the heart, or the vertue and vigour of this ſpiritual Kingdom of Chriſt there, *Matth.*6.33. & 13.46. & 15.3, *&c.*

5. And ſometimes it ſignifies the ſtate of glory, *Luke* 18.18,24,25.

And now to return to that enquiry that we were about, concerning the connexion of our Saviours words to the words of *Nicodemus*; and concerning the meaning of the words themſelves, we ſhall obſerve only theſe three particulars.

1. That *Nicodemus* in his words in the verſe before, doth own ſome appearance and glimpſe of *the Kingdom of God*, or coming of the *Meſſias*, in the wondrous miracles that *Chriſt* had wrought. We ſhall not much diſpute whether when he ſaith that *Chriſt* was a *Teacher come from God*, he means, that he was the *Meſſias*, or that he was *Elias* his forerunner, or that he was ſome Prophet that was as the dawning to the days of *Meſſias*: certainly his argument from *Chriſts* miracles, doth ſpeak him as thinking thoſe days near at hand, and *the Kingdom of God* now beginning to appear: Such arguments we find elſewhere, producing ſuch a concluſion, and by the obſerving of them, we may the better judge of this. *Nathaniel* concludes *Chriſt* the King of *Iſrael*, becauſe he had wonderfully told him of ſome ſecret paſſage of his under a Fig-tree, *John* 1.49. And the woman of *Samaria*, becauſe he had told her of her ſecret villany, reſolves that he muſt needs be the *Meſſias*, *Joh.*4.29. So when he had filled the people with five loaves, and two fiſhes, they make this undoubted concluſion, *Of a truth this is the Prophet*; and they would have crowned him for *Meſſias*, *John* 6.14,15. And our Saviour himſelf makes this an undeniable argument, *I by the Spirit of God do caſt out Devils, ergo, No doubt the Kingdom of God is come among you*, *Luke* 11.20. for ſuch wonders cannot be expected but in the days of *Meſſias*. Such like arguments are thoſe, *John* 7.31. & 9.16. & 11.47, 48. & 15.24. The blaſphemous Jews of thoſe times found theſe ſo evincing and undeniable evidences toward ſuch a concluſion, that they could find no other way to evade the dint of them, but by that curſed tergiverſation, as ſenſleſs as it was impious; That *Chriſt* wrought theſe wonders by the power of the Devil, *Luke* 11.15. *John* 10.20. And as the blaſphemous *Jews* in times ſucceeding have ſought to evade them by this aſſertion, that when *Meſſias* ſhould come he would do no miracles. *Talm. in Sanhedr. per.* 10. *Maym. in Melachim. per.* 11, 12.

2. But this was *Nicodemus* his argumentation upon the miracles that he ſaw done: that undoubtedly this could be nothing but a token of the days of the *Meſſias* or *Kingdom of God* now approached; and ſo our Saviour eaſily reads his meaning; and ſo the alledged like arguments ſhew, that even any of the learned or obſerving ones of the Nation, would readily have conſtrued his words, though he ſpake not ſo much in thoſe very ſyllables; and therefore it is needleſs to ſay, that *Chriſt* knew it was in his thoughts to enquire about *the Kingdom of Heaven*, it was legible enough in theſe very words, that he acknowledged an undeniable evidence of *the Kingdom of Heaven* now demonſtrated, in thoſe wondrous miracles that Chriſt wrought; which reaſoning may be heightned by theſe two circumſtances, in that miracles had been ſo long ceaſed, and ſhould now ſo break forth; and that in the times when miracles were wrought, none were wrought ſuch as theſe.

3. The connexion therefore of our Saviours words to his, upon theſe conſiderations is of no difficulty or harſhneſs at all, but as direct and proper as was poſſible: For, as *Nicodemus* by theſe miracles could not but conclude upon the times of the *Meſſias* that they were now come; ſo by his Judaical and Phariſaical principles, he conceived that thoſe glorious times that they expected under *Meſſias* ſhould take the people as they were, and they without any inward change of mind or heart at all, ſhould be tranſlated into an outward changed condition of happineſs and earthly glory, as much as they could deſire or imagine: No, ſaith *Chriſt*, there is more required of and in him that deſires to ſee and partake of the happineſs of that Kingdom, and thoſe days; he muſt alſo ſuffer a changedneſs in himſelf, and in his principles, and be caſt into a new mold, and be as if he were born anew. And thus may we make out the connexion of this ſpeech of *Chriſt* to that of *Nicodemus*, and now there remains to examine the meaning of the ſpeech it ſelf

It is not much material, as to ſenſe of the thing it ſelf, whether to read it, Except a man be born *again*, or Except a man be born *from above*; either of the expreſſions will very

very well carry the sense our Saviour intendeth in it; but to take it in the latter translation, *from above*, doth more properly and pertinently speak out the thing that is aimed at. It was the great confidence and boasting of the Jews that they were born and descended of the seed of *Abraham*; and upon this score and priviledge they relied so much, that they accounted that very thing to estate them exceedingly in a happy condition, as to the favour of God, and welfare of their spiritual estate. It were endless to shew out of *Jewish* Authors, how great matters they speak of, accrewing to them בוכות אברהם by the priviledge of their descent and extraction from *Abraham:* Insomuch that even upon that account, they doubt not to reckon כל ישראל יש להם חלק לעה"ב *That all* Israel *is to have share in the world to come. Sanhedr. ubi sup.* See *Matth.*3.9. *John* 8.39. *Act.* 13. 26. Now that fond reliance, doth *Christ* oppose and confute in this speech, and useth the very same method and matter of discourse with this Pharisee, that *John* the Baptist doth with those that came to him, *Matth.* 3.9. to take him off from leaning on that broken staff; and that whereas now he had spied some glimpse and dawning of *the Kingdom of Heaven*, in the great and wondrous workings of *Christ*, he should not think to slip into it, and enjoy the happiness of it without more ado, because he was an *Israelite* of the seed of *Abraham*, for that earthly priviledge and pedegree and birth would not serve his turn, but he must be *born from above*, by a new and supernal birth, or else he could not see *the Kingdom of God.* And that *Christ* referreth to this their descent and birth of *Abraham*, upon which they stood so much, it is to be confirmed not only by comparing this his method of teaching with that of *Johns*, but also by what is spoken by him in the sixth verse: *That which is born of the flesh is flesh.*

It is true indeed, that there were other principles in *Nicodemus*, that had need to be met with a confutation, as much as this, as his reliance upon his own righteousness, and legal performances, and his gross conceptions about the *Kingdom of Heaven*; but this was the first that lay in the way, and which was first to be removed, and upon which the other were not a little built: and when this hath been spoken to in the beginning of *Christs* discourse, he falls upon the other in the verses following.

Now whereas this construction of the words of *Christ*, which makes them to face their reliance upon their birth of *Abraham*, may seem to render them applicable only to the Jews and no nation else, because they alone stood upon that priviledge; it is easie to see by the rule of comparison, how they reach to every man and woman under Heaven, that desires to enter into *the Kingdom of Heaven*; for if the Jews that had that priviledge and advantage of their birth, yet in this matter were nothing at all priviledged and advantaged by it, but must be born anew and from above; much more must they be concluded under the necessity of a new birth, that have not so much as that prerogative of birth at all, but are of the root of the wild olive.

Vers. 4. *How can a man be born being old?*

Among that Nation they had this Maxim and Tradition, נוי שנתגייר ועבד שנשתחרר הרי הוא כקטן שנולד That, *A Gentile that is Proselyted, and a servant that is set free, behold he is as a child new born; for all the kindred which he had, whilest he was a Heathen and a servant, he now must know no more for his kindred. Maym. in Issure biah per.* 14. Compare 2 *Cor.*5.6. Here is a new birth in a kind of a sense, with which it is likely *Nicodemus* was acquainted, but it is but low, terrene, and carnal about earthly affinity and relations; but to hear of a new *birth from above*, is a doctrine so new and strange in his ears, that even a child might have made as pertinent a reply upon it as doth this great Teacher of *Israel*: They were so satisfied with their birth from *Abraham*, that they never cared to hearken after other; and they were so taken up with earthly rites, that any other doctrine was but a paradox.

Vers. 5. *Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit.*

We first here meet with the question, whether *water* and the *Spirit* in these words, are to be taken distinctly for two several things, or whether they mean but one and the same thing. There be that hold this manner of speech to be but Ἐν διὰ δυοῖν, only one thing meant by two expressions, and that the conjunction [*And*] is only *exegetical*, and they give the sense of the clause thus, *Except a man be born of water, that is, of the Spirit*, which is compared to water: But others, and those not without good reason, and those also not the least among the learned, have made a clear distinction betwixt *water* and the *Spirit*, and by *water* do understand *Baptism. Chemnitius* pleads this distinction very earnestly and fully, and concludes, *Tota Antiquitas semper simplicissime hæc verba Christi de Baptismo intellexit*; that all Antiquity hath clearly understood these words of Christ concerning Baptism: I shall only produce two or three of the ancients, where I might produce

produce a whole cloud of witnesses. *Chrysostome, Hom.* 24. *in Johan.* so understands it, and he makes this Paraphrase upon it. Ἔπλασα ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος, *&c. I created man* (saith God, whom he brings in so speaking) *of water and earth, and the Creature became unprofitable, and the vessel was mard. I will no more create of water and earth, but of water and the Spirit. Cyrill Alexandrinus* expounds the words so likewise, and alludes the matter thus; *As man consists of two parts, soul and body*; διπλῆς αὐτῷ πρὸς ἀναγέννησιν ἐνδεήσει θεραπείας; *so will he need a twofold cure for his regeneration. His spirit is sanctified by the Spirit, and his body by the water sanctified*, or set apart. And he follows it with this comparison. *As water in a caldron set to the fire receives the force of the fire: so the water of Baptism by the Spirit is raised to a divine and ineffable vertue. Augustine* construes *water* here also for Baptism, and addeth this gloss; *That as the bowels of the Mother do avail for the breeding of a child once, for the natural birth; so the bowels of the Church towards the spiritual birth, every one to be once baptized*; I might be endless in alledging names and glosses upon this place and matter, all holding Baptism to be here meant; and some comparing the Water to the Mother, and the Spirit to the Father in the new birth; some paralleling betwixt our birth of water, by the power of the Spirit; and the birth of *Christ* of a Virgin, by the vertue of the Holy Ghost: And some making one allusion or comparison upon the matter, and some another; and all peremptorily concluding, and that not without very good ground, that Baptism must needs be here understood. For,

1. Christ was opening to *Nicodemus* in this answer, what was obscure to him in his other words; and if he intended but one thing by *water* and the *Spirit*, he spake in obscurity still, and did but explain one difficulty with another.

2. In the like expression, *He will baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire, Matth.* 3. 11. though there be a Ἐν διὰ δυοῖν, confessed, and it be construed *Baptizabit spiritu igneo*, yet was the fire there a visible thing, and why should not the water here be taken for a visible thing also?

3. *John Baptist* observed this course in his Ministery, that he preached Baptism first, and then baptized, *Luke* 3. 3. *&c.* And how can we conceive more properly of the Ministery of *Christ*, than in the same divine method? It is said afterward in this Chapter that *Jesus* baptized, *ver.* 22. and did he not preach the doctrine of Baptism before he baptized? It cannot be doubted that he did; but if he did it not in this expression, ye have not the least mention of it in all the Chapter.

4. It is not improperly held by divers, that the Apostle calls Baptism *The washing of regeneration, Tit.* 3. 5. upon the warrant and style of these words of our Saviour.

5. It is true indeed, that *water* in divers places of Scripture is used to signifie the work and operation of the Spirit, but then under under the notion of cooling, purging, or refreshing: but to be *born of water*, is a Phrase so different from any of these, that the construction of the word *water*, as meaning the Spirit, in such places as are applicable to those actions or effects, cannot be so proper a construction in reference to this, especially when the *Spirit* is also expresly mentioned with it.

6. The question in hand betwixt our Saviour and *Nicodemus*, was about his entrance and introduction into *the Kingdom of God*, or his coming under the days and benefit of *Messias* his appearing, which he was sensible was now come.

And therefore *Calvin* mistakes and mis-states the question in this place, which made him so resolutely to refuse the general exposition of water for Baptism: *Nullo modo adducor*, saith he, *ut Christum de Baptismo verba facere credam: hoc enim esset intempestivum: I can by no means be swayed to think that Christ speaketh of Baptism here: for that would have been unseasonable*; And why unseasonable? Why, he gives this reason, *Because Christ was exhorting to newness of life.* But that is not the prime and proper question, or theme in hand. The matter in hand was about *Nicodemus* translation into the days of the *Messias* (of which the Nation had so high thoughts) that is, as he thought, into a changed state of happiness; and as it was indeed, into a changed principling and profession: to come under new grounds of Religion, and under a new manner of profession different from what he was under before: Our Saviour tells him, He must not think to slip into the participation of this Kingdom, without any more ado than this, *now the days of the* Messias *are come, I shall have my share of the happiness of them, and they will even drop into my mouth*; but he must be newly molded, out of his reliance upon his birth prerogative, out of his legal righteousness, out of his carnal performances, and ceremonious services; and by a new birth, as it were, must be introduced into this new world and condition: Now even those that deny that Baptism is spoken of here, yet cannot deny, that Baptism was the way which *Christ* had appointed for introduction into this new profession; and if the introduction thereunto was the question that was in agitation, as indeed it was, they can as little deny that Baptism is meant and spoken of here.

If *Nicodemus* were an Overseer of the waters of which there was a touch before, then Christ speaketh to him from his own element, when he speaketh of being *born of water:* and

and if *Christ* did any miracles at *Bethesday* waters at this Passover, as he did at the next, this speech of new birth by water, might have some allusion to the effect of those waters, where he that first went in after the Angels moving, was born as it were into a new healthy condition.

Now Christ addeth the mention of the *Spirit*, to *water* or Baptism, to difference Baptism from Pharisaical washings, and legal purifications; for those were carnal rites, the efficacy of which they placed in *opere operato*; but Baptism is of a more spiritual import, and the vertue of it did not consist so much in the outward washing, as in the inward efficacy of the Spirit, as 1 *Pet.* 3.21.

The Phrase *the Kingdom of God*, did *primo intuitu*, in the first, most common and most commonly known signification among the Jews, mean and betoken the state and *œconomy* of the times under the *Messias*, in opposition to the state and *œconomy* in the times that were before, as hath been shewed: and in this sense did *Nicodemus* look upon and for the Kingdom of God, and accordingly in that sense, first doth Christ apply his speech unto him: But yet withal, our Saviour and the Gospel-acceptation, hath raised the expression to a higher and more spiritual signification, than the Jews did take it in, and that is to betoken the state of Grace and Sanctification, in any person under this *Oeconomy* of the times of *Messias* or the Gospel: And as the word *The Church* doth not only express the whole Church Visible though it do most commonly express that, but also includes withal and speaks the Church invisible or those that are sanctified, which most properly are the Church indeed: so *The Kingdom of Heaven*, doth not only intend the visible Kingdom of the *Messias* in the altered state of the *œconomy* in his days and under the Gospel, though that be the first and most large and common sense of it: but also it denoteth the invisible Kingdom of *Christ* in the heart of his Saints, where he reigns by his Grace, which is most singularly and especially his Kingdom. Our Saviour therefore in these words, would drive the signification of the term, *the Kingdom of God*, to the head, and so he doth also the doctrine of Baptism: And as he speaketh of that Kingdom to the utmost extent, namely both the external dispensation, and the internal operation of Gods way of Salvation under the *Messias*, so likewise doth he, of the twofold *birth from above*, which refers to them both, namely an Ecclesiastical or new way of admission, as a birth from above, into that changed œconomy and administration, and that is by Baptism: and a spiritual and new way of introduction as a birth from above, into that blessed state of Grace and Sanctification, and that is by an effectual work of the Spirit. He would first inform *Nicodemus* of the outward way of admission into the Kingdom of Heaven, as that signified the changed state of administrations under the Gospel, and that saith he, is by *being born of water:* But then he would shew, both that there was more to be looked after in the Kingdom of Heaven, than only an outward change of dispensations, and more to be looked after in Baptism than only the external washing, and therefore he addeth *and of the Spirit:* He that will enter into *the Kingdom of God*, that is, into the state of the Gospel, he must be *born of water*, but he that will enter into *the Kingdom of God*, that is, into the state of Grace, must be *born of the Spirit.* Baptism is Gods Ordinance for the former purpose, and it is necessary for that end *ratione præcepti*, and we must obey God in it: The Spirit is Gods operation for the latter purpose, and it is necessary *ratione medii*, and we must attend on him in his way for it.

Vers. 6. *That which is born of the flesh is flesh.*

Christ in the former words had declared the manner of the New birth, and here he speaks of its dignity: comparing it with the birth-priviledge of descent from *Abraham.* For though, as to outward honour and prerogative, that had something, and that not a little in it, yet that birth was but according to the flesh, and what conduced it towards entring into *the Kingdom of Heaven* which was spiritual? But he that is born of the Spirit, is spiritual, &c. And thus he is still winding up *Nicodemus* higher from his gross and carnal apprehensions concerning the Kingdom of God, and days of *Messias.*

Vers. 8. *The wind bloweth where it listeth, &c.*

For the clearing of our Saviours argumentation here which is somewhat obscure, we are to observe these things. 1. That by this comparison, he goeth about both to confirm the truth of the doctrine of the New birth which he had delivered, and also something to clear the manner of its being or coming to pass.

2. The comparison seemeth not made between the wind and the new birth, but between the wind and one anew born, for observe the application, *So is* (not the birth of the Spirit, but) *every one that is born of the Spirit:* yet is the application to that work it self not to be excluded. The comparison therefore runneth thus. As the wind blowing at its own liberty: thou heareſt the sound of it, and so art sensible of the stirring of such a thing, but knoweſt not how it blows or what becomes of it: even so is every

every one that is born of the Spirit: the Spirit worketh this product of the new birth in whom and when it pleaſeth: and he upon whom the thing is wrought, findeth by the change and effects in himſelf, that ſuch a thing is done, but he cannot tell how it is come to paſs and actuated, and to what progreſs and efficiency it will grow. And ſo doth Chriſt explain to the ſenſual and groſs underſtanding of *Nicodemus*, the truth of the things that he had ſpoken in as plain notions as they could be uttered. Firſt, He aſſerteth the truth and reality of the New birth, a thing to be as well perceived by the fruits and conſequences of it, as the wind by the ſound. 2. That the Spirit doth work this by as free an agency and unlimited activity, as the wind doth blow at its own liberty without confinement or reſtraining. 3. That this work is inſcrutable and paſt the ſadoming of humane reaſon, as is the way of the wind where it begins and where it terminates.

Verſ. 10. *Art thou a Teacher of Iſrael, &c.*

Talmud Torah, or the teaching of the Law in *Iſrael* was in ſo high eſteem amongſt them, and that moſt deſervedly, had they gone the right way to work, that they prized nothing at a higher value, nay nothing of an equal dignity with it: They eſteemed it the moſt precious of all the three Crowns that the Lord had beſtowed upon *Iſrael*, *The Crown of the Kingdom, the Crown of the Law, and the Crown of the Prieſthood*, They weighed it againſt any one of the Commandments, nay againſt all the Commandments and it out weighed them all. For they had this received poſition: אין לך מצוה בכל המצוות כולן שהיא שקולה כנגד תלמוד תורה אלא תלמוד תורה כנגד כל מצוות כולן *Amongſt all the Commandments there is not one Commandment that is parallel to the learning and teaching of the Law, but that is equal to all the Commandments put together.* Maym. in Talm. torah per. 3.

Now there were four ſorts of Teachers and teaching of the Law among them. 1. In every City and Town, there was a School where Children were taught to read the Law: and if there were any Town where there was not ſuch a School, the men of the place ſtood excommunicate till ſuch a one was erected. 2. There were the publick Preachers and Teachers of the Law in their Synagogues, *Act.*15.21. moſt commonly the fixed and ſetled Miniſters and *Angeli Eccleſiæ*, and ſometime learned men that came in occaſionally, as *Act.*13.14. 3. There were thoſe that had their *Midraſhoth*, or kept Divinity Schools, in which they expounded the Law to their Scholars or Diſciples: of which there is exceeding frequent mention among the Jewiſh writers, eſpecially of the Schools of *Hillel* and *Shammai*: Such a Divinity profeſſor was *Gamaliel*, *Act.* 22.3. 4. And laſtly, The whole *Sanhedrin* in its Seſſions, was as the great School of the Nation as well as the great Judicatory: For it ſet the ſenſe of the Law, eſpecially in matters practical, and expounded *Moſes*, with ſuch authority, that their gloſs and determination, was an *ipſe dixit*, a poſitive expoſition and rule that might not be queſtioned or gainſaid.

Of this company of the great Doctors and Teachers of the *Sanhedrin*, *Nicodemus* was one, and it may very well be conceived that he kept a Divinity School, as other of the great Doctors did, and ſo he was doubly a Teacher of *Iſrael*, and yet knew not theſe firſt principles of Religion. But whether he kept a Divinity School or no, as he was a member of the *Sanhedrin*, he was in place of the higheſt Teachers of the Nation, and this retortion that our Saviour puts upon him, is parallel to that that the Apoſtle uſeth, *Rom.*2. 21. *Thou that teacheſt others, teacheſt thou not thy ſelf?*

§. *And knoweſt not theſe things?*

The Divinity of the *Jews* which they taught and heard in their Schools, was as far out of the rode of ſuch doctrine as *Chriſt* teacheth here, as it is from *England* to *Jeruſalem*: For though ſome of them ſtuck not to ſay that the Law might be expounded 72 ways, yet in all their Expoſitions the Doctrine of Regeneration and the work of Grace was little thought on or looked after. To omit their manner of expounding, by, *Raſhe & ſophe tebhoth*, *Gematria*, *Notericon*, *Athbaſh*, *Kabbalah* and ſuch wild kind of commenting as was ordinary among them: the beſt Divinity that was to be had with them, was but to inſtruct them in carnal rites, and to heighten their Spirits to Legal performances. They would ſpeak and teach indeed concerning repentance and mortification and ſuch kind of Doctrines, but all was, to promote their own Legal righteouſneſs in ſuch things and actions the more: Their Divinity that they taught and learned was generally to this tenour. To build upon their birth priviledge from *Abraham*, *Mat.*3.9. To reſt in the Law, *Rom.* 2.17. To rely upon their own works, *Mark* 19.20. *Luke* 18.11. *Gal.*4.21. & 5.4. To care for no other faith but hiſtorical, *Jam.*2.19. To patter over prayers as efficacious *ex opere operato*, *Maym. In Tephilkah.* To account the day of expiation, afflictions and their very death to be expiatory. *Idem in Teſhubah.* To expect *Meſſias*, and undoubted happineſs

pineſs when he came, &c. How was it imaginable that ever the Doctrine of the New birth ſhould be dreamed of among them, who looked for ſalvation upon ſuch principles and terms as theſe? And therefore it is a ſcruple and *quære* not impertinently nor undeſervedly moved by ſome here, why *Chriſt* ſhould make ſuch a matter of *Nicodemus* his ignorance, in this point, ſince ſuch ignorance was *epidemical* to the whole Nation, and none of their great Doctors ever dreamed of ſuch Doctrines. They could tell you of traditions about carnal rites, of curious and quaint explanations of the Law, and ſwimming notions and Cabaliſms to fill the brain, and they would exhort to a ſtrict ceremonious life to make up a ſelf righteouſneſs, but the great things of Faith, Renovation, ſpiritualizedneſs, and ſuch kind of Divinity as this, was a mear ſtranger in their Schools, not once heard of or looked after. Our Saviour therefore in preſſing *Nicodemus* ſo hard about this his ignorance, 1. Would ſhew him the folly and fillineſs of that way of Divinity which was read among them, and which he undertook to teach, which was but as Mint, Anniſe and Cummin to the great things of the Law, droſs, traſh and nothing in compariſon of the ſound and ſaving doctrines of Salvation. 2. He would reprove him, as juſtly he might, for daring to be a teacher and leader of others, in things which concerned their ſouls, and eternal ſtate, and yet himſelf knew not the chief, choiceſt and firſt doctrines that concerned the one or the other.

3. Theſe very doctrines that *Chriſt* is ſpeaking of to him, are ſo copiouſly and fully taught in the Old Teſtament, that a Student and expounder of the Old Teſtament, ſuch as *Nicodemus* took himſelf to be, might deſervedly be blamed, and did fall under a moſt juſt reproof, when he proved ſo ignorant of them, and unſeen in them as he ſhewed he was. How Regeneration is taught in *Ezek.* 11. 19. and *Pſal.* 51. and other like Texts: and how a new birth by Baptiſm and the Spirit is taught in *Ezek.* 36. 25, 26. he and the reſt of his Nation might have learned, but they had eyes and ſaw not, &c. It was not the deficiency of the Doctrines, but it was the blindneſs of the Doctors, that was the cauſe that they were ſo ignorant of them.

4. If *Nicodemus* did queſtion only *de modo*, when he ſaith, *How can theſe things be?* Then that anſwer hath ſomething in it, which ſome do give to this objection, which is, that he being a Doctor, might have collected the poſſibility of this matter, (for all it ſeemed ſo wonderful) from the powerful works and miracles that he read of in the Law: But it appeareth by the words of *Chriſt* in the next verſe, *Ye receive not our teſtimony*, that he queſtioned, *de ipſa re*, or of the truth of the thing it ſelf.

Verſ. 11. *We ſpeak that we do know, &c.*

Here is firſt an oppoſition plainly ſet, between the ignorance of the Jewiſh Doctors, and their blindfold teaching they knew not what, (twitted and reproved in the verſe before, *Art thou a teacher and knoweſt not theſe things*, and ſpoken of 1 *Tim.* 1. 7.) and between the Doctrine and glorious teaching of *Chriſt* and the other, then Miniſters of the Goſpel, who taught nothing but what they knew and underſtood. And there is alſo a ſecret inſinuation of that oppoſite or contrary carriage, which indeed being regarded either nakedly and ſingly, or as it lay in oppoſition (one kind of carriage to another) was exceeding ſtrange and wonderful; and that was that the Doctors of the Jews, that taught for Divinity they knew not what, ſhould be believed, ſo much as they were, and that the preaching of *Chriſt* and his Diſciples, which taught nothing but what they knew and had ſeen, ſhould be believed ſo little. Where as this ſpeech is uttered by *Chriſt*, in the plural number, *We ſpeak what we know, &c.* it hath bred ſome debate among expoſitors how to underſtand and determine, whom he joyneth with himſelf in this word *We*: Some conceive, that he meaneth himſelf, and the Prophets: others that he meaneth himſelf and *John* the Baptiſt: others that he intendeth himſelf only, though he ſpeak plurally as of more: and ſome think that he meaneth himſelf, with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt. For the fixing of a ſetled and proper acceptation of the words, (though indeed any of theſe ways, they make a fair and harmleſs conſtruction) it is to be obſerved that there is a *we* and a *ye*, ſtand in oppoſition in the verſe, *we* teach, *ye* believe not, and they may help one to explain another: When *Chriſt* ſaith *ye believe* not, or *ye receive not our teſtimony*, it doth not ſo naturally argue, that there was company that came with *Nicodemus*, and that *Chriſt* ſpeaketh to them, (as *Caietan* conceiveth) as it doth properly lye to be conſtrued, that *Chriſt* meaneth the whole fry of the *Phariſees*, and of the other Jews that were carried away with their vain and fond opinions and traditions in matter of Religion, as oppoſite and contrarying the Doctrine of the Goſpel: And as *Except ye be born again*, verſ. 7. is but the ſame in ſenſe with *Except one be born again*, verſ. 3. ſo are the *we* and the *ye*, in this verſe to be rendred in ſuch another kind of conſtruction; and they mean but thus, The Goſpel is preached among you, and the Doctrine of it, is of things certainly known, and throughly underſtood, but the people among you are ſo carried

carried away with your Divinity, which is, you know not what, that this Doctrine becauſe ſo different from yours is not believed, and the teſtimony of it is not entertained: And ſo the *we* and the *ye* do not ſo punctually aim at any particular perſons of this contrary acting, as they do at the very acting of theſe contrary things themſelves.

But if the *we* muſt be confined to any peculiar perſon or perſons, I ſhould underſtand it, of *Chriſt* himſelf, ſpeaking of himſelf in the plural number, (as he doth the like *Mark* 4. 30. when he ſpeaketh of his preaching of the Goſpel, becauſe all that ſhould preach it, ſhould but preach his words) and ſo this *we* is but *I and whoſoever ſhall preach theſe things:* and particularly the called Diſciples that were now preſent with him, may be joyned with him in this word, and that not only becauſe they were to be the eminent preachers of the Goſpel hereafter, but even becauſe as it may be ſuppoſed they had begun in ſome ſort to do ſo now: for though their deputation for that function were more viſible and punctual afterward, yet can I not conceive them to be altogether dumb and ſilent now in that matter, eſpecially ſince the very next ſtory tells us that *Chriſt* ſet them to baptize, verſ. 22. compared with Chap.4.2. They had now been with Chriſt near upon half a year, ſeen his miracles, heard his Doctrine and never been from him, and therefore it is not imaginable but that they had learned exceeding much concerning *Chriſt* and the Goſpel, and it cannot be conceived but they would be uttering and publiſhing thoſe things. And ſo the whole verſe may be underſtood in much facility to this ſenſe. I and theſe my Diſciples that do, and whoſoever ſhall preach theſe things of the Kingdom of God, ſpeak things known, and tried (not as your Doctors do that teach, you know not what) and yet thou and the reſt of thy judgment and opinion will not intertain and believe our Doctrine.

Chriſt and his Diſciples, had known̄ and ſeen (he al-knowing, and they in experience,) the reality and truth of the New birth, and divers other myſteries of the Kingdom of God, but how is his taxation of the others unbelief proper upon this ground; when they were as ignorant or knew as little that he and they had known and ſeen theſe things, as they were ignorant of the things themſelves?

Anſw. 1. He ſpeaks this in that ſtyle of oppoſition that was mentioned before: Ye are believed though ye teach ye know not what, and yet will not ye believe us that know and have ſeen what we teach.

2. He ſeemeth to allude to that that was taken for a competent witneſs, before any of the Judicatories, (for he is ſpeaking to one that was a Judge in the higheſt Court) and that was this, that the witneſs *ſaw and knew the fact*, Lev. 5.1. *And is a witneſs, whether he hath ſeen or known of it:* if he ſpake upon certain knowledge or ſight, his witneſs was intertained, but *we ſpeak what we know and teſtifie what we have ſeen, but ye receive not our witneſs.*

3. *Nicodemus* had confeſſed *Chriſts* miracles to be moſt admirable and divine, and therefore *Chriſt* might very well conclude that he would alſo give weight unto his words, and acknowledge the truth of this that he ſpake, though he knew not the certainty of it upon his own knowledge and experience.

Verſ.12. *If I have told you earthly things and ye believe not, &c.*

By *earthly things*, divers underſtand diverſly: Some conceive *Chriſts* ſpeech to look ſo far back as to his diſcourſe with the people at *Jeruſalem* at the Paſsover, about building up of the Temple in three days, and that his words do reſult to this ſenſe, It is no wonder that thou doſt not believe this high myſterious doctrine of Regeneration, when the Jews could not entertain that more facil and plain Doctrine of the Reſurrection of the *Meſſias* on the third day. Others retaining the ſame opinion that *heavenly and earthly things*, do ſignifie the difference of more ſublime and more facil doctrines, do expound it thus: If ye believe not theſe plain and firſt rudiments of the Doctrine of the Goſpel, namely about Regeneration, how will you believe thoſe high and ſublime myſteries, about the eternal generation of the Son, the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, &c? But the moſt received conſtruction of theſe words is this, If ye believe not when I ſpeak to you in a plain and low ſtyle, and explain things by earthly compariſons, as *Gal.*3.15. How will you believe if I ſhould teach the great things of ſalvation, in their own abſtract and ſimple notions, *lingua Angelorum*, as *Grotius* expreſſeth it: (for דברה תורה בלשון בני אדם שיבינו השומעים as is the common Rabbinick *Maxime*, *The Lord ſpeaketh in the Scripture in ſuch expreſſions as beſt ſuit with the capacity of the hearers that they may underſtand*; for the ſimple abſtract Doctrines of Divinity are too hard for dull apprehenſions.) *Chriſt* is diſcourſing with *Nicodemus* about the nature of *the Kingdom of Heaven* or the Goſpel ſtate, He firſt teacheth him about denying of his birth priviledge from *Abraham*, and about the Doctrine of Baptiſm, by which a man is brought into that viſible Goſpel-ſtate: And now, ſaith *Chriſt*, If you believe not when I tell you of the earthly things of the Kingdom of Heaven,

Heaven, that is, those things that are most visible and apparent to be understood, how will you believe if I should speak of the high things of the Kingdom, the incarnation, righteousness by Faith, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, &c?

Vers. 13. *And no man hath ascended up into Heaven, &c.*

To clear the conjuncture of these words with the preceding, is of some difficulty, and that hath caused variety of guesses upon it: Some tie them, not to the last words of all, but to some that lie a great way off, namely to *Nicodemus* first words to our Saviour in verse 2. Whereby he sheweth that he took *Christ* only for a Prophet. Now these words of this verse, satisfie him (say they) against that bare opinion when *Christ* telleth him, that he is not as the Prophets were, who indeed were sent of God, but never were off the earth but lived continually upon it, but he himself came down from Heaven, &c. Others that do tie them to the very last words preceding, do give them in this sense and juncture: *How will you believe if I speak unto you heavenly things?* And yet if I should speak such things I deserve to be believed, because I came down from Heaven: and though none ever preached such things before me, nor though I can produce no witnesses with me of what I speak, yet am I to be believed, because though no man had been in Heaven, yet I have been there, for I came thence, &c. Others conceive that they fall in with the last words thus, that whereas in the former verse, he had spoken of uttering heavenly things, he comes on now and doth speak of some such things, as namely of his two natures in this verse, and of Salvation by his passion and Faith in him, in the next: Other conjectures at this matter might be alleadged which are severally made, but they shall be spared, and we will fall upon the words themselves, and hearken after their meaning and connexion with the former by the observation of these three things.

1. That in all the words of *Christ* following, to the end of his speech, *viz.* to vers. 22. his main aim is apparently this, namely to shew that he is set up as the object of Faith, or he who is to be believed, and to be believed in, and by believing in whom everlasting life is to be obtained, as this scope is most plain in verse 14, 15, 16. 18.

2. That by the phrase, *No man hath ascended*, his meaning is, *No man can ascend* into Heaven, as *No man hath seen God at any time*, *Joh.* 1. 18. meaneth *No man hath seen him, or can see him*; 1 *Tim.* 6. 16. *Who hath known the mind of the Lord*, *Rom.* 11. 34. meaneth his ways are unsearchable, and his Judgments past finding out, ver. 33. and who can know them, &c.

3. That, *Ascending into Heaven* is intended to the same purpose and sense with that in *Deut.* 30. 12. that is, who shall ascend into Heaven to fetch the knowledge of the Word from thence, or the Doctrine of the Gospel, the Word of Faith, *Rom.* 10. 6, 7, 8.

And so upon the observation of these three things thus laid down, the connexion of this verse that we have in hand with the former, and the sense of it in its self doth easily and evidently arise to this sense. Ye believe not when I speak to you but the familiar and visible things of *the Kingdom of Heaven*, and how then will you believe if I should speak of the highest and most heavenly mysteries of it? And yet from me alone are those things to be learned and known, for none can go up to Heaven to fetch the knowledge of them from thence, but I came down from Heaven to reveal the will of God, and to declare the Doctrine and Mysteries of Salvation: and therefore if you believe not what I speak unto you, you will never attain to the knowledge of the things of *the Kingdom of Heaven*. And thus doth Christ tax *Nicodemus* and the Jews for a double unbelief: 1. As in reference to him the Teacher, whom they believed not, though he alone was he, who could and who was come, to teach and reveal the great mysteries of the Gospel: 2. As in reference to the things now taught, which they believed not though they were the most visible and facil things of *the Kingdom of Heaven*: And withal he holdeth out unto them a double instruction, 1. That they should believe him about these heavenly things because he came down from Heaven: And 2. That if they would not believe him in these things, they must never expect to know them, for none could go up to Heaven to fetch them thence: The very same thing in sense with that in Chap. 1. 18.

§. *But he that came down from Heaven.*

Here doth *Christ* speak one of those ἐπουράνια spoken of in the verse preceding, a most heavenly point of the doctrine of *the Kingdom of Heaven*, and that is, about his own incarnation: and he doth clearly shew the distinction of his two natures in one person: his humane nature intimated in the title *The Son of man*: the Divine Nature, in that he saith *he came down from Heaven*: and the union of these two, when he saith that *the Son of man is in Heaven*.

Now

Now *Christ* is said to come down from Heaven, as *Joh.*6.51. first, to intimate his Divine Nature, and to shew that he was more than a meer man: and so the Apostle interprets and applies the phrase, 1 *Cor.*15.47. *The first man is of the earth earthly, The second man is the Lord from Heaven:* And so likewise, when it is said of *Christ* that he was the *Manna that came down from Heaven*, *Joh.*6.58. it sheweth and meaneth that he was a bread of a more high and eminent nature than the *Manna* that the *Israelites* eat in the wilderness, and yet that was rained from Heaven too, *Neh.*9.15. but *Heaven* here and in that place admitteth of a differing construction: Secondly, It is the usual speech of Scripture, when it is relating the appearing of any of the persons in the Trinity in a visible evidence, to say that *God came down*, *Exod.*3.8. *Exod.*19.18. the Holy Ghost came down, *Luke* 3. 22. &c. And so may it be used of *Christ* in humane flesh; when the Son of God appeared so visibly amongst men, as that he conversed with them in their own nature, it may very significantly be said of him that *he came down from Heaven:* Not that the Godhead can change places, which filleth all things, nor that *Christ* brought his humane nature locally out of Heaven, as hath been erred by some, nor yet only becaus he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, as it is construed by others, but becaus he being the invisible God did appear visibly and in humane nature among the Sons of men.

§. *The Son of man which is in Heaven.*

Here is the truth and reality asserted both of his manhood and of his Godhead, his manhood, in that he is called *The Son of man*: His Godhead in that he is said *to be in Heaven:* And this doth not only confute those Heresies that have maintained, that either *Christ* had not a real humane body, or that he had not a real humane soul, or that he consisted not of two distinct natures, or that he was two distinct persons, but this doth also set a plain and large difference between the appearing of Angels in humane shapes, and the appearing of *Christ* in humane flesh: They were indeed in the shape of men, but they were not *the Sons of men*, but *Christ* was: they when they were apparent upon earth in such shapes were not then in Heaven, but he was.

Now how the Son of man may be said to be *in Heaven*, whilest he was now speaking to *Nicodemus* on Earth, may be resolved with a double answer. 1. Becaus his conversation all the while he was upon the earth was intirely in Heaven: For so is the conversation of the Saints of God on Earth said to be, *Phil.* 3.20. *Et quanto magis Christi qui semper inspexerit Patris intima? And how much more*, saith *Grotius*, *was the conversation of Christ there, who always beheld the very bosom of the Father?* As *Joh.* 1.18. And so doth *Cajetan* understand it, that *Christs* humane soul did enjoy the beatifical vision of God continually, and therefore he may well be said to be in Heaven even whilest he was on Earth.

But secondly this may properly be understood *per communicationem idiomatum* as Divines express it, that is in such a sense as the Scripture intends, when it applies the several properties of the two distinct natures *in Christ*, indifferently to the whole person: For the understanding of which and for the construing of this and divers other places of this nature, these things may be taken into consideration.

1. That as in the blessed Trinity there is distinction of persons, but not distinction of natures, so on the contrary, in our blessed Saviour there is distinction of natures, but not distinction of persons: His Divine Nature one thing, his Humane another, but the person but one; as in the constitution and being of our selves, the soul is one thing and the body another, and yet they constitute and make up but one man.

2. That these two distinct natures in our Saviour had their distinct and several properties which were not communicable from the one to the other essentially, as the manhood did not rise to infinity like the Godhead, nor to those properties that are essential to infinity: nor the Godhead descend to infirmity like the manhood, nor to those properties that are essential to the infirmity of manhood.

3. That though there were in *Christ* these really distinct natures, and really distinct properties of these natures, yet in regard of their union in his one person, the Scripture doth not seldom speak of these properties indifferently without restriction of them to the one nature or the other.

4. That when it doth so speak of them, it doth it not *in abstracto*, as ascribing the properties of the Godhead to the manhood, or of the manhood to the Godhead: but *in concreto*, and in reference to the whole person, as ascribing the properties of the one nature, not to the other, but to him that carried the other nature and under the title that related to that nature: As it is never said, that the glorious Godhead was crucified, for that is nothing short of blasphemy, and that were to ascribe to the Divine Nature a property or infirmity of the Humane which it is utterly uncapable of, but it is said that *the Lord of Glory was crucified:* applying the property of the manhood not to the Godhead, but

but to the perſon that was God, and under that title that refers to the Godhead, as meaning that he *that was the Lord of Glory, was crucified:* So it were meer blaſphemous to ſay that the Godhead with its own blood did purchaſe the Church: but it is divinely ſaid, that *God with his own blood did purchaſe it, Act.* 20. 28. To have and to ſhed its blood was proper only to the manhood, and not to the Godhead, and yet it is aſcribed, not to the Godhead in the abſtract, but perſonally and in *concreto*, to him that was God. And according to this ſenſe is this place in hand to be underſtood. *The Son of man which is in Heaven:* He ſaith not *the manhood which is in Heaven*, for that was not there till *Chriſt* aſcended bodily, but he meaneth, that he that was man or the *Son of man*, was alſo in Heaven whileſt he was talking with *Nicodemus* upon earth.

Verſ. 14. *And as Moſes lifted up the Serpent in the Wilderneſs, &c.*

In the former verſe *Chriſt* ſheweth that he is to be believed, becauſe none could fetch the heavenly Doctrine of *the Kingdom of Heaven* from Heaven but himſelf: In this verſe and forward he ſheweth that he is to be believed in, and that not only the believing him was to be the ground of knowledge, but that believing in him is the only way of Salvation: And this Doctrine he illuſtrates by that type of the brazen Serpent in the wilderneſs, where the very looking upon the Serpent lifted up, was healing to any that were ſtung, nay as the Rabbins upon that ſtory will have it, to any that was wounded or hurt by any beaſt whatſoever. The ſtory is in *Numb.*21. and the occurrence was in the laſt year of their travail in the wilderneſs; and the biting of the fiery Serpents was the laſt viſible means that God uſed for the cutting off of the remnant of that Generation upon which he had paſſed a decree and ſworn in his wrath that they ſhould not enter into his reſt: For we have no more related of them till they be paſſed over the river *Zared*, but only that they removed to *Oboth*, to *Iie Abarim*, and ſo over that River, *Numb.* 21.10,11,12. And by that time, all the Generation of the men of War were conſumed, as the Lord had ſworn, *Deut.* 2.14. And this miracle wrought in the matter of the Brazen Serpent was the laſt miracle that was done in the hand of *Moſes* whileſt he lived; And ſo his firſt and laſt miracle was about ſerpents, compare *Exod.*4.3.

That *Chriſt* when he ſpeaketh here of *his lifting up*, intendeth his being lift up upon his croſs, is apparent, not only out of *Joh.* 8. 28. and *Joh.*12.32,33. where the ſame expreſſion is uſed, clearly to that ſenſe, but alſo out of this very compariſon that he doth propoſe, from the Brazen Serpent, for he ſaith as that was lift up, ſo muſt he be lift up: now that was lift up על הנס, which *R. Sol.* interprets על הכלונס *upon a pole*, or upon a poſt, and ſo is *Chriſts* lifting up here to be underſtood, upon his Croſs.

It is the general obſervation of the Jews upon that ſtory שעשו מעשה נחש שהציאו לשון רע *that they were plagued by Serpents, becauſe they had done the actions of the old Serpent in uſing an evil tongue, againſt God, and Moſes, and Manna:* R. Tanch. and Baal Turim, &c. *Let the Serpent come (ſaith God) who was curſed for an evil tongue, and be avenged on them for their evil Tongue, R. Solomon.* How ever there was ſuch a parallel betwixt their preſent ſin, and the old ſin of the Serpent, certainly there is a moſt ſweet Harmony and parallel between the manner of their cure, and the fruit of *Chriſt* crucified. The Brazen Serpent was lifted up, ſo was *Chriſt:* that was the likeneſs of a curſed creature, ſo *Chriſt* in the likeneſs of ſinful fleſh was made a curſe for us, that by Faith in him we might be cured of the wounds given us of the ſpiritual Serpent, as theſe by looking upon that were healed of the venemous bitings of thoſe corporal ones: what a Doctrine of Faith was in that ſtory and occurrence? The Talmud in *Roſh haſhanah* applies it thus. *What? Could that Serpent kill or recover? But at what time Iſrael looked upward and humbled their hearts before their Father which is in Heaven, they were healed, but if not, they were brought low:* Per. 3.

Verſ. 15. *That whoſoever believeth in him, &c.*

This is a new and ſtrange doctrine to *Nicodemus*, to hear of obtaining everlaſting life by believing in another, whereas he had been taught all his life, to expect it by the works of the Law and by performances of his own: But for this, *Chriſt* giveth him ſo plain a demonſtration and argument from that ſtory and effect of looking upon the Brazen Serpent, that he cannot find wherewithal to gainſay it: And ſo is the other part of *Chriſts* Doctrine ſomewhat new to *Nicodemus* alſo, to hear tell of *whoſoever believing ſhould obtain Salvation*, and that *God did ſo love the world* that he gives his only Son, &c. For he had dreamed with the reſt of the Nation, of Salvation only belonging to the Jews, and of the *Meſſias* only coming to the Jews: and as for the reſt of the world that it was utterly unregarded and neglected of God, and the people of the Nations but dogs and ſwine.

Verſ. 16. *For God ſo loved the World.*

Some Expoſitors are of a mind that theſe are the words of the Evangeliſt and not a continuation of the Speech of our Saviour; which is not much material, whether they be apprehended for the words of the one or of the other: but they appear rather to be a continuation of our Saviours ſpeech, their connexion with the words before it ſo cloſe, and their ſenſe ſo near, and making up the ſenſe of the former. The verſe calls for a hearty meditation upon it, rather than for a verbal explication of it: for as there is no difficulty in the words, but their ſenſe is eaſily underſtood, ſo is there abundance of ſweetneſs in their ſenſe, which doth deſerve and may require our ſerious and feeling thoughts and meditations: If any one will find a knot in a bulruſh, and thinks he hath found a ground for the opinion of univerſal Redemption, out of this Word, *the World*, which our Saviour uſeth all along; let this ſame Evangeliſt give him an anſwer out of 1 *Joh.*2.2. where he plainly ſhews that *the World* is not to be underſtood *de omnibus & ſingulis* of all and every ſingular perſon in the World, but of all Nations, and that the Gentiles come within the Compaſs of *Chriſts* reconciliation for ſin, as well as the Jews: And our Saviour uſeth the word here the rather, that by the full ſenſe of it he might meet with the various miſpriſions and miſconceptions of *Nicodemus* and the reſt of the Nation, about theſe matters that were in diſcourſe: They conceived that the Lord only loved that Nation and none elſe, that the *Meſſias* ſhould only come for the good of that Nation and none elſe, nay that he ſhould deſtroy other Nations for the advancement of that Nation alone; but *Chriſt* informeth him here, that *God loved the World*, the Gentiles as well as the Jews, that he gave his only begotten Son to *the World*, to the Gentiles as well as to the Jews, and that God ſent not his Son *Meſſias* into the world to deſtroy and condemn it, but that it might be ſaved, the Gentiles as well as the Jewiſh Nation.

Verſ. 18. *He that believeth not is condemned already.*

Not that every one that heareth the Goſpel, and at preſent believeth not, is irrevocably damned, (for he that believeth not now, may yet believe hereafter and be ſaved) but 1. He that believeth not in *Chriſt* is yet in the State of Damnation, for out of Chriſt, out of Salvation. And 2. he is already *judged* (for ſo the Greek word is) as deſerving damnation, and one that ſhall fall into it if he continue in his unbelief, not only by God, but even by the thing it ſelf: for he that will not believe in the only begotten Son of God, and that will chooſe darkneſs rather than light, *ex reipſa* he is already judged, convicted and condemned, as not only out of the way of Salvation, but as deſerving to be damned, and ſo ſhall be, if he thus continue: Theſe are the two emphatical things in this ſpeech of our Saviour that aggravate the unbelief and that juſtifie the condemnation of the Unbeliever. 1. *Becauſe he believes not in the Son of God:* And 2. *Becauſe light came into the world, and men choſe darkneſs rather than light:* If we apply the ſpeech to the times in which *Chriſt* appeared, here was the condemnation of the unbelieving Jews, that they would take upon them to believe *Moſes* and the Prophets, and yet they would not believe him that ſent them: nay they would believe their own fooliſh Doctors and traditions, and any one that came among them in his own name, and yet they would not believe in the name of *the Son of God:* They walked in a double darkneſs, as namely not only in a want of the guidance of the ſpirit of Prophecy and of faithful Teachers, but alſo in the leading of moſt blind guides, and of moſt dark Doctors, and yet when Light it ſelf came among them, they loved and imbraced this darkneſs, and refuſed the Light. And much in the like kind may the matter be applied to unbelievers of what time ſo ever.

Verſ. 21. *But he that doth truth, &c.*

As there is an oppoſition here of *light* and *darkneſs*, that is of the truth and error, of a true doctrine and falſe, (for ſo it is apparent enough that the terms are to be underſtood) ſo is there an oppoſition of *doing evil*, and *doing the truth:* and the one may the better be underſtood by the other, φαῦλα πράσσειν which is the phraſe uſed here, and Ἁμαρτίαν ποιεῖν which phraſe is uſed by this ſame Evangeliſt 1 *Joh.*3.8. doth not nakedly ſignifie *to ſin*, for the Saints of God do ſin, *Jam.*3.2. 1 *Kings* 8.46. and cannot do otherwiſe, *Rom.* 7.15.17,18. and yet *John* ſaith, that whoſoever is born of God, ἁμαρτίαν οὐ ποιεῖ, 1 *Joh.*3.9. but theſe phraſes to *do evil* and *commit ſin*, do ſignifie a ſetting of a mans ſelf to do evil, *Dare operam peccato*, as *Beza* tranſlates it: ſo on the contrary *To do truth* is *dare operam veritati*, as he alſo renders it here, when a mans bent and deſire is to do uprightly: when gracious deſires of doing truth and uprightneſs lie in the bottom, though the ſcum of many failings ſwim aloft in heart: when to will is preſent, as *Rom.*7.18. and when the mind

is

is to serve the Law of God, as *Rom.* 7. 25. whosoever is so composed declineth not the light, but delighteth to come to it, and to the touchstone of the truth that his works may be made manifest.

§. *That they are wrought in God.*

That is, either by the power of God, for so the particle ἐν may import, which very commonly signifieth *By*, as might be exemplified numerously, or *In God*, is as much as to say, as *in the way* or *fear of God:* as *to marry in the Lord*, 1 *Cor.*7.39. is to marry in his way or according to his will: and to *die in the Lord*, *Rev.*14.13. is to die in his fear, or in his acceptance.

And thus hath Christ opened to *Nicodemus* the great Doctrines of the New birth Baptism, free Grace, Faith, obedience, and the love of the Truth: and made him a Disciple, as appears *Joh.*19.39. and yet he keeps his place and rank in the *Sanhedrin*, and there doth what good offices he can, *Joh.*7.50.

Vers. 22. *After these things came Jesus and his Disciples into the Country of Judea, &c.*

It is not determinable, in what part of *Judea*, Christ fixed, and made his abode, nor indeed is it, whether he fixed in any one place, or removed up and down here and there in the country; It appeareth by the story in the following chapter, that when he had occasion to set for *Galilee*, he was then in such a part of *Judea*, as that his next way thither, was to go through or close by the City of *Samaria*: and so it seemeth that he was in that part of *Judea* that lay Northward of *Jerusalem: Gibeon* lay much upon that point of the compass, and the waters there might be a very fit conveniency for his baptizing, see 2 *Sam.* 2. 13.

§. *And there he tarried and Baptized.*

Yet *Jesus himself baptized not, but his Disciples*, Chap.4.2. It is ordinary both in Scripture phrase and in other languages, to ascribe that as done by a man himself, that is done by another at his appointment, as *Act.* 7. 21. *Pharaohs* daughter is said to nurse *Moses*, 2 *King.* 6. & 7. *Solomon* is said to build the Temple and his own house, 1 *Sam.*26.11,12. 14. *David took the Spear and cruse:* meaning *Abishai* by *Davids* appointment: 2 *King.* 22.16. *The Book which the King of Judah hath read*, that is, *which they have read before him*, as 2 *Chron.*34.24. explains it, &c.

Jesus himself baptizeth not, 1. Because he was not sent so much to Baptize as to preach, as *Paul* also saith of himself, 1 *Cor.* 1.17. 2. Because it might have been taken as a thing something improper, for *Christ* to have baptized in his own name. 3. The baptizing that was most proper for *Christ* to use, was not with water, but with the Holy Ghost, *Act.*1.5. 4. Because he would prevent all quarrellings and disputes among men about their Baptism, which might have risen if some had been baptized by *Christ*, and others only by his Disciples.

It is no doubt but these Disciples of *Christ* that baptized others, were baptized themselves: Now who baptized them? Not *Christ*; for he Baptized none; but they were baptized by *John* the Baptist, for it is apparent that some of them were baptized by him, *Joh.* 1. 35.37.40. and that teacheth us also to judge so of the rest. And by this very thing it is evident, that the Baptism of *John* and the Baptism of the Apostles was but one and the same whatsoever the Schoolmen have said to the contrary, unless the Disciples baptized others with a better Baptism than they themselves were baptized with.

Observe that the administration of the Ordinances of *Christ* by his Ministers, according to his institution, is as his own work: The Disciples baptizing is called his baptizing.

Vers. 23. *And John also was Baptizing.*

His Sun is now ere long to set, and the Evangelist here giveth you account of his last actions and Ministery whilest he was abroad and at his liberty. If his imprisonment were but a little before *Christs* departure into *Galilee*, mentioned in the next chapter, as it is like it was, he had been a publick preacher and baptizing near upon twenty months.

§. *In Ænon near Salim, &c.*

1. I cannot hold that this *Salim* was a City near *Sichem*, as the moſt general opinion doth from *Gen.*33.18. where the LXX and divers others, render as our *Engliſh* doth. *And Jacob came to Salem a City of Sichem:* For, 1. It is *Salem* there, and not *Salim*. 2. It may be as well, and is generally by the Jews rendred, *Jacob come ſafe to the City Sichem:* for till then he had no miſcarriage in his family, as he had afterward. 3. The Scripture in all the Chorography of *Ephraim*, never nameth any ſuch place as *Salim*. 4. The ground that *Jacob* bought, *Gen.*33.19. was before *Sichem*, and not before a *Salem*, *Joh.*4. v.5,6.&c. 5. If *Salem* and *Ænon* were near *Sichem*, they were in *Samaria:* and what had *John* to do among the *Samaritans?* See *Matth.*10.5. & 15.24.

2. *Salim* and *Ænon* appear to be on this ſide *Jordan* weſtward, from v.26. *They came to John and ſaid to him, Rabbi, he that was with thee beyond Jordan, to whom thou bareſt witneſs, behold he baptizeth, &c.* Now 1. *Bethabara beyond Jordan* was the only place that the *Evangeliſt* had mentioned before, of *Johns* Baptizing, and he ſpeaketh according to his own ſtory: and ſo in Chap.10.40. he calleth it the place *where John firſt baptized:* ſpeaking ſtill according to his own ſtory, for that was the firſt place that he had named. And 2. at *Bethabara* had *John* pointed out *Chriſt* and born witneſs to him, ſo that Diſciples there began firſt to follow him: therefore it appeareth by their ſpeech that came to *John*, ver.26. that *Bethabara* and *Ænon* were on the two ſeveral ſides of *Jordan*, *Bethabara* beyond, and *Ænon* on this ſide.

3. I ſhould as ſoon look for *Ænon* and *Salim* in *Galilee*, as in any other place that I have found mentioned by thoſe that expounded this place: For, 1. Since *Chriſt* was firſt to appear in *Galilee*, why ſhould not his forerunner appear there alſo before him? How much more proper is it to hold, that as *John* baptized in *Judea*, and there *Chriſt* was baptized of him, and in *Peræa*, or beyond *Jordan*, and there *Chriſt* was pointed out by him, ſo that alſo he baptized in *Galilee*, and there *Chriſt* ſucceeded him; then of all places to let him miſs *Galilee*, where *Chriſt* did firſt ſhew himſelf? How could *Herod* (whoſe reſidence and place was in *Galilee*) and *John* come into ſo great converſe and acquaintance, as the Goſpel giveth evidence they did, *Mark* 6. 20. if *John* reſided not in *Galilee* as well as *Herod?* 3. The Septuagint mention a *Salim* in *Galilee* in the Tribe of *Iſſachar*, *Joſh.*19.22. differing indeed from the Hebrew Text, but naming the place (as may be ſuppoſed,) as it was called in their time, as the *Chaldee Paraphr.* alſo uſe to do: *Shaalim*, in 1 *Sam.*9.4. in ſome Editions of the Septuagint is written *Saalim*, which whether it may not be the ſame with their *Salim* in *Joſh.*19.22. and whether the Evangeliſt here refer not to that word and place. I leave it to be diſcuſſed by others: and whether *Ænon* in the Septuagint, in *Joſh.*15.61. can be to our purpoſe here.

4. There is one ſtumbling block lies in the way of this mine opinion (which holds *Ænon* and *Salim* to be in *Galilee*) and that is, in that *Joſephus* ſaith, ὁ μὲν ἰωάνης τῇ Ἡρώδε δόξαντι εἰς τὸν Μαχαιρῶντα πεμφθείς. *John Baptiſt upon Herods ſuſpition was ſent Priſoner to Macherus*, *Antiq.* 18. *lib.*7. Now *Macherus* Caſtle was in *Peræa*, or beyond *Jordan* on the North-eaſt part of that Country, and confining upon *Arabia*, (which was a great diſtance from *Galilee*,) as the ſame Author averreth, *De Bel. lib.*3. *cap.*4. to which ſcruple ſatisfaction may be given alſo from the ſame Author: For it appeareth by him, that the pretence of *Herods* impriſoning *John*, was, fear of innovation in regard of the peoples high eſteem of him, though the true cauſe indeed was about *Herodias:* That *Macherus* was a frontier garriſon between the territory of *Herod*, (for he had land there, though ſo far from *Galilee*, but upon what title, here is not a place to inſiſt to ſhew) and of his Father in Law *Aretas* King of *Arabia*, whoſe daughter he put away when he took *Herodias*, upon which occaſion there was long and ſad war betwixt *Aretas* and him: therefore that he might ſecure *John* far enough from the people amongſt whom he had ſo high repute, and ſure enough from reſcue, and tumult about him, he got him into that ſtrong hold ſo remote: and whether he lay not there with his Army, when *John* was beheaded, it will be a more ſeaſonable place to examine at the ſtory of his beheading, when the Lord ſhall bring us thither.

5. I ſhould rather take *Ænon* for the name of ſome large and ſpacious compaſs of ground, full of freſh ſprings and waters, than for any one particular Town, River or City. As *Sharon* was a large champaign from שרר *to let looſe*, becauſe of the cattel turned out there: and *Lebanon* was a large hilly Country from לבן *To be white*, becauſe of the ſnows that lay upon it: ſo ſeemeth *Ænon* to mean a fountainous place, or ſome compaſs of ground full of ſprings from עין *a fountain*. And ſo the words *there were many waters there*, may be conſtrued as giving the Etymology of the word *Ænon*; *John* was baptizing in *Ænon*, a place ſo called *becauſe there were many waters there*. (There is mention of *Abel Majim*, or *The plain of waters*, a part of *Galilee*, 2 *Chron.*16.4.) And ſuch another

another manner of ſpeech is that in 2 *Chron.* 20. 26. *They aſſembled in the valley of Berachah, for there they bleſſed the Lord: i.e.* the valley ſo called becauſe they bleſſed the Lord there.

Now becauſe this Text, is commonly alledged for the proof of dipping in Baptiſm, and the words *Becauſe there was much water*, expounded as giving the reaſon, rather of his baptizing there, than giving the Etymology of the word, as that *John* could not baptize, but where there was much water, for the dipping of the many people that came unto him; It may not be amiſs a little to look upon the words with reference to ſuch a conſtruction, and to examine, firſt, what was the manner of baptizing among the Jews, before *John Baptiſt* came. And, ſecondly, how far the Baptiſt did imitate them in their manner.

Concerning the firſt: We obſerved upon the firſt Chapter of this Goſpel of *John* at ver. 25. that the rite of baptizing was in uſe amongſt the Jews, and for that very end, that it is amongſt us, namely for admiſſion of perſons into the Church, many years before the Goſpel began to be preached, or *John Baptiſt* appeared, and this was ſhewed from the Jews one writings and teſtimonies, though they be enemies to our baptiſm: And now it may not be impertinent, from the ſame Authors, to give ſome account of the manner of the adminiſtration of that rite amongſt them, or in what manner they uſed to baptize.

Towards that, we muſt firſt take up that traditional maxime, mentioned by *Maymony*, in *Iſſure Biah, per.* 13. במקוה הכשר טבילת נדה שם מטנילים את הגרים: *In ſuch a gathering of waters, as is fit for the waſhing of a woman from her ſeparation, there they baptize Proſelytes.* Now the waters fit for ſuch a waſhing they deſcribe thus: *A man that had an iſſue, was not purified but in a Fountain, but a woman that had an iſſue, and all other unclean perſons, or things were waſhed in a gathering of waters. For this was the Law, that in any waters that are gathered together, thy waſh in, as it is ſaid, A gathering of waters, even in any place: Now it muſt be ſo, that there be therein ſo much water, as amounts to the waſhing of the whole body of a man at one dipping. The wiſe men have meaſured this preportion to be a cubit ſquare, three cubits deep. And this meaſure contained forty ſeahs of water.* Id. in Mikvaoth per. 1. & 4. & Talm. in Mikvaoth per. 2. & 3. &c.

As for the manner of their waſhing it was thus. כל טובל צריך שיטבול כל גופו כשהוא ערום בבת אחת *Every one that was waſhed or baptized muſt dip his whole body as he was naked, at one time. And whereſoever in the Law, waſhing of the fleſh or waſhing of garments is ſpoken of, it is no other than waſhing of the whole body: For if a man ſhall waſh himſelf all over, the tip of his little finger only excepted, he is yet in his uncleanneſs: And if he be a man of much hair, he muſt dip all the hair of his head, for that is as his body. And though they were in their cloaths, yet their waſhing was good, becauſe the water went through them and they hindred it not,* Maym. ubi ſupr.

Now when there came a Proſelyte or a Proſelyteſs to be admitted into the Jews Church and Religion, they enquired of them whether they entred not into that Religion, for riches, or preferment, or fear. And of a man they inquired, whether he had not ſet his eyes upon ſome maid of Iſrael, and of a woman, whether ſhe had not ſet her eyes upon ſome young man of Iſrael: And if no ſuch matter were found out, then they acquainted them with the weight of the yoke of the Law, and the labour of performing it. If they ſaw that they came out of love to the Law, they receive them as it is ſaid, When ſhe ſaw that ſhe was ſtedfaſtly minded to go with her, then ſhe left ſpeaking unto her, Ruth 1.18.

When they receive a proſelyte of righteouſneſs, and have enquired of him, and find none of the cauſes mentioned, they ſay unto him, What ſaweſt thou that cauſed thee to become a Proſelyte? Knoweſt thou not that Iſrael is at this time poor and oppreſſed, and many calamities are upon them? If he ſay I know it: I am one unworthy; They receive him out of hand, and acquaint him with the fundamentals of the Law, namely the Unity of the Godhead, and the prohibition of Idolatry, and they are large in diſcourſe upon this matter. Then they rehearſe to him ſome of the leſs and ſome of the greater commandments in the Law, but they are not large upon that. Then they do acquaint him with the fault of a mans gathering what he had left, Deut. 24.19. *and the corner of the field,* Lev.23.22. *and about the ſecond tithing.*

Alſo they acquaint him with the penalties of the Law, ſaying thus to him: Know that before thou comeſt into this Law, if thou eateſt fat, thou waſt not puniſhed with cutting off, and if thou didſt prophane the Sabbath, thou waſt not puniſhed with ſtoning: but now after thou art proſelyted, if thou eateſt fat, thou muſt be puniſhed with cutting off, and if thou prophaneſt the Sabbath, thou muſt be ſtoned. And they add no more, for they are not too punctual with him, leſt it cauſe him to ſtart and decline from the good way to the bad: For at the firſt, they draw not a man but with gentle words, as it is ſaid, With the cords of a man will I draw them. Therefore as they acquaint him with the penalties of the commandment, ſo they acquaint him with the reward thereof, and ſhew him that by keeping of theſe commandments he ſhall obtain the life of the world to come: and that there is no perfect righteous man, but he that knoweth theſe commandments and doth them. Moreover

Moreover they say unto him, Know thou that the world to come, is not reserved but for the righteous, that is, for Israel: And therefore though thou see Israel in affliction in this world, yet there is good laid up for them: for they cannot receive much in this world among the Nations, lest their heart should be lifted up, and so they err and spoil their reward in the world to come, as it is said, Jesurun waxed fat and kicked. Nor doth the blessed God bring upon them much vengeance lest they should perish: for all Nations shall fail, but they shall remain. And upon this matter they discourse largely to make him to love the Commandments. If he turn back and will not imbrace them, he goes his way: but if he imbrace them they delay him not but circumcise him out right. And if he were circumcised before, (as Ishmaelites and Midianites and other children of *Abraham* were) *they fetch from him a drop of the blood of the Covenant, and they stayed for him till he was perfectly whole, and then they baptized him. And the Triumviri* (or the three) *stand by him, and tell him of some of the great and small Commandments a second time over, as he standeth in the water. And if it be a woman, women set her in the water up to the neck, and the Judges* (the Triumviri) *stand at distance, and tell her of some of the small and great Commandments, while she standeth in the water, and there she dippeth herself forward: Then they turn their faces and go away lest they should see her as she cometh forth of the water.* So the *Babylon Talmud in Jebamoth per.*4. & *Maym. in Issure Biah, per.* 14.

Thus was the use and manner of baptizing among the Jews, before the Gospel, with which if we come to compare the Baptism of *John*, we shall find them agreeing in these particulars.

1. The Jews baptized only those that turned to them from Heathenism and became proselytes: they baptized not Jews who were born and brought up in the Jewish Religion, but only those who were and had been always strangers from it, and were now come unto it: And herein the Baptism of *John* and of the Apostles in the New Testament did agree with them: for those that they baptized, were such as had been born and brought up either in Judaism or Heathenism, and they did induct them by Baptism into a new Religion. For though Judaism was not so vastly different from the tenor of the Gospel as Heathenism was, yet was it so far different, both in regard of the Ceremoniousness as also of the Legal righteousness and traditions that the Nation stood upon, that the Gospel and it were two several Religions and Professions.

2. Those of age that the Jews baptized were taught and instructed before their Baptism, in the grounds of their Religion, and in the concernment and import of the thing that they went about: And herein did *John* the Baptist and the Apostles agree with their custom: for they first taught, and then baptized, as dealing with persons of years and understanding, and which had been brought up in another Religion: But the Jews also baptized children and infants, that were not capable of instruction, namely a Proselites little children as well as himself; and what reason can be shewed why *John* and the Apostles did not the like? Especially when it is expresly said, that such and such were baptized and their whole house: I am sure the Hebrews would construe little children to be in the number; and why we should not do so too, there is no reason nor ground that can be given.

3. Baptism was not administred among the Jews, by any whomsoever, but only by men of some authority, and in orders, and appointed thereunto: A *Beth din* or Consistory or *triumvirate*, was orderly and properly to administer it, and not every one that would take it upon him: So also was the administration of this Ordinance in the New Testament, by ministerial men, and men appointed and impowered for such a work. For Mechanicks, and private men to baptize, wanteth the warrant and example, both of Scripture and Antiquity.

4. The Baptism of the Jews was, by dipping, as is apparent by the Records alledged: and herein, how far the manner of baptizing in the New Testament went along with them, may be some question. There are some passages that seem to carry a colour of conformity of the one to the other: as *Matth.*3.6. *They were baptized of John in Jordan, Matth.*3.16. *Jesus came straight out of the water: Act.* 8. 38. *The Eunuch went down into the water:* And the words in hand, *John baptized in Ænon, because there was much water:* But there are some passages and circumstances again that seem to leave it at more indifferency, then such conformity in its strictness, and that argue that this manner of baptizing in its preciseness was not to be imposed upon the Church for all succession. As 1. If *Paul* were baptized within the house, as the story seemeth plainly to carry it, *Act.* 9. 17, 18. or if any other in the New Testament were either baptized in houses or Synagogues, as see *Act.* 10. 47, 48. they could not be baptized after this manner of the Jews baptism, for they had an expres *Maxime* against dipping in any vessel: Unless it were the Priests bathing themselves in the brazen Sea. *But was not that a vessel?* (say the *Gemarists* in the *Jerusalem Talmud*) *Yes, but R. Joshua the son of Levi saith, A pipe of water ran into it out of the well Etam:* and so it was as a spring of water, because fresh water was running into it

it continually. *In Joma per.* 3. *Aruch in* מכנה *Maym. in hiath Mikdaſh.* 2. Dipping among the Jews was a National cuſtom, and if baptizing were uſed in the ſame manner among them by the Apoſtles and Diſciples, it was becauſe among the Jews they became Jews, as *Paul* ſaith of himſelf, that they might gain the Jews: But bathing for purification was a meer ſtranger among the Gentiles, and uſed by none but by the Idolatrous Prieſts, and it is very queſtionable whether the Apoſtle in Baptiſm would put the Gentiles upon it, eſpecially ſince baptiſm was not for the purifying of the fleſh, 1 *Pet.* 3.21. as the Jews held their dippings and purifyings to be. 3. Though men of age among the Jews were baptized by dipping, as their Records do evidence, yet it is hard to find that infants among them were ſo dipped, and yet they ſpeak it out plainly that infants were baptized. 4. Were it our undertaking to diſpute this point, but our task is of another nature) it might be ſhewed how ſome things were in common and honourable uſe among the Jews, and ſo were continued and uſed by the converts to the Goſpel in *Judea*, which yet afterward, and in other places were laid aſide, or changed. And it were eaſie to ſhew, that ſprinkling or pouring of water upon a perſon is called Baptiſm as well as dipping, and that the change of ſuch a circumſtance is no change or violation of the Original inſtitution.

Verſ. 25. *Then there aroſe a Queſtion.*

1. The *ſubjectum quæſtionis was* περὶ καθαρισμοῦ, *concerning purification:* a word of the ſame latitude with the word טהרה in the Hebrew Authors, namely comprehending all kinds of Religious waſhings and purifyings that were amongſt them. Now there were four ſorts of purifyings gotten a foot, and in uſe at this time in the Nation. 1. The purifyings, waſhings, and ſprinklings, appointed by *Moſes*. 2. The Phariſaical waſhings brought in upon tradition. 3. The Baptiſm of *John*. 4. The Baptiſm of *Chriſt:* for theſe two though they were not different in themſelves, yet were looked upon as different, by the people.

2. About the diſputants upon the queſtion, the language of the Text is ſomewhat curt and hard, It ſaith *there was a Queſtion,* ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν Ἰωάννου μετὰ Ἰουδαίων *of* or *by the Diſciples of John with the Jews*, and it ſeems to intimate a ſubdivided controverſie: For ἐκ doth argue a doubt amongſt *Johns* Diſciples themſelves (and ſo the *vulgar*, *French*, and *Italian* carry it) as if they were the men that began the diſpute: and the word μετὰ doth ſet them both in an oppoſition, and conjunction with the Jews in this queſtioning.

3. Their divided controverſie was partly about the preheminence of the Judaical waſhings and the Evangelical Baptiſm, and here the Jews and they were at oppoſition; and partly about the preheminence of *Johns* Baptiſm and *Chriſts*, and here the Jews would hiſs them on in the conteſtation.

4. This queſtioning aroſe upon the occaſions, related immediately before; *Chriſt* began to baptize, and *John* alſo was ſtill baptizing, *Therefore there aroſe a Queſtion. Johns* Diſciples ſtarted at it, that another Baptizer ſhould appear, beſides their Maſter, and he more followed than their Maſter was, as *verſ.* 26. And the Jews would flie upon them with indignation, as cauſers and abettors of innovation; *You ſee what you have done to forſake the ſtated and ancient Waſhings and Rites of Moſes, and the traditions: for there is now another riſen up that ſets up a new Baptiſm, and ſo will there be novellizing ſtill in infinitum.*

Verſ. 27. *A man can receive nothing except, &c.*

John gives an anſwer to his Diſciples, that took it ill that *Chriſt* was ſo followed (and as they thought, to their Maſters prejudice) to ſatifie them, both on the one hand and on the other. *Is he ſo much followed?* Why, it is given him from Heaven. *Do I decreaſe?* Why, a man can receive nothing unleſs it be given him from thence.

Verſ. 29. *He that hath the bride is the Bridegroom, &c.*

The *Baptiſt* in this borrowed ſpeech, 1. Aſſerteth *Chriſt*, to be that *Lord of Hoſts*, who was the husband of the Church, *Eſa.* 54.5. *Jer.* 3.14. *Hoſ.* 2.19,20. And 2. that he himſelf in his miniſtery was but an attendant upon the Bridegroom and Bride as the Bridegrooms friend.

The words φίλος τοῦ Νυμφίου, do tranſlate the Hebrew word שושבין *Shoſhebin*, which is a word exceeding common in their uſe and Authors. In a general ſenſe, it ſignifies any ſpecial or ſingular friend whatſoever: and ſo, whereas it is ſaid in 2 *Sam.* 13.3. that *Amnon had a friend*, the *Chaldee* hath rendred it לאמנון שושבינא *Amnon had a Shoſhebin*, but more peculiarly and properly it ſignifies the ſpecial friend and attendant of a Bridegroom at

at the time of his marriage נוהגים אנחנו לקרא לריעי החתן שושבינין *we uſe* (ſaith *Elias Levita*) *to call the friends of a Bridegroom Shoſhebenin*, ſo whereas it is ſaid in *Judg.*14.20. *Samſons wife was given to his companion, whom he had uſed as his friend*, the *Chaldee* expreſſeth it דהוה שושבניה To *his companion who had been his Shoſhebin*: that is, his *Paranymphus* or his ſpecial friend and attendant at his marriage.

With the Bride, and Bridegroom at a marriage, there were alſo בני חופה & שושבנין *the friends of the Bridegroom*, or *Paranymphi*, and *the children of the Bride-chamber* or *wedding gueſts*, as *Matth.*9 15. And ſo they are mentioned all together in that tradition: חתן וכלה שושבנין ובני חופה פטורים מן הסוכה *A Bridegroom, and the Bride, the Paranymphi, and the children of the Bridechamber, are freed from keeping the Feaſt of Tabernacles. Maym. in Succah per.6.*

Theſe שושבנין *Shoſhebinin* were commonly two, one of the kindred of the Bridegroom, and one of the kindred of the Bride: מעמידין שני שושבנין אחד משל בית חתן ואחד משל בית כלה *Toſaph. ad cetuboth, per.*1. *They appointed two Paranymphi one of the Bridegrooms kindred, and the other of the Brides:* Theſe two are now reſembled amongſt us by thoſe that we call *the Bridegrooms men.*

Now by this expreſſion and compariſon, *John* ſheweth how far he was from that jealouſie and indignation, that his Diſciples had, and which they would have kindled in him, at *Jeſus* his honor, and the reſort that was made of all ſorts unto him: No, ſaith *John*, I envy not his honour and growth: but as a near and true friend of a Bridegroom envieth not, but rejoyceth at the Bridegrooms happineſs and honour, and that all obſerve and ſerve him at his Marriage, and is well pleaſed to hear his voice and pleaſantneſs, even ſo is it my rejoycing to hear of the honour, growth, ſplendor, and advancement of Chriſt, *For he is the Bridegroom, &c.*

Verſ. 30. *He muſt increaſe, but I muſt decreaſe.*

It is eaſie to ſee the meaning of the *Baptiſt* in theſe words, that he intendeth them concerning his miniſtery and glory compared with the miniſtery and glory of *Chriſt*: that his ſhould be as the Stars, and Moon are, when the Sun appeareth, ſwallowed up and eclipſed by that light: The latter part of the verſe, if it be alſo taken, as a prediction of *John*, of his own impriſonment and death, we ſhall ſee it made good and accompliſhed in that next Section. But that expoſition that applies this, to the days increaſing from *Chriſtmas* when *Chriſt* was born, and decreaſing from *Midſummer* when *John Baptiſt* was born, ſeems to have looked more on an Almanack than on the Scripture.

Verſ. 31. *He that cometh from above is above all.*

Here is another argument whereby the *Baptiſt* would convince his Diſciples againſt thoſe thoughts of emulation that they had of *John*, compared with *Chriſt*: when they thought not well of it, that Chriſt ſhould Baptize and that ſo many ſhould come to him, which did or would eclips the honour of *John*: why, ſaith *John*, *he comes from above*, and therefore he deſerves to be preferred before me and before all others. The *Baptiſt* doth herein aſſert the Divinity of *Chriſt*, and that he was more than he appeared to the eyes of theſe Diſciples that were ſpeaking of him.

§. *He that is of the earth is earthly, and ſpeaketh of the earth.*

In the Greek it is *He that is of the earth, is of the earth*: which the *vulgar Latine* hath rendered ſo *verbatim*, and ſo the *Syriack*, but the *Arabick*, *Eraſmus*, *Beza*, the *Italian*, &c. read it as our *Engliſh* doth, *He that is of the earth is earthly*: The *French* inlargeth it thus, *He that proceeds from the earth is of the earth, and ſpeaks as one proceeding from the earth*: The intention of the *Baptiſt* in the words is to character himſelf, and all other men, as he had charactered *Chriſt* in the words preceding, and doth ſo forward in the words following: He ſpeaketh eſpecially three things of *Chriſt*, and three things of himſelf and other men. 1. That *Chriſt came from Heaven*: but he and others are but earthly men. 2. That *Chriſt* was above all men and all things, (for ſo the Greek word may indifferently be rendred) but himſelf and others were but of earthly, and low eſteem and glory. And 3. that *Chriſt* ſpake the words of God, the things which he had heard and ſeen, but himſelf and others ſpake of the earth, and could not reach to Divine things: So that the firſt clauſe ὁ ὢν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐστι. *He that is of the earth is of the earth*, may be underſtood, *He that is of an earthly original is of an earthly temper and glory*, as verſ.6. *He that is born of the fleſh is fleſh*: And the latter clauſe, *He ſpeaketh of the earth*, may be underſtood two ways, and the better underſtood by laying it in oppoſition to *Chriſt*. 1. *Chriſt* ſpeaketh the words of God, for he could do no other, the purity of his

his nature could not utter a vain, idle or earthly word, but all Divine: But he that is a meer earthly man cannot ſpeak but earthly things altogether, and not heavenly things at all, as 1 *Cor.* 2. 14. & 2 *Cor.* 3. 5. And herein it ſeemeth the ſtrength and ſenſe of this *Antitheſis* betwixt *Chriſt* and meer mortals lieth, and that this is the proper meaning of the Baptiſt: for as he holds out this clear difference betwixt *Chriſt* and mortals in regard of their Original, that *Chriſt is from Heaven*, they from earth; ſo doth he as clear a difference in regard of their conſtitution, that *Chriſt* could not naturally but ſpeak the words of God, but they cannot naturally ſpeak any ſuch words, but of the earth. And 2. If the men here ſpoken of, be of the Prophetick rank, as *John Baptiſt* himſelf was, then the *Antitheſis* lies in this, that what Revelation they have of Divine things, is but obſcure in compariſon of what *Chriſt* hath, for he witneſſeth what he hath ſeen and heard: and he hath not the Spirit by meaſure, and what they ſpeak of Divine things is but low and ſlender and by earthly expreſſions, in compariſon of the high and ſublime Doctrines that he uttereth. But I take the former interpretation to be the more genuine.

Verſ. 33. *Hath ſet to his Seal that God is true.*

Chriſt ſpake and teſtified nothing, but what he had ſeen and heard of the Father, as Chap. 1. 18. & 5. 20. (as *Moſes* law and heard from God what he delivered to *Iſrael*:) *And no man receiveth his teſtimony*, that is, very few, (as, *All ſeek their own and none the things of Chriſt*) when neither the Jews, no nor *Johns* Diſciples would entertain it: But thoſe few that did or do, they ſeal to the truth of God, for whoſoever believeth the Word of God doth as it were ſubſcribe and ſet to his ſeal that the Word is true, and God true that gave it: And ſo they that received the teſtimony of *Chriſt* did both ſeal to the truth of his Words, and alſo to the truth of all the promiſes that God had made concerning *Chriſt*, ſee 1 *Joh.* 5. 10. and thus is there a mutual ſealing to the covenant of Grace betwixt God and man, God ſealeth the truth of it by the Sacraments and man by believing.

Verſ. 34. *For God giveth not the Spirit by meaſure.*

Thoſe tranſlations that add the words, *To him*, as divers do, do readily fix the ſenſe of it upon *Chriſt*, that God poured the Spirit upon him above meaſure: but that expreſſion *To him* is not in the Original, and therefore ſome do underſtand it generally of all the Prophets whom the Lord ſent, that they ſpake the words of God every one of them, for God had abundance of Spirit to pour upon them, had they been never ſo many: and he meaſured not out the ſame ſtint of the Spirit to every one of them, but what meaſure ſeemed good to his good pleaſure: And to bring it up to the drift and ſcope of *Johns* ſpeech in this place, they apply it thus, Think not much of the honour of *Chriſt*, which troubles you becauſe it ſeems to eclipſe mine: Although I have much of Gods Spirit, why may not he have more? For God giveth not the Spirit by meaſure. But the Baptiſt ſeemeth to aim the ſpeech concerning *Chriſt* alone.

SECTION XV.

St. LUKE Chap. III. Verſ. 18.

AND many other things in his exhortation preached he unto the people.
19. *But Herod the Tetrarch being reproved by him for Herodias his brother Philip's wife, and for all the evils which Herod had done,*
20. *Added yet this above all, that he ſhut up John in priſon.*

Reaſon of the Order.

NOW that *John* is no more to appear in publick being committed cloſe priſoner by *Herod*, as this Section relateth, the very looking back to the preceding Section which concludeth with a ſolemn ſpeech of *Johns*; and the caſting forward that there is not one ſpeech more of his to be found henceforth in all the Evangeliſts, this doth ſufficiently prove and aſſert the proper order and ſubſequence of this Section to the former: eſpecially this being added and obſerved, that all the Evangeliſts do unanimouſly relate that our Saviours journey into *Galilee*, which is the very next thing that any of them do mention, was not till after *John* was ſhut up in priſon. *John* ſpeaks it the leaſt plain, and

and yet he ſpeaks it plain enough, as ſhall be obſerved at the next Section. Now if it be ſcrupled or wondred at, why *Luke* ſhould mention *Johns* impriſonment before the mention of *Chriſts* being baptized by him; the conſiderate obſerving of *Lukes* method will give an anſwer to that doubt, for there the Evangeliſt in one ſtory comprehendeth the whole Miniſtery of *John*, having no more to ſpeak of it, in all his Goſpel: He relateth what *John* preached to all that came to be baptized by him, and what particularly to the Phariſees, what to the Publicans, and what to the Souldiers: *and divers other things* ſaith he (beſides thoſe particulars mentioned) *He preached to the people:* And he was alſo as plain and round with *Herod*, as he had been with the reſt of the people, ſo that *Herod* at laſt ſhut him up in priſon. And ſo he compileth and wrappeth up the ſtory of the tenour and ſucceſs of *Johns* Miniſtery in general, to all ſorts of people in that brief relation, and then he cometh to the particular relation of his baptizing *Chriſt*.

And if it be ſcrupled again why I take not in the very ſame ſtory with this of this Section, which is related in *Matth.* 14.3,4,5. and *Mark* 6.17,18,19.20. as moſt Harmoniſts of the Evangeliſts do, it is becauſe that relation will fall and come in very pertinently and methodically, as the ſtory of a thing paſt in the place where it lies: and ſeeing that this Section tells the ſtory very full, the bringing of thoſe Texts of *Matthew* and *Mark* hither, would inevitably cauſe a *chaſma* or *hiatus* in the ſtory there, when we come to it, through the want of them, which would be very improper, or would cauſe a repetition of them there, which would not be very proper.

Harmony and Explanation.

Verſ. 18. *And many other things he Preached, &c.*

WHoſoever ſhall read the latter part of the former Section, and this verſe together as a continued Narration, he will ſee how fitly and cloſely they joyn together, and he is to take this as an *Epiphonema* to the whole ſtory of *Johns* Miniſtery; that beſides thoſe particular ſpeeches of his, mentioned by the Evangeliſts, he preached many other things, and uſed divers exhortations to the people, whileſt he was abroad and at liberty, which he was not very long after that occurrence mentioned in the former Section.

Verſ. 19. *But Herod the Tetrarch being reproved for Herodias, &c.*

Becauſe we are fallen upon a ſtrange and moſt unlawful match in *Herod* the greats family, will the reader have the patience, before he come to look on this particular act of *Herod the Tetrarch* (his marrying his brothers wife) to take a view a little, of old *Herods* whole family, and divers ſtrange marriages in it, as they may be picked up in ſeveral places in *Joſephus*, and to acquaint himſelf in brief with the pedegree of that ſtock, which may be ſome light for the underſtanding both of this and of ſome other places in the New Teſtament, which relate to the ſtory of that houſe.

We will begin with *Antipater Herods* Father, the firſt of the Family that came to honour.

This *Antipater* being an *Edomite*, had by his wife *Cyprus* an Arabian, theſe four ſons, *Phaſaelus*, *Herod*, *Joſeph*, *Pheroras*, and one daughter named *Salome*, *Joſeph. Antiq. lib.* 14. *cap.* 12.

Herod, the ſecond ſon of *Antipater*, commonly called *Herod the Great* (the King of the Jews, *Luke* 1.5. the murderer of the *Sanhedrin* at *Jeruſalem*, *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* 14. *cap.*17. *Juchaſin fol.*19. and murderer of the children at *Bethlehem*, *Matth.* 2. and of his own children, as we ſhall ſee anon) had nine wives, and by ſeven of them he had children, *Joſeph. de bell. lib.* 1. *cap.*18.

1. He married *Doris* a woman of *Jeruſalem* before he was King, and by her he had a ſon called *Antipater:* but this wife he put away, after he came to the Kingdom, that he might marry another, *Ibid. cap.*17. and this his firſt born ſon *Antipater*, he cauſed to be ſlain, but five days before his own death, *Id. Antiq. lib.*17. *cap.*10.

2. His ſecond wife was *Mariam* or *Mary the beautiful:* the daughter of *Alexander*, the ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, and of *Alexandra* the daughter of *Hyrcanus*, *Antiq.* 15. *cap.* 2. by her he had three ſons *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, *Antiq.* 16. *cap.* 8. and *Herod*, *de bell.* 1. 18. which *Herod* died young at *Rome*, whither he was ſet forth for his education.

And he had alſo by her two daughters, *Salampſio*, and *Cyprus*, *Antiq. lib.* 18. *cap.* 7.

His

His wife *Mariam* he ſlew upon the accuſation of his ſiſter *Salome*, and ſome diſcontent, *Antiq.* 15. *cap.*11.

Her two ſons that lived, he married thus; *Ariſtobulus* to *Bernice* the daughter of *Salome* his own ſiſter, by whom he had three ſons, *Herod*, *Agrippa* (he that is called *Herod*, *Act.* 12.) and *Ariſtobulus*: and two daughters *Herodias* and *Mariam*: this *Herodias* is ſhe that we have here in hand. *Alexander* he married to *Glaphyra* the daughter of *Archelaus* a forain King, and by her he had two ſons *Tigranes* and *Alexander*, *De bell.* 1. *cap.* 18.

Theſe two ſons of *Mariam*, *Ariſtobulus* and *Alexander*, their Father cauſed to be ſlain as well as he had ſlain their Mother. *Antiq.* 16. *cap.*17. But his two daughters he married to their near kinſman *Salampſio* to *Phaſaelus* her nephew, and *Cyprus* to *Antipater*, her couſen german the ſon of *Salome Herods* ſiſter, *Antiq. lib.*18. *cap.*7.

3. A third wife he had which was called *Malthace* a *Samaritan*, and by her he had two ſons *Antipas* and *Archelaus*, and one daughter called *Olympias*, *De Bell. lib.* 1. *cap.*18. *Archelaus* is he of whom there is mention, *Matth.*2. *Antipas* is that *Herod*, that we have in hand: *Archelaus* married *Glaphyra* his brother *Alexanders* widow, *Ant. lib.*17. *c.*15. *Olympias* was married to her Fathers own Nephew, *Joſeph. De bell. lib.* 1. *cap.*18.

4. His fourth wife *Cleopatra* of *Jeruſalem* bare him *Herod* and *Philip*. *Ibid. & Antiq.*17. *cap.*1. this *Philip* was *Herodias* her husband till *Herod* his brother took her from him: not this *Herod* born of the ſame mother, but *Antipas* the ſon of *Malthace*, who was alſo called *Herod* as was ſaid before.

5 He had another wife called *Pallas*, by whom he had a ſon called *Phaſaelus*. *Ibid.* and this *Phaſaelus* had a ſon of his own name to whom *Salampſio* was married, mentioned before.

6. A ſixth wife *Phædra* bare him a daughter called *Roxana*, *Ibid.*

7. And a ſeventh called *Helpis* bare him a daughter named *Salome*. *Ibid.*

And two wives beſides theſe he had, which bare him no children, whoſe names *Joſephus* hath not mentioned, but hath left this mark upon the matches, that the one of thoſe wives was Ἀνεψιὰ and the other Ἀδελφιδῆ both his neeces or his very near kindred. *Ibid.*

And to look a little further into the ſtock: *Salampſio* his daughter, had by *Phaſaelus* his Grandchild three ſons and two daughters, *Antipater*, *Herod*, *Alexander*, *Alexandra*, and *Cyprus*. *Alexandra* married to *a Cypriot*, but died childleſs. *Cyprus* was married to *Agrippa* the ſon of *Ariſtobulus* the ſon of *Mariam*, (this was that *Herod* in *Act.* 12.) by whom ſhe had two ſons, *Agrippa* and *Druſus*, and three daughters, *Bernice*, *Mariam*, and *Druſilla*, *Act.*18. *cap.*7. Such marriages as theſe were in old *Herods* family, the father of this *Herod*, that we have in diſcourſe. And now let us look upon the marriage that we have before us, between *Herod* and *Herodias*:

1. *Herodias* was neece both to *Philip* and *Herod*, both to her former husband and her latter, for ſhe was daughter to their brother *Ariſtobulus*, whom their father had ſlain, as was ſaid before. *Joſephus* muſt here be corrected by the Evangeliſt, for he ſaith, *Herodias was the wife of Herod, Herod the Tetrarchs brother, but not by the ſame mother*, *Antiq. lib.*18. *cap.*7. There was indeed a *Herod* which was *Philips* brother of the ſame mother, *Cleopatra*, but this *Herod* the *Tetrarch* (called alſo *Antipas*) was the ſon of *Malthace*

2. He might not have married his brothers wife (though he had been dead) he having had ſeed by her, for ſo is it very generally held that *Herodias* daughter that daunced off *John Baptiſts* head was the daughter of *Philip*. *If brethren dwell together* (as heirs to one poſſeſſion) *and one of them die and have no child, then her husbands brother ſhall go in unto her, &c. Deut.*25.5. בן או בת או בן הבן או בת חבן או בת הבת *But if her husband leave either ſon or daughter, or ſons ſon, or ſons daughter, or daughters daughter, behind him*, (as *R. Sol.* explains it) then might not he marry his brothers wife. *Lev.* 18.16. *Thou ſhalt not uncover the nakedneſs of thy brothers wife: it is thy brothers nakedneſs. Lev.* 20.21. *If a man ſhall take his brothers wife, it is an unclean thing: he hath uncovered his brothers nakedneſs, they ſhall be childleſs.* Whereupon *Aben Ezra* giveth this note, *That none of the unlawful marriages mentioned are called* נדה *or an unclean thing, but only the marrying of a brothers wife*: And the Jews do make this one of the thirty ſix offenders that deſerve *cutting off*, הבא על אשת אחיו *He that goeth in to his brothers wife*: *Kerithuth per.* 1.

3. It was ſtill worſe to marry her, as he did, whileſt his brother *Philip* was alive: for *Philip* died not till the twentieth year of *Tiberius Ceſar*, and *John* was impriſoned in the ſixteenth or thereabout. *Joſeph. Ant. l.*18. *c.*6.

4. And which was yet worſe, he divorced his lawful wife the daughter of *Aretas* King of *Arabia*, that he might marry *Herodias*: and he had baſely violated the laws of Hoſpitality in coming to lodge with his brother *Philip*, as a friend and gueſt, and tempting and winning his wife from him. *Joſephus* giveth us the ſtory thus, Ἡρῴδης ὁ τετράρχης γαμεῖ τὴν Ἀρέτα θυγατέρα, *&c. Herod the Tetrarch married the daughter of Aretas, and lived a good while*

while with her: But being ſent for to Rome, he lodged in his brother Herods houſe, (here *Joſephus* miſtaketh *Herod* for *Philip*) *And falling in love with Herodias his wife* (*now ſhe was the daughter of Ariſtobulus their brother and ſiſter of Herod*) *Agrippa the great* (*Act.* 12. 1.) *he dared to make the motion of a marriage, which ſhe imbracing, they agreed that he ſhould take her home to himſelf when he returned from Rome: and it was alſo contained in the Articles of agreement that he ſhould put away the daughter of Aretas:* And ſo he did, which cauſed a war betwixt him and *Aretas*. *Idem, ibid. cap.* 7.

What other evils *Herod* committed, we cannot give ſo particular account of, becauſe they are rarely if at all recorded: but by theſe two deſperate facts of his, in his wretched marriage, and in his bloody murther of the *Baptiſt*, we may well gueſs the temper and converſation of the tyrant: a wretch ſtrong in wickedneſs and ſtrong in power, and yet not ſpared by the *Baptiſt*, but reproved and told home by him of his villanies, as he deſerved. And here we may fitly parallel this ſecond *Elias* reproving *Herod* and *Herodias*, and ſuffering for it, with the firſt *Elias* doing the like by *Ahab* and *Jezabel*.

Verſ. 20. *He ſhut up John in priſon.*

As deſperate as he was in wickedneſs, yet the Evangeliſt tells us, that he reverenced *John*, and heard him gladly, and did many things after his admonition, *Mark* 6.20. but when *John* comes ſo home to him about his abominable marriage, then *Herodias* another *Jezabel* ſtrikes in and ſtrikes the ſtroke for *Johns* ſilencing: for ſhe had had a quarrel againſt him, *Mark* 6.19. ſeeing this his doctrine tended to her divorce: Yet durſt not the cruel couple for ſhame impriſon *John* upon the plain terms of the proper cauſe of his impriſonment, which was becauſe he ſpake againſt their curſed marriage, but they uſe another colour as *Joſephus* relateth, namely, becauſe *Johns* popularity was dangerous towards ſome inſurrection or innovation. He relates the ſtory thus, *Herod ſlew John called the Baptiſt, being a good man and one that injoyned the Jews, to follow virtue, and to uſe uprightneſs one towards another, and devotion towards God, and to knit together by Baptiſm, &c. And divers being converted to him, (for they were well pleaſed with the hearing of his words) Herod fearing that this his perſwaſiveneſs with the people, might tend to a revolt, (for they were ready to do any thing upon his counſel) he thought it beſt to lay hold upon him and kill him, before any inſurrection were: rather than repent too late when a change came: And ſo was John upon this ſuſpition of Herod ſent priſoner to Machærus caſtle and there killed, Antiq. lib.* 18. *cap.* 7. where he alſo relateth, that *Aretas* (the Father of her whom *Herod* had put away that he might take *Herodias*) *and Herod* (*upon this and other quarrels*) *having pitched a ſet field and battel, all Herods army was cut off,* πολὺ ὃ ἦν Ἰουδαίων ἐδόκει ὀλωλέναι τὸν Ἡρώδου στρατὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ μάλιστα δικαίως τιννυμένου κατὰ τὸν Ἰωάννην τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Βαπτιστήν. *And ſome of the Jews thought that Herods Army was deſtroyed by God, and he moſt juſtly puniſhed for the murder of John the Baptiſt.*

And thus hath this bright and burning lamp ſhone abroad, till the Sun of righteouſneſs appeared and began to eclipſe him: The time that he had preached and baptized had been ſome twenty months or thereabouts: from about *Eaſter*, to about *November*, twelvemonth after: The time of his impriſonment, was ſome months alſo above a twelvemonth, namely from *November* or thereabout, very near unto *Eaſter* twelvemonth after, as will be conſpicuous in the inſuing progreſs of the ſtory.

SECTION XVI.

St. JOHN Chap. IV.

WHEN *therefore* [a] *the Lord knew how the Phariſees had heard that* [b] *Jeſus made and baptized more Diſciples than John,*

2. (*Though Jeſus himſelf baptized not but his Diſciples.*)

3. *He left Judea, and departed* [c] *again into Galilee.*

4. *And he muſt needs go through* [d] *Samaria.*

[a] THE *Lord*; The *Syriack* uſeth not this expreſſion, nor the vulgar Latin, but retaineth the word *Jeſus*: the *Arab.* אלרבאן See this title given to Chriſt by the Evangeliſt in hiſtorical relation again, Chap. 6. 23. & 11. 2. &c.

[b] *Gr. Maketh and baptizeth*) For the Evangeliſt ſetteth down the report made to the *Phariſees* in the reporters own words, one or other came and told them thus, *Jeſus maketh and baptizeth more Diſciples than John.*

[c] Compare Chap. 1.43. & 2.1.

[d] This was the name both of the chief City and of the Country, in the time of the ten

St. JOHN Chap. IV.

5. *Then cometh he to a City of Samaria, which is called* [e] *Sychar, near to the parcel of ground that Jacob gave to his ſon Joſeph.*

6. *Now Jacobs well was there: Jeſus therefore being wearied with his journy ſate* [f] *thus on the well. And it was about the ſixth hour.*

7. *There cometh a woman of Samaria to draw water, Jeſus ſaith unto her, Give me to drink.*

8. *For his Diſciples were gone away into the City to buy meat.*

9. *Then ſaith the woman of Samaria unto him, How is it that thou being a Jew askeſt drink of me which am a woman of Samaria? (For the Jews have no dealing with the Samaritans.)*

10. *Jeſus anſwered and ſaid unto her, If thou knoweſt the gift of God, and who it is that ſaith unto thee, Give me to drink, thou wouldſt have asked of him, and he would have given thee living water.*

11. *The woman ſaith unto him, Sir, thou haſt nothing* [g] *to draw with, and the well is deep, from whence then haſt thou that* [h] *living water?*

12. *Art thou greater than our Father Jacob which gave us the well and drank thereof himſelf and his children and his cattel?*

13. *Jeſus anſwered and ſaid unto her, Whoſoever drinketh of this water ſhall thirſt again.*

14. *But whoſoever drinketh of the water that I ſhall give him, ſhall never thirſt; but the water that I ſhall give him, ſhall be in him a well of water ſpringing up into everlaſting life.*

15. *The woman ſaith unto him, Sir, give me this water that I thirſt not, neither come hither to draw.*

16. *Jeſus ſaith unto her, Go call thy husband and come hither.*

17. *The woman anſwered and ſaid, I have no husband: Jeſus ſaid unto her, Thou haſt well ſaid, I have no husband.*

18. *For thou haſt had five husbands, and he whom thou now haſt is not thine husband, in that ſaidſt thou truly.*

19. *The woman ſaith unto him, Sir, I perceive that thou art a Prophet.*

20. *Our Fathers worſhipped in this mountain, and ye ſay that in Jeruſalem is the place where men ought to worſhip.*

21. *Jeſus ſaith unto her, woman believe me the hour cometh when ye ſhall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jeruſalem worſhip the Father.*

22. *Ye worſhip ye know not what: we know what we worſhip: for ſalvation is of the Jews.*

23. *But the hour cometh and now is, when the true worſhippers ſhall worſhip the Father in* ten Tribes reſidence there: but now there was no City of that name at all: for *Sichem* was now the chief City of the *Samaritans*, as *Joſeph. Antiq.* 11. *cap.* 8. teſtifieth. Here therefore it is to be underſtood of the Country.

[e] *Sychar*) It is read in ſome copies and by ſome expoſitors, with *y* in the firſt ſyllable, as in the Text of *Chryſoſtome*, *Montanus*, the *Arabick*, the *Ital. of Brucioli*, *Chemnitius*, *Grotius*, *&c.* And by ſome with *i*, *Sichar*, as the *Vulgar Latin*, *Beza*, *Deodates Ital.* the *Spaniſh*, *French*, *Dutch*: and ſome *Greek* copies which theſe followed. Be it read whether way it will, *Sychar* or *Sichar*, (as ſuch changes are not ſtrange) the place and City apparently was the ſame with *Sichem*, ſo famous in the Old Teſtament: And that appeareth plain by this, that it is ſaid, *there was the portion of land which Jacob gave to his ſon Joſeph*; which plainly was *Sichem*, *Gen.* 33. 18, 19. & 48. 22.

[f] *Sate thus*, that is, in a weary poſture, or after the manner as tired men uſe to ſit down. *De Dieu* taketh it only for an elegancy in the Greek which might well be omitted: and accordingly the *Syriack* hath omitted it and not owned it at all: But ſee it Emphatical in other places alſo, 1 *Sam.*9. 13. *Samuel* is come this day to the City, for the people have a ſacrifice in the high place, and when you are come into the City כן תמצאון you ſhall *So* find him: that is, newly come to Town and going to a ſacrifice: 1 *King.*2.7. Shew kindneſs to the ſons of *Barzilla*, &c. for *So* they came to me: that is, they came kindly to me. *Act.* 7. 8. he gave him the covenant of circumciſion, and *ſo Abraham* begat *Iſaac*, that is, he begat him in circumciſion, &c.

[g] Ἀντλήμα) *Camerarius* out of *Plautus* Latins this *Situlam*, *Beza* out of *Auſtin Hauritorium*, דלי in Hebrew. *Eſa.*40.15. *Numb.* 24.7. כלי ששאבין בו ſaith *Kimchi in Michol*, *A veſſel where withal they drew water*: the *Septuagint* in the former place cited renders it *Cadus*, and in the latter they tranſlate the metaphorical ſenſe. It ſeems they brought their buckets with them to draw with, as well as their veſſels to carry water in: unleſs they made the ſame veſſel ſerve for both uſes, by letting it down to draw with a cord.

[h] Springing or running water was called by the Hebrew *living water*, *Gen.*26.19. *Iſaacs ſervants digged in the valley and found there a well of living water.* The Chaldee renders it מין בבעין *ſpringing water* for the bubbling of the ſpring is like the lively beating of the heart or pulſe. And hence it was that this woman did ſo readily miſtake our Saviours meaning: He ſpake of the lively waters of grace, that ſpring up in him that hath them, to eternal life: but ſhe

ſpirit

ſpirit and in truth: for the Father ſeeketh ſuch to worſhip him.

24. *God is a Spirit, and they that worſhip him muſt worſhip him in ſpirit and truth.*

25. *The woman ſaith unto him, I know that Meſſias cometh* [*] *which is called Chriſt: when he is come he will tell us all things.*

26. *Jeſus ſaith unto her, I that ſpeak unto thee am he.*

27. *And upon this came his Diſciples, and marvailed that he talked with* [i] *the woman: yet no man ſaid, What ſeekeſt thou? Or why talkeſt thou with her?*

28. *The woman then left her water pot, and went her way into the City, and ſaith to the men,*

29. *Come ſee a man which hath told me all things that ever I did: is not this the Chriſt.*

30. *Then they went out of the City and came unto him.*

31. *In the mean while his Diſciples prayed him ſaying, Maſter eat.*

32. *But he ſaid unto them, I have to eat that ye know not of.*

33. *Therefore ſaid the Diſciples one to another, hath any man brought him ought to eat?*

34. *Jeſus ſaith unto them, My meat is to do the will of him that ſent me, and to finiſh his work.*

35. *Say ye not, there are yet four months and then cometh harveſt? Behold, I ſay unto you, lift up your eyes and look on the fields: for they are white already to harveſt.*

36. *And he that reapeth receiveth wages, and gathereth fruit unto eternal life: that both he that ſoweth and he that reapeth, may rejoyce together.*

37. *And herein is that ſaying true, One ſoweth, and another reapeth.*

38. *I ſent you to reap that whereon ye beſtowed no labour: other men laboured, and ye are entred into their labours.*

39. *And many of the Samaritans of that City believed on him, for the ſaying of the woman which teſtified, He told me all that ever I did.*

40. *So when the Samaritans were come unto him, they beſought him that he would tarry with them: and he abode there two days.*

41. *And many more believed becauſe of his own words.*

42. *And ſaid unto the woman, Now we believe, not becauſe of thy ſaying, for we have heard him our ſelves, and know that this is indeed the Chriſt the Saviour of the world.*

interpreted him according to the propriety of the language as if he had ſpoken only of waters out of a ſpring: And ſo had *Nicodemus* miſinterpreted another expreſſion in the former Chapter מים חיים or *living waters* were taken in oppoſition to מקוה מים *a gathering of waters*, as *Rambam* evidenceth, ſaying thus: כל המימות כשרים לקידוש בין מים חיים בין מי מקוה *Any waters* (ſaith he) *are fit for the purifying* (of the Prieſts hands and feet) *whether living* (ſpringing or running) *waters, or waters gathered together, In biath hammikdaſh, per.* 5. By *waters gathered together* he meaneth, ponds or ciſterns gathered of rain water, or any waters that did not ſpring or run: The Latiniſts alſo uſed the like expreſſion to the *Hebr.* for ſpringing or running water, as in the Poet, *Donec me flumine vivo Abluero. Virg. Æneid.* 2.

[*] Theſe are the words of the Evangeliſt interpreting the word *Meſſias* to the reader: and not the words of the woman interpreting it to *Chriſt*: the *Syriack* tranſlater hath omitted theſe words, as not neceſſary to a *Syrian* reader.

[i] Μετὰ γυναικὸς) The various conſtruction of the word, either with the ſtrength of the article or without, hath cauſed various cauſes to be conceived of the Diſciples wondring at his talking with her: Some read it without the force of the Article thus, they marvailed that he talked with *a woman*, as unfit (ſay ſome) and uncapable of his ſerious and divine diſcourſe, but others aſcribe their wonder to this, that he was thus entred into diſcourſe with a ſtrange woman, alone, and no company near. And they that ſo underſtand it are confirmed by this, becauſe they think, it was no more to be wondred at that he ſhould talk with a *Samaritan* woman, than it was that they ſhould go into a *Samaritan* City to buy proviſion: for why might not he as well talk with a woman, as they with the men or women of whom they bought meat, if her being a *Samaritan* were all the matter? But the caſe was not the ſame: for the Jews might buy meat of them and ſell meat to them with whom they might not otherwiſe enter into familiar converſe and communication אין נשאין ונותנין עם המוחרם ואין מתעסקין עמו אלא מעט עסק כדי פרנסתו For *they might not uſe any commerce, nor any converſe with a perſon excommunicate* (as the *Samaritans* were to the *Jews*) *but only ſo much as for the providing of meat. Maym. in Talm. torah. per.* 7. And therefore though the article in the Greek be not expreſſed, yet it ſeemeth that in the ſenſe that it is to be underſtood, and that the Diſciples marvailed that he would fall into diſcourſe with a woman that was a *Samaritan*: which was ſtrange to the woman her ſelf, verſ.9.

SECTION.

43. *Now after two days he departed thence and went into* Galilee.
44. *For Jeſus himſelf teſtified, that a Prophet hath no honour in his own country.*
45. *Then when he was come into* Galilee, *the* Galileans *received him, having ſeen all things that he did at Hieruſalem at the feaſt: for they alſo went unto the feaſt.*
46. *So Jeſus came again into* Cana *of* Galilee, *where he made the water wine. And there was a certain* Nobleman; *whoſe ſon was ſick at* Capernaum.
47. *When he heard that Jeſus was come out of* Judea *into* Galilee, *he went unto him and beſought him, that he would come down and heal his ſon: for he was at the point of death.*
48. *Then ſaid Jeſus unto him, Except ye ſee ſigns and wonders ye will not believe.*
49. *The* Nobleman *ſaith unto him, Sir come down ere my child die.*
50. *Jeſus ſaith unto him, Go thy way, thy ſon liveth. And the man believed the word that Jeſus had ſpoken unto him, and he went his way.*
51. *And as he was now going down, his ſervants met him and told him ſaying, Thy ſon liveth.*
52. *Then inquired he of them the hour when he began to amend: and they ſaid unto him, Yeſterday at the ſeventh hour the Fever left him.*
53. *So the Father knew that it was at the ſame hour in which Jeſus ſaid unto him, Thy ſon liveth; and himſelf believed and his whole houſe.*
54. *This is again the ſecond miracle that Jeſus did, when he was come out of* Judea *into* Galilee.

Reaſon of the Order.

ABOUT the proper time, place, and order of this ſtory of *Chriſt* and the *Samaritan* woman, there is ſome difficulty and diverſity of opinion: None queſtioning whether it do naturally follow the ſtory of the third Chapter: but ſome doubting whether this journey of our Saviour into *Galilee* was after *Johns* impriſonment, yea or no: but conceiving it rather to have been before, and ſuppoſing that this voyage is not the ſame with that in *Matth.* 4. 12. *Mark* 1.14. (where it is ſaid that *when Jeſus heard that John was caſt into priſon he departed into Galilee*) but it was before that, and before *John* was committed unto priſon. *Ammonius* among the Ancients appeareth to be of this opinion, and *Grotius* among the modern, to mention no more. But *Auguſtine*, *Janſenius*, *Alapide*, *Chemnitius*, and divers others do rank this ſtory and voiage after *Johns* ſhutting up, and that immediately after (old *Tatianus* only hath placed it a good while after,) and ſo have undoubtingly made this journey into *Galilee*, and that in *Mat.* 4.12. but one and the ſame. And indeed if the ſtory, and time of it be preciſely weighed, it will not only be clear, that this journey into *Galilee* is the very ſame mentioned by *Matthew* and *Mark* in the places cited, but it will alſo give ſome illuſtration to that ſtory in them, and ſhew the occaſion and proceeding of that his journey.

For, 1. Whereas thoſe two Evangeliſts have laid *Chriſts* journey into *Galilee* upon *Johns* impriſonment the very next thing to the ſtory of his Temptation, *John* hath told us of a journey thither, betwixt the temptation and *Johns* commitment, and that *Chriſt* continued there in *Galilee* ſome ſpace: Now to imagine another journey thither again, and that a twelvemonth after the former, and this alſo before *John* be impriſoned, will make that place in *Matthew* and *Mark* exceeding hard, if not impoſſible, to be understood. 2. If this voiage in *John* and that in them be not the ſame, and both after *Johns* impriſonment, in what time and place will it be poſſible to bring that ſtory in thoſe two Evangeliſts into being? Let it be ſuppoſed, as ſome will have it, that *John* was yet abroad and not yet impriſoned when *Jeſus* undertaketh this journey into *Galilee*: well: this Chapter bringeth him to *Galilee* and the next, to *Jeruſalem* again: and then when, and where, and how ſhall we take in *Johns* impriſonment after? It is true that there are, that have found a place to thruſt it in, but we will not ſpend time in that diſpute, let but the preſent ſection and the ſubſequent till the next Paſover be ſeriouſly obſerved, and I ſuppoſe there will be evidence ſufficient by their very contexture to clear this order.

2. The words of *John* that relate the occaſion of *Chriſts* journey into *Galilee*, compared with the words of *Matthew* and *Mark*, ſpeak but the very ſame thing, though the terms and expreſſions do ſomewhat differ. Thoſe two Evangeliſts ſay, the one of them, *That when Jeſus heard he was put in priſon*, the other, *That when Jeſus heard that John was put in priſon*, he departed into *Galilee*: And what can the words of *John* (*when the Lord knew that the Phariſees had heard*, &c. he departed into *Galilee*) mean elſe but the ſame occaſion? For what matter was it, though the *Phariſees* heard of the multitude of *Chriſts* Diſciples never ſo much? Why ſurely becauſe he had heard, that

John

John had ſuffered becauſe of the multitude of his Diſciples, and was ſhut up in priſon: and ſo might he himſelf be in danger, if he ſtayed in *Judea*, to be quarrelled by the *Phariſees* for the ſame buſineſs. And let it be but conſidered why *John* and the numerouſneſs of his Diſciples ſhould be mentioned here, but that they are of concernment, and have ſome relation to this ſtory.

So that theſe things being well weighed together, the order and texture of the ſtory appeareth to be natural and genuine as we have laid it.

Only one ſcruple and objection may lie in the way about it, and that is this: why *Chriſt* ſhould go into *Galilee* even into *Herods* mouth, for there he reſided, if *Herod* had but newly impriſoned *John*, this was to flee from one danger into another, from an uncertain danger from the Phariſees who had never wronged *John*, to a certain danger by *Herod* who had newly impriſoned him: Anſwer, *Herods* quarrel againſt the Baptiſt was not ſo much in regard of his doctrine, as meerly a perſonal quarrel about *Herodias*, and as was mentioned before, for fear of innovation. It is ſaid that *Herod heard John gladly, and did many things according to his doctrine*, Mark 6.20. and therefore there was no danger of preaching the Goſpel never ſo near *Herod*, if the matter of *Herodias* be not medled withal, and many Diſciples be not gathered; and what our Saviour ſhould do in thoſe particulars, his Divine Wiſdom needed no inſtructor to inform him: And as for the danger of being ſuſpected of innovation by gathering Diſciples as *John* was, his diſperſing his Diſciples and his flitting from place to place, would make their number the leſs ſenſible, whereas *Johns* abode in one place, cauſed all his Diſciples to reſort unto him, and ſo their multitude was the more viſible. When our Saviour ſees his time, he collects his Diſciples and is followed by the multitudes, and let *Herod the Fox* frown and fret and plot and ſpare not.

Harmony and Explanation.

THE ſubject of the ſtory in the firſt part of this Section, is the firſt converſion of any, that were aliens to the Congregation of *Iſrael*, by the preaching of *Chriſt*, unto the Goſpel. And in this ſtory, that of the Prophet *Hoſea*, ſeemeth to be fulfilled to the very letter, Chap. 2.15. *I will give the valley of Achor for a door of hope.* For howſoever the maps of *Canaan* do moſt of them lay the valley of *Achor* and *Sichem* at a very great diſtance, yet if it be obſerved in *Joſh.* 7. & 8. how near to the hills of bleſſing and curſing (whereof *Gerizim* that lay over *Sichem* was one) the ſtoning of *Achan* was, as the current of the Text there doth carry it, and how *Joſephus* ſpeaketh of the great valley by *Samaria*, *Ant. lib.* 20. *cap.* 5. it will not ſeem improbable that the valley of *Achor* ran along between *Gerizim* and *Ebal*, and by the City of *Sichem*. And when our Saviour firſt beginneth to preach to ſtrangers and to convert them, it is in this very valley, and ſo he makes it *a door of hope* of converſion of the Gentiles, whereas it had been a door of deſpair and offence to *Iſrael* at their firſt entrance into the land.

The Style and tenour of this Section, ſo far as it relates the ſtory of *Chriſts* being among the *Samaritans*, is ſo very agreeable to the tenor of the Prophecy of *Hoſea*, that it ſeemeth to ſpeak to that all along: and our Saviour to an adulterous woman here, openeth many things, that that parabolical husband of an adulterous wife had ſpoken there. Compare but theſe places amongſt others.

Hoſea	*John* Chap.4.
Chap. 1. ver. 2. } Chap. 3. ver. 1. }	Verſ. 18.
Chap. 2. ver. 21, 22, 23.	Verſ. 35, 36, 37.
Chap. 3. ver. 4.	Verſ. 21.
Chap. 3. ver. 5.	Verſ. 10.
Chap. 13. v. 15.	Verſ. 14.

This very place of *Sichem*, was the place where the very firſt Proſelytes came in, that ever came into the Church of *Iſrael*, *Gen.* 34. 29. & 35. 2, and in this ſtory it is the firſt place proſelyted under the Goſpel.

Verſ.

Verſ. 4. *And he muſt needs go through Samaria.*

Ἔθος ἦν τοῖς Γαλιλαίοις (ſath *Joſephus*) ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν πορευομένοις διὰ τῆς Σαμαρέων χώρας. *It was the cuſtom of the Galileans as they went to Jeruſalem to the Feſtivals, to go through the country of the Samaritans. Antiq. lib.20. cap.5. And he that would go ſoon-eſt thither muſt go that way, and it is three days journey that way from Galilee to Jeruſalem. Idem, in vita ſua.* *Joſephus* helpeth us here how to underſtand the word *Samaria* in this ſtory in hand, namely for Σαμαρέων χώρας *the Country of the Samaritans*, and not any City of that name, for there was no City called *Samaria* at this time: for *Sichem* was now the chief City of the *Samaritans*, as the ſame *Joſephus* witneſſeth, *Antiq. lib.* 11. *cap.* 8. This Country of *Samaritans* lay between *Judea* and *Galilee*, and he that would go from the one to the other muſt paſs through that, ſee *Luke* 9. 51, 52. although there was ſo great a fewd between the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, as we ſhall ſee by and by. This way it ſeems grew dangerous at the laſt and near unpaſſable either becauſe of the enmity mentioned, or by reaſon of the many theeves and robbers wherewithal the land of *Canaan* abounded towards the time of the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem:* and by reaſon of the *Roman* Souldiers that were ſtragling abroad: For ſo *Maimony in Kidduſh hodeſh*, witneſſeth where ſpeaking of the meſſengers that uſed to be ſent abroad through the Country, to give notice of the fixing of the new Moons he tells how ſoon they might get to ſuch a diſtance, unleſs there was חורום בדרך *war and rapine in the way* כדרך שהיה בין יהודה לגליל בימי חכמי משנה *as there was in the way between Judæa and Galilee in the days of the wiſe men of the Miſhneh, pereh.* 5.

Verſ. 5. *A City of Samaria called Sichar near the parcel of ground, &c.*

The ſtory, concerning the parcel of ground which *Jacob* gave to his ſon *Joſeph*, is in *Gen.*33.19. & 48.22. but there is difference betwixt this name uſed here and that mentioned there, and there is difference in the relation there between one place and another: There the place is called *Sichem*, here *Sychar*, there in one place, it is ſaid that *Jacob bought it*, and in another, that *he got it with the ſword and bow. Sichem* is a word of much like conſtruction as *Netſer* is in *Eſa.* 11. 1. & *Matth.* 2.23. for as that ſignifieth both the *branch Chriſt*, and the Town *Nazareth* where he ſhould ariſe, ſo doth this, both *a portion of ground*, and the place, or ſituation, where it lay. I have given thee (ſaith *Jacob* to *Joſeph*) שכם אחד *Shechem echad, above thy brethren*, that is *one portion*, (as the Chaldee Paraphraſt and other Jews render it) and that portion, the place or portion of *Sichem*, (as the Septuagint tranſlate it,) of that City there is mention in *Gen.*34. and in divers other places of the Scripture: and whether it took that name from *Sichem* the ſon of *Hamor*, that raviſhed *Dinah*, it is not much uſeful or material to look after, certainly it keepeth that name all along the Scripture but only in this place: for that *Sychar* here is the ſame place with *Sichem*, the circumſtance added, *that it was near the parcel of ground that Jacob gave his ſon Joſeph*, makes the matter paſt denial: It is a very general cenſure upon this word both by expoſitors that write upon this Chapter, and others that mention the word occaſionally, that it is written wrong and corruptly, for it ſhould be written and read *Sychem:* But 1. their very ſo ſaying doth ſhew and argue that it is generally read *Sychar* in all copies, and are all corrupt? 2. It is hard to imagin, how any Scribe ſhould ſo miſwrite or miſread, as to write χαρ for χεμ ſeeing there is ſo little affinity between the letters in the Greek: And 3. any ſcribe that was a Scripture man, could not eaſily ſo miſtake, ſeeing there is ſo frequent mention of *Sichem* in the Bible, but of *Sichar* never. Therefore to me it is paſt all doubting, that the word is written and read in our copies exactly and to a letter, as it was written by the Evangeliſt himſelf: And it may be conceived that he wrote it, as it was ſometimes (and it may be commonly) called among the Jews. The hatred and diſſention between the *Jews* and *Samaritans* was exceeding bitter, as ſhall be ſhewed anon, and it is no ſtrange thing if the *Jews* uſed this as a nickname for the *Samaritans* chief City, to call it *Sychar* inſtead of *Sichem.* The people of the Kingdom of *Samaria* are called the *Drunkards of Ephraim*, *Eſay* 28.1. *Wo to the Crown of pride, the drunkards of Ephraim:* &c. Now the word *Sychar* importeth and ſignifieth *Drunkenneſs*, and it may very well be conceived, that ſeeing the *Jews* abhorred the *Samaritans* ſo much as they did, that they framed the name *Sychem*, into the drunken name *Sychar*, and in ſcorn called the metropolis of the *Samaritans* ſo, in the diſdain and ſcorn that they had againſt them. So they called *Beelzebub Beelzebul* or the *God of a dunghil* for the greater deteſtation, and ſo the Holy Ghoſt calleth *Achan*, *Achar*, 1 *Chron.* 2.7. to hit him home for his troubling of *Iſrael*, *Joſh.* 7. compare the changing of *Sychem* unto *Sychar*, with the changing of *Achan* into *Achar*, and why may we not apprehend this to be done purpoſely, and without miſtakes of tranſcribers as well as that?

Now, as for the difference between the two Texts of *Moſes* that ſpake of this portion, of *Jacobs* ground, the one ſaying that *it was bought of the Hivite with mony or lambs*, and the other *that it was won from the Amorite with his ſword and bow*, it is beſt reconciled by taking both places literally and in their proper ſenſe, but to underſtand them of ſeveral times: At *Jacobs* firſt coming unto *Sichem* out of *Padan Aram*, he bought this piece of ground of the *Hivite* as it is ſtoried *Gen.*33.19. whether for money or for lambs we ſhall not need to diſpute in this place: But after the ſlaughter of the *Sichemites*, he was long and far diſtant from that place and made no uſe of it, it not being ſafe for him to reſide there, his ſons having cauſed him to ſtink to the Inhabitants of the lands, and God calling him away unto other places: Now what became of his land, and of the City *Sichem* which had been emptied of its Inhabitants, all this while of *Jacobs* abſence? Certainly it is more proper and probable to hold, that the Inhabitants of the land would ſome of them uſurpe and ſeize upon thoſe places, and that *Jacob* was put to recover them again by force of arms, than either to think that *Jacob* owneth the ſlaughter of *Sichem* by his ſons, as his own act, or to underſtand, this portion of ground and *Jacobs* ſword and bow allegorically as many do: *Vid. Targ. Onkel. & Jeruſalami, &c.*

Verſ. 6. *Now Jacobs well was there, &c.*

There is mention of this well in *Gen.* 49. 22. where *Jacob* foretels that *Joſeph* ſhould grow exceeding fruitful by this well, or at this place of *Sichem.* As it came to paſs, *Joſh.* 24.1. 1 *King.*12.1. &c. *Joſeph is a fruitful bough*, or a ſon of fruitfulneſs, *beſide the well:* which words are not only to be taken figuratively, as reſembling *Joſeph* for fruitfulneſs, to a tree planted beſides a well, which was near moiſture and watering, but they are to be underſtood even properly and literally, for the very place of this well, where *Joſeph* ſhould be chiefly ſeated, and grow even to the dignity of a Kingdom. It was not only the tradition of the *Samaritans*, that this well was extant in *Jacobs* time, and that his family drank of it, but it was a real truth, as is aſſerted by the Evangeliſt, and both affirm it upon the warrant of that Text: Compare this ſtory of *Chriſt*, with the woman of *Samaria* at the well of *Sichar*, with the ſtory of *Abrahams* ſervant at the well of *Haran*, *Gen.* 24. *Jacob* at the ſame well, *Gen.*29. and *Moſes* at a well in *Midian*, *Exod.* 2.

§. *For the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans.*

This is the ſpeech of the Evangeliſt, not of the woman of *Samaria*, for it was needleſs for her to tell our Saviour of the diſtance that the *Jews* and *Samaritans* kept one from another, which both the Nations knew well enough: but it was neceſſary that the Evangeliſt ſhould relate ſo much to us, both that the womans queſtion, *How is it that thou being a Jew askeſt water of me*, might be the better underſtood, and alſo that the great work done by our Saviour in the converſion of ſo many *Samaritans*, might be ſet out the more glorious, by how much the hatred between the two Nations was the greater; This diſſention and fewd betwixt them did proceed from ſeveral cauſes and occaſions.

1. There had been a continual enmity between the Inhabitants of the two Countries *Judea* and *Samaria* even while they were both of the ſeed of *Iſrael*, from the time of the ten Tribes revolt under *Jeroboam*, to their captivity by *Shalmanezer*, as is copiouſly ſet out in the book of *Kings* and *Chronicles.*

2. When the ten Tribes were captived out of their land, the King of *Aſſyria* planted *Samaria* with men of divers Nations and divers Idolatries, 1 *King.* 17.24. &c. And ſent among them ſome of the Prieſts of the ten Tribes to inſtruct them in Religion, 1 *King.* 17.28. *Joſ. Ant. lib.*9. *cap.*14. And ſo the Country fell into an hotch-potch of Religion, in ſome things like the Jewiſh, in many things exceeding Heatheniſh. And the people ſometime ſhewed friendſhip to the *Jews*, ſometimes enmity, ſometimes claiming kinred of them when they ſaw them in proſperity, pretending to have been deſcended from *Joſeph* but ſometimes again ſcorning and deſpiſing them when they ſaw them brought to any ebb or in calamity. *Joſ. Ant. l.*9. *c.*14. & *lib.*12. *cap.*7.

3. When the Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* were brought to the loweſt ebb, and captived out of their own land into *Babel*, then did theſe *Samaritans* get elbow-room and inſolency againſt them, againſt their coming to their own land again. Theſe were the main oppoſers and hinderers of the building of the Temple, *Ezra* 4. called the *Adverſaries of Judah and Benjamin*, verſ.1. and *the people of the land*, verſ.4. yet pretending to ſeek God, and to ſacrifice as well as the Jews, *verſ.*2. &c.

Here the fewd and hatred began to be more apparent, and as the *Samaritans* were thus bitter to the *Jews*, ſo the *Jews* to their power were not behind hand with the *Samaritans.* For (if we may believe their own Authors) *Ezra, Zorobabel and Joſhua gathered all the Congregation into the Temple, and brought in three hundred Prieſts, and three hundred books of the*

the Law, and three hundred Infants, and they blew Trumpets, and the Levites ſung, and curſed, and curſed, excommunicated, and ſeparated the Samaritans by the ſecret Name of God, and by the glorious writing of the Tables, and by the curſe of the upper and lower houſe of Judgment; that no Iſraelite eat of any thing that is a Samaritans: for he that doth, doth as if he eat ſwines fleſh: Nor that any Samaritan be proſelyted to Iſrael, nor have any part in the Reſurrection, as it is ſaid, what have you to do with us to build the houſe of the Lord our God? Nor have you any part or right or memorial in Jeruſalem. And they wrote out and ſent this curſe to all Iſrael in Babel, and they added thereto curſe upon curſe, and the King fixed a curſe everlaſting to them as it is ſaid, And God *that hath cauſed his name to dwell there, deſtroy all Kings and people that ſhall put to their hands to alter it. Hæc R. Tanchuma. fol.* 17.

4. Hitherto the *Samaritans*, after the captivity of the ten Tribes, were Heatheniſh and no *Jews* among them ſave one or a few Prieſts to teach them the Law according to the ten Tribes uſage of it, and as it ſeemeth by *Aben Ezra* on *Eſth.*1. they had the book of *Moſes* law among them, but in ſo wild a tranſlation, that the firſt verſe of it was read thus, *In the beginning Aſhima created heaven and earth.* (What *Aſhima* meaneth, ſee 2 *King.* 17.30.) but from the times of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, exceeding many *Jews* began to be mingled among them, and became *Samaritans:* The main occaſion was this: One of the ſons of *Jojada* the ſon of *Eliaſhib* the High Prieſt, married the daughter of *Sanballat* the *Horonite* a chief man among the *Samaritans*: for which cauſe he was driven from the Prieſthood by *Nehemiah*, *Neh.*13.28. *Joſephus* nameth both the man and the woman, and relateth the full ſtory to this purpoſe. *Manaſſes* (ſaith he) *the brother of Jaddua the High Prieſt had maried Nicaſſo the daughter of Sanballat. Which thing the Elders of the Jews taking exceeding ill, as a violation of their Laws, and as an introduction to ſtrange marriages, they urged that either he ſhould put away his wife, or that he ſhould be put away from the Prieſthood: Yea and Jaddua his brother drave him away from the Altar that he ſhould not Sacrifice. Whereupon Manaſſes addreſſing himſelf to his Father in Law Sanballat, tells him, that it was true indeed that he loved his daughter Nicaſſo moſt dearly, but yet would not loſe his function for her ſake, it being hereditary to him by deſcent, and honourable among his Nation. To this Sanballat replied, that he could deviſe ſuch a courſe, as that he ſhould not only injoy his Prieſthood ſtill, but alſo obtain an High Prieſthood and be made a primate and metropolitane of a whole Country: on condition that he would keep his daughter ſtill and not put her away: For he would build a Temple on mount Gerizim over Sichem, like the Temple at Jeruſalem, and this by the conſent of Darius who was now Monarch of the Perſian Empire. Manaſſes imbraced ſuch hopes and promiſes, and abode with his Father in Law, thinking to obtain an High Prieſthood from the King. And whereas many of the Prieſts and people at Jeruſalem were intricated in the like marriages, they fell away to Manaſſes, and Sanballat, provided them lands, houſes and ſubſiſtence. But Darius the King being overthrown by Alexander the Great, Sanballat revolted to Alexander and did him homage, and ſubmitted both himſelf and his Dominion unto him: and having now gotten an opportunity, he made his Petition to him and obtained it of building this his Temple. And that that helped him in this his requeſt was, that Jaddua the High Prieſt at Jeruſalem had incurred Alexanders diſpleaſure for denying him help and aſſiſtance at the ſiege of Tyrus. Sanballat pleaded that he had a ſon in Law named Manaſſes brother to Jaddua, to whom many of the Jews were very well affected and followed after him, and might he but have liberty to build a Temple on mount Gerizim, it would be a great weakning of Jaddua, for by that means the people would have a fair invitation to revolt from him: Alexander eaſily condeſcended to his requeſt: and ſo he fell on to build his Temple with might and main. When it was finiſhed it cauſed a great Apoſtaſie at Jeruſalem, for very many that were accuſed and indited for eating of forbidden meats, for violating the Sabbath or for other crimes, fled away from Jeruſalem to Sichem and to mount Gerizim, and that became as a common Sanctuary for offenders.* To this purpoſe *Joſephus:* To which it may not be impertinent to add the relation of *R. Abrah Zacuth* about this matter. *When Alexander the Great,* ſaith he, *went from Jeruſalem, Sanballat the Horonite went forth to him (with ſome Iſraelites and ſome of the ſons of Joſhua the High Prieſt, who had made marriages with the Samaritans, and whom Ezra and Nehemiah had driven from the houſe of the Lord) and he deſired of Alexander that the Prieſts his ſons in law might build a Temple in mount Gerizim: and the King commanded that it ſhould be done, and ſo they built a Temple. Thus was Iſrael divided, half the people after Simeon the Juſt and Antigonus his ſcholar, and their ſociety, following what they had received from the mouth of Ezra and the Prophets. And the other half after Sanballat and his ſons in Law, and they offered burnt offerings and ſacrificed out from the houſe of the Lord, and made ordinances of their own invention: And Manaſſeh the ſon in Law of Sanballat, the ſon of Joſhua the ſon of Jozedek the High Prieſt, was Prieſt in this Temple. And then Sadoc and Baithus alſo became famous, being the Scholars of Antigonus, and this was the beginning of Hereſie: for they went in the time of Antigonus their Maſter to the Temple of mount Gerizim, and became chief men there. And that Temple ſtood about two hundred years. It was built forty years after the building of the ſecond Temple,* Juchaſin. fol.14. col.2.

And thus was Temple ſet up againſt Temple, High Prieſt againſt High Prieſt, and Worſhip againſt Worſhip, and now are the two Nations grown into a greater deteſtation one of another than ever they were before. And many of the Jewiſh Nation became *Samaritans*, enemies to their own Country, kindred and Religion: And it became a common *quære* and quarrel among them, whether was the truer Religion, and whether the truer Temple, that at *Jeruſalem*, or that one *Gerizim*, as the woman queſtioneth in this Chapter, verſ.20. and *Joſephus* ſaith, the *Jews* and *Samaritans* mutined upon this diſpute in *Egypt*, *Antiq. lib.* 12. *cap.* 1. & *lib.* 13. *cap.* 6. And this difference and heart-burning of the Nations in regard of Religion brake out often into open hoſtility and acts of violence, as the ſame *Joſephus* giveth examples, *Antiq. l.*12. *c.*3. & *l.*18. *c.*3. & *l.*20. *c.*5. &c.

The *Jews* in their writings do commonly call the *Samaritans* כותיים *Cutheans:* from *Cutha* a Country and River of *Perſia*, 2 *King.*17.24. *Joſeph. Ant. l.*11. *c.*4. & *l.*9. *c.*14. but ſince Chriſtianity came into glory, their hatred to *Chriſtians* being equal to what it was towards the *Samaritans*, they ſo commonly call *Chriſtians* by the ſame name, that it is hard in many places to judge when they ſpeak of *Samaritans* and when of *Chriſtians. Three things* (ſaith the *Talmud*) *make a man tranſgreſs againſt the mind of himſelf and againſt the mind of his Creator, and thoſe are an evil ſpirit, the Cutheans, and the rules of poverty. Erubhin cap.*4. And again, *They ſay not Amen after a Cuthean that giveth thanks.* Beracoth. c.8. &c. From theſe *Samaritans Elias Levita* conceiveth that the wandering generation of *Gipſes* came. *Vid. Tiſhbi. in voce* כות.

Verſ. 10. *If thou knoweſt the gift of God.*

Τὴν δωρεὰν *The article prefixed* (ſaith *Beza*) *ſheweth that he ſpeaketh of ſome excellent gift, and that is of himſelf whom the Father offered now unto the woman.* And indeed the latter clauſe expoundeth the former unto this ſenſe, and ſheweth that by this gift of God, *Chriſt* is to be underſtood not only as given to the world, *Joh.*3.16. (for this the *Samaritan* woman knew well enough that the *Meſſias* was to come a Redeemer, verſ. 25.) but as now come and offering himſelf unto her: and this our Saviour calleth the *gift of God* in ſuch a ſenſe as he ſaith to his Diſciples, To you *it is given*, but to others it is *not given*, *Mar.* 13. 11. For though *Chriſt* were the *goodneſs of God* to all his people, as *Hoſ.*3.5. yet was it a peculiar gift of God to ſome particular ones to ſee and hear *Chriſt* work miracles, and preach for their converſion, as *Luke* 10. 23, 24.

&. Thou wouldeſt have asked of him, and he would have given thee living water.

The *Vulgar Latine* puts a *forſitan* to it, *Perhaps thou wouldeſt have asked:* leaving it as doubtful whether the woman would have begged grace from *Chriſt* if ſhe had known him for the *Meſſiah:* Whereas *Chriſt* knew well enough what ſhe would have done, and none that knoweth *Chriſt* can do leſs than beg this living water of him. Were it not that I obſerve the Author of the vulgar tranſlation to render the particle Αν by *forſitan* in other places, as Chap.5.46. & 8.19. I ſhould have thought that he put a *perhaps* upon it becauſe of the carnal apprehenſions that the Nations, both *Jews* and *Samaritans*, had about the coming and Kingdom of the *Meſſias*, but I ſhall not trouble my ſelf and the Reader about the ſearching of his thoughts. *Chriſt* knew the womans, and if ſhe had but known him (how ever it might be a pertinent inquiry how the generality of the Nation would have intertained *Chriſt* if they had known him, and what they would have asked of him, becauſe of their earthly thoughts of his Kingdom, and becauſe of their high thoughts of their own legal performances) he himſelf ſaw, that ſhe would have asked grace from him. *I ask of thee, if thou kneweſt thou wouldeſt ask of me:* as *John* the Baptiſt that knew him came on in ſuch a kind of tenor, *I have need to be baptized of thee, and comeſt thou to me? Thou wouldeſt have asked of him, and he would have given thee*, as *Mark* 7.7,8.

That by the *living water* here ſpoken of, is meant the Spirit of Grace, is apparent in verſ.14. and paſt denial, and therefore I cannot think that *Cyprian* did give it as the very meaning of this place, but that he meant it alluſively only, when he ſaith that *this living water is baptiſm, and that becauſe baptiſm once received is not to be reiterated, therefore it is ſaid, that whoſoever drinketh of this water ſhall never thirſt.* Lib.1. Epiſt.3.

The Spirit in Scripture is compared to fire and water, two the greateſt purifiers, and refreſhers: for water purifieth from filth, fire from droſs, water refreſheth againſt heat, fire againſt cold, and how the work of the ſpirit of Grace is ſutable to theſe, needeth not to ſpend time to demonſtrate.

Verſ.

Verſ. 14. *But whoſoever ſhall drink of this water that I ſhall give him ſhall never thirſt.*

It is made a great ſcruple by Expoſitors and that deſervedly, how he that hath received grace may be ſaid never to thirſt for it more: Since the more grace, the more deſire of grace ſtill: and various anſwers are given to the doubt, which I ſhall omit: To me it ſeemeth needful, that by *thirſting* here is not to be underſtood barely deſirouſneſs of drink, but fainting and failing for thirſt: and ſo the word צחא which is uſed by the *Syriack* here for *thirſting*, is uſed by the *Chaldee Paraphraſt*, *Lam.* 2. 19. for *fainting*: for whereas the *Hebrew* text hath it, *lift up thy hands toward him for the life of thy young children*, העטופים ברעב *that faint for hunger*, the *Chaldee* hath rendred it דצחין בכפנא *that thirſt for hunger*: And ſo *Eſay* 48.21. *They thirſted not when he led them through the deſerts* (which the *Chaldee* rendreth, *He ſuffered them not to thirſt*) is ſo to be underſtood, of not periſhing for thirſt: or not languiſhing for it: for that they thirſted in the wilderneſs and cried out for water, it is related more than once.

In the verſe before, our Saviour ſaid, *He that drinketh of this water*, Διψήσει πάλιν *may thirſt again*: but in this verſe he uſeth not the word πάλιν *Again*, (for he that is watered with grace doth thirſt for the ſame water of grace again and again) but he ſaith whoſoever ſhall drink of this water which I ſhall give him, οὐ μὴ διψήσει εἰς αἰῶνα, *he ſhall never ſo thirſt*, as to fail or periſh by it, but this water ſhall preſerve him to eternal life. Compare *Eſay* 41.17.

Verſ. 15. *The woman ſaith, Sir give me of this water, &c.*

The woman doth now fall from queſtioning, as *verſ.* 11, 12. to plain mocking and deriſion, for this can be conſtrued no other in her; I know theſe words of hers, are taken by divers to intimate her inclining to, and imbracing this doctrine of *Chriſt* though ſhe knew not well how to underſtand it: and they ſhew, ſay ſome, *Simplicitatem credendi, her ſimplicity or ſincerity of believing, who ſo ſoon doubted not to ask for this ſo excellent water.* But be it conſidered, 1. That as yet ſhe took Chriſt but for an ordinary man, until he hath told her of her ſecret villanies, and then ſhe takes him for a Prophet, *verſ.* 19. And 2. that taking him for an ordinary man, ſhe talks with him as a *Samaritan* huſwife would do with a common *Jew*, between whom there was ſo deadly a ſcorn and fewd. 3. The thing that *Chriſt* ſpake of, of giving water, after which the party that had it ſhould never thirſt, were things ſo ſtrange, and would ſeem ſo ridiculous to any *Samaritan*, nay to any fleſh and blood that knew no more of him than as yet ſhe did, (thoſe words proceeding from ſo mean a man as he ſeemed to be) that her words in reply thereunto, *Sir give me of this water, &c.* can be no other but a jeer and ſcorn of what he had ſpoken. And her calling him κύριε or *Sir*, doth no whit take off this conſtruction, ſince that was but a word of ordinary compellation: or if ſhe uſed it in a higher ſenſe, ſhe uſed it but in the higher ſcorn.

Verſ. 17. *I have no husband.*

The reaſon why Chriſt bids her call her husband, may be ſuppoſed to be, partly that he might check and ſtop her jeering, by minding her of her own faults, and chiefly that he might ſhew her that he was another kind of perſon, then ſhe judged of him, by telling her of ſuch things as ſhe knew he could not tell her but divinely.

Now her denial that ſhe had any huſband, is aſcribed by ſome to her modeſty, to conceal her adultery: by others to this, becauſe ſhe knew not what *Chriſt* would do with her huſband: but till it can be ſhewed, why a *Samaritan* quean ſhould talk with any reverence or civility, with an ordinary *Jew* (for ſhe took *Chriſt* for no other as yet) eſpecially when he ſpake to her of ſuch unlikely things as he did, it is the moſt proper and undiſputable interpretation of her words, *I have no husband*, to take them for a ſcoffing and regardleſs anſwer to a queſtion and to a perſon that ſhe was careleſs whether ſhe gave any any anſwer to or no.

Verſ. 18. *He whom thou now haſt is not thine husband.*

It ſeemeth by the numerouſneſs of her former husbands, and by the ſame expreſſion uſed concerning them and this (thou *haſt had* five and this that *thou haſt*) that ſhe was a divorced woman, and now lived in an adulterous marriage: and it may be, married to him, who had adulterated her in her former husbands days: But be it either thus, or that ſhe lived in adultery out of wedlock, her conſcience is convinced of the truth of the thing that *Chriſt* ſpeaketh, and withal ſhe findeth that he had told her that which a meer ſtranger

ſtranger could not tell her but by the ſpirit of Prophecy, and therefore ſhe owns him for a Prophet.

Verſ. 20. *Our Fathers worſhipped in this Mount.*

Conceiving him to be a Prophet, ſhe ſodainly deſireth to hear what he will determine upon that great diſpute, that was between the *Jews* and the *Samaritans* continually, namely *whether was the truer and righter place of worſhip, Jeruſalem or Mount Gerizim.*

She called *Jacob, Our Father Jacob*, ver. 12. for ſo the *Samaritans* would be a kin to the *Jews* when they thought good; but the Fathers ſhe ſpeaks of here, were as far from the Religion and Worſhip that *Jacob* uſed, as *Jacob* was from the Religion of *Hamor* and *Sichem*. *Joſephus* tells one ſtory, that gives this woman but little cauſe to boaſt of her Fathers worſhipping in that Mount, and that is this, That when *Antiochus Epiphanes* did ſo heavily oppreſs the *Jews* and perſecute their Religion, theſe *Samaritans* thinking that their Religion alſo looked ſomewhat like that of the *Jews*, and that *Antiochus* might happily ſuſpect that they and the *Jews*, and both their Religions were ſomething a kin, and ſo they ſuffer as well as the other: they fairly ſend to *Antiochus*, and betime diſclaim any ſuch kindred: And whereas indeed they could not deny, but they had a Temple, they beſought him that it might be dedicated to the *Grecian Jupiter* and called by his name, and ſo by the Kings command it was, *Antiq. lib.* 12. *cap.* 7. Here was worſhipping in that Mount with a witneſs and much to be bragd of: but ſee the impudence of Hereticks, when ſuch a Temple ſhall compare with the Temple at *Jeruſalem.*

Abraham Zacuth ſaith, *This Temple of Gerizim was deſtroyed by Jochanan the ſon of Simeon the ſon of Mattathias, and the Hereticks ſlain. Juchaſ. fol.* 14.

Verſ. 21. *Woman believe me, The Hour cometh, &c.*

As ſhe owned him for a Prophet, ſo he challengeth to be believed of her as a Prophet, and as a Prophet he foretels her of what was now ready to come to paſs: namely, that Ceremonious Worſhip ſhould ceaſe, and be no more confined to particular place or Nation. That there ſhould be *no Sacrifice* at *Jeruſalem, no Image* at *Samaria, no Ephod* at *Jeruſalem, no Teraphim* at *Samaria*, as *Hoſ.* 3. 4. but that thoſe places and that manner of worſhip ſhould fail and be aboliſhed. And ſo he anſwers her queſtion in the firſt place, to this purpoſe that it was needleſs for her or any other to trouble themſelves about that diſpute whether *Jeruſalem* or *Gerizim* were the more eminent place of Worſhip, for the time was juſt now in coming, when neither the one, nor the other ſhould be the place of worſhip at all. And then he determins the queſtion indeed, that *Jeruſalem* had ever been and was at that preſent the right place of worſhip, but *Gerizim* a Temple of error and uſurpation: and he proves his determination by this reaſon, *We know what we worſhip, &c.*

Verſ. 23. *The true worſhippers ſhall worſhip the Father in ſpirit and truth.*

In the term, *The true worſhippers*, he looketh at the womans queſtion, and the two Nations controverſie. They tugged for it, and ſhe inquires about it, whether of the people had the true worſhip amongſt them: why, ſaith *Chriſt*, ere long there ſhall be no worſhip at all either among the one or the other: And the time is now come that he that will be taken for a true worſhipper, muſt neither worſhip as the *Jews* do, ceremoneouſly, but *in ſpirit*, nor as the *Samaritans* do, erroneouſly, but *in truth.* Thus may we very well divide the two words *Spirit and truth*, to ſerve theſe two purpoſes, as thus to anſwer about the worſhip of either Nation: the one whereof worſhipped God altogether in external Rites and Ceremonies, and the other worſhipped they knew not what and they knew not how. But generally the word *Spirit and truth*, are taken by Expoſitors to ſignifie but one and the ſame thing, and ſtand in oppoſition only to the carnal Rites and ſhadowy types in which their whole Worſhip in a manner did conſiſt.

His uſing of the term *Father* for God, is not ſo much in reference to the other perſons in the Trinity, or becauſe the woman was acquainted with that myſtery, but becauſe the *Jews*, and it is like the *Samaritans* alſo uſed the word very commonly in their prayers and ſpeeches, as, *Our Father which art in Heaven do to us as thou haſt promiſed by the Prophet.* And, *Let the prayers and requeſts of all the Houſe of Iſrael be accepted before their Father which is in Heaven, &c. Maym. in Tephilloth.*

Verſ. 24. *God is a Spirit, and they that worſhip him, &c.*

Here ariſeth a queſtion upon the very firſt reading of the verſe, (the words *Spirit* and *truth* being interpreted, as is mentioned immediately before) and that is, why did

did God ſo punctually ordain, and ſo long continue a Typical and Ceremonious Worſhip, if thoſe that worſhip him muſt worſhip in ſpirit and truth? Anſwer, That very worſhip was for this end and purpoſe, that men ſhould learn to worſhip God in ſpirit and truth. For all theſe rites and types were but doctrines of the way of Salvation through Chriſt till Chriſt came: and the very uſe of them was to this end, that out of them men ſhould ſpel this ſpiritual and true worſhip, namely to worſhip God in Chriſt, and to look after his benefits for their ſalvation which thoſe rites doctrinally held unto them: and which leſſon the true worſhippers or believers did attain unto.

Verſ. 25. *I know that Meſſiah cometh, &c. he will teach us all things.*

The *Samaritans* had learned from the *Jews* to expect Meſſias; and how the *Jews* expected this to be the time of his coming, we have ſhewed before, and it may be the woman ſpeaketh this as meaning, that ſhe looked for *Meſſias* to come ſhortly, which occaſioned *Chriſts* anſwer, *I am he*, as taking at her words in that ſenſe, Thou ſayeſt *Meſſias* will come ſhortly and reſolve all things, I tell thee *Meſſias* is come already, and I am he. Now her referring the reſolution of this doubt to *Meſſias* his coming, it ſheweth ſhe did not throughly digeſt and entertain *Chriſts* anſwer to her queſtion, although ſhe took upon her to acknowledge him for a Prophet. She had no mind the thing ſhould be ſo as he had reſolved, and therefore ſhe had no mind to believe it. How Chriſt was expected as the great teacher, we ſhall obſerve afterward.

Verſ. 29. *A man which hath told me all things that ever I did.*

The Diſciples having now bought all things that they would have for dinner, (for it was now dinner time,) return to the well to their Maſter, and upon their return, Chriſts diſcourſe and the womans is broken off, and ſhe ſlips a way into the City, and bids *come ſee a man that hath told me all things that ever I did:* But Chriſt did not ſo, for he told her only of one particular or two, about her husbands: but beſides that the word *All* in Scripture is not always ſtretched to the utmoſt extent of its ſignification, he had told her ſo much that ſhe concludes that he that could tell her that, could have told her alſo all things elſe: ſuch expreſſions as theſe in earneſt and pathetical narrations are not ſtrange.

Verſ. 35. *Say ye not there are yet four months, &c.*

The coherence and connexion of this verſe with thoſe before, which is the firſt thing to be looked after in it, lyeth thus: The Diſciples had been in the City and bought ſome meat, and when they had ſet it ready they invite him to dine: He anſwers, No; he hath other meat to feed upon than they are aware of, and that was to do the will of him that ſent him, and to finiſh his work: And what work was that? Why, the very work that he had been juſt now about, preaching the Goſpel and converting a ſoul, and which work he knew was increaſing upon him by the coming of the *Samaritans* to hear him, whom either he now ſaw coming in flocks towards him, or knew they would come: In theſe words therefore he anſwers his Diſciples to this purpoſe: You would have me to eat, but I have ſomewhat elſe to do which is meat to me, which is to finiſh my Fathers work in preaching the Goſpel: for look you yonder: whereas ye ſay it is four months to harveſt, ſee what a Goſpel harveſt is coming yonder, what a multitude of people is yonder coming to hear me, ready for the harveſt: therefore it is not a time to talk of eating of meat that periſheth, but to fall to this harveſt work, which is my meat in doing the will of him that ſent me.

The harveſt of the *Jews* began at the Paſover: for on the ſecond day of the Paſover the Law injoyned them to bring a ſheaf of the firſt fruits of their harveſt and wave it before the Lord: and from that day they counted ſeven weeks to *Pentecoſt:* See *Levit.* 23.10.15. Four months therefore before the Paſover (which was the fourteenth day of the firſt month) falls to be towards the latter end of our *November*, or thereabout; as is eaſily caſt by any. This therefore helps to ſet the clock of the time reaſonable well, both for the reckoning of what times are paſt, and for the better fixing of the next Paſsover that is to come. As, 1. It ſhews about what time *Johns* impriſonment befel, and how long he preached: namely, from Paſover was twelvemonth to this *November*, a year and a half and a month and ſome days above: for it is like that *Chriſt* ſtayed not long in *Judea* after *Johns* impriſoning. 2. It ſhews that *Chriſt* had ſpent ſome eight months in *Judea* from the Paſover hitherto and had in this time converted abundance of people to his doctrine. 3. It will help to clear that *the feaſt of the Jews* ſpoken of in the next Chapter, is the next Paſover that was to come, as we ſhall obſerve when we come there.

In

In the former part of the words, *Say ye not, There are four months and then cometh harveſt?* He ſpeaketh literally of their harveſt of corn: but in the latter *the fields are already white to harveſt*, he ſpeaketh parabolically or ſpiritually, of the multitudes of people both among *Jews* and *Gentiles*, that were ready to be reaped and gathered by the Goſpel: And when he ſaith, *lift up your eyes and look on the fields*, he ſeemeth to point them to the multitude of *Samaritans* that were now in ſight coming toward him. That paſſage in the Prophet *Hoſea* Chap. 2. 20, 21, 22, 23. ſpeaketh to ſuch another divine and ſpiritual ſenſe and purpoſe. *I will hear the heavens, and they ſhall hear the earth, And the earth ſhall hear the corn and the wine and the oil, and they ſhall hear Jezreel* (the Lords ſeedneſs) *And I will ſow her to me in the earth, &c.* And the like in *Amos* 9. 13, 14. *Behold the days come, ſaith the Lord, that the plowman ſhall overtake the reaper, &c.*

Verſ. 36. *And he that reapeth, &c.*

The Prophets and the holy Teachers under the Old Teſtament ſowed the Word and Doctrine of Salvation which ripened to the harveſt of the Goſpel. Not but that they like good labourers reaped the fruits of their labours in gathering a harveſt of ſouls in their ſeveral generations by the power of their Miniſtery, but in this paſſage our Saviour aimeth not only at the Diſciples converting of ſouls as they had done, but alſo at ſome tranſcendency of theirs in this miniſtration above thoſe that had gone before them, which may be obſerved in theſe particulars of advantage.

1. The Prophets and the teachers of the way of Salvation under the Law, may be conſidered in a twofold relation: either in reference to the great pains they took in their miniſtery and the fruit they had of it in converſion of ſouls, or in reference to the doctrine of Salvation which they left behind them, planted in the Nation by their pains and miniſtery, to ſucceeding generations. To this latter it is that our Saviour referreth when he ſaith, that they were to enter into other mens labours: meaning that whereas the clearneſs of the doctrine of Salvation had been growing in the Nation, from time to time, by the pains and ſowing of the holy Prophets in their ſeveral ages, they now came to preach upon this advantage, that they had all theſe holy mens foundations to build upon, and to top up the clearneſs of that doctrine which they had been building up through all the time of the Old Teſtament. Nay we may alſo take *John* Baptiſt and Chriſt himſelf in the number of theſe ſeedſmen, that ſowed the ſeed of that doctrine in more plentifulneſs and clearneſs than all had done before, and even into their labours muſt the Diſciples in their miniſtery enter, having ſo great a preparation made, and ſo great a foundation laid as they two had made, for them to enter upon and to begin their work.

2. The Prophets and Teachers under the Law had raiſed the thoughts of the people to an expectation of *Meſſias* his coming about this very time, as hath been obſerved before, and ſo had even ripened them to the full, for the miniſtery of the Apoſtles, when they ſhould come to teach that Chriſt was come, and that he had done and ſuffered whatſoever was written of him: And this very thing among others was a ſingular and eminent whiteneſs of this field of the Jewiſh Nation to harveſt, that they looked every day when the *Meſſias* ſhould appear: And obſerve how ſoon the womans words take in *Samaria, Is not this the Chriſt*, ſo as not only the *Samaritans* flock out to him, but that upon her very words they believe and upon a little converſe they confeſs, *We know that this is indeed the Chriſt the Saviour of the world*, verſ. 42. And this, becauſe their expectation was full ripe, of the *Meſſias* his preſent coming.

3. Now as for the ripeneſs of the *Gentiles* field, for the Goſpel harveſt, it conſiſted not ſo much in any ſuch doctrine of Salvation as had been ſowed among them, or in ſuch expectation of Chriſts coming (though the *Jews* now diſperſed through all the world, might have a little acquainted them with ſuch matters more than had been publiſhed among them in ancient times) as it did in the ripening of the love of the Lord, and his turning towards the Nations in mercy whom he had for ſo many years caſt off and deſpiſed. And according to the ripening of that love the Lord had diſpoſed certain providences which did ſomewhat help toward the ripening of the world unto ſuch a purpoſe: as in that the Scriptures were now turned into the Greek Tongue and were among the Heathens, that the Greek Tongue in which the New Teſtament was to be written, was now the moſt commonly ſpoken language of all other, and that the *Jews* of thoſe Tribes that had retained the true Religion when the ten fell away, namely *Judah* and *Benjamin*, were by ſeveral means planted and ſowed abroad in all Countries of the world, and with them the Scriptures.

Our Saviour therefore upon the *Samaritans* coming out unanimouſly to him through the womans relation concerning him, (to whom he had imparted that he was the *Meſſias* for that very purpoſe) taketh occaſion to diſcourſe of the ripeneſs of the world for the harveſt of the Goſpel, and animateth his Diſciples to that work by ſeveral arguments: as

1. That

1. That they ſhall receive the reward and fruit of their labours to eternal life.

2. That they ſhall not only receive this fruit, but they ſhall receive it in the eminenteſt and higheſt degree, with the glorious Patriarchs and Prophets who had laboured in ſowing, they and theſe reapers ſhould rejoice together.

3. That they ſhould enter into other mens labours, (as *Iſrael* did at their entrance into the land of *Canaan*; into houſes they builded not, and vineyards they planted not, &c.) And that that common Proverb, which proveth to be true upon various occurrences, *one ſoweth and another reapeth*, ſhould prove true to them to their much comfort and incouragement.

Verſ. 42. *This is indeed Chriſt the Saviour of the world.*

Here is a confeſſion of Faith higher by ſome degree than the *Jews* common Creed and belief concerning the *Meſſias*: for they held him only for a Saviour of the Jewiſh Nation and Redeemer of that people, but the reſt of the world they looked not after nor regarded: and ſo we may ſee how deeply and cordially theſe *Samaritans* had drunk in and digeſted the water of life which Chriſt had adminiſtred unto them, as to acknowledge him in his proper character: The *Samaritans* indeed were Gentiles, however they pretented to *Joſeph* for their Father, and ſo in their converſion may we look upon a beginning of the converſion of the Gentiles, the great field now white for the Goſpel Harveſt. In leſs than four years after this, this field of *Samaria* where Chriſt had now ſowed ſuch ſeed, the Enemy came and ſowed damnable tears by *Simon Magus*, *Acts* 8. It may be that wretch took opportunity for the venting and ſpeeding of his deluſions there, by this, that he found the City acknowledging it for certain that the *Meſſias* had been among them: and he creeps in among them either as one of his Diſciples, or elſe in affront and contradiction to *Chriſt*, as doing wonders by magick whereas we read not that *Chriſt* had done any miracles there at all.

Verſ. 44. *For Jeſus himſelf teſtified, that a Prophet had no honour in his own Country.*

The reaſon alledged ſeemeth ſomewhat ſtrange at the firſt ſight: that *Jeſus* ſhould go into *Galilee* his own Country, becauſe he teſtified that a Prophet hath no honour in his own Country. But by the words *his own Country* is not to be underſtood *Galilee* at large, but his own Town *Nazareth* the place of his education. And ſo is the expreſſion plainly conſtrued, *Luke* 4. 23. His voiage therefore was into the other parts of *Galilee*, avoiding his own home *Nazareth*, becauſe he foreſaw his entertainment would not be honourable and reſpective there.

Verſ. 45. *For they alſo went unto the Feaſt.*

It was very pertinent for the Evangeliſt, to clear this matter about the *Galileans* going up to *Jeruſalem* to the Feſtivals, becauſe there were ſeveral things that might give occaſion to think that they came not there. As 1. the diſtance of place, *Galilee* being ſo far from *Jeruſalem*, as that the whole Kingdom of *Samaria* lay between, and the way exceeding full of danger. 2. Their difference in manners and cuſtoms in exceeding many things from the *Jews* that dwelt in *Judea*: of which the Talmudiſts do give exceeding many inſtances. *In Judea they did work on the Paſsover Eve: in Galilee they did not. Peſachin per.* 4. *In Judea they ſearched the Bridegroom and the Bride three days before their bedding: in Galilee they did not. In Judea they had two Paranimphi, one of the Bridegrooms friends, and another of the Brides: in Galilee they had not ſo. In Judea the Paranymphi lay in the ſame room where the Bridegroom and Bride lay, in Galilee they did not, &c. Toſaphta ad Cetuboth per*, 1. 3. Their difference in language, as *Mark* 26. 73. *Mark* 14. 70. For בני יהודה דיוקי לשנא נלוד לא דיוקי לשנא *The Jews of Judea ſpake a pure language in compariſon of the Jews of Galilee. Erubbin. fol.* 53.

Verſ. 46. *A certain Nobleman.*

It is hard in the variety of conſtructions, that are given of the Greek word Βασιλικὸς to tell what this man was that was ſo titled: The *Vulgar Latin* and *Eraſmus* render it *Regulus*, *A little King*: The Syriack עבר מלכא *one of the Kings ſervants*: Which the *Arabick* followed in ſenſe, though not in words. The *Italian* hath it *Signore*, *A great man* or of high degree: *Nonnus*, Βασιλήιος ἀνὴρ, *A man of the Kings*, which is the very epithet that is uſed by the *Arabick*, and ſeveral other expoſitions of it are given, upon which I ſhall not inſiſt.

Now for conjecturing who this man was, and what this title of his doth import I ſhall firſt produce a paſſage out of *Juchaſin fol.* 19. which is to this purpoſe, *Hillel and Shammai, received the traditional Law from Shamajah and Abtalion. At firſt it was Hillel and Menahem, but Menahem went away to the ſervice of the King (Herod) with fourſcore men gallantly cloathed, as it is related in Hagigah. And this matter is alſo mentioned by Joſephus ben Gorion: that Menahem was a great wiſe man like a Prophet, that he uttered divers predictions and foretold Herod (the great) when he was young that he ſhould be King. Herod alſo did much honour old Hillel, for theſe men were well contented that he was King. Old Shammai alſo foretold that Herod ſhould reign: for when Herod came upon a trial before the Sanhedrin for killing of a man, they reſpected his perſon: but Shammai told that he ſhould be King and ſhould kill them. Yet Herod layd no hands on Hillel, Shammai, Menahem, and their aſſociates, but honoured them.*

Theſe men that ſided with *Herod*, and helped to promote and ſupport his reign, though he were a ſtranger and of the ſeed of *Edom*, I conceive to be thoſe that are called *Herodians* in the Goſpel, *Mark* 3. 6. *Matth.* 22. 16. men of as eminent learning and authority as any other in the Nation, but ſwayed by Courtſhip to this complyance. Of this number I cannot but conceive this man to have been, that we have in hand, who came to *Chriſt* for the healing of his Son: Βασιλικὸς, *A Royaliſt*, who had ſided and been aſſiſtant to old *Herod*, the Father of him which was now *Tetrarch*, and one of that *Herodian* faction, to raiſe and eſtabliſh him in the Kingdom; and now a follower of the ſon as he had been of the Father. Shall I gueſs at his name? I ſhould as ſoon think this man was *Chuza*, *Herods* Steward, mentioned in *Luke* 8. 3. as any other that can be named: unleſs it be *Manaen* or *Manahem*, *Acts* 13. 1. who was educated together with *Herod the Tetrarch*, being it may be, the ſon of that *Menahem* ſpoken of before, who firſt departed to *Herods* party. But be the man by name whoſoever he will, we cannot but obſerve this thing about the occurrence that doth here concern him, That though *Herod* himſelf, had been ſo harſh and cruel to *John the Baptiſt* but a little before as to put him in priſon; yet had the Lord ſo provided for the cheriſhing of the Goſpel in *Chriſts* miniſtery, that even of *Herods* houſhold and retinue, there are ſome that hearken and are converted to it: The miniſtery of *John* did not want its fruits even in the Court: Though *Herod* himſelf was a dallying auditor, and did ſome things after the preaching of *John*, which he thought might ingratiate him the more with the people, but left other things undone, yet were there belonging to his Court that did really and ſincerely receive the Goſpel and obey it.

SECTION XVII.

St. LUKE CHAP. IV. Verſ. 14.

AND Jeſus returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee, and there went out a fame of him, through all the region round about.

St. MATTH. CHAP. IV. Verſ. 12.

NOW when Jeſus had heard that John was caſt into priſon he departed into Galilee.

St. MARKE CHAP. I. Verſ. 14.

NOW after that John was put into priſon, Jeſus came into Galilee preaching the Goſpel of the Kingdom of God.

15. *And he taught in their Synagogues being* [a] *glorified of all.*

16. *And he came to Nazereth where he had been brought up, and as his cuſtom was, he went into the Synagogue* [b] *on the Sabbath day, and ſtood up for to read.*

17. *And there was delivered unto him the the Book of the Prophet Eſaias, and when he had* [c] *opened the Book, he found the place where it was written.*

[a] *Syr.* משתבח *Being praiſed of all.*

[b] Ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων. *Eraſ. in die Sabbatorum*; We find ſometimes σάββατον in the ſingular number, as *John* 5. 9, 10. & 7. 22, 23. *Mark* 24. 20. *Mark* 16. 1. *Luke* 23. 56. And in the Septuagint, *Nehem.* 9. 14. & 13. 15. 17. *Pſal.* 92. *in titulo Eſay* 17. & 66. 23. And ſometimes σάββατα in the plural: and this number is moſt conſtantly uſed in the Law, *Exod.* 16. 23, 26. & 20. 8, 10. & 31. 13, 15, 16. & 35. 2, 3. *Lev.* 23. 3, 38. & 26. 2. *Numb.* 15. 32, 33. & 28 9. *Deut.* 5. 14. And the Dative caſe plural is ſometime σαββάτοις, as 2 *Chron.* 8. 13. from the *Hebr.* שבת and the *Greek* σάββατον: and ſometime σάββασι, as *Mar.* 12. 1, 5. 10, 11. *Mar.* 1. 21. from the *Chaldee* שבא and from the *Greek* σάββα σάββατος.

[c] *Gr.* Ἀναπτύξας, that is, when he had unfolded the book: for their books in thoſe times

times were not bound as ours are now, to open and turn over leaves, but they were rould up as a Roul of paper. And hence were their books called גלין and מגלה *Ezekiel* 2. 9. *Eſay* 8. 1.

St. *LUKE*, Chap. IV.

18. [d] *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, becauſe he hath anointed me to preach the Goſpel to the Poor, he hath ſent me to heal the broken hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of ſight to the blind, to ſet at liberty them that are bruiſed.*

19. *To preach the acceptable year of the Lord.*

20. *And he cloſed the book and gave it again to the Miniſter, and ſate down: and the eyes of all them that were in the Synagouge were faſtened on him.*

21. *And he began to ſay unto them, This day is the Scripture fulfilled in your ears.*

22. *And all bare him witneſs, and wondred at the gracious words that proceeded out of his mouth, and they ſaid, Is not this Joſephs ſon?*

23. *And he ſaid unto them; Ye will ſurely ſay to me this Proverb,* [e] *Phyſitian heal thy ſelf, whatſoever we have heard done in Capernaum, do here alſo in thine own Country.*

24. *And he ſaid, Verily I ſaid unto you, No Prophet is accepted in his own Country.*

25. *But I tell you of a truth, Many widows were in Iſrael in the days of Elias, when the Heaven was ſhut up three years and ſix months, when great famine was throughout all the land.*

26. *But unto none of them was Elias ſent ſave only unto Sarepta a city of Sidon, unto a woman that was a widdow.*

27. *And many lepers were in Iſrael in the time of Elizeus the Prophet: and none of them was cleanſed ſave Naaman the Syrian.*

28. *And all they in the Synagogue when they heard theſe things were filled with wrath.*

29. *And roſe up, and thruſt him out of the City, and led him unto the brow of the hill (wheron their City was built) that they might caſt him down headlong.*

30. *But he paſſing through the midſt of them went his way.*

[d] The Evangeliſt in this quotation from *Eſay*, doth follow the tranſlation of the *Septuagint verbatim*, but only in that clauſe, *To ſet at liberty them that are bruiſed.*

The differences betwixt the *Greek* and the *Hebrew* text are not great; they are only theſe. 1. In the *Hebrew* it is *The Spirit of* אדוני יהוה *The Lord Jehovah* is upon me: which the *Greek* hath uttered by the ſingle word κύριος, becauſe it commonly uſeth that word to tranſlate both *Adonai* and *Jehovah* by. 2. Whereas the *Hebrew* repeateth the word *Jehovah* again in the next clauſe, *becauſe the Lord hath anointed me*: the *Greek* hath omitted it, the ſenſe being clear enough, though it do leave it out. 3. The *Hebr.* חבש which ſignifieth *to bind up*, it hath rendred to *Heal*, bringing the word up to its full ſenſe. 4. The *Hebrew* ענוים *the humble*, it hath rendred πτωχοὺς *the poor*: for it meaneth *The poor in Spirit*, which is the ſame with *Humble*.

[e] *Phyſician heal thy ſelf*, This Proverb the *Jews* commonly utter thus אסיא אסי *Phyciſian heal thine own lameneſs*: *Tanchumah* hath it in a legendary ſtory of a Dialogue betwixt *Adam* and *Lamechs* wives. They fell out with their Huſband, and would no more aſſociate with him, yet they would go to *Adam* to ask his counſel.

Adam adviſeth them to hearken to their Huſband. They anſwer him with this Proverb. אסאי אסי יית חגרחך *Phyſitian heal thine own lameneſs: Thou partedſt from thy mate an hundred and thirty years, and doſt thou teach us otherwiſe? Tanch. fol. 4. col. 2.*

Reaſon of the Order.

TO clear the ſubſequence of this Section to that preceding, needeth no more ado, but ſeriouſly to conſider the progreſs of the ſtory hither, and to obſerve the progreſs of it from hence a ſtep or two forward. For although *Luke* hath laid it ſo cloſe to the ſtory of the temptation, as if it did immediately follow, and as if it were the firſt journey that *Chriſt* took into *Galilee* after, yet is the parallel ſtory in *Matth.* 4. 12. ſo plainly pointed out to have been after *Chriſt* heard that *John* was impriſoned, that it leaves no more doubting of the method and of the time of this ſtory. *Jeſus* indeed departed into *Galilee* preſently after his temptation in the wilderneſs, of which we have the ſtory *John* 1. 43. and there he turned water into wine at *Cana*, *Joh.* 2. 16. &c. and abideth a while at *Capernaum*, verſe 11. and from thence goeth to the Paſſover at *Hieruſalem*, verſ. 13, &c. and there and in *Judea* he ſtayeth till towards the latter end of our *November*, as was obſerved before; and all this while was *John* the Baptiſt preaching at liberty, *John* 3. 23. but then *Jeſus* heard of his impriſonment, and foreſaw his own danger if he ſhould continue in *Judea*, therefore he makes for *Galilee*, and goeth through *Samaria*, *John* 4. 1. &c. comes up to *Cana* in *Galilee*, and there healeth the Rulers Servant

vant at diſtance, verſ. 43, 46. and now begins to be famous by theſe miracles, and ſo begins to preach in their Synagogues. So that the beginning of this Section may be ſuppoſed as an *Epiphonema* to the ſtory foregoing, the firſt word being changed from *And* to *Thus*. *Thus Jeſus returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee*, and the like of *Matthew*, *Thus when Jeſus heard that John was committed to priſon, he returned to Galilee.*

Nor is it a ſtrange thing in Scripture to lay ſtories ſo cloſe together, as *Luke* hath done theſe two, when yet there was a long ſpace of time, and a large Catalogue of occurences came between, as in this Evangeliſt, *Acts* 9.25,26. compared with *Gal.* 1.17,18. *Mat.* 19. 1. compared with *John* 7. 10. to *John* 10. 40. and in other places.

And as the order of this Section is thus cleared and aſſerted, by the current of the ſtory hitherto, ſo will it be the more confirmed by the continuance of it henceforward, it being obſerved how *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke* fall in together at the next Section in one and the ſame ſtory, and ſo continue it as a three twiſted coard not eaſily broken, of which thing the Readers own eyes may be his Judge.

Harmony and Explanation.

Verſ. 14. *Jeſus returned in the power of the Spirit.*

IT had been at the leaſt fourteen months ſince the Holy Ghoſt came down upon *Chriſt* when he was baptized, and yet doth *Luke* purpoſely mention the power of the Spirit upon him after ſo long a ſpace. 1. To ſhew he had the Spirit in a meaſure above other men, for they were not always acted by the Spirit after his firſt coming on them, 2 *Kings* 4. 27. but *Chriſt* was always. 2. The Evangeliſt in the ſtory that he had mentioned next before, had ſhewed that Chriſt was led by the power of the Spirit into the wilderneſs, and by it had overcome the temptations of *Satan*, and now would he ſhew that he cometh in the ſame power to deal with men, and to overcome their affections. But 3. and chiefly *Luke* uſeth this expreſſion, becauſe he is now to relate how Chriſt began to ſhew himſelf powerful in his miracles, ſo that the fame of him went all about the Country, and that his Miniſtery was glorified of all, and now it was ſeaſonable to mention, and to take notice of the Spirit of the Lord upon him, when he is more fully and intirely to fall upon the Miniſtery of the Goſpel.

Ver. 15. *And he taught in their Synagogues.*

We have here occaſion to look a little preſly after theſe two things. 1. The nature and conſtitution of their Synagogues, And 2. upon what ground and permiſſion Chriſt, who hitherto had lived as a private mechanick man, was ſuffered to preach in them. The former of theſe deſerveth our conſideration, becauſe of the frequent mention that we have of Synagogues all along the Goſpels, and other books of the New Teſtament: And the latter, becauſe of the queſtion ſo much afoot, of preaching without a publick call and ordination.

Sect. 1. *The Antiquity and divine inſtitution of Synagogues.*

Although the word *Synagogues*, be rarely found in the Old Teſtament, ſpelled ſyllabically with ſo many letters in our Engliſh Bibles, yet both reaſon and equivalent expreſſions uſed there, do more than probally perſwade us, that ſuch conventions and meeting places were no ſtrangers to *Iſrael* in thoſe ancient times.

For 1. It is ſaid expreſly according as our Engliſh utters it, *Pſal.* 74. 4. that the enemie had burnt all the *Synagogues of God* in the land. Which although the *Chaldee* render it of the Temple only, and *Rabbi Solomon* of *Shiloh* and the firſt and ſecond Temple only, yet both the plural number uſed, and the context it ſelf inforceth it, to be interpreted of more conventions than only in one place: And *Aquila* doth render it expreſly *Synagogues* as our Engliſh doth: And *Jonathan* the *Caldee Paraphraſt* of the Prophets (whoſoever was of the *Pſalms*) ſpeaketh the very ſenſe of that clauſe of the *Pſalm*, even as our Engliſh utters it, when he interprets that paſſage in *Eſay* 7.19. בכל הנחלים the *Aſſyrian* Bee ſhall come *upon all the Houſes of Praiſe.*

2. What can we make of theſe *High places* that are ſo often mentioned in Scripture in a commendable ſenſe: as 1 *Sam.* 9.19. & 10.5. 1 *Kings* 3.4. &c. other, than that they were Synagogues or places of publick worſhip for particular congregations? For howſoever *High places* do often bear ill in the Scripture, as places of Idolatry, and falſe worſhip, as 1 *Kings* 11. 7. & 12. 31. *Jer.* 7. 31. & 19. 5. &c. yet do we find alſo that ſome High places eſcape that brand, and are mentioned with an honourable memorial: And although thoſe alſo are frequently taxed for Sacrificing there, which ſervice ſhould only have

have been exerciſed at *Jeruſalem*, yet do we never find them taxed for mens worſhipping there. In 2 *King.* 12. 2. & 14. 4. & 15. 4. &c. it is ſaid, that *Joaſh*, *Amaziah and Uzziah did uprightly in the ſight of the Lord*, *But the high places were not taken away*, nor that they ſhould have been deſtroyed for being places of worſhip or of publick Aſſemblies, but the text expreſſeth ſtill what was their abuſe and what ſhould have been removed, namely, that the people ſhould not have ſacrificed and burnt incenſe there, which part of worſhip was only confined to *Jeruſalem*. מחרבן שילה עד בית המקדש הותרו הבמות: *From the deſtruction of Shiloh to the building of the Temple high places were lawful*, as it is the Jews general and common ſaying, but they underſtand it as generally, of lawfulneſs to ſacrifice: which when the people would not leave to uſe after the Temple was built, they are often taxed with it; but with no other part of worſhip in High places if it were not Idolatrous.

3. How was it poſſible that the Jews ſhould keep the Sabbath according to the injunction laid upon them of having every ſeventh day a holy meeting or convocation, *Lev.* 23. 3, 4. if they had not in all times their Synagogue meetings or particular Congregations, which the plural number uſed of *Aſſemblies* or *Congregations* doth more than ſeem to intimate in *Pſal.* 26. 12. & 68. 26.

4. Let us caſt how the Jews could poſſibly celebrate thoſe ſolemnities to which they were obliged, (beſides the three Feſtivals which required their appearance at *Jeruſalem*) if they had not Sygnagogues or meetings of particular Aſſemblies: when they were in the Wilderneſs, what could they do on the Sabbath day, when the Tabernacle Court would not hold the thouſand part of them, and when Family duties only would not reach the rule that was ſet before them? And when they were come into the land, when diſtance of place from *Jeruſalem* made going thither every Sabbath impoſſible, and when every Family were not able to read the Law, much leſs to expound it, nay when many and many Families were neither able to carry on a Sabbath days work, nor hire or get one that was learned and able to carry it on, what could they then do without Synagogues, but loſe the Law, Sabbath, Religion and the knowledge of God and themſelves, and all?

5, When Synagogues were now come into uſe and frequented, how was this uſe and frequency and frequenting of them firſt taken up? We read of them under the ſecond Temple, eſpecially in the Times of our Saviour and of his Apoſtles: when the people were now loſt in hypocryſie and traditions: And can we think that thoſe corrupt times outwent the purer and holyer times of *David*, *Joſhuah*, *Samuel*, &c. in finding out ſo abſolutely needful a means for maintaining of Knowledge and Religion as their Synagogue meetings were? Can we conceive that *Phariſees* ſhould ſet up theſe ſo uſeful conventions (how uſeful may be judged by Chriſts and his Apoſtles conſtant frequenting them, to omit all other evidences) and that the Elders and Prophets, and holy men under the Old Teſtament wanted them? Take but the *Chaldee Paraphraſts* opinion again upon this point, who upon thoſe words of *Deborah*, in *Judg.* 5. 9. *My heart is towards the Governours of Iſrael, that willingly offered themſelves, bleſs ye the Lord*, gloſſeth thus. *I am ſent to praiſe the Scribes of Iſrael, who when this affliction was, ceaſed not from inquiring after the Law, and now it is comely for them that they ſit in the Synagogues likely, and teach the people the words of the Law, and bleſs and praiſe the Lord.*

It cannot therefore be otherwiſe imagined (to ſpare more words upon this proof) but that, ſeeing the uſe of Synagogues was of ſo abſolute and inevitable neceſſity, for the maintaining of Religion, as that in a very ſhort time there could be no Religion without them, they were not only of ancient uſe among the *Iſralites* even from their firſt ſetling in *Canaan*, but that they had alſo ſo warrantable an original, as could not be leſs than Sacred: for if their founding were not appointed articulately by *Moſes* or ſome other Prophet, yet was their erecting written ſo plainly in a moſt religious neceſſity, that if they had not a divine Law in terms, they had a divine neceſſity indeed for their foundation.

Sect. II. *Of the Synagogues in thoſe latter times after the return out of captivity.*

However corruptions and vain fancies were crept into, and mingled with the worſhip and carriage in their Synagogues in the latter days of *Jeruſalem*, when ſin, folly, and traditions did abound (as what hath there been even of the holieſt uſe and inſtitution, which by the wretched folly or daring of men hath not been abuſed, either beſides or contrary to the proper end and uſe of it?) yet becauſe the New Teſtament doth ſpeak of the Synagogues as they then were better or worſe, and hath occaſion often to relate to their cuſtoms which were now traditional and mingled with humane inventions; It is agreable to the work that we have in purſuit, to give account and relate the ſtory of them accordingly out of their own antiquities and traditions. In which if we find

find that their fond and fooliſh inventions had ſpoiled the Synagogue ſervice, yet had it no more nullified the neceſſary being of Synagogues than their Traditions had done the Law.

We will firſt therefore look upon the places that were capable and fit to have a Synagogue builded and erected in them, as their traditions ordered, and thoſe were not every Town or Village that was in *Iſrael*, but only thoſe that were called עירות גדולות *Great Cities*. Now what one of theſe was is determined by the *Talmud* in theſe words: אי זו היא עיר גדולה כל שיש בה עשרה בטלנים פחות מכאן הריזה כפר *What is meant by a great City? Such a one as hath in it ten men of leiſure? Leſs than thus, it is a Village.* *Megillah per.* 1. And to this ſenſe is *Maymonides* to be underſtood, when he ſaith כל מקום שיש בו עשרה מישראל צריך להכין בה בית שיכנסו בו לתפלה *Every place where there are ten men of Iſrael, there it is requiſite to build an houſe, whither they may reſort to prayer at every time of prayer: and this place is called a Synagogue: And the men of the City are to urge one another to build a Synagogue, and to buy them a book of the Law, Prophets, & Hagiographa, Maymon. in Tephillah. per.* 11.

Not that every Town which had ten men or ten idle men in it was capable preſently of a Synagogue, but theſe ten men that they mean muſt be men of ſome faſhion and quality.

Their preciſeneſs for this number of ten aroſe from this, becauſe they held not that to be a lawful Congregation, nor pleaſing to God in which there was not ten perſons. *And they read not in the Law nor in the Prophets, in the Synagogue, nor lifted up their hands, &c. unleſs there were ten perſons preſent. Megillah. per.* 4. For they thought not that God was preſent there, if there were not ſo many men preſent.

The Divine Majeſty dwelleth not among leſs than ten: Nay, *R. Jonathan* ſaith, that *when the Holy bleſſed God cometh into the Synagogue and findeth not ten there, he is preſently angry, as it is ſaid, Wherefore came I and there was no man?*

ומנין לעדה שהוא עשרה But whence ground they this opinion that *a Congregation conſiſteth of ten*, and muſt not be leſs? This is the *Talmuds* queſtion in *Sanhedrin per.* 1. and they give there this anſwer.

שנא עד מתי לעדה הרעה הזאת יצאו יהושע וכלב *Becauſe it is ſaid, How long ſhall I bear with this evil Congregation* (עדה *Numb.* 14. 27.) *Take Joſhuah and Caleb out, and there remainded but ten:* namely, the reſt of the ſpies which cauſed the people to murmur, for of them only they underſtand theſe words to be ſpoken.

The words of our Saviour in *Matth.* 18. 17, 20. ſeem to have reference to this opinion; *Dic Eccleſiæ, Tell the* עדה *or Congregation*; and that is not ten or many, as they held, but *when two or three are gathered together in my name*, if no more may be had.

Now upon this traditional conſtruction of the word עדה or of a *Congregation*, that it muſt conſiſt at the leaſt of ten, they only erected Synagogues in thoſe places, where there were ten men, that were בטלנים or ſtill at leiſure, and uningagad from other imployments, to go to Church at every time of prayer to make up a Congregation: Poor labouring men, and men of great imployments in the world could not be at this leiſure always, and therefore thoſe men that muſt be continually the makers up of a Congregation at every pinch, muſt be גדולים בני חוריה as *Rambam* ſtiles them *ubi ſupra, per.* 12. *Men of rank and quality*; Not ſo much of rank and greatneſs in regard of outward poſſeſſions, wealth and honours, as in regard of Study in the Law and Religion, שאין לך לן חור ין אלא מי שעוסק בתלמוד תורה *For there is no Ben horin* or man of rank, *but he that is verſed in the ſtudy of the Law, Avoth. per.* 6.

Sect. III. *Of their Synagogue days, or time of their meeting there.*

Where a City or Town was ſtockt with ten ſuch ſufficient men there they built a Synagogue, and according to the number of ſuch men, and populouſneſs of the place, they increaſed the number of their Synagogues ſometimes to a very great multitude: The treatiſe *Beracoth* ſaith *there were twelve Synagogues in Tiberias: fol.* 8. And *Rabbi Solomon* ſpeaketh of four hundred and eighty Synagogues in *Jeruſalem*, on *Eſay.* 1.

Now their Synagogue days, or the times of their publick prayers there, were three every week (ſetting holy days aſide) namely, on the Sabbath, and on the ſecond day of the week, which anſwereth to our *Munday*, and on the fifth day, which is our *Thurſday*: Their meeting there on the Sabbath, and praying, and reading the Law was ordained by *Moſes. Maym. Tephil. per.* 12. *But on the ſecond and fifth day of the week was appointed by Ezra. Talm. in Bava bathra per.* 4. There the *Gemariſts* and *Gloſſaries* debate the matter why on theſe two days rather than on any other two of the week, and ſome ſay it was, becauſe they ſhould never be three days together without hearing of the Law. And in alluſion hereunto they apply that paſſage in *Exod.* 15. 22. *They went three days*

to

to the wilderneſs and found no water. Others ſay it was, becauſe *Moſes* went up on the fifth day of the week to receive the renewed Tables, and came down on the ſecond.

Theſe two days of the week were called ימי כניסה *The days of Aſſembling. Megill. per.* 1. *Becauſe on theſe days the Inhabitans of the Villages went into the great Towns where Synagogues were to hear the Law, Gloſſ. Miſhnaioth in octavo. ibid.*

The Judges uſed to ſit in Judgement on theſe two days of the week: *Chetuboth. per.*5. and theſe were the two days of the week on which they uſed to faſt, *Luke* 18. 12. *Gloſſ. in Bava bathr. ubi ſupr.*

There is an expreſſion in *Acts* 13. 22. The Gentiles deſired to have the ſame words ſpoken to them εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ σάββατον *on the Sabbath between:* which if it be not to be underſtood of one of theſe Synagogue days of the week, it would fairly plead for our Chriſtian Sabbath.

Their traditional Canons injoyned the frequenting of the publick aſſemblies in their Synagogues, and that upon the very clear grounds of Reaſon and Religion, *God refuſeth* (ſay they) *the prayers of a Congregation, yea though ſinners be amongſt them. Therefore it is neceſſary that a man joyn himſelf to the Congregation, and pray not alone at any time, when he may pray with the Congregation. And let a man ever go to morning and evening prayer in the Synagogue: And every one that hath a Synagogue in his City, and prayeth not in it, with the Congregation he is called* שכן רע *An evil neighbour. Maym. in Tephillah. per.* 8. *Beracoth. fol.* 61. *And it was forbidden that any one ſhould go by the Synagogue at the time of Prayer, unleſs he had ſome burden upon his back: or unleſs there were more Synagogues in the City, for then he might be thought to be going to his own Church: or that there were two doors in the Synagogue: for then he that ſaw him go by the one door might think he would come at in the other. But if had his Phylacteries upon his head he might go by, for thoſe bare witneſs at in that he was mindful of the Law. Id. ibid. per.* 6. This Phylacterial note of a Student, and learned man in the Law, I ſuppoſe was that, by which the rulers of the Synagogue of *Antioch* in *Piſidia*, were incited to make the motion to *Paul* and *Barnabas* to make a Sermon to the people. They were meer ſtrangers one to another, and I ſee not how they ſhould gueſs them to be men fit to teach, any way ſo well and readily, as by ſeeing their Phylacteries upon them, which the learned among the *Jews* only uſed to wear and the Apoſtles among the *Jews* wore them as well as others, for to the *Jews* they became *Jews* for the winning of them.

Sect. IV. *Of their Synagogue Officers.*

Their Synagogues themſelves are deſcribed by the Jewiſh writers, to conſiſt of two parts, the Chancel and the Church. The chancel they called היכל *The Temple*: and it ſtood weſtward as did the *Sanctum Sanctorum* in the Tabernacle and the Temple: and in this they ſet the Ark or Cheſt, (for every Synagogue had one) in which they laid up the book of the Law. In the body of the Church the Congregation met, and prayed and heard the Law, and the manner of their ſitting was thus. The Elders ſate neer the Chancel with their faces down the Church: and the people ſate one form behind another with their faces up the Church toward the Chancel and the Elders. Between the people and the Elders thus facing one another, there was a ſpace where there ſtood the Pulpit, where the Law was read and Sermons made unto the people. *Talm. in Megil. per.*4. *& Maym. ubi ſupr.*

Now *Rabbi Alphes* expounding what is meant by *the Elders of the Synagogue*, he ſaith, זקנים דהוינו חכמים *They were the wiſemen* or thoſe ſtudents of the Law that were among them: that is, thoſe ten men of Religion, rank and learning, of which we have ſpoken before, which were the prime members and conſtituents of the Congregation. Of theſe Elders there were ſome that had rule and office in the Synagogue, and ſome that had not. And this diſtinction the Apoſtle ſeemeth to allude unto, in that much diſputed text, 1 *Tim.* 5. 17. *The Elders that rule well, &c.* where *The Elders that ruled well*, are ſet not only in oppoſition to thoſe that ruled ill, but to thoſe that ruled not at all.

Thoſe that ruled or had Office in the Congregation were theſe two.

1. ראש הכנסת Ἀρχισυνάγωγος *The Ruler of the Synagogue: Luke* 8, 41, 49. He had the chief care of affairs there: that nothing ſhould be done undecent or diſorderly, as *Luke* 13. 14. He gave warning when the Reader ſhould begin to read. *Maym. ubi ante per.* 1. and when the people ſhould anſwer *Amen*, *Aruch. in* אמן and took care of things of the like nature, that conduced to the regulating of the Service and of the Synagogue.

2. שליח הצבור *Angelus Eccleſiæ, The Miniſter of the Congregation*, who labourd in the word and doctrine, being the conſtant Miniſter of the Synagogue, to pray, preach, keep the book of the Law, appoint the Readers of it, and to overſee that they read aright:

aright: And from hence he was called חזן ἐπίσκοπος or *Overſeer.* And ſo *Baal Aruch* doth clearly expound it, *The* חזן *Chazan*, ſaith he, *was* שליח הצבור *the Miniſter of the Congregation: and the word meaneth an Overſeer: for it behoved him to ſee how they read in the Law.* And the gloſs upon *Maymony* in the places aforecited doth plainly make the *Sheliahh hatzibbor*, or *Angelus Eccleſiæ*, and the *Chazan* or *Epiſcopus* to be all one: And ſo we may ſee from whence theſe titles and epithets in the New Teſtament are taken, namely from the common platform and conſtitution of the Synagogues, where *Angelus Eccleſiæ*, and *Epiſcopus* were terms of ſo ordinary uſe and knowledge: and we may obſerve from whence the Apoſtle taketh his expreſſions when he ſpeaketh of ſome Elders ruling and labouring in word and doctrine, and ſome not, namely, from the ſame platform, and conſtitution of the Synagogue, where the *Ruler of the Synagogue*, was more ſingularly for ruling the affairs of the Synagogue, yet was he ever a Student in Divinity: and the *Miniſter of the Congregation*, labouring in the word, and reading of the Law, and in doctrine about the preaching of it: Both theſe together are ſometimes called joyntly *The Rulers of the Synagogue*, *Acts* 13, 15. *Mark.* 5. 22. being both Elders that ruled, but the title is more ſingularly given to the firſt of them.

Sect. V. *Of their Preachers.*

Having thus taken ſome view of their Synagogues as they now ſtood, it is in the ſecond place worth the examination, upon what ground and reaſon Chriſt was permitted to teach in their Synagogues, he being a private man, and of a mechanick education: He was not only a Carpenters Son in common repute, but he is alſo called a Carpenter himſelf, *Mark.* 6. 3. And was it uſed among the Jews that mechanicks and tradeſmen might preach, if they would thruſt themſelves upon it? No, it was not any ſuch uſe or cuſtom in the nation, that gave Chriſt this admiſſion to the Pulpit, but the wonders and miracles that he wrought which cauſed his fame to go through all the country, and which cauſed the people to take him for a Prophet: this was that that procured him admittance and acceptance to teach and preach in any Synagogue where he came.

1. From the very firſt platforming of the Church of *Iſrael*, the tribe of *Levi* was ſet a part for the publick miniſtery, to attend upon the Altar at *Jeruſalem*, and to teach the people up and down the Nation, *Deut.* 33. 10. *Mal.* 2. 7. and for the better fitting of them for teaching, they had eight and forty cities allotted them, *Joſh.* 21. in which they dwelt together, as in ſo many Univerſities, ſtudying the Law, that they might be able in time to be Preachers in the Synagoguess and Teachers in ſchools up and down the Land.

2. Men of other tribes alſo ſtudied the Law and became learned men and publick Preachers as well as the Prieſts and *Levites*, as the Scribes of *Zebulun*, *Judg.* 5. 14. the learned men of *Iſſachar*, 1 *Chron.* 12. 32. The great *Hillel* of the tribe of *Judah*, and his poſterity, *Rabban Simeon*, *Rabban Gamaliel*, *Pauls* maſter &c. and *Paul* himſelf of the Tribe of *Benjamin*: Nay ſometime they had Doctors and publick Teachers of the Law, and profeſſors of Divinity, that either were not *Iſraelites* at all, but only Proſelytes or Proſelytes Sons, as R. *Akibah*, a man exceeding famous, *was the ſon of Joſeph a Proſelyte of Righteouſneſs. Maym. pref. ad Iad. hazahah*: or that were but half *Iſraelites*, as *Shemaiah* and *Abtalion* are ſaid by *Maymony* in the place cited, to be *Proſelytes of righteouſneſs* alſo, and by *Abraham Zacuth* to be of the poſterity of *Sennacherib*, but their mother was an *Iſraelite*, *Juchaſin fol.* 50.

3. There were ſome of their publick Teachers and Preachers that had been Mechanicks. as R. *Johanan* called *Sandelar or the Shoomaker*: R. *Judah* called *Hajiat, or the Jaylor, &c.* And ſo ſaith *Maymonides*, &c. גדולי חכמי ישראל היומהן חוטבי עצים *Some of the greateſt wiſemen of Iſrael have been ſome of them hewers of wood, and drawers of water, and ſome of them blind, yet for all that they plyed the Law day and night, and ſo became ſome of the great Traditionaries. In Talm. torah. (per.* 1.

4. Now none of theſe forementioned, were admitted to this publick imployment of teaching and preaching, but he was firſt ordained, and had Ordination as a State call and commiſſion to that Office. So *Johanan the Shoomaker*, or *Sandeler* mentioned before, was ordained by R. *Akibah*, before ever he was publick Teacher or called *Rabbi*: *Juchaſin fol.* 61. for none were called *Rabbi* but who were firſt ordained, for that was one of the paſſages in their ordination; *They laid not always their hands on him that was to be ordained, but they called him Rabbi, and ſaid to him, Behold thou art ordained, &c. Maymon. in Sanhedr. per.* 4. *And all the while before his Ordination, he was called after his Fathers name as Ben Betirah, but after his Ordination he was called R. Joſhua Ben Betirah. Juchaſin fol.* 56. Till *Hillels* time, a publick Teacher having been ordained himſelf, had authority and uſed to ordain his Scholars according as he ſaw them fit, but for honour to *Hillel* that rite was centred in the *Sanhedrin*: and they uſed to ordain men to particular

ticular imployment in the publick adminiſtration, and they might not go beyond that particular to which they were ordained: כל מי שירצו לרבים יחידים *They have power*, ſaith *Maymony, to appoint whom they will to particular matters: As for example, there was an exceeding great wiſe man, that was fit to teach all the Law every what, it was in the power of the Sanhedrin to ordain him, ſo, as that he might not judge or that he might not teach about bound and looſe, or they might give him licenſe to teach about bound and looſe, but not to judge in matters of mony, or they gave him power to judge in this matter, but not to judge in matters of damage, &c. Maym. ubi ſupra.* Thus curious and circumſpect they were in and about the matter of ordination and concerning a lawful and authoritative deſignation of publick Teachers and Judges to their peculiar and particular imployment in the publick, to fix them within their own compaſs and line, and that every one might not intrude upon what miniſterial or magiſterial miniſtration he would. And therefore it was far from being a common uſe, or from being any uſe at all among the Jews in their Church, to let any Mechanical or uncalled and unordained men to ſtep up into the Doctors chair, or Miniſters Pulpit, to read Divinity publickly, or to preach in their Synagogues, as impudency or folly would put them forward on it, but they had a ſolemn State-call or dimiſſion into ſuch imployments by a lawful Ordination, by men themſelves ordained.

5. But if any man came in the ſpirit of a Prophet and took on him to preach under that notion, he found permittance under that notion; yet was there not immunity and liberty for any whoſoever to become Preacher upon that tearm and ſo to continue, but the *Sanhedrin* was to judge concerning falſe Prophets; and he that was not a Prophet, and yet would be preaching as a Prophet, did it at his own peril. This then was that that procured our Saviour liberty to Preach, and audience to his Preaching in every Synagogue, where he came, becauſe he came not only in the name, but alſo in the viſible power and demonſtration of a Prophet, doing ſuch wondrous ſigns and miracles, as that his Prophetick call could not be denyed, but *he was glorified of all.*

Verſ. 16. *And he came to Nazareth.*

He had avoided this place purpoſely, when he came out of *Judea*, becauſe he knew a Prophet hath no honour in his Country, *John* 4. 44. for it would have been ſo ſtrange a thing in the eyes of the people of that Town, that he that had been a tradeſman among them all his life hitherto, ſhould now fall a Preaching as a Prophet, that it was eaſie to ſee how little he would have been intertained: but now that he hath got a name through all the Country there about, and hath taught in all their Synagogues, and is glorified of all, now he cometh at the laſt to his own Town to ſee how his doctrine would take with them there.

§ *As his Cuſtom was he went into the Synagogue.*

Whether it mean, as his cuſtom was at this preſent, or as it had been whileſt he lived there a private man, (which I rather conceive, the expreſſion aimeth at) I ſee not, what in the world the Separatiſts that withdraw from the publick worſhip in our Congregations, can ſay to this example: For was not their publick Worſhip in their Synagogues as corrupt as ours is pretended to be in our Congregations? was not the people of *Nazareth* as corrupt a people, as moſt Congregations now are? ſee their deſperate wickedneſs in verſ. 29. What did *Chriſt* all the while he lived there a private man, did he never go to the Synagogue? Sabbath, and Holy days and Synagogue days, whileſt others went to the publick Service and Congregation did he ſit at home? Nay I aſſert, that now when he is become a publick Miniſter, he goes to the Synagogue of *Nazareth*, as a member of that Congregation, and as a member he reads publickly there; you find not in all the Goſpel, (though he preached in every Synagogue where he came, yet) that he read in none of them but only in this: and you find not in any *Talmudick* or Jewiſh record, that they that read the Law and Prophets in their Synagogues were any others but members of that Congregation. It is true indeed that ſtrangers, if they were learned might Preach in their Synagogues, as *Paul* and *Barnabas* did, *Acts* 13. 15, 16. &c. but none did publickly read there but a member of that Synagogue. In all the Scripture we find not, that either any that were holy indeed, or any that took upon them to be holy, no nor he that was holyneſs it ſelf, did ſeparate and withdraw from the publick ſervice in the Congregation.

§ *And he ſtood up to read.*

Moſes and the Prophets were read in their Synagogues every Sabbath day, *Acts* 13. 15. & 15. 21. And *Moſes* every Synagogue day beſide, and the Prophets every holy day, and the ninth day of the month *Ab* which was a faſt, and every faſting day beſides. *Maym. in Tephillah per.* 12.

On the Sabbath the readers of the Law were ſeven: on the day of expiation ſix: on holy days five: on the new moons and the ſeven days of the three great Feſtivals four: and on the ſecond and the fifth day of every week three. And the Law might not be read by leſs than three, one after another. *Id. ibid. & Talm. utrumque in Megil. per.* 4. *in Gemara.*

Now on the Sabbath, the readers being then ſeven, they ſeven read in order thus: firſt a Prieſt, then a Levite, then five Iſraelites one after another. If there were not a Prieſt nor a Levite there, then ſeven Iſraelites did it. If a Prieſt were there and no Levite, then the Prieſt read twice. But the rule was, *Firſt a Prieſt, then a Levite, then an Iſraelite, then a fourth, a fifth, a ſixth, a ſeventh.* And this may help the young Student of the Hebrew text to underſtand, that which he will meet with in ſome Pentateuchs (as the Pentateuch in *Buxtorfes* Bible, and that with the triple *Targum*) and that is, when he ſees in the margin here and there כהן and לוי and ישראל and רביעי and חמישי and ששי and שביעי which mean no other thing than this order of the reading of the Law, firſt a Prieſt, then a Levite, then five Iſraelites in their order.

The שלוח צבור *Angelus Eccleſiæ*, or *Miniſter of the Congregation* called him out that was to read, and he went up into a Desk or Pulpit, (בימה Βῆμα) which ſtood in the midſt of the Synagogue for that purpoſe, and he delivered him the Book of the Law: which he opened, and looked out the place where he was to read, but he began not till the *Archi-ſynagogus* bad him begin. Yea if the *Archi-ſynagogus* himſelf or the Miniſter of the Congregation were to read, he began not till the Congregation, or he that was now chief among them bad him read: *Maym. ubi ante.*

Before he read, he began with Prayer, bleſſing God that had choſen them to be his people, and given them his Law, &c. and then he begins ſtanding all the while he reads, as it is ſaid by the Evangeliſt, *He ſtood up* for to read. And for this poſture they have a ſpecial caution in the treatiſe *Megillah*, *That he that reads the Law muſt ſtand, partly for the honour of the Law it ſelf, and partly becauſe God ſaid to Moſes, Stand thou here with me. Per.* 4. *in Gemar.*

As he read, the Miniſter of the Congregation ſtood by him, to ſee that he read and pronounced aright (and from hence he was called חזן *Epiſcopus* or Overſeer, as hath been obſerved) and if he miſſed he recalled him to utter it aright.

There ſtood another by him alſo, who did interpret into the *Chaldee* tongue what he read out of the Hebrew Text. *For from the days of Ezra,* נהגו שיהא שם תורגמן *they uſed to have an Interpreter in the Synagogue, who interpreted to the people what the Reader read: that ſo they might underſtand the ſenſe of the words: And the Reader read a verſe and ſtopt, till the Interpreter had interpreted it, and then he went on and read another verſe, and the Interpreter interpreted it: and he might not read above one verſe at once to the Interpreter: This was the conſtant practice in reading the Law: but in reading of the Prophets the Reader might read three verſes at once to the Interpreter, &c. Talm. & Maym. ubi ſupr. & Maſſecheth ſopherim. per.* 10.

It was their cuſtom (ſaith *Alpheſi*) *to intrepret in the Synagogue becauſe they ſpake the Syrian tongue, and they interpreted that all might underſtand. In Megil. per.* 4. To which *Rabbi Solomon* alſo ſpeaketh parallel, ſaying, *The Targum* or interpretation, *was only to make women and* עם הארץ *the common people to underſtand, who knew not the holy tongue: and the Interpretation was into the Vulgar Babylonian. Ibid.* compare 1 *Cor.* 14. 27.

So that this uſe of interpreting was introduced of neceſſity, becauſe they were not able to underſtand the Original Text, and they might not read the Scriptures publickly but in the Original: And they hold withall that *Ezra* himſelf gave example and a copy for this, for ſo they underſtand that paſſage, *Neh.* 8. 8. The *Gemariſts* in the *Jeruſalem Talmud* queſtion, *Whence came the cuſtom of having an Interpreter. R. Zeora in the name of R. Hananeel ſaith from that place, They read in the Book of the Law, That meaneth the reading: Diſtinctly; that meaneth the interpreting, and gave the ſenſe, that meaneth the expoſition, and cauſed to underſtand the reading, that meaneth the Maſſoreth,* or points and accents. *In Meg. ubi ſupr.* Where alſo it relateth theſe two or three ſtories. *R. Samuel bar R. Iſaac went into a Synagogue, and ſaw one as he interpreted leaning to a pillar. He ſaith to him, That is not lawful: For as the Law was given in fear and terror, ſo muſt it be uſed with fear and terror. The ſame man went into a Synagogue, and ſaw the Angelus Eccleſiæ, reading and ſetting no man by him,* (no Interpreter as *Alpheſi expounds it*) *He ſaith to him, That is unlawful, for it was given by the hand of a Mediator, ſo is it to be uſed by the hand of a Mediator.*

He

He alſo went into a Synagogue, and ſaw a Scribe reading his interpreting out of a Book. He ſaith to him, That is unlawful; for, what by word of mouth, by word of mouth, and what out of the book, out of the book.

The Reader of the *Haphtaroth* or portion out of the Prophets, was ordinarily one of the number of thoſe that had read the Law: he was called out to read by the Miniſter of the Congregation, he went up into the desk, had the Book of the Prophet given him, began with Prayer, and had an Interpreter, even as it was with them that read the Law.

And under theſe Synagogue rulers are we to underſtand Chriſts reading in the Synagoue at this time: namely, as a member of the Synagogue, called out by the Miniſter, reading according to the accuſtomed order, the portion in the Prophet when the Law was read (and it is like he had read ſome part of the Law before) and having an Interpreter by him to render into *Syriack* the Text he read: he then begins in *Syriack* to preach upon it.

Now if it be queſtioned Under what notion may the Miniſter of the Congregation be thought to call him out to read? It may be anſwered. 1. It is poſſible he had done ſo, many a time before, while Chriſt lived amongſt them as a private man: for though none but men learned and in orders might Preach and Teach in their Synagogues, yet might, even boys and ſervants, if need were, read there, if ſo be they were found able to read well: And *Chriſt* though his education was but mean according to the condition of his parents, *John* 7. 15. yet it is almoſt paſt peradventure, that he was brought up ſo as to read, as generally all the children of the Nation were. 2. *Chriſt* in other parts of *Galilee* had ſhewed his wiſdom and his works, and his fame was ſpread abroad; and no doubt was got to *Nazareth* where he was beſt known: and this would readily get him ſuch a publick tryal in the Synagogue, if he had never been upon that imployment before, to ſee what evidences he would give of what was ſo much reported of him.

Verſ. 17. *And there was delivered to him the Book of Eſaias.*

It is a tradition, and ſo it was their practice שאין קוראין בחומשין בבתי כנסיורת *That they read not in the Synagogues in the five books of Moſes bound together*, but every book of the five ſingle by it ſelf: And ſo alſo may it be conceived they did by the Prophets, that the three great Prophets, *Eſay*, *Jeremy*, *Ezekiel*, were every one ſingle, and the twelve ſmall Prophets bound together: And we may conclude upon this the rather, becauſe they had alſo this Tradition and practice מפטיר בנביא *That the Maphtir or he that read in the Prophets might skip from paſſage to paſſage* (that is, from one text to another for illuſtration of the matter he read upon) *but he might not skip from Prophet to Prophet, but only in the twelve ſmall Prophets.*

The delivering of the Book unto him by the Miniſter, to whom he alſo delivers it again when he hath read, verſ. 20. doth confirm what was ſaid before, that *Chriſt* ſtood up to read as a member of the Synagogue, and in the ordinary way of reading uſed there: for ſo it was the cuſtom of the Miniſter to give the book to thoſe that did ſo read: But if Chriſt had gone about to read, beſide or contrary to the common cuſtom of the place, it can little be thought that the Miniſter would ſo far have complied with him, as to give him the Book that he might read irregularly or beſide the cuſtom. To which may alſo be added: that if our Saviour intended only to rehearſe this paſſage of *Eſay*, that he might take it for his text to ground his diſcourſe upon, he could have done that by heart, and had not needed the Book; but it ſheweth that he was the Reader of the ſecond Leſſon, or of the Prophets this day, in the ordinary way as it is uſed to be read by ſome or other of that Synagogue every Sabbath.

§ *He found the place where it was written, &c.*

Not by chance, but intentionally turned to it: Now whether this place, that he fixed on, were the proper leſſon for the day, may require ſome diſpute: They that ſhall peruſe the *Haphtaroth* or Leſſons in the Prophets which were preciſely appointed for every Sabbath to be read, will find ſome cauſe to doubt whether this portion of the Prophet that our Saviour read, were by appointment to be read in the Synagogue at all: But not to inſiſt upon this ſcrutiny: in the reading of the Prophets they were not ſo very punctual as they were in the reading of the Law: *R. Alphes ubi ſupr.* but they might both read leſs than was appointed, and they might skip and read other where than was appointed: And ſo whether our Saviour began in ſome other portion of the Prophet, and thence paſſed hither to illuſtrate what he read there, though the Evangeliſt hath only mentioned this place, as moſt punctual and pertinent to *Chriſts* diſcourſe, or whether he fixed only upon this place and read no more than what *Luke* hath mentioned, it is not much

much material to controvert, his reading was ſo as gave not offence to the Synagogue, and it is like it was ſo as was not unuſual in the Synagogue. *He that read in the Prophets was to read at the leaſt one and twenty verſes* ואם השלים בפחות אין צריך *But if he finiſhed the ſenſe in leſs, he needed not to read ſo many. Megill. & Maym. ubi ante.*

Verſ. 18. *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me.*

The Jews in the interpretation of this Scripture, do generally apply the ſenſe and truth of it, to the Prophet himſelf: as the Eunuch was ready to apply another place in this ſame Prophet, *Acts* 8. 34. So the *Chaldee* renders it אמר נביא *The Prophet ſaith, The ſpirit of Prophecy from before the Lord is upon me.* And *David Kimchi, Theſe are the words of the Prophet concerning himſelf.* In which application they did not much amiſs, to bring the meaning of the words to *Eſay* himſelf, if they did not confine and limit the truth of them there: For the words do very well ſpeak the function of the Prophet, his calling and Miniſtery being to thoſe very ends and purpoſes that are named here: but to reſtrain it to him only, is to loſe the full and vigorous ſenſe of it, which the words hold out, and which the Prophet could not reach unto to have them verified of himſelf to the utmoſt extent: as *being anointed*, Preaching *the* acceptable year of the Lord with an *Emphaſis* put upon the word *the*, and ſome other particulars as may be obſerved.

It is an ordinary ſtyle with the Prophets to ſpeak things as in their own perſons or of themſelves, which ſometimes were not punctually and literally applicable to them only, nay which ſometimes were not ſo applicable to them at all: but whoſe truth and ſenſe was made good only in *Chriſt*, as *Pſal.* 16. 10. with *Acts* 13. 36. *Pſal.* 22. 16. *They pierced my hands and my feet: Eſay* 8. 18. with *Heb.* 2. 13. *Zech.* 11. 12, 13. with *Matth.* 27. 9. *&c.*

How the Spirit of the Lord came upon Chriſt, and dwelt upon him in meaſure above meaſure, hath been obſerved before; only let the Reader obſerve, how ſutable this Text in the mouth of Chriſt, is to the words of the Evangeliſt in the beginning of this Section. *Jeſus returned in the power of the Spirit.*

§ *Becauſe he hath anointed me.*

The Greek expreſſion ἕ ἕνεκεν, is ſo rendred by ſome Expoſitors on the one hand, ſome on the other, that in a manner a clean contrary ſenſe is put upon it: Some thus, The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, *therefore* he hath anointed me: and ſo they make the reaſon of his anointing to be becauſe the Spirit of the Lord was upon him: To this ſenſe the *Syriack* renders it, who utters it thus, The Spirit of the Lord is upon me מטול הנא *and becauſe of this* he hath anointed me: and ſo *Beza, Cujus rei gratia, unxit me:* The Vulgar, *propter quod. Brucioli, Per cagione del quale, &c.* But others, amongſt which, is *Eraſmus*, and our Engliſh, do read it, The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, *becauſe* he hath anointed me (which though it ſpeak not the literal conſtruction of the Greek particle ſo very punctually, yet doth it the Hebrew, by which the Greek is to be ſtated, and which the *Chaldee* ſo reads) as that they do make the Lords anointing him to be the cauſe of the Spirits being upon him, which is a far more eaſie and profitable ſenſe.

Object. But was not his anointing by the very coming of the Spirit upon him at his Baptiſm? and ſo theſe two things are ſo far from being the cauſe and effect one of another, that indeed they were but one and the ſame thing: the holy Spirits coming upon him was his anointing, and his anointing was nothing but the Holy Spirits coming upon him.

Anſwer: If by *anointing* we will underſtand, his exalting and ſetting up and apart (as the Jews expound the word in the text of *Eſay*) for this office and work that the Text ſpeaketh of, than was his anointing before the Spirit of the Lord came upon him, for he was ſet apart for Mediator and Miniſter of the Goſpel before: and ſo his anointing was the cauſe and reaſon why the Spirit came upon him, namely, to fit him and act him to that office to which he was ſet apart. But if by *anointing* we will underſtand a viſible and an apparent inſtalment of him into the preſent execution of that office unto which he was deſigned before, than was his anointing and the Spirits coming upon him, but the very ſame thing, for the Spirits coming upon him, was that anointing. And in this ſenſe are we to underſtand his anointing here, and yet even in this ſenſe, are we to take his anointing to be the cauſe of the Spirits being upon him, though the Spirits coming upon him was the very way and manner of his anointing; but we are to underſtand it thus with difference and diſtinction of time: At the very inſtant of the Holy Ghoſts coming upon him at his Baptiſm, that was his anointing and inſtallment into the execution of his function: but all the time following while he executed his function, the Holy Ghoſt reſted upon him; why? Becauſe the Lord had anointed him with

with the Holy Ghoſt at his Baptiſm: and ſo the *Emphaſis* of the clauſe lies in the verb underſtood and limited to its time, the Holy Ghoſt *is now* upon me and *continueth ſtill* upon me, becauſe the Lord hath heretofore anointed me with the Holy Ghoſt: And herein is the difference apparent of the meaſure and manner of the Holy Spirits being upon the Prophets, and his being upon *Chriſt*: They had not the actings of the Spirit alwas upon them, nor are they viſibly anointed with it, as he was both.

§ To preach the Goſpel to the Poor, &c.

Here are ſix particulars in this portion of Scripture as parts of *Chriſts* Miniſtery; which though they may be all applyed to any one particular perſon to whom the Goſpel and Miniſtery of *Chriſt* powerfully and effectually came, for ſuch a poor wretch had the Goſpel preached to him, his broken heart was heald, he heard of deliverance from the bondage of *Satan*, &c. yet have they all their ſingular and ſeveral intentions and meanings, and ſo are to be expounded and underſtood, for the taking up of the verſe in its full ſenſe and life.

1. *Chriſt was ſent to preach the Goſpel to the Poor:* in the Text of *Eſay* it is ענוים *to the meek*, or humble, and accordingly rendred by the *Chaldee Paraphraſt*: and ſo the ſenſe is made the readier, namely, that by *the poor* here is meant *the poor in Spirit*, as *Mat.* 5. 3. Such as went out of their own righteouſneſs, and by the convictions of the Law, did find themſelves to be nothing, and worſe than nothing: to ſuch *Chriſt* was ſent to Preach the Goſpel, and ſuch received it. *Mat.* 9. 12, 13. & 11. 5. *Chriſt* preached to to all that came about him to hear him, but he ſpeaketh here of his Preaching the Goſpel in the proper power and fruit of it, *viz.* ſo as that it was received. Now this is the firſt compoſure to the receiving and intertaining of the Goſpel, when a ſoul by the power of the Preaching of the Law is thruſt off from all ſecurity either in ſin, or ſelf-righteouſneſs, and becomes ſo poor in his own ſpirit, that he finds himſelf nothing but wretched and miſerable and poor and blind and naked and in need of all things.

The title of *poor* is as common a name for the Saints of God, eſpecially in the Old Teſtament, as any name whatſoever: and that not only becauſe of their depreſſed and oppreſſed condition by the wicked, but becauſe of their poverty of ſpirit, and abaſedneſs in their own eyes: they knowing how poor they are, and living by continual begging of grace at the hands of God. The Hebrew word is ſometime written עניים *poor* in the text and read ענוים *humble*, in the margin, as *Pſalm.* 9. 13. and ſometime ענוים in the text, and read עניים in the margin, as in the ſame *Pſalme* verſe 19. ענוים is tranſlated poor by the Septuagint, *Pſal.* 10. 13. & 22. 27. as well as here.

2. *To heal the broken hearted:* here is the heart a degree lower than in the former expreſſion, and the operation of the Goſpel a degree higher: *Every broken hearted ſoul* is alſo *poor in ſpirit*, but not *e contra:* for an humble and poor ſpirited ſoul, may yet ſome time be free from theſe breakings of heart which many a one hath met withall, and which it ſelf may meet withall at another time. For being brought *poor in ſpirit*, and made ſenſible of its own unrighteouſneſs by the Preaching of the Law, and ſo intertaining the Goſpel, it is by degrees even broken alſo by the Goſpel, the heart melting in the ſenſe and apprehenſion of the dear love of God to ſinners, and of its own ſinfulneſs and untowardneſs towards him.

3. *To Preach deliverance to the Captives:* This may very well allude to the Jews expectation: who looked for (and do ſtill) a bodily deliverance from all their captivities and calamities, by the coming of *Meſſiah:* now Chriſt came to Preach deliverance to captived ones, but not in this ſenſe, but in a higher, in as much as he was a higher Saviour than their ordinary deliverers.

4. *Recovering of ſight to the blind:* This may look alſo at the Gentiles, who ſate in the darkneſs of all manner of ignorance, Error, and Idolatry: And though it be moſt true that every one naturally is blind as to the things of Heaven, and that the Goſpel giveth new ſight to thoſe that receive it, yet ſince the Heathen are eſpecially ſet out as ſitting in blindneſs, this clauſe may very well be applyed to them, as in a ſingular propriety.

The Evangeliſt doth here ſomewhat differ from *Eſays* Text, as alſo do the Septuagint, whom he followeth: for *Eſay* hath it ולאסורים פקח קוח *And opening of priſon to thoſe that are bound*, as our Engliſh tranſlates it: There is ſome ſcruple among tranſlators about rendering the words פקח קוח and what to make of them; but the other word אסורים doth plainly enough and without all difficulty ſignifie *Bound*, and yet the Greek hath uttered it *blind*.

1. The words פקח קוח are taken by divers, to be not two but one word doubled as סהרחר ארמדם ורקרק and many other of the like nature: and that it ſignifieth by the duplication the more emphatically and eminently: which opinion is the more juſtified by this, that קוח the latter part of it, by it ſelf, can be made nothing of (ſuch a word not

not being to be found again in Scripture) but uncertain and unprofitable conjectures only are given of it: As that it ſhould ſignifie *a priſon*, as is the conceit of *Dav. Kimchies* Father; or that it ſhould ſignifie a *taking out of Priſon*, as is fancyed by *Kimchi* himſelf; and both taking away the firſt ſyllable in לקוח to mint this word, but by what warrant, and after what example they do not ſhew.

2. The word פקח doth properly refer to opening of the eyes; and it is hard, I believe, to find where it ſignifies any other kind of opening: and therefore the *Chaldee Paraphraſt*, to cloſe as near with the very propriety of it as he thought the word אסורים would ſuffer him, hath given it אתגלו לנהור *revealing to the light.*

3. Obſerve that this clauſe in the Prophet is of a higher tenor than that next before; for there was mention of captivity: but here of impriſonment in captivity: for it is a ſad thing to be captived into a ſtrange land, but it is a ſadder to be bound in chains or lockt up in a priſon there. Now the Evangeliſt (as he tranſlates the Prophet) ſpeaks of a higher degree of miſery ſtill, and that is to be impriſoned having his eyes put out, as it was the caſe of *Sampſon*, *Judg.* 16.2. and *Zedekiah*, 2 *Kings* 25.7. and as it was the cuſtom much in thoſe eaſtern parts, and is at this day in *Turkey*. The Evangeliſt therefore willing to render the Prophet to the Higheſt comfortable ſenſe that might be, uſeth an expreſſion that meeteth with the higheſt miſery that was couched and included in the word אסורים and that is, when men were not only ſhut up in a blind priſon, where they could ſee no light, but when they had alſo their eyes put out, that they could not ſee light if there were any: He telleth therefore that *Chriſt* ſhould not only Preach deliverance to captives, but alſo reſtoring of light to captive priſoners, nay yet more, recovery of ſight to blinded priſoners, and ſo doth he ſweetly ſet out Chriſts delivery of men from the captivity of Satan, chains of corruption and blinding of ignorance: and ſo he doth not croſs the Prophets expreſſion, but explain it to the higheſt ſweetneſs.

5. *To ſet at liberty them that are bruiſed.* This clauſe is not *verbatim* in that Text in the Prophet, from whence the reſt are alleadged: yet is it generally in all copies here, and in all Tranſlations: How it came into this Text, ſome are very bold and indeed uncivil with the Text, in imagining that it crept in, out of the margin of the Septuagint, being ſet there by ſome body that thought he had met with a fit parallel to that that was in the Text. *Sed quiſquis hunc locum primus annotavit ad marginem*, ſaith *Beza*, *res ſane diſſimillimas inter ſe comparavit. Poterat autem quiſquis ille fuit alium locum prorſus ſimilem conferre ex cap.* 42. 7.

I ſhould rather confeſs my own ignorance and ſay I cannot underſtand how this came into the Text, or rather bewray my own folly in giving ſome conjecture at it ſome other way, than in thus down-right tearms to conclude that it came in from the marginal notes of ſome one or other that knew not well what he noted: I would give ſome aim at it, the reſult whereof ſhall be to the undervaluing of my judgment, rather than thus to determine, to the undervaluing of the ſacred Text.

It was allowed and uſed in their Synagogues, as was toucht even now, in the reading of the Prophets to skip from Text to Text upon occaſion: take the tradition at the full מדלג מענין לענין אחר ואינו מדלג מנביא לנביא אלא בנביאים של יב בלבר ובלבר שלא ידלג מסוף ספר לתחלתו וכל המדלג לא ישהא ברילוג אלא שישלים המתרגם תרגומו *He that readeth in the Prophets may skip from one Text to another: but he may not leap out of one Prophet into another, but in the twelve ſmall Prophets only: And he may not leap from the end of a Book to the beginning of it: And whoſoever leapeth thus, muſt not ſtay on the Text whither he skips, longer than the Interpreter gives the interpretaton of it: Maymon. in Tephillah. per.* 12.

Now I ſhould rather think that *Chriſt* as he read in the Prophet, skipped into another Text of the ſame Prophet, and brought it in hither, than to think it crept out of the margin of the Septuagint of I know not whoſe ſetting there. This their skipping from Text to Text in the reading of the Prophets was for nothing elſe but to fetch in another place that ſpake in parallel or in clearing of the Text that they were in reading: And ſo ſince we find Chriſt conforming in many other things to the cuſtom of their Synagogues, why may we not hold that he did the like in this, which was a thing of profitable uſe? He reading therefore upon this clauſe ולאסורים פקח קוח *And to thoſe that are bound, opening, opening* (for ſo the word is doubled, and ſignifieth the largeſt and freeſt opening that may be) why may we not conceive, that he uſed the דילוג *skipping* to another Text in the ſame Prophet (as it was ordinary for learned Readers in the Synagogues to do) by which he might clear the ſenſe of this doubled and remarkable word to its full extent?

The words that are here taken in, are found in *Eſay* 58. 6. one Syllable only changed in the Septuagint from the words uſed by the Evangeliſt: Now by πεθραυσμένους or *bruiſed ones* is to be underſtood, *bruiſed by calamity and miſery*, in difference from *broken hearted* which was uſed before: And ſo the very ſenſe of the place in *Eſay*, and the uſe of

of the world in *Deut.* 28. 33. do make it apparent without more evidence. Chriſt therefore ſetteth at liberty thoſe that are bruiſed with outward calamities, not only by delivering his people out of their troubles, but by the ſweet comforts of the Goſpel, inlarging their hearts though their perſons be in ſtraits.

Verſ. 19. *To preach the acceptable year of the Lord.*

This expreſſion alludeth to the proclaiming of the year of Jubilee, that welcome year to poor wretches that were in debt, decay, and ſervitude. There have been ſome in ancient time that from this paſſage have concluded, that Chriſt preached but one year from the beginning of his Miniſtery to his death, which is a matter ſo apparently confuted in the Goſpels that it is needleſs to ſtand about it. If the alluſion to the Jubilee year in the expreſſion, aim at any particular year Chriſts preaching, it referreth to the year of his death, which was not only a year of Jubilee in a ſpiritual ſenſe, (becauſe then there was redemption and reſtoring to a loſt eſtate, and out of ſervitude by his death) but alſo it was a year of Jubilee in the literal and proper ſenſe indeed.

The Jews have ſo jumbled the Jubilees in their writings and conſtructions, and made them ſo faſt and looſe, (and it may be purpoſely, to evade the clear anſwer of the Antitype to the Type in the death of Chriſt on a Jubilee year) that they have left it at a careleſs and indifferent caſt whether there were any Jubilees after a while or no. *Aſſoon as the Tribes of Ruben, Gad and Manaſſeth were captived*, ſay they, *the Jubilee ceaſed. Siphri. in Lev.* 15. And, *Iſrael numbred ſeventeen Jubilees from their coming into the land, to their going out: and the year that they went out, when the Temple was firſt deſtroyed, was the going out of a ſeventh year of reſt, and it was the thirty ſixth year of the Jubilee. For the firſt Temple ſtood four hundred and ten years, and when it was deſtroyed this counting ceaſed. The ſecond Temple ſtood four hundred and twenty years, and on the ſeventh year from its building Ezra came up, and from that year they began to count again, and made the thirteenth year of the ſecond Temple a year of reſt, and counted ſeven reſts and hallowed the fiftieth year, although there was no Jubilee under the ſecond Temple. The deſtruction of the ſecond Temple was in the going out of a ſeventh year, and it was the fifteenth year of the ninth Jubilee: Maym. in Shemittah. per.* 10. *& Erachin. per.* 2.

But God having appointed ſo full and ſweet a reſemblance of *Chriſts* redemption, in this Type, as a greater is ſcarcely to be found, he did ſo carry on the chain and bracelet of Jubilees as I may ſo call them, from the time that their accounting for did firſt begin, that many of them were alſo made remarkable with ſome ſingular event, beſide their releaſements, and the laſt of them fell with the year of the death of the Redeemer: as is accutely obſerved by the moſt learned Mr. *Broughton* who alſo produceth this confeſſion of old *Zohar* or *R. Simeon ben Jochai* upon this matter בה תרא שכינתא דרור פרות ושנית לישראל *The Divine Majeſty will be to Iſrael in a Jubilee, Freedom, Redemption, and ſimiſher of Sabbath.*

But we need not to ſtraiten this *acceptable year of the Lord*, to that particular year of Chriſts death (though that moſt eminently hath its ſhare in the ſenſe of it) but it may alſo be underſtood of that time that was now begun, of Meſſias his appearing, and the publiſhing of the Goſpel: which preaching of the Goſpel was ſo full and clear an anſwer and Antitype, to the proclaiming of that year with the ſound of the Trumpet, that every one cannot but ſee it: *Zohar* hath this application of that rite. *It is appointed*, ſaith he, *to blow the Trumpet at the Jubilee: Now as at the blowing of the Trumpet at the Jubilee all ſervants went free* הני בפורקנא בתרייתא *So at the laſt redemption, at the blowing of a Trumpet, all Iſrael ſhall be gathered from the four ſides of the world, &c. Zohar. in Lev.* 25. *fol.* 53.

Verſ. 20. *And cloſing the Book he gave it to the Miniſter.*

The Miniſter or ὑπηρέτης here mentioned, was the שליח צבור *Angelus Eccleſiæ*, of whom we have ſpoken before: *When they had done reading, the Angelus Eccleſiæ laid up the Book in its place again. Maym. ubi ſupr.* Chriſts *ſitting down* in the Pulpit when he had done reading (whereas he ſhould have come away to his ſeat in the Church) did cauſe all the Synagogue to eye him, and to expect what he would ſpeak unto them. It was the cuſtom for the Teacher to ſit, as *Mark* 5. 1. *Luke* 5. 3. and ſo in their Divinity Schools הרב יושב בראש *The Doctor ſate aloft and all his Scholars round about him in a circle*, that all might ſee him and hear his words, &c. At the firſt the Maſter ſate and his Scholars ſtood, but before the ſecond Temple was deſtroyed, it came into uſe, that every Maſter taught his Scholars they alſo ſetting. *Id. in Talm. torah. per.* 4. *Which cuſtom came up from the death of Gamaliel the old* (*Pauls* Maſter) *whereupon it was ordinarily ſaid, From the death of Rabban Gamaliel the old the glory of the Law ceaſed. Jucajn. fol.* 53.

Verſ.

Verſ. 21. *This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears, &c.*

Chriſt doth openly profeſs himſelf to be that perſon, there foretold of by the Prophet, and at large explaining the Text which he had read (which explanation the Evangeliſt hath not recorded) he declares himſelf who he was, ſo evidently and graciouſly, that even his own Townſmen, who knew his birth and education, could not but acknowledge what he ſpake, and gave teſtimony to his words, they were ſo gracious. And this makes them wonder (comparing his preſent powerful and divine diſcourſe with his mean and homely education) and to be amazed among themſelves, and to ſay, *Is not this the ſon of Joſeph?* as *Mark* 6. 2, 3.

Verſ. 23. *Ye will ſurely ſay to me this Proverb, &c.*

He taketh occaſion of theſe words from their preſent wonderment and queſtioning among themſelves about him. As if he had ſpoken out to them thus at large: Ye look upon me as *Joſephs* ſon, as one that was bred and brought up among you, and therefore ye will be ready to urge me with the ſenſe of that Proverb, *Phyſician heal thy ſelf*, and expect that I ſhould do ſome miracles here in mine own Town, as I have done in other places, nay rather in this Town than in others, becauſe of my relation to it.

§ *Whatſoever we have heard done in Capernaum.*

Janſenius from this paſſage, concludeth that this Sermon of *Chriſt* in the Synagogue of *Nazareth*, was not of a great while after his coming into *Galilee*, but that he had firſt paſſed and preached through *Galilee*, becauſe as yet according to the order in which we have laid the ſtory, there is but one miracle mentioned that he had done at *Capernaum*, which was the recovering of the Rulers ſon. Now that miracle was enough to have occaſioned theſe words though he had done no more. But *Capernaum* was Chriſts very common reſidence upon all occaſions, and it is like he had done divers miracles there, though they be not mentioned: for when he came from *Samaria*, the Text relateth, that he avoideth his own Town of *Nazereth*, becauſe he knew that there he ſhould find but cold intertainment and little honour, but that he went into ſome other parts of *Galilee*, and the *Galileans* whither he went received him, having ſeen all that he did at *Jeruſalem* at the Feaſt of the Paſsover, *John* 4. 44, 45. Now *Capernaum* was as likely a place whether he would betake himſelf and where he would ſtay if he ſtayed in any City, as any other.

Verſ. 25. *When the Heaven was ſhut up three years and ſix months.*

This ſum lyeth very obſcure in the Text of the Book of *Kings:* for there it is only ſaid *that Elias ſaid, there ſhall not be dew nor rain theſe years.* 1 *Kings* 17. 2. *And that after many days, in the third year Eliah ſhewed himſelf to Ahab, and there was rain, &c.* 1 *Kings* 18. 1, And it were not ſtrange that *Chriſt* the Lord of time, did for all the difficulty of the Text determine it; but it ſeemeth by his ſpeech to theſe *Nazarites*, that it was a reckoning and ſum commonly known and received of them. And ſo when the Apoſtle *James* uſeth the ſame account, *James* 5. 17. it is likely that he ſpeaketh it to the Jews as a thing acknowledged and confeſſed: But how to pick it up in the Book of *Kings*, is very intricate to him that ſhall go about it. Yet thus far we may go. 1. That it was a year after the drought began, before the Brook *Cerith* dried up: for it is ſaid, that *at the end of days* the Brook dried: now for the word ימים *Days*, to be uſed for to ſignifie *a year*, examples might be given exceeding copiouſly. 2. Thoſe words, *in the third year God ſaid to Eliah, Go ſhew thy ſelf to Ahab and I will ſend rain:* cannot be underſtood of the third year of drought: for this his coming to *Ahab* was not in the third year but after it, for he had told him there ſhould be no rain השנים האלה *theſe three years*, at the leaſt, as the learned in the Hebrew tongue will eaſily obſerve, out of the number of the word, which is not dual but plural. And therefore the third year is to be referred to *Elias* ſojourning with the *Sareptane* widow. He had been one year by *Cherith*, and above two years at *Sarepta*, and after many days in the third year, he ſhews himſelf to *Ahab* and there were rains.

Now how to bring theſe *many days*, to half a year is ſtill a ſcruple, how to fix it or to go any whit near thereunto, unleſs it be by caſting the times of the year when the drought began and when it ended: and there might be very probable reaſons produced to ſhew that it began in Autum, and ended in the Spring, which two times were their moſt conſtant times of rains, *Joel* 2. But truth hath ſpoken it here, and it is not to be diſputed, but only thus much is ſpoken to it, becauſe it ſeemeth that he ſpeaketh it to the

the Jews here as men conſenting and agreeing in the thing already: The Rabbins do quaintly deſcant upon the laſt verſe of 1 *King.* 16. (where there is mention of *Hiels* building *Jericho*, and loſing his two ſons in the work according to the word of *Joſhua*) and the firſt verſe of Chap. 17. where *Eliah* foretels the reſtraint of rain thus: *Ahab and Eliah* (ſay they) *went to comfort Hiel for the death of his ſons. Ahab ſaid to Elijah, it may be the word of the ſervant* [*Joſhua*] *is performed, but the word of the Maſter* [*Moſes*] *will not be performed, who ſaith, Ye will turn away and ſerve other Gods, and the anger of the Lord will be kindled againſt you, and he will ſhut up heaven that there be no rain, &c. Thereupon Elias ſwore and ſaid, As the Lord liveth before whom I ſtand, there ſhall be no rain.*

This number and term of time, of *three years ſix months*, (juſt half the time of the famine in *Egypt*, is very famous and renowned in Scripture) as hath been obſerved before. But in nothing more renowned then this, that it was the term of Chriſts Miniſtery from his Baptiſm to his death, he opening Heaven for three years and ſix months, and raining down the Divine dew of the Goſpel, as *Elias* had ſhut Heaven ſo long and there was no rain at all.

Verſ. 28. *And all they in the Synagogue when they heard theſe things were filled with wrath, &c.*

Here is ſuch another change of affection, in theſe *Nazarites*, one while giving teſtimony to the gracious words that proceeded out of his mouth, and preſently ready to murder him for his words, as there was in the men of *Lycaonia*, *Act.* 14. who one while would worſhip *Paul* and *Barnabas* for Gods, and immediately ſtone them with ſtones. The matter that gave ſuch offence in theſe words of Chriſt to his Countrymen, was double. 1. Becauſe he ſo plainly taught and hinted the calling of the Gentiles and refuſing of the Jews, as was to be ſeen in the double inſtance that he alledged that *Elias* ſhould harbour no where with any *Iſraelite*, but ſhould be recommended by God to a heathen widow (for ſo were the *Sareptanes* being of *Sidon*): and that not one *Iſraelite* leper ſhould ever be healed, but *Naaman* a Heathen *Syrian* ſhould be. This doctrine about the calling of the Gentiles was a matter that the Jews could never hear of with patience, but it did provoke them, *Deut.* 32.21. This made *Jonah* to out-run his errand, and to flee to *Tarſus* when he ſhould have gone to *Nineveh*, becauſe it vexed him at heart to be any means of the converſion of the Gentiles, upon this conſideration, that the coming in of the Gentiles would be the caſting off of his own people: which before he will be an inſtrument of, he will outrun God he knows not whether; The Jews expreſs his fancy pertinently thus: חבע כבוד הבן לא חבע כבוד האב *He was careful of the honour of* [Iſrael] *the child, but he was not careful of the honour of* [God] *the Father.* This made the Jews of *Jeruſalem* to rage for madneſs when *Paul* did but ſpeak unto them of going to the Gentiles, *Act.* 22.21. And 2. another thing that incenſed theſe people of *Nazareth* was, that *Chriſt* did refuſe to do any miracles amongſt them, which they knew he did not refuſe to do in other places; and that his refuſal was backed with ſuch a compariſon of them, as that he doth compare them with *Iſrael* when it was at the wickedeſt, for ſo it was in the days of *Elias* and *Eliſha*, under *Ahab* and his wretched Generation. Now our Saviour in this his refuſal and in theſe his words, doth but by the *Nazarites* as he did by the *Syrophenician* woman afterwards: he called her *dog*, and at firſt denied her petition, but afterward upon her importunity conſented to her and received her to favour: and ſo his firſt refuſal was not a reſolved rejection of her, but a trial: Such another was his ſpeech here: but it was not ſo digeſted by his Countrymen: for they in diſdain to be ſo likened and ſpoken to, when the Synagogue ſervice was done, lay hold upon him, and would have thrown him headlong from the rock: but he by a Divine power and work, delivers himſelf out of their hands: And thus hath poor and wretched *Nazareth* undone it ſelf.

SECTION XVIII.

St. MATTH. Chap.IV. Verſ. 13.

AND leaving Nazareth he came and (a) dwelt in Capernaum, which is upon the Sea coaſt, in the borders of Zabulon and (b) Nephthali.

St. LUKE Chap. IV. Verſ. 31.

AND he came down to Capernaum a City of Galilee.

14. *That it might be fulfilled which was ſpoken by Eſaias the Prophet, ſaying,*

15. *The land of Zabulon and the land of Nephthali, by the way of the Sea beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles.*

16. *The people which ſat in darkneſs ſaw great light, and to them which ſat in the region and ſhadow of death, light is ſprung up.*

(a) Κατῴκησεν εἰς Καπερναὺμ as Κατῴκησεν εἰς Ναζαρέθ. Matth. 2. 23.

(b) Gr. Νεφθαλείμ, according as the Septuag. reads the word in *Eſays* Text, though generally it read it otherwiſe in other places: the Evangeliſt *John* reads it Νεφθαλεὶμ alſo *Rev.*7.6. which is the Plural abſolute, in ſtead of the Plural contracted נפתלי for נפתלים.

Reaſon of the Order.

THE paſſage in the preceding Section, concerning the unkindneſs and madneſs of his Townſmen of *Nazareth*, and concerning the danger of his perſon by them, doth ſo clear the dependence of this Section on that, that there needs no more for the proof of the dependence, than meerly laying them together: For although *Matthew* hath not mentioned the occaſion of his leaving of *Nazareth*, yet *Luke* hath, and hath added, that he got from among the men of *Nazareth*, and came down to *Capernaum*: and ſo he hath not only cleared *Matthews* order, but hath alſo expounded his words, *And leaving Nazareth*: ſhewing the reaſon of his leaving it.

Harmony and Explanation.

Matth.4. verſ.13. *And leaving Nazareth, &c.*

AH unhappy *Nazareth*, the firſt refuſer and the firſt refuſed of *Meſſias*: the baniſher and perſecutor of thine own happineſs and glory! Here *Chriſt* had been brought up and lived ſix or ſeven and twenty years together, from his return out of *Egypt*, till the time of his Baptiſm, and he honoured the Town with his Title and Epithet *Jeſus of Nazareth*, but *Nazareth* will not retain him, much leſs honour him: So *Moſes* was refuſed of his Brethren, and glad to flee upon their repulſe, *Act.* 7. but the loſs theirs, ſo the miſery *Nazareths*: we read not that *Chriſt* ever came to this Town again or ever owned it: but betook himſelf to *Capernaum*, for his habitation, where we conjectured before, that his Father *Joſeph* had ſome poſſeſſion or habitation. And thus is *Nazareth* caſt down to Hell, and *Capernaum* lifted up to Heaven, if it can improve the happineſs now offered to it: *Luke* ſaith he *came down* to *Capernaum*, either as any journies in Scripture are indifferently called going down or going up, or as men are ſaid to go down to the Sea or the Sea ſhore, as *Pſal.*107.23. *Jon.*1.3.

Verſ. 15. *The land of Zabulon and the land of Nephthali, &c.*

The words are cited from *Eſay* 9.1. as it is well enough known, but with ſo much difference as that it cannot but challenge conſideration and obſerving: It may not be amiſs to take up *Eſays* Text *verbatim* firſt, and to ſee its meaning; and then to compare this quotation with it.

The Prophet in the latter end of the ſeventh Chapter had threatned ſad but deſerved miſery upon thoſe that ſhould tranſgreſs the Law and Teſtimony, that they ſhould be hard beſtead, hungry, ſeeing nothing but trouble, darkneſs, darkneſs of anguiſh, and they ſhall be driven to darkneſs, and then he comes on in the firſt verſe of the ninth Chapter לא מועף לאשר מוצק לה *For that dimneſs* or darkneſs *ſhall not be ſuch as was in her vexation when the firſt lightly afflicted the land of Zabulon and the land of Nephthali, or when the latter did afflict more heavily the way of the Sea*, the Country *beyond Jordan*, and *Galilee of the Gentiles: That people that walked in darkneſs ſaw great light, &c.*

The

The intention of the Prophet in this passage, is to proclaim a greater calamity darkness, and vexation to befal the contemners of *Emanuel* and his Testimony or Gospel, than did befal the parts and people here mentioned, in their captivity either by the first or second captiver, for the breach of the Law: The first captiver was *Benhadad* the King of *Syria*, who *smote Jion, Dan, Abel-beth-maachath and all Cinneroth and all the land of Nephthali*, 1 *King.* 15.20. and this was a sad and a heavy affliction in it self, but it was but easie, and he did but lightly afflict, in comparison of what a latter Captiver or another Kingdom did, namely the *Assyrian*, who *took Jion, Abel-beth-maachah, Janoah, Kedesh, Hazor, and Gilead and Galilee, all the land of Nephthali, and carried them away captive to Assyria*, 2 *King.* 15. 29. *And carried away the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half Tribe of Manasseh*, 1 *Chron.* 5. 26. Yet is not the calamity and misery of these people and places equal to the misery of the despisers of the Gospel and of Christ: for these places saw light again after their captivity, but those shall be driven to utter darkness. And thus doth the Prophet these two main things in this Propheſie: 1. He foretelleth the first appearing and arising of the Gospel, in these places where captivity first appeared: And 2. He denounceth a sadder plague to befal those places and all other among the Jews for despising the Gospel, than what had befallen them for despising the Law and breaking the commandments: and *Nazareth* in the foregoing Section doth first visibly fall under that plague. And now according to this first scope and intention of the Prophet, our Evangelist in the allegation of his Text doth most pertinently fix upon those words that do most properly hold out that sense or prediction, of *the Gospel beginning where the captivity first began:* He omitteth the words in the Prophet that import the forepast misery of these places, for his aim is at their light and happiness to come: And he medleth not with those words that compare the misery to come, of those that should despise the Gospel, with the misery that those places had past, for he intends the Gospels first appearing, and not the Gospels last despising, and therefore he leaveth out all the first part of the verse, and takes up only with the latter which only speaketh to his purpose. And such another abridgment may be observed in *Hosea:* who when he is speaking of *Israels* and *Judahs* sins, misery and rejection, he calls them *Lo-ammi*, and *Lo-ruchamah*, *No people* and *Not pitied*, *Hos.* 1.6.9. But when he is speaking of their conversion and calling home, he leaves the first word or syllable out which carried a sense contrary to the scope that he had then in hand, and he calls them *Ammi* and *Ruchamah: A people* and *Pitied*, *Hos.* 2.1.

The land of Zabulon, &c. In *Esays* Hebrew the word *the land* is in the accusative case, as following a verb that went before it, but the Evangelist hath set it in the nominative case as going before the verb that next comes after, to be construed in this sense. *The land of Zabulon and the land of Nephthali, That people saw great light, &c.*

§. *By the way of the Sea.*

Ὁδὸν θαλάσσης in the Greek: Κατὰ or σὺς being understood according to an usual Hebrew Idiom: In the Text of the Prophet this clause and the rest that follow, lie in this sense: *The latter Captiver did heavily afflict the way of the Sea, or those places that lay upon the Sea coast; he did heavily afflict the coast beyond Jordan, and he did heavily afflict Galilee of the Gentiles.* But in the Text of the Evangelist it is sweetly changed to this comfortable tune: *The land of Zabulon and Nephthali, which are by the way of Sea*, or on the Sea-coasts, *And also Peræa*, or the Country which lies beyond *Jordan:* and *likewise Galilee of the Gentiles*, or the upper *Galilee*, even the people of all these several places saw great light, &c. And thus the clauses of the Text being severed and considered apart, as they ought to be, (for there is only a want of the conjunction, which is a thing most usual in the Hebrew tongue) the sense lies clear and facil; where as some expositors jumbling them altogether as if they spake but of one place, have intricated and perplexed the sense, and have been necessitated to make bold with the language to put a construction upon some part of it, which it is very unwilling and not used to bear. And so they will have πέραν Ἰορδάνου to be not *trans* but *secus Jordanem*, and to be the land of *Zabulon* and *Nephthali*: and *Galilee of the Gentiles* to be *the land of Zabulon and Nephthali* too, and they clutter all together in *the land of Zabulon and Nephthali*; not distinguishing where they should distinguish, between *Galilee superior* (or *Galilee of the Gentiles*,) and *Galilee inferior* (or *the land of Zabulon and Nephthali*) and *Peræa* (or the Country and Region of the two Tribes and half that lay *beyond Jordan*) In these three several Regions had the captiver afflicted, and captivity had begun: In *Galilee Superior* or *Galilee of the Gentiles* at the taking of *Jion, Dan, Abel-beth-Maachah, &c.* In the *lower Galilee* at the taking *all Nephthali*; and in *the Country beyond Jordan* in the taking of *Gilead*, and carrying away the *Reubenites, Gadites*, and half Tribe of *Manasseh:* as the Texts alledged ere while do give testimony: And answerably, in these three Regions did the Gospel appear most radiantly, even in *Christs* own Ministry and his presence there, as may be observed copiously in the

The *Chaldee Paraphrast* translates this passage of the Prophet exceeding strangely, he gives it thus: *For none shall be weary that shall come to afflict them, as at the first time the People of the land of Zabulon and the people of the land of Nephthali were captived: and as for the rest a mighty King shall captive them, because they remembred not the mighty power at the Sea, the wonders at Jordan, and the war with the Cities of the Nations. The people of the House of Israel, that walked in Ægypt as in darkness, came forth to see a great light, &c.* How the *Septuagint* hath spoiled the sense of the verse in the Prophet, by pulling it too much in pieces, as many expositors have done by crowding it too much together, I shall not trouble the Reader with instance, the learned will observe it of themselves.

§. *Beyond Jordan.*

This is to be taken as an intire clause of it self: and neither to be joyned with that that went before, nor that that follows after. And therefore it is but a needless pains which *Beza* spends, to prove that περὰν here signifies *secus*, not *beyond* but *along Jordan*, which he could never be able to prove: and so he would have *Zabulon* and *Nephthali* to be περὰν Ἰορδάνου, not minding the tautology, of ὁδὸν θαλάσσης, & περὰν Ἰορδάνου if they were so to be applied to one place and thing, nor observing the Prophets aim in these various expressions which he useth in the Text.

§. *Galilee of the Gentiles.*

Here the conjunction *and* is to be understood, as it is ordinary in the holy language to leave it out, and yet to understand it as was said before.

Now as for the title of *Galilee of the Gentiles*, it was not the appellation of all *Galilee* wholly, but of a part of it, namely that which was called *the upper*: Observe *Josephus* his division of these two, and their common distinct names, in these words of his, in *Vita sua*, τάς τε κατὰ τὸν ἄνω Γαλιλαίαν κώμα ἐτείχησα: ὠχύρωσα δὲ τὰς ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, &c. *The Towns in the upper Galilee I walled, and the Cities and Towns in Galilee I fortified:* The lower he calls *Galilee* only, and the other he calls *Galilee the upper.* And so ran the distinction, there was *Galilee* and *Galilee of the Gentiles:* that is indeed *Galilee* the lower and the upper.

Vers. 16. *The people sat in darkness, &c.*

In the Hebrew of *Esay* it is, The people which *walked* in darkness, and so it is uttered also by the Septuagint, but our Evangelist, hath expressed it, The people *which sat*, according to the sense of the Prophet though not according to his syllables.

To sit or *To walk* in Scripture when they are used in a borrowed sense, do indifferently signifie *To be* or *To continue*, as *Gen.*15.2. *I walk childless*, *Lam.*1.1. *The City sitteth solitary, &c.* And in such a sense are the words of the Prophet and the Evangelists to be taken. *The people that have been and continued in darkness, &c.*

The people here spoken of, may generally mean all the dark people and places of the world whither the Gospel should come: but more especially it is to be understood of the people of those places that are mentioned immediately before: And so the next verse in the Prophet may be interpreted according to that restriction to those places and people. *Thou hast increased the Nation*, in restoring those places to be peopled again, *but thou hast not increased their joy*, in that they sit still in darkness of ignorance and error: yet the time shall come when they shall *rejoyce before thee as the joy in harvest, &c.* Or if this verse in hand be construed largely of all Nations seeing light by the Gospel, then that verse may be understood thus, that the Nation of *Israel* was increased when the *Gentiles* came in, as *Hos.*1.11. but the joy of the *Jews* was not increased by it, for the calling of the *Gentiles* was their vexation, *God angring them by a foolish Nation:* But in the Hebrew there is a double reading לא *Not*, in the Text, and לו *To him* or *it*, in the margin, which latter is followed by the *Chaldee*, which if it be imbraced the words carry no difficulty with them, applied to the joy that the increase of the Church and light of the Gospel should bring to every true Israelite.

SECTION

SECTION XIX.

St. LUKE Chap. V.

NOW it came to pass as the people pressed on him to hear the Word of God, he stood by the lake of Gennesareth.

2. And saw two ships standing by the lake: but the fisher-men were gone out of them, and were washing their nets.

3. And he entred into one of the ships which was Simons, and prayed him that he would thrust out a little from the land: and he sat down and taught the people out of the ship.

4. Now when he had left speaking, he said unto Simon, Launch out into the deep, and let down your nets for a draught.

5. And Simon answering, said unto him, Master, we have toiled all the night and taken nothing: nevertheless at thy word I will let down the net.

6. And when they had done this, they inclosed a great multitude of fishes, and their net brake.

7. And they beckned unto their partners which were in the other ship, that they should come and help them. And they came and filled both the ships, so that they began to sink.

8. When Simon Peter saw it he fell down at Jesus knees saying, Depart from me, for I am a sinful man O Lord.

9. For he was astonished and all that were with him, at the draught of the fishes which they had taken.

10. And so was also James and John the sons of Zebedee, which were partners with Simon. And Jesus said unto Simon, Fear not, for from henceforth thou shalt catch men.

11. And when they had brought their ships to land, they forsook all and followed him.

St. MATTH. Chap. IV.

Vers. 17.

FROM that time Jesus began to preach and to say, Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.

18. And Jesus walking by the Sea of Galilee, saw two brethren, Simon called Peter, and Andrew his brother, casting a net into the Sea (for they were fishers.)

19. And he saith unto them: Follow me and I will make you fisher of men.

20. And they straightway left their nets and followed him.

21. And going on from thence he saw other two brethren James the son of Zebedee and John his brother, in a ship with Zebedee their father, mending their nets, and he called them.

22. And they immediately lift the ship and their Father, and followed him.

St. MARK Chap. I.

Vers. 14.

JESUS came into Galilee preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom of God.

15. And saying, The time is fulfilled, and the Kingdom of God is at hand, repent ye and believe the Gospel.

16. Now as he walked by the Sea of Galilee, he saw Simon and Andrew his brother, casting a net into the Sea, (for they were fishers.)

17. And Jesus said unto them, Come ye after me, and I will make you to become fishers of men.

18. And straightway they forsook their nets, and followed him.

19. And when he had gone a little further thence, he saw James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother, who also were in the ship mending their nets.

20. And straightway he called them, and they left their father Zebedee in the ship with the hired servants, and went after him.

Reason

Reaſon of the Order.

THERE is not ſo much doubtfulneſs of the ſubſequence of this Section, or at the leaſt of ſome of it, to the Section preceding (for the tranſition in *Matthew* doth make it clear) as there is of ſomething contained within the Section it ſelf. *Luke* had related *Chriſts* unkind uſage and danger by his Townſmen of *Nazareth*, and that thereupon he ſlipt away from them and went to *Capernaum*: There *Matthew* takes at him, and tells how divinely that Propheſie of *Eſay* came now to be fulfilled by his dwelling in thoſe parts, *The land of Zabulon and the land of Nephthali, &c.* And then he comes on with a ſpecial note of conjuction of the ſtories, *From that time Jeſus began to preach, &c.* And how *Mark* doth joyn with him in bringing on this ſtory before us, in the preſent Section, though he doth it very briefly, not mentioning any of his actions in *Galilee* till this in hand, yet is it ſo apparent and conſpicuous that there needeth nothing to be ſaid of it: But in the body of the Section now under hand lie theſe two *queries.*

Queſt. 1. Whether is this ſtory in *Luke* about *Peter*, and *Zebedees* ſons, the ſame with that in *Matthew* and *Mark?* For ſome particular circumſtances do ſeem to difference them: as whereas *Matthew* and *Mark* ſay *Jeſus* was *walking* by the Sea of *Galilee* and ſaw *Peter* and *Andrew* caſting a net into the Sea and called them, *Luke* relates how he was in *Peters* ſhip, and ſpake to him to caſt his net into the Sea, &c. Again *Matthew* and *Mark* ſay, *when he had gone a little further he ſaw James and John mending their nets, &c.* but *Luke* relateth that *James* and *John* came up to *Peters* ſhip, where *Jeſus* was to help to draw up the great draught of fiſhes that was taken, &c.

Anſw. Now though there ſeem to be theſe different, yea contrary circumſtances in the Evangeliſts relation, yet is the ſtory but one and the ſame, but only related more largely by *Luke* than by the other: The texture of it may be taken up thus: As *Jeſus* walked along the Sea ſhore of *Genneſareth*, and the people preſſed on him to hear the word, he ſtepped into *Peters* ſhip and there taught: and having ended his ſpeech he cauſeth *Peter* to caſt down his net for a draught, and he had a great one; (this is that that *Matthew* and *Mark* ſpeak of when they ſay, *He ſaw Peter and Andrew caſting a net into the Sea*, they ſpeaking ſhort, and *Luke* giving the ſtory in its full relation) *Peter* unable to manage ſo great a draught, beckens for *James* and *John* to come and help him, which they did: upon the draught *Chriſt* calls *Peter* to be a fiſher of men, and he lands and follows him: But *James* and *John* returning to their ſtation and to mend their nets, as he comes by he calls them and they follow him alſo: And thus is the ſtory at large as it may be compoſed out of all the three, one helping to explain another, and all relating but the ſame ſtory.

Queſt. 2. If this order of St. *Luke* be proper, as that this action of our Saviour in calling theſe Diſciples, muſt come ſo near his coming to *Capernaum* as *Matthew* hath laid it, how is it that *Luke* hath laid two miracles done in *Capernaum* before this ſtory, *viz.* the caſting out a Devil in *Capernaum* Synagogue, and healing *Peters* wifes mother? Chap. 4. 33.38. which *Mark* hath placed after the ſtory of the calling of *Peter* and the other fiſhers; and ſo it may ſeem to be after their call, and this ſtory in *Luke* to be after thoſe miracles, and another ſtory different from that, of their call.

Anſw. Mark, whoſe method of all the three Evangeliſts is moſt conſtantly according to the order of time in which things were done, hath given one undoubted hint of the order of this ſtory, that it was before the two miracles done there, for when he hath related the calling of the Diſciples, he ſaith, And *they*, that is, Chriſt and theſe Diſciples now called, *went in to Capernaum*, verſ. 21. And *Matthew* alſo in laying the healing of *Peters* mother in law, (which was one of the miracles mentioned) ſo very far after the ſtory of the Diſciples called, doth alſo confirm this method that it was not before.

Now, two things are obſervable in St. *Luke* as to his method: 1. That *Chriſt* refuſed to do any miracles in his own Town of *Nazareth*, though they expected he ſhould ſhew ſome great works there) as he had done in *Capernaum*: Not that he would have refuſed *Nazareth*, had not *Nazareth* refuſed him, as was ſaid before, bt that he would by that his ſpeech have made them to have cloſed with him the more. But now that that Town had ſo baſely and ſo cruelly caſt him off (as that if they could they would have caſt him down a rock) the Holy Ghoſt doth preſently ſet down what he did in *Capernaum*, as by the one ſtory to ſet off the other the more: to ſhew what *Nazareth* had loſt by what *Capernaum* had gained. And whereas in *Nazareth* Synagogue, he had had ſo little reſpect and intertainment, *Luke* hath preſently ſhewed, that yet he taught conſtantly in *Capernaum*, and there found more acceptance, and they found benefit, for there he wrought a miracle. 2. The Evangeliſts aim to the end of the Chapter is apparently this, to ſet forth Chriſts Preaching and Miniſtration in the Synagogues of *Galilee* upon his return thither: He lays his groundwork at verſ. 14, 15. Jeſus returned

returned in the power of the Spirit into *Galilee*, *and he taught in their Synagogues:* And then he dilateth upon that relation: as firſt that he taught in the Synagogue of *Nazareth*, and there he was ill uſed, and thence he went to the Synagogue of *Capernaum*, and there he caſt out a Devil, and then he went over the Synagogues of *Galilee:* And having given this account of what he intended, namely to ſpeak of Chriſts publick and open Miniſtery in the Synagogues, then he cometh to his more particular actions and demeanour: And being in ſpeech of *Capernaum* Synagogue, he mentioneth two miracles done there, ſomewhat before the proper order of their time, becauſe having no more to ſay of that Town of a long ſpace he would conclude all the occurrences there now altogether.

Harmony and Explanation.

AS *Moſes*, *David*, *Eliſha*, and *Amos* were called from their mean and homely imployment, of feeding ſheep and following the plow, to thoſe great functions in which they were ſo eminent and renowned afterwards: ſo are theſe four, (the chiefeſt of Chriſts Diſciples, if we may think of any Diſparity in that glorious ſociety) called from a mean and poor vocation of catching fiſh in the Sea of *Genneſareth*, to the high and honourable imployment of catching ſouls with the net of the Goſpel, See 1 *Cor.*1.27,28.

Galilee as baſe as it was in the repute of the Jews of *Judea*, *Joh.* 7.52. yet had it been renowned in many atchievements, and for ſeveral occurrences, and now was come to be moſt honourable of all other places for the reſidence of *Chriſt*, and original of the Goſpel. *Moſes* had foretold that *Zabulon and Iſſachar*, *Galileans*, *ſhould call the people unto the mountain of the Lords houſe to offer Sacrifices of righteouſneſs*, *Deut.*33.19. And *Jacob* before him, *That Nephthali* the *Galilean ſhould give goodly words*, *Gen.* 49.21. Both evident and glorious predictions of this original of the Goſpel in both places. *Zabulon* and *Nephthali* had done renownedly in the overthrow of *Siſera*, *Judg.* 5. 18. and in the wars of *Gideon*, *Judg.*6.35. ſee alſo 1 *Chron.*12.33,34. &c.

Matth. 4. verſ. 17. *From that time Jeſus began to preach, &c.*

There are two dates to be conjoyned from which this preaching of our Saviour is dated by the Evangeliſt, and both which he intimateth and mentioneth in the verſes before. 1. From *Johns* impriſonment verſ. 12. for when he had now run his race, and prepared what people he could for Chriſts appearing, and ſealed his Miniſtery with ſuffering, then from that time beginneth Chriſt moſt plainly to ſhew himſelf, and to preach the Goſpel. 2. When he was now come into *Galilee* into thoſe parts, where captivity firſt began, and where it was foretold that comfort and appearance of redemption ſhould firſt begin alſo: It is indeed a good ſpace of time ſince *John* was ſhut up in priſon, for Chriſt ſince that had come out of *Judea*, been in *Samaria*, travailed in *Galilee*, and been refuſed at *Nazareth*, and yet till now he beginneth not to preach that the *Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.* Becauſe he would firſt try what intertainment would be given to the Goſpel of the Kingdom, before he declares how near that Kingdom is to come.

Mark 1. verſ. 15. *Saying, The time is fulfilled.*

Queſt. 1. Why was it ſo long in the age of the world, as that almoſt four thouſand years of it were expired before *Chriſt* came, and before the Kingdom of Heaven did appear? Had it not been more agreeable to the end for which Chriſt came, which was to ſave ſinners and to call the *Gentiles*, for him to have come ſooner, and nearer the time when ſin began, and the *Gentiles* were caſt off, than to ſuffer the one to grow ſo much and the other to periſh ſo long ere he appeared?

Anſw. Aquinas diſputeth this point, *part.*3. *queſt.*1. *Art.* 5. and he giveth theſe anſwers. 1. It was not convenient that Chriſt ſhould appear ſo very ſoon after ſin was entred into the world, becauſe it was needful, that man by the Law, ſhould firſt be taught to know his own eſtate and miſery, and to ſee the need he had of the great Phyſitian. 2. Becauſe it was needful that he that was the great Lord and Judge, ſhould have his harbengers and meſſengers to be ſent before him, as the Prophets were, before he himſelf came: other reaſons he giveth, but theſe two are of the greateſt weight. To which may be added. 3. That the coming of Chriſt, and preaching of the Goſpel as it was the higheſt mercy, that could be ſhewed to mankind, ſo it was laſt to be ſhewed, as the laſt trial, whereby the Lord would ſee what was in man, and how he would intertain this greateſt mercy: God had tried the world before with divers trials, the light of nature, the promiſe of Chriſt, a publick ſervice, a ſucceſſion of Prophets, &c. (for *Iſrael* to whom theſe things were allowed were as the Epitome of the world) but all theſe things being abuſed, there

was

was but one trial more, the Lord ſaid, I will ſend my ſon, they will ſurely reverence my ſon, &c.

Queſt. 2. Why did Chriſt appear at that very time of the world rather than any other?

Anſw. 1. As Chriſt came a deliverer from ſin, ſo he appeared when ſin was at the higheſt (ſo the Jews obſerve from *Eſa.* 63. 5.) for if ever it were at height in the world, it was then. Not only among the Gentiles (the Romans, the wicked and bloody Nation, being now as high in all manner of impiety as they were in power) but even among the Jews, they having after all other their ſins, and killing of the Prophets, even killed the Scriptures and the Word of God by their irreligious and accurſed traditions. It was not only ſeaſonable, but it was time for Chriſt to come to revive the Scriptures, which were thus murdered. 2. The Jews were now in as great bondage, or greater than ever they had been, both ſpiritually and bodily: for they were not only inſlaved in their ſouls by blind Teachers, but their outward man was under the double bondage, of the *Romans* and of *Herod*. He of the poſterity of curſed and hated *Edom*, and they the great afflicter, that had now laid that yoke upon the Nation, that it muſt never come from under till *Jeruſalem* be deſtroyed. 3. The Antichriſtian Nation or that ſtate that was to be the continual Ἀντικείμενος or oppoſer againſt the truth, was now riſen, and the wiſdom of God diſpoſed that the Goſpel and this enemy ſhould riſe together.

Now therefore when Chriſt thus began to declare himſelf, the time was fulfilled. 1. Which God from the foundation of the world had determined for this great occaſion. 2. Which all the Prophets did point out and foretel of the coming of the righteous one. 3. Which the Jews themſelves had in expectation. 4. The laſt days were come (to which the Prophets ſtill pointed in their predictions concerning his appearing, as *Eſa.* 2. 2. *Mic.* 4. 1. *&c.*) namely *the laſt days of Jeruſalem*, for ſhe was now come under the bondage of that Nation that was to be her ruine. And 5. *Elias*, *Baptiſt*, was come and had run his courſe.

6. And the Kingdom of God is at hand, Repent ye and believe the Goſpel.

Matth. 4. verſ. 17. *Repent ye, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.*

1. Both *Chriſt* and *John the Baptiſt* uſe this ſame doctrine and argumentation, *Matth.* 3. 2. not only exhorting to repentance becauſe of the neceſſity of the thing it ſelf, but alſo perſuading it from this reaſon, becauſe *The Kingdom of Heaven was at hand.* For 1. That was the peoples great expectation, *Luke* 2 25. 38. & 19. 11. *Mark* 15. 43. And 2. It was their own opinion that *their Redemption by Meſſias muſt be upon their repentance*: This point is diſputed at large by the *Gemariſts* in the Treatiſe *Sankedrin per.* 10. and *David Kimchi* on *Eſay* 59. 16. His words, for he alleadgeth the words of the other, are to this purpoſe. *And he ſaw that there was no man, &c. Behold we find in the Law this ſaying, And thou ſhalt return unto the Lord thy God, and ſhalt hearken to his voice: And he ſaith alſo: And the Lord thy God ſhall turn thy captivity and ſhall pity thee. And ſo he ſaith likewiſe: And from thence ye ſhall ſeek the Lord thy God, and thou ſhalt find him if thou ſeek him with all thy heart and with all thy ſoul. Behold the gathering of their captivity ſhall be by the means of repentance. Now whereas Eſay ſaith, And he ſaw that there was no man, therefore his own arm brought Salvation, &c. And ſo likewiſe, And I looked and there was none to help, &c. And he ſaith, I have ſeen his ways. And whereas Ezekiel ſaith. Not for your ſakes do I this O houſe of Iſrael, &c. And again, I will bring you from among the people. And yet again, I will purge out from among you the rebels and them that tranſgreſs againſt me, I will bring them out of the Country where they ſojourn, and they ſhall not enter into the land of Iſrael. And alſo in the Law he ſaith, I will remember for them the former Covenant, &c. It may ſeem that they come not forth upon their own goodneſs, but upon the mercy of God, and the goodneſs of their Fathers. And alſo by the words of our Rabbins of bleſſed memory we find, that they were intricated about this matter, whether they ſhould come forth by means of repentance or no. For they ſay thus, Rabbi Jochanan ſaith, The ſon of David cometh not, but either in a generation all righteous, or a generation all wicked. In a generation all wicked as it is ſaid, And he ſaw that there was no man and wondered that there was no Interceſſour, and then it follows, Therefore his own arm brought Salvation: In a generation all righteous, as it is written, Thy people are all righteous, they ſhall inherit the land for ever. They ſay moreover thus. Rabbi Joſhua ben Levi ſaith, It is written, Behold one like the ſon of man came with the clouds of Heaven, And it is alſo written, Lowly and riding upon an Aſſe. Now how agrees this, If they be good he comes with the clouds of Heaven, If they be not good, then lowly and riding upon an Aſs? Alſo in their words Rabbi Eliezer ſaith, If Iſrael repent, they are preſently redeemed. Rabbi Joſhua ſaith to him, And is it not ſomewhere ſaid, Ye were ſold for nought and ye ſhall not be redeemed with ſilver: but by repentance and good works? So that we ſee that they*

ſcrupled

ſcrupled amongſt themſelves, whether the gathering of the captivity ſhould be by the means of repentance or no. And the reaſon of this was becauſe of the diverſity of theſe Texts. But it is poſſible thus to reconcile them: That many of Iſrael ſhall repent after that they ſee ſome ſigns of redemption. And hereupon it is ſaid, And he ſaw that there was no man: becauſe they will not repent till they ſee the beginning of redemption.

In ſuch a ſenſe did the Jewiſh Nation hold repentance, an ingredient to the entertainment of the Kingdom of Heaven when it ſhould appear, and ſo both our Saviour and *John* the Baptiſt, in this argumentation, *Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand*, do but apply themſelves to them even upon their own doctrines and concluſions: Now whereas we ſaid, in the explanation of the ſtory of *Nicodemus*, that they expected that the appearing of the *Meſſias* would take them as they were, and that without more ado they ſhoul be tranſlated into a glorious condition, and happineſs ſhould drop into their mouths; it doth not croſs it though it be ſaid here, that they had thoughts of repentance as an ingredient to the intertainment of *Meſſiah* when he came, for exceeding many of them thought they needed no repentance, and for thoſe that needed, they allotted ſuch a kind of repentance, as we ſhall ſee by and by, as was far from any inward alteration of ſpirit or change of mind.

3. Nor doth this manner of arguing, *Repent, becauſe the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand*, ſuit only with the Jews own *maxim* and opinion, and ſo might convince and win them the ſooner, but it alſo agrees moſt properly with the nature of *the Kingdom of Heaven* it ſelf. For 1. if by the term be underſtoood the coming and appearing of the *Meſſias* (as that indeed is the firſt ſenſe of it) what fitter intertainment of his appearing than repentance? For men, when he came to ſave them from their ſins, *Matth.* 1. 18. to repent of their ſins, and when he came as the true light, they to forſake their dark ways: And when the Lord by the appearance of Chriſt for mans redemption, did ſhew as it were that he repented of evil againſt man, how fit was it for man to meet this great mercy by repenting of his own evil? And 2. If the term *the Kingdom of Heaven* be taken for the ſtate of the Church and Religion under the appearance of Chriſt and the Goſpel in compariſon of what it was under the Ceremonious adminiſtrations in the Law, there could be no fitter intertainment of it than by repentance, namely by waſhing, purifying and ſacrificing the heart, when there was no other waſhing, purifying or ſacrificing in Religion to be had, and ſuch external Ceremonies ſhould be gone out of date. 3. And laſtly, if by this phraſe, be meant the Kingdom of Chriſt among the Gentiles, and their calling by the Goſpel (as it alſo reacheth that ſenſe) it was a proper kind of arguing uſed to the Jews to move them to repentance, by minding them of the calling of the Gentiles, whoſe calling in, they knew would be their own caſting off, if they repented not.

II. A ſecond thing worth our conſideration in this our Saviours doctrine, is the word by which he calleth for repentance. What Syriack word he uſed ſpeaking that language it is uncertain (the Syriack tranſlater uſeth תובו *Return* or *be converted*) but the word which the Holy Ghoſt hath left us in the Original Greek Μετανοεῖτε is exceeding ſignificant and pertinent to that doctrine and occaſion. The word is frequently uſed in the Septuagint, concerning God, when he is ſaid to repent or not repent, as 1 *Sam.* 15. 29. *Jer.* 3. 9. *Amos* 7. 3. 6. &c. but the uſe of it applied to man is not ſo frequent in them, as of the word ἐπιστρέφειν, & ἐπιστρέφειν ἀπὸ καρδίας as *Ezek.* 18. 30. becauſe that word doth moſt Grammatically and *verbatim* tranſlate the word שובו, which is the word moſt commonly uſed in the Hebrew, for *Repenting*, and yet do the Septuagint ſometimes uſe Μετανοεῖν for mans repentance, as *Jer.* 8. 6. &c.

The word doth firſt ſignifie a reviewing or conſidering of a mans own ſelf and condition, as *Lam.* 3. 40. and ſo *Brucioli* doth render it in the *Italian*, *Ravedete vi*, view your ſelves, or take your ſelves into conſideration. Secondly, it betokeneth a growing wiſe, or coming to ones ſelf again, as *Luk.* 15. 1. 7. and thereupon it is well rendred by our Proteſtant Divines, *Reſipicite*, *Be wiſe again*, for ſo the word were to be conſtrued in its ſtrict propriety. And thirdly it ſignifieth a change of mind, from one temper to another.

Now the Holy Ghoſt by a word of this ſignificancy, doth give the proper and true character of repentance, both againſt the miſpriſions that were taken up concerning it, by their traditions in thoſe times, and thoſe alſo that have been taken up ſince. The Jews did place much of repentance in a bare confeſſion of the offence, and much of pardon, in the Scapegoats ſending away, and in the ſervice of the day of Expiation, and much in induring the penalty inflicted by the Judges; And undoubted pardon at the day of death: We will take their mind in their own words. *He that tranſgreſſeth againſt an affirmative command and returns preſently, he ſtirs not till God pardon him, and of ſuch it is ſaid, Return O ye backſliding children, and I will heal your backſlidings. He that offends againſt a negative command, repentance keeps him off from puniſhment, and the day of Expiation atones for him, and of ſuch it is ſaid, For to day he will expiate: But he by whom the name of Heaven is*

blaſphemed, repentance hath no power to ſhield him from puniſhment, nor the day of Expiation to atone for him, nor chaſtiſements by the Judges to acquit him. But repentance and the day of Expiation, do expiate a third part, and chaſtiſements a third part, and death a third part. And of ſuch it is ſaid, If this iniquity be purged till you dye, Behold we learn that death acquitteth. Talm. Jeruſ. in Sanhedr. fol. 27. Obſerve by the way, how directly our Saviour faceth this opinion, when he ſaith the blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt ſhall neither be forgiven in this life nor in the life to come, *Matth.* 12.32. that is, no not by the expiation of death as they conceived. Now what a kind of repentance they mean, we may obſerve by ſuch like paſſages as theſe. *All the commandments of the Law, be they preceptive or prohibitive, if a man tranſgreſs againſt any of them, either erring or preſuming, when he repents and turns from his ſin he is bound to make confeſſion: Whoſoever brings a ſin or treſpaſs offering for his error, or preſumption, his ſin is not expiated by his offering, until he make a verbal confeſſion: And whoſoever is guilty of death or of whipping by the Sanhedrin, his ſin is not expiated by his whipping or his death, unleſs he repent and make a confeſſion: And becauſe the Scapegoat is an atonement for all Iſrael, the High Prieſt maketh a confeſſion for all Iſrael over him. The Scapegoat expiateth for all tranſgreſſions mentioned in the Law, be they great or little. Maym. in Teſhubah per.* 1.

This their wild doctrine about repentance and pardon being conſidered, in which they place ſo much of the one and the other in ſuch things, as that the true affectedneſs of the heart for ſin or in ſeeking of pardon, is but little ſpoken of or regarded, we may well obſerve, how ſingularly pertinent to the holding out of the true doctrine of repentance, this word is which is uſed by the Holy Ghoſt, which calleth for *change of mind* in the penitent, and an alteration of the inward temper, as wherein conſiſteth the proper nature and vertue of repentance: and not in any outward actions or applications, if the mind be not thus changed.

And thus as our Saviour, urging the duty of repentance upon them from this reaſon, *becauſe the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand*, argueth to them from one of their own conſeſt opinions: ſo in this original word, by which repentance is called for, another opinion of theirs ſeemeth alſo to be looked upon but with gainſaying and confutation, becauſe they placed ſo much of repentance, if not all repentance, in outward things. And ſo when the Miniſtery of the Goſpel calleth for Repentance, and in ſuch a word as betokeneth a change and alteration of the mind, it doth at once confute the double error that was amongſt them, which was either about not needing of repentance but inſiſting upon legal righteouſneſs: or if they were to repent, it was to be chiefly performed by confeſſion, or offerings, or ſome outward action.

III. Thirdly, It is obſervable in this preaching of *Chriſt*, that to his admonition *to repent*, he alſo adjoyneth the other, *To believe the Goſpel* which *John* the Baptiſt (that we read of) had not done, *Matth.* 3. 2. And yet *John* preached the Goſpel too: for his Miniſtery is called the beginning of it, *Mark* 1.1,2. and he preached that they ſhould believe, *Joh.* 1.7. But his doctrine did mainly aim at the declaring of him that was to preach the Goſpel, that when he came to preach it, he might the more readily be believed. *Joh.* 1.31. *Act.* 19.4. *Johns* chiefeſt and moſt intended task and purpoſe was to point out *Chriſt*, and to bring the people to be acquainted with his perſon, and to take notice of him as the *Meſſias* the great Prophet, to whom it was reſerved to publiſh the great things of the Goſpel, that when he came openly to preach it (as now he doth) he might be the better intertained and hearkned after: And thus *John* makes ready a people prepared for the Lord, *Luke* 1.17. And now that this great Preacher (for whom attention and regard was prepared by all the bent of *Johns* Miniſtery) is come to preach and publiſh the Goſpel in its full clearneſs and manifeſtation, He calleth for repentance and belief of it, as *Act.* 20.21. *Repentance towards God and Faith in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*

Faith or believing, in order of the work of grace, is before repentance, that being the firſt and mother grace of all others, yet is it here, and in other places named the latter, 1. Becauſe, though faith be firſt wrought, yet repentance is firſt ſeen and evidenced both to the heart of him that hath it, and to the eyes of others. 2. Becauſe a poor broken and penitent heart is the moſt proper receptacle of the Goſpel, *Eſay* 61.1. *Matth.* 11.5.

Now by *the Goſpel* is not only here meant, the good and glad tidings of Salvation, as the word ſignifies in the original, and as it is taken in other places: but it is alſo held out here by our Saviour with a ſingular *emphaſis* and circumſtance, namely as the new Law and Covenant which God had promiſed to give unto his people, and which they expected from the *Meſſias*. *The Goſpel*, as it ſignifies the good tidings of Salvation and Salvation by Chriſt, was very abundantly held out in the Law and the Prophets: and if Chriſt propoſed the word here but in that ſenſe, he propoſed his Miniſtery but like unto theirs: But as in the Synagogue of *Nazareth*, he had begun to aſſert himſelf the highly anointed one of the Lord, for the ſingular work of publiſhing the new Law, *Luk.* 4.18. ſo now

and

and forward he doth openly proclaim himſelf to be he whom the Lord had appointed and anointed for that end, and that his Miniſtry and doctrine was that Goſpel or glad tidings, which God had promiſed to ſend by the *Meſſias*: And in this ſenſe it is, that he calls upon them to *believe the Goſpel*, not only in regard of the tenour, but alſo in regard of the diſpenſer and diſpenſation of it, he the great Prophet, and that according to the promiſes of God, and the expectation of the Nation.

The Lord had foretold them copiouſly by the Prophets, that *Meſſias* ſhould be the great Teacher and Lawgiver in the laſt days, and this had put them in expectation of a new Law and doctrine when he ſhould come, *Eſay* 2.1,2,3. *In the laſt days the mountain of the Lords houſe ſhall be eſtabliſhed on the top of the mountains, &c. And many people ſhall ſay, Come and let us go up, &c. And he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths, &c. This Teacher*, ſaith *David Kimchi, is the Meſſias. And whereſoever it is ſaid in the laſt days, it meaneth the days of Meſſias.* And ſo in *Eſa.*11.4. *With righteouſneſs ſhall he judge the poor and reprove with equity:* This the *Chaldee Paraphraſt* expreſly and *nominatim* underſtandeth of *Meſſias:* And ſo he doth that in *Eſa.*42.1. &c. And ſo in *Eſa.*52.7. *How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings*, (or that preacheth the Goſpel) which though the Apoſtle in *Rom.* 10.15. apply generally to the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, yet doth the Context in the Prophet, ſhew that it is primarily and eſpecially to be underſtood of *Chriſt* whom the *Chaldee Paraphraſt* nameth Syllabically at verſ. 13. Such another Propheſie of *Chriſt* being the great Teacher when he ſhould come is that which is ſo much retched and abuſed towards the countenancing of Enthuſiaſm, *Eſa.*54 13. *And all thy children ſhall be taught of God*, where the Prophet ſetting forth the glorious ſtate of the Church in the days of the *Meſſiah*, (and ſo the *Rabbins* underſtand the place) he addeth this, as a ſingular and eminent privilege thoſe times ſhould have above the times that had gone before, and that was, that whereas they had been taught by Prophets and by men, in thoſe times God himſelf in viſible appearance converſing among men in humane nature, ſhould be their Teacher. From ſuch propheſies as theſe whereof there is great ſtore in the Old Teſtament, the expectation of the Nation was raiſed, to look that *Meſſias* when he came, ſhould preach the glad tidings of deliverance, ſhould give a new Law as *Moſes* at *Sinai* had done the old, and ſhould be the great Teacher and Inſtructor of the people. So the *Chaldee Paraphraſt* gloſſeth the two and twentieth verſe of the 2d. Chap. of the *Lamentations*; *Thou wilt proclaim liberty to thy people the houſe of Iſrael by the hand of Meſſias, as thou didſt by the hand of Moſes and Aaron on the day of the Paſsover.* And the *Jeruſalem Targum* on *Exod.*12. *Moſes came out of the midſt of the wilderneſs, and King Meſſias out of the midſt of Rome: The one ſpake in the head of a cloud, and the other ſpake in the head of a cloud: and the Word of the Lord ſpeaking between them and they walking together.* And the *Targum* on *Cant.*8.2. *When King Meſſias ſhall be revealed to the Congregation of Iſrael, the Children of Iſrael ſhall ſay unto him, Come, be with us as a brother and we will go up to Jeruſalem, and will ſuck in with thee the ſenſe of the Law as a child ſucketh his mothers breaſts, &c. And I will take thee O King Meſſias, and will bring thee to the houſe of my Sanctuary, and thou ſhalt teach me to fear the Lord and to walk in his Law. King Meſſias ſhall ſay to them: I adjure you O houſe of Iſrael my people, &c. Stay here a little till the enemies of Jeruſalem be deſtroyed, and after that the Lord will remember you with the mercies of the righteous, and it will be his good pleaſure to deliver you.*

To ſuch promiſes of the Prophets and ſuch expectation of the Nation, (examples of which might be given many more if it were needful) that *Meſſias* when he came ſhould be as another *Moſes*, not only a Deliverer but alſo a Lawgiver, and the great Prophet and Teacher, (after the great decay of Propheſie and inſtruction) it is that Chriſt looketh and hath reference when he calleth on them to *believe the Goſpel.* As if he ſhould have ſpoken thus at large: You expect according to the prediction of the Prophets that when *Meſſias* comes, he ſhall be another Teacher and Lawgiver to you as *Moſes*, that he ſhall preach and proclaim to you deliverance and redemption, that he will inſtruct you in the ways of the Lord, and ſhew you how to walk in his paths: Behold this doctrine that I ſhall now teach, is that great promiſe and expectation. I am he whom the Lord hath anointed, and ſent to preach theſe glad tidings: believe ye therefore the Goſpel which I preach: and as it hath been your great expectation when it would come, ſo let it be intertained and received now it is come among you.

And here is the reaſon why *John* the Baptiſt joyned not this admonition, to *believe the Goſpel*, to the other of *repenting*, becauſe *John* was not to be the preacher of the Goſpel in this ſenſe, but he that was to publiſh it ſo, was then to come. Now though both theſe parts of Chriſts doctrine, *Repent and believe the Goſpel*, were levelled ſo directly and pertinently toward the Jews in reference to their opinions about theſe things, yet are the doctrines and duties of that perpetuity and neceſſity, that they reach both Jew and Gentile to the end of the world. And then the word *Goſpel*, doth not only ſignifie the good tidings of Salvation, nor only as publiſhed and preached by Meſſias, two high and eminent

excellencies, but alſo as the cleareſt and laſt way of God for mans Salvation.

IV. And laſtly, whereas he ſaith *The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand* ἤγγικε: it may be queſtioned whether he mean, it was now come, or near in coming: And indeed it was both. For the term, *The Kingdom of Heaven*, hath a latitude in its ſignification as was obſerved before, and according to that latitude, is the ſenſe of that word alſo dilated: That meaneth the revealing of the Meſſias, and the ſtate of Church affairs, and dilating of the Church under his revealing. Now the revealing of Chriſt was by degrees, as is the dawning of the morning growing to a perfect day. The firſt *Epocha* of his revealing was from the beginning of *Johns* baptizing, *Matth.*11.12,13. *Mark* 1.1,2. Becauſe then he began to be preached as near at hand, and ſome change in the Church *Oeconomy* began by the introduction of Baptiſm: But from his own Baptiſm his revealings increaſed more and more, in the power of his preaching and infinite miracles, but moſt eſpecially in his reſurrection. So that when he ſaith *The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand*, he meaneth the revealing of the *Meſſias* in ſuch evidences and demonſtrations, eſpecially by his riſing again from the dead, as *Rom.* 1.4. that they that were not wilfully blind, might have ſeen the Salvation of God to be then revealed. For concluſion of this diſcourſe concerning the great doctrine of the Goſpel, repentance and believing, take one *Maxime* of the Jews more, *The day of expiation and ſin offerings and treſpaſs offerings do not expiate, but only for thoſe that repent and believe their expiation. Maym. in Shegagah. per.*3.

Luke 5. verſ.1. *As the people preſſed upon him to hear the Word of God.*

There were two things that caught the people and made them thus importunate to hear him, and thoſe were, the tenor of his doctrine, which proclaimed *the Kingdom of Heaven* which they ſo much expected, and the authority of his perſon, whom they looked on as a Prophet at leaſt, if not as *Meſſias*. When it is ſaid, they preſſed upon him to hear the Word of God, the expreſſion *The Word of God* hath its ſingular *Emphaſis* and thoſe paſſages, *They were aſtoniſhed at his doctrine, for he taught them as one that had authority and not as the Scribes*, *Mark* 1. 22. *Mark* 7. 28, 29. do readily tell us in what ſenſe the people take the Word of God, namely in a higher ſtrain and ſignification, than the Doctrines and Preachings of their Phariſees and Scribes: for theſe look upon Chriſt as a Prophetick teacher, and from him they deſire to hear the Word of God as from a Prophet: And if they took him not for the *Meſſias*, yet do they look upon him as one ſent from God, and another kind of Teacher than all their Doctors. The long abſence of Propheſie, and the preſent expectation of *Meſſias* did eaſily beget this opinion, when they alſo ſaw ſuch demonſtrations.

§. *He ſtood by the Lake of Genneſareth.*

Whereas *Luke* ſaith *He ſtood* by this Lake, the other Evangeliſts ſay *he walked:* which difference needeth to breed no ſcruple: for beſides that men in their walking, ſometimes do move and ſometime ſtand ſtill, the ſtory of *Luke* taketh him as he was before he went into *Peters* ſhip, and the other Evangeliſts, as he was come out.

The Lake of Genneſareth, which ſometimes in the Goſpel is called *the Sea of Galilee*, and ſometimes *the Sea of Tiberias*, is conſtantly called in the Old Teſtament, *The Sea of Cinnereth*, *Numb.*34.11. *Joſh.*12.3. 1 *King.*15.20. Now after times had changed the name *Cinereth*, into *Geneſar:* as divers other names and places had received the like alteration. And ſo the Chaldee Paraphraſts (who do commonly call places of ſuch changed names by the names they carried in their times) do uſe the word *Geneſar* or *Ginoſar* in the Texts alleadged: and ſo do the Jews alſo in their writings call this Sea by the ſame name. *Joſephus* hath deſcribed it, in theſe words. *The Lake Geneſar is ſo called from the Country adjoyning, and it is forty furlongs broad and an hundred long, the water ſweet and moſt fit to drink. Pliny thus, Jordanes ubi prima convallium fuit occaſio, in lacum ſe fundit, quem plures Geneſaram vocant, &c. As ſoon as Jordan meets with a valley fit for that purpoſe, it dilates it ſelf into a lake, which they commonly call Geneſara, being* 16 *miles long, and* 6 *miles broad, invironed with fair Towns, as on the Eaſt with Julias and Hippo: on the South with Tarichea, by which name ſome alſo call the lake: on the Weſt with Tiberias, famous for hot baths, Lib.*5. *&* 5. *Strabo* ſaith it had Ἀρωματίνην χίνον καὶ κάλαμον, *Sweet canes growing by it. Lib. Geogr.*16.

About the reaſon of the name *Geneſar*, *Baal Aruch* hath theſe paſſages. *In the Gemara of the firſt Chapter of the Treatiſe of the Paſſover it is ſaid, Why are none of the fruits of Geneſar at Jeruſalem? And in the fourth Chapter of Maaſeroth it is ſaid: The coaſt of Geneſar is quit, though there be mills and Cocks there. Some interpret it of a place near Tiberias where are Gardens and Orchards. The Targum renders, The Sea of Cinnereth, The Sea of Ginoſar: And in Jelammedenu our Rabbins ſay, why is it called Ginoſar? Becauſe of* גני שרים *The Gardens of the Princes. Theſe were the Kings that had Gardens there.*

Rabbi

Rabbi Judah from Rabbi Simeon ſaith, why is it called Genoſar? Becauſe the portion of Nephthali was there, and it is ſaid of Nephthali, A thouſand Princes. And in Jelammedenu it is ſaid again. The border of Nephthali was Ginoſar. So that by the Jews *Etymology*, the name was taken from ſome royal Gardens that lay upon it, which may very well be ſince *Herods* palace was at *Tiberias*: and as from the royalty of that City, the Sea was called *the Sea of Tiberias*, ſo poſſibly from the Orchards and Gardens upon it, it might be called *Geneſar* or *the place of the Princely Gardens*: We cannot but obſerve the propriety of the Greek utterance, in adding the ſyllable *eth* in the latter end of this word, as alſo in the word *Nazareth*, whereas in the Hebrew it is only נצר *Netzer*, both after the letter *r*, but we ſhall not be inquiſitive about it.

Verſ. 3. *And he entred into one of the Ships which was Simons.*

Whether theſe two veſſels that ſtood by the ſhore, whereof *Simons* was one, were ſhip indeed in the proper Bulk and bigneſs, that we allot to ſhips now, let them diſpute that have a mind to it: The Greek word may well be applied to a boat or barge, or ſome ſuch a leſſer veſſel, more convenient for Fiſhermen, than a ſhip of unwieldy bulk and burden. The *Talmud* in the Treatiſe *Zavim per.3.* doth diſtinguiſh betwixt a great and little Ship, thus. *What is a great ſhip? Rabbi Judah ſaith, It is ſuch a one as cannot be moved by one man.* But not to trouble our ſelves about the quantity of this Ship of *Peters*, which belike was but a fiſher Boat, let us rather look a little after the Maſter of it, *Peter* himſelf, and conſider how he is now become a fiſher, ſince he was a Diſciple of *Chriſt* before: for ye have him coming to him and *Chriſt* naming him *Cephas* or *Peter*, *Joh.* 1. 42. Did not he follow him from that time? In the ſeveral places and occurrences where the Diſciples of *Jeſus* are mentioned, as *Joh.*2.2. 17.22. & 3.22. & 4.8. &c. was not he one of the number? And then how come he and *Andrew*, who were then with him, now parted from him, and following fiſhing?

Anſw. 1. We cannot hold otherwiſe than that *Peter* and *Andrew* followed *Chriſt* from their firſt meeting with him, and that they are to be reckoned in the number of his Diſciples, in the places cited, as well as any other. For though it be ſaid of *Andrew* and of his fellow that firſt fell in with him, that *they abode with him that day*, *Joh.* 1.39. as if they left him again on the morrow, it is to be underſtood in reference to the place, rather than to the limitation of the time, namely that they ſtayed with him all night at his own houſe. 2. We cannot conceive that *Peter* and *Andrew* being now upon their Fiſhermans imployment, had left *Chriſt* without his permiſſion and conſent, but that he had diſpenſed with them, to retire to their own homes and buſineſs for a ſeaſon. But when and whereupon that diſpenſation was, is ſtill a queſtion. I ſee not how we can conjecture the time and occaſion more properly than thus: One cauſe of *Johns* impriſonment, was the multitude of his Diſciples, for that gave *Herod* ſuſpition of innovation: Now when *John* was impriſoned *Chriſt* heard of it, and of the cauſe; and withal he heard that the Phariſees who were in all the power, did take notice, that he had more Diſciples than *John* had: This makes him to ſlip aſide for his ſafety out of *Judea* into *Galilee*. And when he comes into *Herods* own juriſdiction, it was for his ſafety alſo to diſperſe his Diſciples for a time to their own homes: for as yet he was not to begin to publiſh *the Kingdom of Heaven*, and himſelf the *Meſſias*, in the full and cleareſt demonſtration, but a ſpace was yet to paſs, and then he begins to preach, *The time is fulfilled, and the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand, &c.* We may therefore conjecture, that upon his coming up into *Galilee*, his Diſciples and he, by his own permiſſion, did part for a while, leſt *Herod* obſerving another man ariſing in *Galilee*, followed with many Diſciples as *John* had been, ſhould ſodainly have laid hold upon him, and made him drink of *Johns* cup. But *Jeſus* himſelf alone goeth about to divers Synagogues of *Galilee*, and is received: cometh home to his own City *Nazareth*, and is there refuſed, goeth down to his other home *Capernaum*; and there beginneth to ſhew himſelf for the *Meſſias*, and calls his Diſciples in again. *Peter* and *Andrew* therefore, and it may be, *James* and *John*, having been thus diſmiſſed, what had they to do, but to fall to their old imployment? For then to preach or to Baptize in the name of *Chriſt* had been againſt that privacy of *Chriſt* which was for his preſent ſafety, till he by preaching abroad alone himſelf, had gotten footing in the hearts of the people. And for them to live idely, was neither for their advantage nor for their piety, and ſo till Chriſt call them again to a new imployment, they follow their old: But after this call that they are to have now, they never return to make this a trade again. *Peters* fiſhing in *Joh.* 21. was more for a trial than for a trade, and rather in expectation of a ſecond miracle in evidence of *Chriſts* favour to him upon his recovery from his fall, (as here he had a miracle at his call) than in following his old vocation as his buſineſs.

§. *And he taught the People out of the Ship.*

The living waters of the doctrine of the Gospel that had begun to stream at the Temple, *Joh.* 2. 14. (even on the South of the Altar, *Ezek.* 47.1. for on that side was the market of Cattel, where *Christ* first began to shew his zeal) are now come into the Sea: and that Prophesie of *Ezekiel* accomplished almost to the very letter. *The Rabbins say, whither did these waters go? Into the Sea of Tiberias, and into the Sea of Sodom and into the Ocean, R. Sol. and Kimch. in loc. ex Tosapht. in Succah.* compare *Psal.*29.3.

Vers. 6. *They inclosed a great multitude of Fishes.*

1. Here those creatures come in in homage to the second *Adam*, that had never come in so, to the first: See *Gen.* 2.19. Birds and Beasts had come to him to receive their names, but so did not the fish, though they were also in his subjection. 2. Compare the case of *Jonah* and *Simon bar Jonah* here together: the one caught of a fish when he refused to Preach when he was sent, and the other catching fish, being now to be sent to Preach, and by that very thing incouraged to it. 3. *Christ* by this miracle did not only figure out unto them, the imployment upon which he was now to enter them, to be fishers of men, as he himself applies it, but he also shews, how he can provide for them if they follow him, and how he will follow their indeavors in the Ministery with success.

Vers. 8. *Depart from me, for I am a sinful man.*

What? *Peter* on his knees to beg *Christ* from him? *Spirit and Bride say Come, Revel.* 22.17. and *Peter* desire that he should Depart? So say the wicked, *Job* 22. 17, 18. but with affections as far different from *Peters*, as both their words do seem parallel and alike. He speaketh from amazement and fear, and considerancy of the Circumstances of the present occurrence. He was amazed at the great miracle, *ver.*9. He was afraid at the visible appearance of so great power being so near him: and he considered that the miracle was wrought for his sake, and therefore in all humbleness he disclaims himself as most unfit to be so near *Christ* either in place or favour. Not that he was weary of him, but that he acknowledgeth himself unworthy of him; parallel to the words of the Centurion, *Matth.* 8.8. *Lord I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof.*

Vers. 10. *James and John the sons of Zebedee.*

Concerning these four first called Disciples, the two sons of *Jona*, and the two sons of *Zabdi* or *Zebedee* (for the names are the same) we may observe these things:

1. That *Peter* is ever named first in the Catalogue of the twelve Apostles, and the reason is, because he was first called to be an Apostle. It is true indeed, that *Andrew* and another not named, were Disciples and followed Christ before *Peter* did, *Joh.* 1.36. but they then followed uncalled, and they followed only as Disciples, but now Christ cometh to call them, and to call them for Apostles, and *Peter* is first dealt withal in this call; *Andrew* indeed was in the Ship and in the call with him, and he saith to him that he should be a fisher of men, as well as to *Peter*, but the interchange of Discourse that was betwixt Christ and *Peter* (which *Luke* relateth) doth sufficiently intimate unto us, that in order *Peter* had the first call of the two.

2. *James* or *Jacob* is commonly called *James the great*, in distinction from *James the son of Alpheus*, who is called *the less*, not for any dignity or superiority of Apostleship that the one had above the other, but either because this *James* was the elder, or because he was first called, or because of the singular privacy that Christ admitted him to with himself, as he also did *Peter* and *John*, of which anon.

3. *John* is called the *Disciple whom Jesus loved*, *Joh.* 13.23. who leaned in his bosom, to whom he committed his mother, and to whom he imparted the Revelation of the State of the Church till his second coming, as he had done the State of his Church till his first coming to *Daniel a man greatly beloved also. Dan.*10.11. The reason of this title is variously guessed, if any thing in himself might procure that title, I should assoon as any thing conceive it to be because he was Christs first Disciple, as *Peter* was the first called Apostle: For whereas there is mention of two of *Johns* Disciples who first followed Jesus, and *Andrew* named for one of them, there is none so like to be the other as *John* himself who wrote the story, *Joh.*1.37. &c. And this may appear probable, not only from his partnership with *Andrew* in his fishing trade (and so might they go together to *Johns* Baptism) but also because he concealeth the name of that Disciple (whereas he mentioneth the names of all the rest) as he useth to conceal his own name generally throughout all his Gospel.

4. The

4. The name *Andrew* is used in the *Hierusalem Talmud* in *Midd. per.*4. אנדרו בר חוננא בשם ר ובי *Andrew the son of Chinna saith in the name of Rabbi Zacchæus, &c.* The *Andrew* that we have in hand, was a Disciple with the first, Yoke-fellow with *John* in first following Christ, a Disciple before *Peter*, and a called Disciple before *James* and *John*; and yet which may seem somewhat strange, he is ever set after all of them, and in some particulars we find all the three priviledged above him. There is none that hath read the Gospel, but he may observe, how Christ did sometimes put a singular respect upon *Peter* and *James* and *John*, not only above the rest of the Apostles who were called after them, but even above *Andrew* who was both a Disciple and an Apostle with the first. As when he went to raise up *Jairus* daughter, he suffered *no man to follow him but Peter and James and John*, *Mark* 5.37. when he went to his transfiguration, *he taketh only Peter and James and John*, *Matth.*17.1. and when he went to his agony, *he taketh only with him Peter and the two sons of Zebedee*, *Matth.*26.37. And thus to these three only a part from all the rest did he shew himself in his greatest power, glory, and combat: the reason of which may be supposed to have been twofold.

1. Because he had designed these three in a more singular manner, for the ministry of the Circumcision, *James* in *Judea*, *Peter* to the dispersion in the East, and *John* in the West: The Apostle in *Gal.*2.9. nameth *James and Cephas and John* together, as pillars and agents in such a ministration: where the *James* indeed that he mentioneth, was not the same that we have in hand, for he was *James the less*, but he was one that came into that place and ministration in stead of *James the great*, when he was dead. For why should *Herod* in *Act.*12. lay hands upon *James* the brother of *John*, and destroy him first, rather and sooner than any other of the Apostles, but because there was appearance of singular and peculiar activity of *James* in that place, in the ministration among the circumcised.

2. Because Christ had designed these three for martyrdom, and for the eminentest witnesses of him of all the rest. He readeth *Peters* doom to that purpose, *Joh.*21.18,19. and so he doth to *James* and *John*, *Matth.*20.23. The martyrdom of *James* is recorded *Act.*12.2. and when he was thus taken away, *James the less* came in his stead, *as special Minister and Apostle to the Jews or Circumcision within their own Land.* And hence it is that he is named first of the three, *Gal.*2.9. and that he is named with such peculiarity, *Act.*15. 13. & 12.17. & 21.18. &c.

Peter after a long stay at *Hierusalem* and thereabout, was gotten at the last to the Eastern *Babylon*, the old place of Idolatry and persecution, but now a Church, 1 *Pet.*5. 13. Although there were many thousands of Jews that returned again out of the Captivity of *Babylon*, under the Proclamation of *Cyrus*, yet were there exceeding many also that staid behind and returned not; insomuch that they came to have their Universities in *Babylonia*, and their publick Schools and teachers there as well as in *Judea*; and were in a kind of a Common-wealth there as well as in their own Country. Among these *Peter* is sent as a Minister, and among these it is like he sealed his Ministry with his blood, see 2 *Pet.*1.13,14.

We read of *Johns* being in the Isle *Patmos*, but further Westward we find him not in all the Scripture; where he ended his life and sealed the Gospel with his blood, it is hard to determine: Histories have brought him to *Rome*, in which it may be they have not missed the mark very much, had not some of them told wild stories of him there. It may be as both *James's* the Ministers of the Circumcision in *Judea*, were martyred at *Jerusalem*, so *Peter* the Minister of the Eastern dispersion was martyred in the Eastern *Babylon*, and *John* the Minister of the Western, in *Babylon* in the West.

What became of *Zebedee* the father of these two eminent Apostles, when his sons were called away from him, the Scripture is silent; It saith, *his sons left him in the Ship with the hired servants*, and followed the call that Christ had given them. It is not to be thought that they sleighted their father when they left him; but only they complied with that imployment that he that called them would put them upon, which their father possibly by reason of his age was unable to do. Nor can we think that they left their father in his Judaism and unbelief, or that he so continued: certain it is, their mother *Salome* was a constant and zealous follower of Christ, *Matth.* 26.56. and we have no reason to think of any less faith or piety in *Zebedee* himself, only whether he followed Christ, as his sons and wife did, or followed still his lawful calling and imployment, it is not revealed in Scripture, nor is it much material to enquire after. The name *Zabdi* or *Zebedee*, is a name that is exceeding frequent in mention among the Talmudicks.

SECTION XX.

St. *MATTH.* Chap. VIII.

Verſ. 14.

AND when Jeſus was come into Peters houſe, he ſaw his wives mother laid and ſick of a Fever.

15. *And he touched her hand and the Fever left her. And ſhe aroſe and miniſtred unto them.*

16. *When the Even was come, they brought unto him many that were poſſeſſed with Devils, and he caſt out the ſpirits with his word, and healed all that were ſick.*

St. *MARK* Chap. I.

Verſ. 21.

AND they went into Capernaum and ſtraightway on the Sabbath day he entered into the Synagogue and taught.

22. *And they were aſtoniſhed at his doctrine, for he taught them as one having authority and not as the Scribes.*

23. *And there was in their Synagogue a man with an unclean Spirit, and he cryeed out,*

24. *Saying, Let us alone, what have we to do with thee, thou Jeſus of Nazareth? Art thou come to deſtroy us? I know who thou art, The holy one of God.*

25. *And Jeſus rebuked him, ſaying, Hold thy peace, and come out of him.*

26. *And when the unclean Spirit had torn him, and cried with a loud voice, he came out of him.*

27. *And they were all amazed, inſomuch that they queſtioned among themſelves ſaying, What thing is this? What new doctrine is this? For with authority commandeth he even the unclean ſpirits, and they obey him.*

28. *And immediately his fame ſpread abroad throughout all the region round about Galilee.*

29. *And forthwith when they were come out of the Synagogue they entered into the houſe of Simon and Andrew with James and John.*

30. *But Simons wives mother lay ſick of a fever, and anon they tell him of her.*

31. *And he came and took her by the hand, and lift her up, and immediately the Fever left her, and ſhe miniſtred unto them.*

32. *And at Even when the Sun did ſet, they brought unto him all that were diſeaſed, and them that were poſſeſſed with Devils.*

St. *LUKE* Chap. IV.

Verſ. 31.

AND he came down to Capernaum a City of Galilee, and taught them on the Sabbath days.

32. *And they were aſtoniſhed at his doctrine, for his word was with power.*

33. *And in the Synagogue there was a man which had a Spirit of an unclean Devil, and cryed out with a loud voice,*

34. *Saying, Let us alone, what have we to do with thee thou Jeſus of Nazareth? Art thou come to deſtroy us? I know who thou art, The holy one of God.*

35. *And Jeſus rebuked him, ſaying,* [*] *Hold thy peace, and come out of him. And when the Devil had thrown him in the midſt, he came out of him, and hurt him not.*

36. *And they were all amazed and ſpake among themſelves, ſaying, What a word is this? For with authority and power he commandeth the unclean Spirits and they come out.*

37. *And the fame of him went out into every place of the Country round about.*

38. *And he aroſe out of the Synagogue and entered into Simons houſe: and Simons wives mother was taken with a great Fever, and they beſought him for her.*

39. *And he ſtood over her and rebuked the Fever and it left her: And immediately ſhe aroſe and miniſtred unto them.*

40. *Now when the Sun was ſetting, all they that had any ſick with divers diſeaſes, brought them unto him, and he laid his hands on every one of them and healed them.*

[*] φιμώθητι. Be *muſſelled*, as the word is uſed 1 *Tim.* 5.18. the *emphaſis* of which word ſheweth that it was not a bare command of ſilence that Chriſt gave him, but that that command had ſuch power went with it that it caſt a muſſel upon the mouth of *Satan* that he could not ſpeak more.

St. MATTH. CHAP. VIII.	St. MARK CHAP. I.	St. LUKE CHAP. IV.
17. *That it might be fulfilled which was ſpoken by Eſaias the Prophet, ſaying, Himſelf took our infirmities and bare our ſickneſſes.*	33. *And all the City was gathered together at the door.* 34. *And he healed many that were ſick of divers diſeaſes, and caſt out many Devils, and ſuffered not the Devils to ſpeak becauſe they knew him.* 35. *And in the morning riſing up a great while before day, he went out and departed into a ſolitary place, and there prayed.* 36. *And Simon and they that were with him followed after him.* 37. *And when they had found him they ſaid unto him, All men ſeek thee.* 38. *And he ſaid unto them, Let us go into the next towns, that I may preach there alſo: for therefore came I forth.* 39. *And he preached in their Synagogues throughout all Galilee, and caſt out Devils.*	41. *And Devils alſo came out of many, crying, and ſaying, Thou art Chriſt the Son of God. And he rebuking them ſuffered them not to ſpeak: for they knew that he was Chriſt.* 42. *And when it was day, he departed and went into a deſert place, and the people ſought him and came unto him, and ſtayed him that he ſhould not depart from them.* 43. *And he ſaid unto them I muſt preach the Kingdom of God to other Cities alſo: for therefore am I ſent.* 44. *And he preached in the Synagogues of Galilee.*

Reaſon of the Order.

THE juncture of the two ſtories contained in this Section, is ſo clear from the tranſition of *Mark* and *Luke* from the one ſtory to the other, that nothing needeth to be ſaid more of that: and the ſubſequence of the former ſtory of the two, to that that is contained in the former Section, namely about the calling of the Diſciples is apparently enough proved, by the entrance of *Mark* into this ſtory, when he ſaith, *They*, that is, Chriſt and his new called Diſciples (as his method ſhews it is to be underſtood) *entred into Capernaum, &c.* which thing we had occaſion to obſerve alſo, in the proof of the order of the former Section. All the difficulty therefore about the order of this is about *Matthews* placing the ſtory of the healing of *Peters* Mother in law: He hath laid it after the Sermon in the Mount, after the healing of the Leper, and after the healing of the Centurions Servant, whereas it is evident enough by the other Evangeliſts, that it was before any of theſe whichſoever was firſt. But the reaſon of his order may be obſerved to be this. In chap. 4. 25. he had ſaid that Jeſus *went about all Galilee, teaching in their Synagogues, and preaching the Goſpel of the Kingdom, and healing all maner of ſickneſs:* Here are two heads, that the Evangeliſt hath before him to inſiſt upon, and to give the relation of, and theſe are the Doctrine of Chriſt and his miracles. He firſt beginneth with his doctrine, and ſo layeth down the Sermon in the Mount: and having done with that Doctrinal relation, he beginneth with the ſtory of his miracles. And firſt he telleth of the healing of the Leper, which was the firſt miracle he wrought in his perambulation of *Galilee*: then he relateth the healing of the Centurions Servant, which was the firſt miracle he wrought after his Sermon in the Mount: and being in mention of *Capernaum*, where the Centurions Servant was healed, he alſo ſpeaketh of other miracles done in the ſame Town, though not at the ſame time, and that was the healing of *Peters* mother in Law: and others that were brought to him, of ſeveral diſeaſes: And this manner of Method, or flitting of ſtories, from their proper time and place, into other times and places of his Goſpel, upon ſuch like reaſons and occaſions, as this, we ſhall find to be no ſtrange thing with *Matthew*, as we go along, but exceeding uſual and very common.

Harmony and Explanation.

Mark 1. verſ. 22. *He taught as one having authority, and not as the Scribes.*

THE Scribes of whom there is ſo frequent mention in the Goſpel, were the learned of the Nation, that taught the People, and expounded the Law, Therefore he that in *Matth.* 22. 35. is ſtyled a *Lawyer*, in *Matth.* 12. 28. is called a *Scribe*. And *Phariſees* and *Doctors*, *Luke* 5. *v.* 17. are called *Phariſees* and *Scribes*, *ver.* 21.

And in this ſenſe doth the Chaldee Paraphraſt very often uſe the word *Scribe*, to tranſlate that that in the Original is a *Prophet*, meaning a *Teacher*, as *Eſay* 9. 5. *The Scribe that teacheth lies, he is the taile*, 1 *Sam.* 10. 10, 11. *A company of Scribes met him, &c. And when they ſaw that he was praiſing God among the Scribes, &c. They ſaid, Is Saul alſo among the Scribes, &c.* In this ſenſe our Saviour calleth ſome of his Miniſters *Scribes*, *Matth.* 23. 34. that is, *Teachers.*

The diſtinction of the *Scribes* into ſeveral ranks, we ſhall obſerve within a few leaves: but take we them in what rank we will, or all of their ranks together, we ſhall find a vaſt difference betwixt the teaching of Chriſt, and the teaching of any or all theſe Scribes in theſe particulars.

1. The Scribes taught nothing but traditions; what this or that or the other Doctor or Sanhedrin in former time had taught and determined: what *Hillel Shammai*, *Baba ben Bota*, *Rabban Simeon or Gamaliel*, or others their great learned men, had aſſerted or denied, and how they had ſtated this and the other queſtion, and how they had concluded in this or that reſolution: ſo that their whole teaching was but traditions of their Fathers and learned predeceſſors, *Gal.* 1.14. *Mat.* 15.6. Hence are thoſe Phraſes and paſſages ſo common in their Talmuds תנו רבנן & תני תניא *It is a Tradition*, and our *Doctors have thus delivered* חכמים אמרים *The wiſe men have thus determined, &c.* that almoſt every line ſpeaks ſuch language. But our Saviour taught in the evidence and demonſtration of a Prophet, the ſound and powerful and ſelf-grounded word of God: And in that he doth ſo conſtantly avouch his own Authority, *Verily verily I ſay unto you*, and *But I ſay unto you, &c.* he doth not only aſſert his divine and oracular authority of delivering the truth, but he alſo faceth that common manner of teaching of theirs, which was pinned upon the ſleeve of other mens traditions: And when he biddeth *call no man Father* (that is, Teacher) *upon Earth*, he croſſeth that vain Divinity that they taught which was but the Traditions of their *Fathers*, that is their Doctors.

2. All the teaching of the Scribes was eſpecially about external, carnal, and trivial rites, ceremonies and demeanours: as appeareth infinitely in their Talmudical Pandect, which was but hay, ſtraw, ſtubble, nothing in compariſon of the ſound doctrines of Salvation. Hardly a word in all their Traditions that ſpake any thing, but bodily and carnal matter, as he that ſhall read their Talmuds from end to end will find but little diſcourſe but tending to ſuch a purpoſe: And we need not to go far for a patern of what kind of divinity it was that theſe great Doctors of the people taught, theſe places in the Goſpel give copy enough, *Matth.* 15. 1, 2. & 23. 16, 18, 23, 25. *John* 18. 28. *Acts* 10. 28. *Col.* 2. 21. &c. But the tenor of Chriſts teaching was the ſpiritual and ſoul-ſaving doctrine, of Faith, Repentance, Renovation, Charity, Self-denial, and ſuch heavenly things as theſe, which by how much the more they had been ſtrangers in the pulpits of the Scribes, and never heard of before, by ſo much the more, did they now take the people, with affecting and admiration, being delivered in power, and piercing and preſſing upon the heart.

3. The teaching of the Scribes was litigious and in endleſs diſputes, as *Rom.* 14. 1. 1 *Tim.* 6. 5. Their Doctors and Traditionaries, whom they took upon them to build upon, were of ſo many and ſo different minds, that they that followed them knew not what to follow: He that is never ſo little verſed in the Talmuds, will eaſily ſee ſuch experience in this matter, that he will find it readier to tell what thoſe Doctors ſeverally held, than to chooſe what to hold from them, if one would follow them. But our Saviour taught one only conſtant and undivided truth, plain, convincing and ſo agreeing with the Doctrine of the Old Teſtament, that it was the ſame, but only in a brighter and a clearer garniſh. The people therefore, in this great difference of teaching between their own Doctors and Chriſt would eaſily perceive an alteration: and by how much the more our Saviours doctrine was more ſpiritual, and ſpeaking to the concernment of the Soul, and by how much more it was delivered in the demonſtration of a divine power, by ſo much the more it could not but convine the hearers of its own value and dignity, and work in them an aſtoniſhment at ſo high and ſo powerful truths.

Verſ.

Verſ. 23. *And there was in their Synagogue a man with an unclean ſpirit, &c.*

Here is the firſt place in the ſtory of our Saviour, where we meet with mention of any poſſeſſed or ſeiſed on bodily by the Devil, and therefore it will be ſomething needful to ſpeak a little in general concerning this caſe, of which we have very frequent example in the proceſs of the Evangelical ſtory.

I. It cannot but be obſerved how common this ſad condition, of being poſſeſſed by the Devil, was in the time of our Saviours miniſtery and thereabout, above all the times of the old Teſtament, and beyond any examples in any other Nation. See *Mat.* 4. 24. & 8. 28. & 9. 32. & 10. 8. & 12. 22. & 15. 22. & 17. 18. *Mark* 1. 39. & 3. 11. *Luke* 10. 17. *Acts* 10. 38. &c. Which whether it were, 1. In regard that the Spirit of Propheſie had been ſo long departed from them, as 1 *Sam.* 16. 14. Or 2. that the Lord would in juſtice confute by this dreadful experience, the curſed doctrine of the *Sadducees* that was now rife among them, *that there was no ſpirit*, *Acts* 23. 8. Or, 3. that he did evidence his great diſpleaſure againſt the ſinfulneſs and erroneouſneſs of thoſe times, which was now grown extream by this viſible delivery over of ſo many to the power of the father of ſin and error. Or, 4. that he would by this doleful experience read to all men a Lecture what miſery it is to be in the power and ſubjection of Satan, and ſo make them more intent to hearken after him, that was to break the head of the Serpent; or were it all theſe together. Certainly 5. it did highly redound to the honour of Chriſt, and to the magnifying of his divine power, and did mightily evidence that he was come the deſtroyer of the works of the Devil, when finding ſo very many that lay ſo viſibly under his power, he inlarged them all, and brought them from under his force, and bound the ſtrong one and he could not reſiſt. And the ſame tendency to his glory had the like powerful working of his Apoſtles by derived vertue from himſelf, *Mat.* 10. 8. *Luke* 10. 17. *Acts* 8. 7. & 19. 12.

II. It is obſervable that we do not find that any were healed of this ſad malady till Chriſt came and began the work. It is true indeed that *David* by the power of the Prophetick Spirit that was upon him, did calm the raging of *Sauls* evil Spirit when he grew turbulent, but neither did he nor any other at any time till now, caſt either his or any other evil ſpirit out: You muſt give *Joſephus* leave to tell his ſtory of *Solomons* skill which he left behind him, of driving out the Devil out of the poſſeſſed by applying a certain root unto his noſtrils, *Antiq. lib.* 8. *cap.* 2. *pag. apud me* 230. as well as the *Apocrypha* of *Tobit* hath had leave a long time to tell of the Devil ſmoked away with the broyling of a fiſh liver, *Tob.* 8. 3. but you may eaſily ſmell them both, what ſent and ſenſe they carry with them.

As it was reſerved for Chriſt utterly to break and bruiſe the head of the Devil, ſo was it reſerved to him, to ſhew this maſtery firſt upon him, by caſting him out where he had taken poſſeſſion, and no man might nor could do it before him. I have obſerved in another place, that as the two firſt miracles wrought in the World, (which were turning a rod into a Serpent, and the Serpent into a Rod again; the hand into leproſie, and the leproſie into ſoundneſs again) did ſhew the great power of him in whoſe power they were wrought, and did refer to the preſent occaſion, which *Moſes* was then going about: ſo did they more ſingularly refer to the miracles of Chriſt: To whom as it belonged to caſt the Devil the old Serpent out of the Soul, and to heal the leproſie of ſin, ſo to him was it reſerved to caſt the Devil out of the body, and to cure the leproſie of the body, and none did it, none could do it till he came; *Eliſha* would not ſo much as touch *Naaman* in concurrency to this truth.

III. Thoſe whom the Devil thus ſeized on bodily, we may diſtinguiſh into two ſorts or ranks, 1. Thoſe whom he poſſeſſed ſo, as to wrack and torture them, or to infect them with ſome diſeaſe, as *Mark* 5. 5. *Luke* 9. 39. & 13. 16. *Mat.* 12. 22. And 2. thoſe whom he dwelt in bodily, to make them by falſe miracles and predictions, inſtruments of his ſeduction and deluſion, as *Acts* 16. 16. and as *Sibylla Cumæa* is deſcribed by the Poet:

Talia cui fanti non vultus, non color unus:
Non comptæ manſere comæ, ſed pectus anhelum,
Et rabie fera corda tument: majorque videri,
Nec mortale ſonans afflata eſt numine quando
Jam propriore Dei, &c.

And a little after,

Bacchatur vates, magnum ſi pectore poſſit
Excuſſiſſe Deum, tanto magis ille fatigat
Os rabidum, fera corda domans, fingitque premendo.

Now to be bodily poſſeſſed by the Devil, was the ſaddeſt earthly miſery could befal a man: and therefore *giving up to Satan* was the higheſt puniſhment could be inflicted, 1 *Cor.* 5. 5. 1 *Tim.* 1. 20. For how doleful a thing muſt it needs be reputed, 1. When that body which ſhould be the Temple of the Holy Ghoſt, ſhould become the very local cage, and bodily habitation of *Satan.* 2. When the Members were acted and uſed by the Devil, as if he had been the very ſoul that did animate the body. 3. When mans greateſt enemy ſhould ſo apparently dwell within him, and have ſuch power over him. And 4. When he either carried the Devil, or the Devil him, or indeed both, whitherſoever he went? Yet were there degrees of this miſery, and the latter kind mentioned was the worſe and the more grievous of the two, though it ſeemed not always ſo in appearance: for in the former poſſeſſedneſs it was poſſible that the Devil might not have ſeiſure on the ſoul though he had of the body, as *Mark* 9. 21. But in the latter he had poſſeſſion of both.

IV. Of this latter ſort was this man in the Text, namely, a man poſſeſſed with a Spirit of divination, whom the Devil filled and acted, under the notion of an Enthuſiaſt or Prophet to decieve the People. For 1. he is ſaid by *Mark* to be Ἐν πνέυματι, *In an unclean Spirit*, as the words do properly ſignifie, (whereas indeed the unclean ſpirit was in him) intimating that he was in the acting or a Prophetick rapture of the Devil, as true and holy Prophets indeed, in the actings and raptures of the Ghoſt, are to be *in the Spirit*, *Rev.* 1. 10. 2. *Luke* hath expreſſed it ἔχων πνῦμα δαιμονίυ, That he had the *Spirit of the Devil:* namely, in ſuch a kind of ſenſe, as on the contrary part, the Holy Prophets are ſaid to *have the Spirit of God*, *Dan.* 4. 5, 6. *&c.* 3. Both the Evangliſts do ſtyle the Spirit wherewith he was poſſeſſed, *An unclean Spirit:* which as in general it ſtands in direct oppoſition to the term, *The Holy Spirit*; ſo is it moſt properly and ſingularly applyed to the Spirit of error and falſe teaching, *Zech.* 13. 2. *Rev.* 16. 13, 14. And 4. the words that the Devil uttered by the mouth of the poſſeſſed man, tend directly and only to deceive and to withdraw from Chriſt, as is apparent in their conſtruction.

Verſ. 24. *Let us alone: what have we to do with thee? &c.*

It is all one as to the ſenſe of the words inſuing, be the firſt worn Ἐα, taken either for an Adverb of grief and wonder, and a Greek expreſſion of the Hebrew הא or be it taken for a Verb, as the *Syrian*, *Vulgar* and our Engliſh take it, when they render it, *Let alone:* The ſcope of the mans words in the whole verſe may be taken up in theſe obſervations.

1. That though indeed it were the Devil within the man that dictated the words to him, yet was it the man that uttered them, and the men of the Synagogue heard the man ſpeaking. The Greek *Syntax* in the Text of the Evangeliſts, eſpecially of St. *Luke*, maketh it plain.

2. When he uſeth the plural number, *We* and *Us*, (*What have* we *to do with thee, art thou come to deſtroy* us?) he ſpeaketh of himſelf, and the reſt of the men of the Synagogue with him: for that theſe words are not applicable to the Devils, which was but one in the poſſeſſed, needeth no more proof than what is in the verſe it ſelf, where when the Devil, or the man by inſtinct of the Devil ſpeaketh of himſelf, he uſeth the ſingular number, I know thee.

3. When he proclaimeth Chriſt *the holy one of God*, (as he is ſtyled, *Pſal.* 16. 10. *Dan.* 9. 24. &c.) he neither doth it, as a voluntary confeſſion of him, for that cannot be expected from the Devil; nor as a ſtrained or forced confeſſion, by the power of Chriſt, for Chriſt commands his ſilence, but it is ſuch a confeſſion and proclamation of Chriſt, as whereby he might make the men of the Synagogue afraid of him, and not daring to have to deal with him becauſe of his dreadfulneſs. So high and dreadful things are ſpoken concerning the coming of Chriſt in the Scripture, as *Mal.* 3. 2. and ſo terrible apprehenſions had the Jews, concerning the fatal deſtruction of ſome men to be made when Meſſias came, that the Devil by theſe taketh opportunity to affright the men of the Synagogue, with the preſence of Chriſt among them, as if he were but come among them to deſtroy them: And he would diſſwade them from the imbracing of Chriſt by the terrors of Chriſt.

The Jews had ſuch dreadful opinions as theſe about Chriſts coming. *In Sanhedr. per. Helek. fol.* 97.

In the Generation when the ſon of David cometh (ſay they) *ſcholars of the wiſe ſhall be rare, and as for the reſt of the people, their eyes ſhall fail for ſorrow and grief, and great afflictions, and ſore decrees ſhall be ſo renewed, that before the firſt is ended, the ſecond ſhall come.*

In the week of years (Dan. 9. 24.) *when the ſon of David ſhall come: The firſt year, that*

that ſhall be fulfilled, I rained upon one City and rained not upon another, (Amos 4.) *The ſecond year the arrows of famine ſhall fly abroad: The third year the famine ſhall be ſo great that men, women and children, yea good and godly men ſhall die, and the Law ſhall be forgotten by its Diſciples: On the fourth year a kind of plenty, yet not plenty indeed: On the fifth year great plenty, and they ſhall eat and drink and rejoyce, and the Law ſhall be reſtored to its ſcholars: On the ſixth, voices or thunders: On the ſeventh, war, and in the end of the ſeventh the ſon of David cometh.*

When the ſon of Dovid cometh, the Aſſembling places ſhall become ſtews, and Galilee ſhall be deſtroyed (note this for our preſent purpoſe) *and Gablan ſhall be deſolate, and the men of the border of Iſrael ſhall go from City to City, and the wiſdom of the Scribes ſhall be abominated, and religious perſons ſhall be ſcorned, and the faces of that generation ſhall be as dogs,* (compare Philip 3. 2. Rev. 22. 15.) *and truth ſhall be gone, and he that departeth from evil maketh himſelf a prey.*

When the ſon of David cometh, young men ſhall revile the ancient, and the ancient, ſhall riſe up before the young: and the daughter ſhall riſe up againſt her mother, and the daughter in law againſt her mother in law, and the faces of that generation ſhall be as the faces of dogs, and the ſon ſhall not be aſhamed at (the reproof of) *his Father. And Rabbi Iſaac ſaith, the Son of David cometh not till all the Kingdom be turned to the opinion of the Sadduces.* Thus the *Talmud* in the place cited: To which take this addition out of *Maſſecheth derech arets zuta, When the ſon of David cometh Galilee ſhall be deſtroyed, and the men of Galilee ſhall go from City to City and ſhall not be pitied, Perek.* 6.

From which dreadful conceptions about Chriſts coming, eſpeially and ſingularly terrible to the *Galileans*, the Devil might very aptly frame his temptation and ſuggeſtion in a *Galilean* Synagogue when Chriſt was in it, to proclaim that Chriſt was there, and that ſo they were in danger to be deſtroyed.

Verſ. 26. *And when the unclean Spirit had torn him.*

Not by making any gaſhes in his fleſh, or any disjoynting or diſmembring of his body, for *Luke* ſaith, he hurt him not, but he wrung him with convulſions, caſt him into the midſt of the floor, made a horrid cry and ſo came out. And by that it was evident to all that were preſent, that the man was really poſſeſſed, but the ſtrong one armed was caſt out by a ſtronger power: And this maketh them not only to wonder at the thing done, but alſo to take ſpecial notice of the Doctrine which Chriſt had taught, as which was atteſted by ſo great a miracle: And upon this his fame ſpreads throughout all *Galilee*: For howſoever the other miracles that he had done, of turning water into wine, healing diſeaſes, &c. were high and eminent and to be admired things, yet the caſting out of Devils was ſo ſingular, and incomparable, and till now unheard of and unſeen a work, that it is no wonder if this do erect the people into a high repute and expectation concerning him; and do exceedingly dilate his fame. Obſerve how our Saviour himſelf argues that the Kingdom of God was come among them from this kind of miracle, *Mat.* 12. 28. and the wretched Phariſees had no way to evade the argument, but by a Deviliſh blaſphemy, that Chriſt by one Devil caſt out another.

Verſ. 29. *When they were come out of the Synagogue, &c.*

Whether Chriſt went voluntarily into *Peters* houſe or were invited, and if invited, whether it were to meat, or to cure his mother in Law or both, it needeth not to ſtay us in the diſquiſition, nor is there any difficulty in this ſtory that needeth unfolding: the chiefeſt ſcruple is, how *Peter* comes to be an Inhabitant of *Capernaum*, whereas he is ſaid to be of *Bethſaida*, *John* 1. 44. whether it were for conveniency of his fiſhing Trade that he took an houſe there, or whether it were by the marriage of his wife, that he came to have intereſt and reſidence there, let them determine that will be curious about it.

There is that conceiveth *Capernaum* to have been a Town of a diſtinct condition from all the reſt of *Galilee*, as being out of *Herods* juriſdiction, which the reſt of *Galilee* was under: and he ſuppoſeth that *Chriſts* departing out of *Nazareth* into *Capernaum*, *Mat.* 4. was for this end, that he might get out of *Herods* juriſdiction, into the immediate juriſdiction of the *Romans*, *Sam. Petit. var. lect. lib.* 2. *cap.* 1. But this conjecture is without ground, as might be ſhewed even out of that Text, *Matth.* 4. which he layeth as his ground for it, being compared with *Luke* 4. About *Peters* wife, ſee 1 *Cor.* 9. 5. and whether his mother in Law being recovered of her diſeaſe, followed *Chriſt* afterward, as ſhe miniſtred to him at the preſent, examine from *Luke* 8. 5. 6. When *Peter* and *Andrew* had left their fiſhing by which they maintained the family, there was no way but for the women to go along with them.

Verſ.

Verſ. 32. *And at Even when the Sun did ſet.*

From hence is a plain demonſtration, at what time the Jews began and ended their Sabbath, namely, from Sun-ſetting to Sun-ſetting, or from Even to Even. They held it a thing unſutable for the day, for Chriſt to heal while the Sabbath laſted, *Mark* 3. 2. *Luke* 14.1. yet now when the Sun is ſet they come without ſcruple with all their diſeaſed.

It was commanded them from *Even to Even to celebrate their Sabbath*, *Lev.* 23.32. which injunction, although it ſeem only affixed to the ſolemn day of expiation, and ſo is reſtrained only to that by ſome Chriſtian writers, yet do the records of the Jews make it apparent, that they practiſed accordingly in all their Sabbaths: *Siphri* a very ancient expoſition, maketh this gloſs upon that place. *On the ninth day of the ſeventh month, he begins, and faſts whileſt it is yet day, for ſo they add from the common to the holy time. And behold in all the Sabbatizing thou Sabbatizeſt, thou muſt add likewiſe:* But *Abarbinel* far plainer: *From Even to Even ſhall be your Sabbath: that is, Every Sabbatizing that you have: whether it be the Creation Sabbath or the ſet feſtivals, or Feaſt of Trumpets, or Expiation: they were from Even to Even, according to the courſe of the Creation, as it is ſaid, The Evening and the Morning were the firſt day, &c.* And theſe and the ſuch like Talmudick Traditions as theſe following of which many more might be produced, do ſhew their opinion and practice in this point, more clearly ſtill: In the treatiſe *Sabbath per.* 1. they have theſe paſſages, *They roſt not Fleſh, an Onion, or an Egg, but ſo as that they may be roaſted,* בעור יום *whileſt it is yet day, viz.* on the Eve of the Sabbath.

They ſet not any thing in the Oven עם חשכה *towards night: nor a Cake upon the Coales, but ſo as that the upper ſide may be cruſted* בעור יום *whileſt it is yet day. The School of Shammai ſaith, they give not skins to the Currier, nor veſſels to a waſher, but ſo that they may be diſpatched* בעור יום *whileſt it is yet day; But in all theſe thing the Schools allowed the doing of them* עם שמש *before Sun-ſetting:* namely, as the gloſs upon the place explains it, if the things were ſet or delivered for theſe ends before Sun-ſetting, it was current: as if Bread or Cakes were ſet in the oven or on the coals, before Sun-ſet, it was no violation of the Sabbath, though they ſtood baking when the Sabbath was come in: And ſo skins or veſſels, if they were delivered before Sun-ſet, to the Skinner or Waſher, it was not Sabbath breach if they lay ſoking in the tanpit or water on the Sabbath. And ſo *Piske Sabbath* explains it alſo, though by another example. *It is lawful* (ſaith it) סמוך לחשכה *near night, to put water to* gummes & copperas, *to make ink, to put flax into an Oven to dry, to lay a net,* or ſet a trap *for a wild beaſt* or vermine; *It is lawful to do theſe things near night, though the efficacy of the things,* (as the ink ſoaking, the flax drying, and the net catching) *be on the Sabbath* when it is come in.

Maymony in his tractate of the Sabbath *per.* 5. is yet plainer: *On the Eve of the Sabbath they light up a candle: and he that lights it, muſt do it whileſt it is yet day before the Sun go down: From the Sun-ſetting till the appearing of three middling Stars, that ſpace is called* בין השמשות *Between the Suns: and it is doubtful whither that ſpace belong to the day or to the night: And therefore they light not up the candle in that time: And he that doth any work in that ſpace, on the Eve of the Sabbath or at the going out of the Sabbath ignorantly, he is bound to bring a ſin offering. And theſe Stars are not great Stars ſuch as are ſeen by day, nor little Stars which are not ſeen but by night, but midling Stars between both: and when three ſuch midling Stars can be ſeen it is night undoubtedly.* Compare *Nehem.* 13. 19.

Verſ. 34. *And he ſuffered not the Devils to ſpeak becauſe they knew him.*

Chriſt healed all diſeaſes with his touch, for *Luke* ſaith, he *Laid his hands on every one of them and healed them:* but he caſt out Devils with his Word, for ſo ſaith *Matthew, He caſt out the Spirits with his Word,* and he prohibited them to ſpeak a word, becauſe they knew him: The expreſſion in the Greek doth carry it indifferently: *To ſpeak becauſe they knew him,* or *To ſpeak that they knew him,* and it is indifferent whether way it is tranſlated, for the ſenſe is the ſame: but the queſtion is why *Chriſt* would not permit them to ſpeak upon this reaſon. Some ſay, becauſe they ſhould not utter him before the time: Others becauſe it was not fit the Devil ſhould preach *Chriſt:* to which I cannot but add, what was ſpoken of before, namely that the people ſhould not be terrified by the preſence of *Chriſt* among them, as the Devil if he might have had liberty would have ſet it forth.

Matth. Chap. 8. Verſ. 17. *Which was ſpoken by Eſaias the Prophet, Himſelf took our infirmities, &c.*

However the latter Jews would elude the Prophecy of that Chapter out of which this quotation is taken, *viz. Eſay* 53. and would take it off from being applyed to *Chriſt*, yet

yet the ancient learned of the Nation in old time did ſo apply it, as may be perceived by the gloſs of the *Chaldee Paraphraſt* upon the place, and by a remarkable paſſage in the *Talmud:* The *Chaldee* renders it thus: verſe 4. *Surely he ſhall pray for our ſins, and our iniquities ſhall be pardoned for his ſake, &c.* Verſe 5. *He ſhall build the Houſe of the Sanctuary, which was prophaned, becauſe of our ſins, and given up for our tranſgreſſions, and by his doctrine, peace ſhall be multiplyed upon us: and if we hearken to his words, our ſins ſhall be pardoned to us.* Verſe 6. *It pleaſeth the Lord for his ſake to pardon all our ſins.* Verſe 8. *He ſhall bring up our captivity from affliction and puniſhment, and the wonders that ſhall be done to us in his days who ſhall tell, &c.* The *Talmud* likewiſe in the Treatiſe *Sanhedrin* hath this obſervable paſſage: *What is the name of the Meſſias? &c. Some ſaid* חיורא *Leprous: according to that, Surely he hath born our Sickneſſes, &c. And Meſſias ſitteth in the gate of the City (Rome,* as the *Venetian* Edition hath it) *And by what token may he be known? He ſitteth among the diſeaſed poor, &c. Per. cheleck. fol.* 98.

Now in this allegation and application of the Evangeliſt out of the Prophet there ſeemeth to be ſome hardneſs and impertinency upon theſe conſiderations: Firſt becauſe, the Prophet ſpeaketh of *Chriſts* taking humane ſickneſſes *upon himſelf*, but the Evangeliſt applys it of taking away diſeaſes *from others.* 2. He applyeth that to *bodily diſeaſes*, which the Prophet ſeemeth to underſtand of the *diſeaſs of the ſoul.* And ſo *Peter* doth interpret it, 1 *Pet.* 2. 24. The Prophet ſpeaketh of the time of Chriſts Paſſion and what he then ſuffered of miſery in himſelf: but the Evangeliſts applie it to the time of his actions, and what he then did for benefit to others.

Anſwer. It is true indeed that this application will appear ſo harſh, if all the *Emphaſis* and ſtreſs of *Eſays* ſpeech, be laid upon the word *Our*, as it is moſt generally laid there: For it is commonly interpreted to this ſenſe: *He was a man of ſorrows and acquainted with grief, but the ſickneſſes and ſorrows that he bare were ours*, and not properly his own, for he bare them for our ſakes: Which conſtruction is a moſt true, but not a full rendring of the Prophets meaning: for he intendeth alſo a further matter, which the Evangeliſt in his allegation doth apparently look upon, and that is this, *viz.* The concernment of Chriſt in our ſickneſſes and ſorrows, and his power in reference unto them or concerning them: The Prophet when he ſaith, *he bare our ſickneſſes*, &c. meaneth not only, that what he bare was for our ſakes, but that it concerned him and belonged to him to bear them, and he was able to bear them, and to deal with them. And this ſenſe the *Evangeliſt* followeth in his quotation: when having recorded that *Chriſt* healed all the diſeaſed that were brought unto him, he produceth this place of *Eſay*, and ſaith, that in him was fulfilled that prediction concerning the *Meſſias*, which telleth that he was to deal and was able to deal with our infirmities and ſickneſſes: for ſo far do the words of the Prophet reach, and the application of the Evangeliſt ſo taken, is ſmooth and facil: And howſoever the Text of the Prophet do refer and intend more ſingularly to the time of *Chriſts* paſſion, in regard of our ſorrows and ſickneſſes being then chiefly upon him, yet is the ſenſe given, applicable alſo to all his time, as that he had always to deal with our ſickneſſes and ſorrows.

Now in that *Peter* applyeth the Prophets Text to the diſeaſes of the ſoul, when he utters it, *He bare our ſins*, which is alſo the Tranſlation of the *Septuagint:* he ſpeaketh it in the higheſt and moſt proper ſenſe, as regarding that diſeaſedneſs of which our Saviour did eſpecially come a healer, and which is the cauſe of all other diſeaſes and ſorrows whatſoever: and ſo he includes that which was the chiefeſt, but excludes not theſe. And as our Saviour pronouncing forgiveneſs of ſins to a Paſſick man, whoſe ſtory is ere long to follow, doth thereby heal alſo the ſickneſs of the body, ſo the Apoſtle under term of *bearing our ſins*, comprehended alſo the bearing our ſickneſſes: and his emphatical expreſſion is worth obſerving, when he ſaith ὃς αὐτὸς *Who himſelf* bare them: that is, *himſelf*, of his own willingneſs would take them upon him, and *himſelf* of his own power was able to undergo them.

Mark Chap. 1. Verſ. 35. *And in the morning riſing up a great while before day, &c.*

Although the Jews did preciſely begin their natural day from Sunſetting, as hath been even now obſerved, yet did they alſo make the midnight a diſtinctive period, to part between day and day ſo, as to determine, *rem diei, in diem ſuum.*

Talmud in Beracoth. per. 1. *From what time do they ſay over their Phylacteries at even? From the time that the Prieſts go in, to eat their portion of the Sacrifices, till the end of the firſt watch. R. Eliezer ſaith, But the wiſe men ſaid, untill Midnight.*

Ibid. in Peſachin. per. 10. *The Paſſover, after midnight defiles the hands.*

Joma per. 1. *& Maym. in Tamid. in per.* 2. *The cleanſing of the Burnt-offering Altar on the day of expiation began from midnight.*

Talm.

Talm. in Zevachin. per. 5. *Treſpas offerings might be eaten till midnight.*
Ibid. Leſſer holy Offerings may be eaten till midnight.
Ibid. The Paſsover is not eaten but in the night, and it is not eaten but till midnight.

The meaning of which Paſſages is, that whereas theſe things were to be done to day and might not be put off till to morrow: if they were done any time before midnight, it was reputed and current as done to day, as their Phylacteries were to be ſaid over every day at Even: if they were ſaid over before midnight it ſerved turn for the day before: And the parts of the Offerings, that were to be eaten on the ſame day that the offering was offered, (and might not be kept till the morrow) if they were eaten any time before midnight of that day it did ſerve the turn. The burnt Offering Altar was to be cleanſed every day, now on the day of expiation it began to be cleanſed from the midnight before, and that was taken as on the expiation day.

Theſe things have I produced the rather becauſe of the paſſage in the Text before us, which calls it *in the Morning*, and yet ſaith it was Ἔννυχον λίαν, much of the night yet remaining: for as they reckoned up till midnight for the day that was paſt, ſo they reckoned from midnight for the morning to the day following. Were I to diſcuſs the queſtion about the beginning and ending of our Chriſtian Sabbath, I ſhould think this matter worth conſideration to that purpoſe: And ſomething parallel to this are thoſe Texts, *Exod.* 12. 22. *None of you ſhall go out of the door of his houſe until the morning:* Yet Verſ. 29 *At midnight the Lord ſmote the firſt-born, &c.* Verſ. 33. *And the Ægyptians were urgent upon the People that they might ſend them out. Deut.* 16. 1. *God brought thee forth out of Egypt by night.*

Now this Morning on which the Text before us, tells us that Chriſt roſe ſo very early and went out to pray, was on the morrow after the Sabbath, the day on which the Chriſtian Sabbath was fixed, ere long, which may not be unobſerved ſince ſo ſpecial a matter is mentioned of that day. The reaſon why he went into a ſolitary place to pray was, becauſe the company ſo increaſed upon him becauſe of the miracles that he wrought, that in the Town he could not be retired: When day light came, both his Diſciples and the people, are abroad inquiring after him, and when they had found him, they would have detained him in thoſe parts among them, but he will not be confined there but perambulates *Galilee.*

SECTION XXI.

S. *MATTHEW.* CHAP. IV.

Verſ. 23.

AND *Jeſus went about all Galilee, teaching in their Synagogues and Preaching the Goſpel of the Kingdom, and healing all manner of ſickneſs, and all manner of diſeaſe among the people.*

24. *And his fame went throughout all Syria, and they brought unto him all ſick people, that were taken with divers diſeaſes and torments, and thoſe which were poſſeſſed with Devils, and thoſe which were Lunatick, and thoſe which had the Palſie, and he healed them.*

25. *And there followed him great multitudes of People from Galilee, and from Decapolis, and from Hieruſalem, and from Judea, and from beyond Jordan.*

Reaſon of the Order.

THE firſt verſe of this Section, laid to the laſt verſe of the preceding, makes the connection and order undeniable and evident; There *Chriſt* being urged by the men of *Capernaum* to abide with them, will not be confined in his Miniſtery to that place, for he was ſent to preach the Goſpel in other Cities alſo, and ſo he went about all *Galilee*, teaching and preaching and healing all diſeaſes: of which and of the fruit of which, this Section giveth account; as that his fame went throughout all *Syria*, and they brought him all ſick people, and great multitudes followed him.

Harmony and Explanation.

Verſ. 23. *And Jeſus went about all Galilee, &c.*

Ἰακώσιαι καὶ τέσσαρες καὶ τῶν Γαλιλαίων εἰσὶ πόλεις καὶ κῶμαι. *Joſeph. in vita ſua: Apud me pag.* 642. *There were two hundred and four Cities and Towns in Galilee:* Into all and every one of which, we cannot ſo properly hold that Jeſus entred and preached, as that he choſe to go into the moſt eminent and moſt convenient for his work, namely where he might preach unto the moſt people. And this is a ſecond perambulation of *Galilee* that he made, and a far fuller than the firſt, mentioned *Luke* 4.15. Then he had walked more alonely and without the company of his Diſciples, but they are now conſtantly and ever with him: Then did he few or no miracles, but only preached, but now he doth exceeding many, and healeth all diſeaſed that come unto him.

The diſeaſes he healed are reduced to three kinds. 1. Νόσοι, *Diſeaſes*, as Blindneſs, Witheredneſs, Lameneſs, Fevers, Dropſies, &c. 2. Μαλακίαι, *Languiſhings*, as Conſumptions, Waſtes, Fluxes, and ſuch other, as carried not ſo much pain with them, as certain decaying of the body, and waſting away. 3. Βασάνοι, *Tortures*, or Wrackings, as Aches, Gouts, Convulſions, and ſuch other maladies as were attended with grievous pain and tortures: And particularly three grievous maladies are named, Palſies, Lunacy, and poſſeſſedneſs by the Devil, the firſt of which expreſſeth the greateſt debility of body, the ſecond of mind, and the third the greateſt miſery of both that can be named: and they were all maladies naturally as incurable as any whatſoever.

His Doctrine is compriſed under theſe two heads, *Teaching* and *Preaching the Goſpel of the Kingdom:* the former denoteth the more general tenor of his doctrine, as his explanation of the Law, Admonition, Exhortation and Reproof: and the latter betokeneth his proving that the long and much looked for Kingdom of *Meſſias* was now come, and his preaching the doctrines that particularly concerned that Kingdom.

Verſ. 24. *And his fame went throughout all Syria, and they brought unto him all ſick.*

We ſhall the better underſtand what is meant by all *Syria*, if we look upon the next following verſe, where mention is made of places out of which ſuch multitudes followed Chriſt, as were drawn unto him by the fame that went of him, and eſpecially if we obſerve that Region which was called *Decapolis:* which *Pliny* deſcribeth thus, *Jungitur ei* (Judææ) *latere Syriæ Decapolitana regio a numero oppidorum, in quo non omnes eandem obſervant. Plurimi tamen Damaſcum, & Opoton riguas amne Chryſorrhoa. Fertilem Philadelphiam, Raphanam, omnia in Arabiam recedentia. Scythopolin antea Niſam a Libero patre, ſepulta ibi matre, Scythis deductis. Gadara Hieromiace præfluente & jam dictum Hippon Dion, Pellam aquis divitem, Galaſam, Canatham. Intercurſant cinguntque has urbes tetrarchiæ regionum inſtar ſingulæ, & in regna contribuuntur, Trachonitis, Paneas in qua Cæſarea, cum ſupra dicto fonte Abila, Arca, Ampeloeſſa, lib.* 5. *cap.* 18.

The Region of Decapolis joineth to Judæa on the ſide of Syria: it was ſo called from the number of the (ten) *Cities in it, about which all do not hold alike: But the moſt hold for Damaſcus, and Opotos, both watered by the River Chryſorrhoas: Fruitful Philadelphia, and Raphana, all lying towards Arabia. Schythopolis, ſo called from Scythians brought thither by Bacchus, where he buried his mother, but of old called Niſa. Gadara, by which Hieromiax runs, and ſo by that which is now called Hippon Dion, Pella bravely watered, Galaſa, Canatha. Among and about theſe Cities there lie Tetrarchies every one like whole Countries, and they are divided into Kingdoms, Trachonitis, Paneas, in which is Cæſarea* (Philippi) *with the fountain Abila, Arca, Ampeloeſſa, &c.*

By all *Syria* therefore is meant all the Country of the Jews in its full extent both within and without *Jordan*, for as that was within the Juriſdiction of the Roman Governour of *Syria*, ſo was it ordinarily called by that name: and not only that, but all this large Region of *Decapolis*, which did expatiate far into *Syria* properly ſo called, and into ſome part of *Arabia:* So that here is a concourſe of Heathens to Chriſt, as well as of Jews, even out of thoſe Countries which had been the conſtant and bitter enemies of *Iſrael:* and this is the firſt coming in (and it is a remarkable one too) of abundance of Gentiles to our Saviour: compare *Zech.*9.1,2. upon which the Rabbins give this Gloſs. *Rabbi Benaja* ſaith, *Hadrach is Meſſias: Rabbi Joſi the ſon of Durmaskith* (or of a woman of *Damaſcus*) *ſaith to him, How long wilt thou pervert the Scriptures to us? I call Heaven and Earth to witneſs, that I am of Damaſcus, and there is a place there which is called Hadrach. He ſaith to him, But I argue thus: And Damaſcus ſhall be his reſt, for Jeruſalem ſhall reach unto Damaſcus, as it is ſaid, And his reſt: now his reſt is at Jeruſalem, as it is ſaid, This is my reſt for ever. He ſaith to him, But I argue thus: The City ſhall be built upon her heap.*

He ſaith to him, That meaneth that ſhe ſhall not be moved out of her place. He ſaith to him, I argue further thus: And ſhe ſhall be broad and of large compaſs exceedingly, for Jeruſalem ſhall be exceeding broad, and enlarged on every ſide, as this fig-tree which is narrow below and broad above, and the gates of Jeruſalem ſhall reach even to Damaſcus: and ſo it is ſaid, Thy noſe is as the Tower of Lebanon which looketh towards Damaſcus. For the eyes of man ſhall be towards the Lord, that is, The eyes of every man ſhall be towards the Lord, and not towards their Idols and Images: therefore the Land of Hadrach and Damaſcus and the reſt of the places near to the Land of Iſrael, ſhall be as Tyre and Sydon, and Hamath, and the Cities of the Philiſtims, comprehended among the Cities of Judah, and they ſhall be of the faith of Iſrael, D Chimch. & R. Sol. in loc.

The fame of Chriſt divulged in *Syria*, bringeth in many from thence to be healed of their diſeaſes, and they alſo become Converts and follow him: ſo was the caſe about *Elisha* and *Naaman*. 2 *King.* 5. Now though Chriſt profeſſeth to a *Syrian* woman that he was ſent only to the loſt ſheep of *Iſrael*, yet he refuſeth not the loſt ſheep of the Gentiles when they ſeek to him: And though he ſeemeth to deny her requeſt becauſe ſhe was a Heathen, yet that was rather to kindle her Faith, than to repel her Petition.

SECTION XXII.

St. *MARK* Chap. I.

Verſ. 40.

AND there came a Leper to him, beſeeching him and kneeling down to him, and ſaying unto him, If thou wilt thou canſt make me clean.

41. *And Jeſus moved with compaſſion, put forth his hand, and touched him, and ſaith unto him, I will, Be thou clean.*

42. *And aſſoon as he had ſpoken, immediately the Leproſie departed from him, and he was cleanſed.*

43. *And he ſtraitly charged him, and forthwith ſent him away.*

44. *And ſaith unto him; See thou ſay nothing to any man; but go thy way, ſhew thy ſelf to the Prieſt, and offer for thy cleanſing, thoſe things which Moſes commanded for a teſtimony unto them.*

45. *But he went out and began to publiſh it much, and to blaze abroad the matter: inſomuch that Jeſus could no more openly enter into the City, but was without in deſert places: and they came to him from every quarter.*

St. *LUKE* Chap. V.

Verſ. 12.

AND it came to paſs when he was in a certain City, behold a man full of Leproſie, who ſeeing Jeſus, fell on his face and beſought him, ſaying, Lord, if thou wilt thou canſt make me clean.

13. *And he put forth his hand and touched him, ſaying, I will, Be thou clean: And immediately the Leproſie departed from him.*

14. *And he charged him to tell no man: but go and ſhew thy ſelf to the Prieſt, and offer for thy cleanſing according as Moſes commanded for a teſtimony unto them.*

15. *But ſo much the more went there a fame abroad of him, and great multitudes came together to hear, and to be healed by him of their infirmities.*

16. *And he withdrew himſelf into the Wilderneſs, and prayed.*

St. *MATTH.* Chap. VIII.

Verſ. 2.

AND behold there came a Leper and worſhipped him, ſaying, Lord, if thou wilt thou canſt make me clean.

3. *And Jeſus put forth his hand and touched him, ſaying, I will, Be thou clean: And immediately his Leproſie was cleanſed.*

4. *And Jeſus ſaith unto him, See thou tell no man, but go thy way, ſhew thy ſelf to the Prieſt, and offer the gift that Moſes commanded for a teſtimony unto them.*

Reaſon of the Order.

MARK and LUKE (eſpecially the former,) are ſureties for the continuance of this method and *ſeries*, as it will be apparent to him that looketh into their Text. Only this difficulty lieth in the order of *Luke*, that he hath laid the calling of the Diſciples after the perambulation of *Galilee* mentioned laſt, which (as hath been proved and ſeen) was ſome ſpace before: For he concludeth his fourth Chapter with theſe words, *And he preached in the Synagogues of Galilee:* and he beginneth the fifth with the calling of *Peter*, and *Andrew*, *James*, and *John*. In which his aim may be conceived to have been not ſo much to ſhew the time of theſe Diſciples calling, as to ſhew with what Diſciples he walked through *Galilee*, when he thus preached thorough it: and intending to ſhew you the men, he alſo ſheweth the manner of their call.

But *Matthews* miſplacing of this ſtory about the Leper, doth breed ſome ſcruple, and hath cauſed ſome to conjecture, that the Leper that he ſpeaks of, is not the ſame with him which is mentioned by the other two: And they are confirmed in this conjecture the rather, becauſe *Matthew* ſeemeth to have brought his Leper to Chriſt, as he came from the Sermon in the Mount, whereas he in the other Evangeliſts cometh to him before his Sermon there: for his Text runneth thus, *When he was come down from the Mountain, great multitudes followed him, And behold there came a Leper, &c.* where the word *Behold*, ſeemeth to confine and limit the Lepers coming, to Chriſts deſcending from the Mountain where he had preached.

But 1. the poſture of the Leper in all the three Evangeliſts is in a manner the ſame, which argues that all the three do ſpeak of one and the ſame man; *Matthew* ſaith *he worſhipped Chriſt*, *Mark* that *he kneeled down to him*, and *Luke* that *he fell on his face before him:* which in the different terms, intend not either a different man or geſture, but altogether do deſcribe his humble demeanour to our Saviour to the loweſt abaſement.

2. The words of the Leper are alſo the ſame in all the three, *If thou wilt thou canſt make me clean.*

And 3. So are the words of Chriſt to him, both for the curing of him, *I will, Be thou clean*, and alſo for prohibiting him to publiſh what was done, and enjoyning him to ſhew himſelf unto the Prieſt: by which it is made even undeniable that all the three do ſpeak of the very ſame Leper.

And as for the word *Behold*, which is uſed by *Matthew*, it pointeth at the thing and not at the time: and we may obſerve the like uſe of the words in *Matth.* 9. 2. where he that will but ſolidly weigh the time of the ſtories of the firſt and ſecond verſes, will eaſily perceive that that word *Behold*, is not ſo preciſe a pointer out of the ſtories time: as ſhall be ſhewed alſo in the next Section.

Now the reaſon why *Matthew* hath laid this ſtory after the Sermon in the Mount, is to be fetched from the fourth Chapter: where he firſt having related how Chriſt began to preach, and how he called his Diſciples, he there recordeth how he went about all *Galilee* preaching the Goſpel and healing diſeaſes: and then according to the method in which he had mentioned Chriſts actions in his perambulation of *Galilee*, that he firſt preached, and then healed, he firſt gives account of the doctrine that he taught, in Chap. 5. & 6. & 7. and then beginneth to mention the miracles that he wrought: whereof this about the Leper he nameth firſt, as indeed it was the firſt in that perambulation, that is ſpecified by any of the Evangeliſts.

Harmony and Explanation.

Luke 5. verſ. 12. *When he was in a certain City, behold a man full of Leproſie, &c.*

THE Talmudiſts do diſtinguiſh between a great City, a walled Town and a Village: In the Treatiſe *Megillah* (or about reading the book of *Eſther* at the feaſt of *Purim*) they have this ſaying, *If the fourteenth day of Adar, prove to light on the ſecond day of the week, Villages and great Cities read that book on that day, but walled Towns on the day after. Perek.* 1.

Now what they mean by *great Cities*, they explain themſelves, in the ſame Chapter afterward, namely, that *was called a great City in which there were ten men to be the Elders of a Synagogue: every place that afforded not ſo many, was a Village:* Into ſuch Cities and even into the Synagogue of ſuch a City a Leper might come: but under theſe conditions and limitations. *Doth he come into the Synagogue, they make him a place apart, ten hand high and four cubits broad, and he comes in firſt and goes out laſt: Negaim per.* 13. But into Cities incompaſſed with walls, a Leper might not come, *Maym. in Biath Mikdaſh per.* 3.

Now ſuch a City was this that is mentioned by the Evangeliſt: For the Goſpel owneth only the diſtinction of *Cities and Villages*, under the latter name of *Villages* comprehending all Towns unwalled, were they big enough to have Synagogues in them, or were they not: and ſo it is ſaid in *Luke* 8.1. that Chriſt preached in every City and Village: by *Villages* underſtanding thoſe places which had Synagogues in them.

So that it may move a queſtion, how this Leper was admitted into the City, ſince ſuch were prohibited acceſs unto ſuch places: ſome conceive he broke through all rules and bounds of modeſty and order, and would not be kept out from coming to ſeek his recovery of Chriſt, who he knew was there: others imagine that Chriſt went out of the City to him; and ſuch like anſwers are found out, which are needleſs to ſeek further after, ſince *Luke* himſelf hath ſhewed the mans warrant to come in there, and hath given us an anſwer to the queſtion, and that is in relating that he was full *of Leproſie:* and ſo hath reſolved that he was clean and might come in. I know the Phraſe is conſtrued generally as if it ſignified only in oppoſition to a little Leproſie in the head or the beard only, or the like: but Leproſie was not regarded by a *magis* and *minus*, ſince the leaſt was as unclean as the greateſt, and did as intirely ſeparate from ſociety; ſave only it was not ſo very noyſom to the party himſelf. But the Evangeliſts expreſſion when he ſaith, *He was full of Leproſie*, is only to that ſenſe that theſe words of *Moſes* are, *Lev.* 13.12,13. *If the Leproſie break out abroad in the skin, and the Leproſie cover all the skin of him that hath the Plague, from his head even to his foot whereſoever the Prieſt looketh: then the Prieſt ſhall conſider, and behold if the Leproſie have covered all his fleſh, he ſhall pronounce him clean that hath the Plague, it is all turned white, he is clean.*

This man therefore was full of *Leproſie*, that is, Leprous all over, had been under the cenſure of the Prieſt, and pronounced clean, and ſo was reſtored again to the ſociety of men, and might come into any of their Cities; but the diſeaſe was not yet cured. I have obſerved elſewhere, that the Prieſts could not make a Leper whole, they could only pronounce him clean; and that ſentence did nothing at all reſtore him to his health, but only reſtore him to the Congregation.

Such was the caſe of this man, the Prieſt had done for him as much as he could, he had pronounced him clean, but the poor wretch was as Leprous as ever, even ſcurvy all over, and like enough ſo to have continued: only the malady was ſo fully broken out, that the venom was wrought out, and his breath not infectious, and ſo he was reſtored to the converſe of men again. His caſe thus ſtated, and his character of *Full of Leproſie* thus underſtood, it exceedingly cleareth the paſſages of his ſtory afterward: As when he ſaith, *Lord if thou wilt thou canſt make me clean*; he meaneth, If thou wilt meddle with this diſeaſe which is the Prieſts peculiar to look unto, thou canſt make me clean, for the Prieſt could only ſo pronounce me.

And when it is ſaid, *Jeſus was moved with compaſſion towards him*, it referreth to his viſible ſad caſe, who was Scurfie and Scabbed, a woful creature all over, and who had had as much done to him as man could do, and yet was in this caſe ſtill.

And when he chargeth him to tell no man, *but go and ſhew thy ſelf to the Prieſt*, he doth it becauſe he would put no diſgrace upon the Prieſthood, but though he had meddled with ſomething of their concernment, and had taken where they had left and done what they could not do, yet would he not vilifie that order and ordinance, but reſerve the honour due unto them; and maintain the judging of Leproſie unto them ſtill, according to the inſtitution that had aſſigned it to them. And this was one reaſon why he injoined him ſilence, becauſe he would not prejudice but maintain the honour of the Prieſthood. And ſo his own words do conſtrue it, when he bids him go ſhew himſelf unto the the Prieſt: So alſo *Luke* 17.14. *And offer the gift which Moſes commanded*, this the man had done before, at the pronouncing of him clean, but muſt do it now again when he is made clean, that there may no derogation accrew to the Prieſthood, and the Law about Leproſie, but both of them might have their due honour both from the man and from *Chriſt* himſelf: and this is meant alſo by the words, *for a teſtimony unto them.*

Mark 1. verſ. 45. *But he went out, and began to publiſh, &c.*

He owned *Chriſt* for the *Meſſias*, as appeareth both by his words, and by his Geſture. He had ſeen the tokens of the *Meſſias* in him, when he ſo inſtantly removed his Leproſie with his word: He had received a moſt ſtrict charge, to conceal the matter, and get him to the Prieſt with his offering: but for all this he begins to publiſh: *Mark* hath uſed two ſpecial words, to expreſs the charge given him, ἐμβριμησάμενος ἐξέβαλε, *He gave him a threatning charge, and ſodainly packt him away: Chriſt* was ſo ſerious in his charge, becauſe he would avoid the ſuſpition of ſleighting or undermining the Prieſthood about their office which concerned Lepers, and would withal avoid the danger, which might accrew

unto

unto him upon such a suspition: Now whether the man did not rightly apprehend the depth and strictness of this charge that was laid upon him, or if he did so apprehend it, was transported with blind zeal so as he would publish this great work, though he that had wrought it had commanded him silence: or whether his boundless joy for his happy cure did make him forget himself; certainly he is not excusable, who having received so great a benefit, from such a hand as he himself owned to be divine, yet was so careless to observe that command that he had received also with his healing. It was a rare cure that had been, to heal a Leper, (see 2 *King.*5.7.) and *Christ* had not healed any till this very time: therefore when this was published abroad, it would not only gather people under other diseases to *Christ* for their recovery (for they would conclude he could heal any when he could heal this) but it would cause Lepers to break into the City where he was, which was contrary to their Law and custom, and so would breed troubles and confusion, *so that Jesus could no more openly enter into the City.*

Luke 5. vers. 16. *And he withdrew himself into the Wilderness and prayed.*

When *Christ* is amongst men, he is doing them good, and when he is from amongst them, he is conversing with God: And otherwise he could not do, in regard of the holiness of his nature, love to man, and his Union with God. It was but a harsh time of the year for him to betake himself to seek retiredness in the desert, the winter being not yet over, but the zeal of the Lords glory did so eat him up, that in company he preferd that before his safety, and in solitude he preferd that before accommodations: What was the matter and subject of his prayers particularly were boldness to go to define: It is undoubted, the general tenour of them was, for the advancement of Gods glory and gathering of his Church, and prospering the work of himself for that end, as he sheweth the subject of all his prayers, *John* 17. and it is like the present conflux and great concourse of people unto him was looked upon by him in his prayers as a singular occasion offered, in tendency to those purposes.

SECTION XXIII.

St. *MARK* Chap. II.

AND again he entred into Capernaum, after some days, and it was noised that he was in the house.

2. And straightway many were gathered together, in so much that there was no room to receive them, no not so much as about the door: and he preached the word unto them.

3. And they come unto him bringing one sick of the Palsie, which was born of four.

4. And when they could not come nigh unto him for the press, they uncovered the roof, where he was, and when they had broken it up, they let down the bed wherein the sick of the Palsie lay.

5. When Jesus saw their faith, he said unto the sick of the Palsie, son, thy sins be forgiven thee.

St. *LUKE* Chap. V.

Vers. 17.

AND it came to pass on a certain day, as he was teaching that there were Pharisees and Doctors of the Law sitting, which were come out of every Town of Galilee, and Judea and Jerusalem: and the power of the Lord was present to heal them.

18. And behold men brought in a bed, a man which was taken with a Palsie, and they sought means to bring him in, and to lay him before him.

19. And when they could not find by what way they might bring him in, because of the multitude, they went upon the house top, and let him down through the tiling with his couch into the midst before Jesus.

20. And when he saw their faith: he said unto him, Man, thy sins are forgiven thee.

St. *MATTH.* Chap. IX.

Vers. 2.

AND behold they brought to him a man sick of the Palsie lying on a bed: and Jesus seeing their faith, said unto the sick of the Palsie, Son be of good cheer, thy sins be forgiven thee.

6. *But*

St. *MARK* Chap. II.	St. *LUKE* Chap. V.	St. *MATTH.* Chap. IX.
6. *But there were certain of the Scribes ſitting there and reaſoning in their hearts,*	21. *And the Scribes and the Phariſees began to reaſon ſaying, Who is this which ſpeaketh blaſphemies? Who can forgive ſins but God alone?*	3. *And behold certain of the Scribes ſaid within themſelves, This man blaſphemeth.*
7. *Why doth this man thus ſpeak blaſphemies? Who can forgive ſins but God only?*		
8. *And immediately when Jeſus perceived in his Spirit, that they ſo reaſoned within themſelves, he ſaid unto them, Why reaſon ye theſe things in your hearts?*	22. *But when Jeſus perceived their thoughts, he anſwering ſaid unto them, What reaſon yea in your hearts?*	4. *And Jeſus knowing their thoughts ſaid, Why think ye evil in your hearts?*
9. *Whether is it eaſier to ſay to the ſick of the Palſie, Thy ſins be forgiven thee: or to ſay, Ariſe and take up thy bed and walk?*	23. *Whether is it eaſier to ſay, Thy ſins be forgiven thee: or to ſay, Riſe up and walk?*	5. *For whether is it eaſier to ſay, Thy ſins be forgiven thee: or to ſay, Ariſe and walk?*
10. *But that ye may know that the ſon of man hath power on earth to forgive ſins, he ſaith to the ſick of the Palſie,*	24. *But that ye may know that the Son of man hath power upon earth to forgive ſins, he ſaid to the ſick of the Palſie, I ſay unto thee, Ariſe and take up thy couch, and go into thine houſe.*	6. *But that ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive ſins, Then ſaith he to the ſick of the Palſie, Ariſe, take up thy bed, and go unto thine houſe.*
11. *I ſay unto thee Ariſe, take up thy bed and go thy way into thy houſe.*		
12. *And immediately he aroſe, took up the bed and went forth before them all, in ſo much that they were all amazed, and glorified God, ſaying, We never ſaw it on this faſhion.*	25. *And immediately he roſe up before them, and took up that whereon he lay, and departed to his own houſe glorifying God.*	7. *And he aroſe, and departed to his houſe.*
	26. *And they were all amazed, and they glorified God and were filled with fear, ſaying, We have ſeen ſtrange things to day.*	8. *But when the multitudes ſaw it, they marvelled, and glorified God which had given ſuch power unto men.*
13. *And he went forth again by the Sea ſide, and all the multitude reſorted to him, and he taught them.*	27. *And after theſe things he went forth, and ſaw a Publican named Levi, ſitting at the receipt of cuſtom: and he ſaid unto him, Follow me.*	9. *And as Jeſus paſſed from thence, he ſaw a man named Matthew ſitting at the receipt of cuſtom: and he ſaith unto him, Follow me, and he aroſe and followed him.*
14. *And as he paſſed by, he ſaw Levi the ſon of Alpheus, ſitting at the receit of cuſtom, and ſaid unto him, Follow me, and he aroſe and followed him.*	28. *And he left all, roſe up and followed him.*	

Reaſon of the Order.

THERE were no ſcruple at all about the *ſeries* of this ſtory, *Mark* and *Luke* have laid it ſo clear, were it not that *Matthew* hath brought it in a place ſo far different from them, that one would think in him, that this cure of the Palſie man was not till *Chriſts* return out of the Country of the *Gadarens*, for he relateth it thus. *And he entred into a ſhip, and paſſed over and came into his own City. And behold they brought to him a man ſick of the Palſie, &c.* As if the bringing of the ſick of the Palſie were not till that time of his return, and that it was immediately upon it. But 1. the method of the other two Evangeliſts, who are far more punctual for order than he is, eſpecially *Mark*, muſt ſtate and rank the *ſeries* of his ſtory. For it may be eaſily obſerved by any that conſiderately will view the true progreſs of hiſtory in the three laid together, that *Matthew* ſetteth himſelf to give relation of the ſtories themſelves, but is not ſo very preciſe in fixing them to their proper time. But *Mark* and *Luke* who wrote after him, have reduced thoſe ſtories of his into the due order and method of time in which they were acted and came to paſs: and ſo do, as it were, ſet his clock, and tell the time when his ſtories did occur. 2. We obſerved at the laſt Section, upon theſe words of *Matthew*, *When*

When he was come down from the mountain, great multitudes followed him, and behold there came a Leper, &c. that the word *Behold* doth not tye the two verſes together in the ſame time, but that it ſingularly and only pointeth at that ſtory to which it is prefixed, concerning the Leper, without looking back to the time of the ſtory in the verſe before: Such another *behold* is this, wherewith the ſame Evangeliſt beginneth this ſtory in hand: Not that it tieth the bringing of the Palſick man, to the time of *Chriſts* return out of the land of the *Gadarens*, of which there is mention in the verſe before, but it pointeth to the ſtory, before which it is ſet, looking forward to that, and not backward, to the ſtory in the verſe before at all. 3. Now the reaſon why *Matthew* hath laid this ſtory ſo far off, may readily be obſerved by looking into his Text in this ninth Chapter: He joyneth this ſtory about the Palſick man, and that about *Levies* or his own calling, and a third about his feaſt, and a fourth about *Jairus* coming to *Chriſt*, all together: But theſe were not all of the ſame time, only the two firſt were of the ſame time, and the two latter were alſo concurrent in time but a great while after. Yet he being minded to diſpatch the ſtory of his own call and of his Feaſt both together, as alſo the other two Evangeliſts do, he hath pitched all the ſtories upon the time of his Feaſt; His Feaſt indeed was preſently upon *Chriſts* return from among the *Gadarens*, and *Jairus* his coming to him was at the time of that Feaſt, and ſo thoſe are laid there in their proper time and order: Now though his Call was a long while before his Feaſt, yet to diſpatch all that ſtory of himſelf at once, he hath laid his Call alſo at the ſame place, and with it hath likewiſe joyned the ſtory of the Palſick man which was immediately before his Call. Why we have parted the ſtory of his Call and his Feaſt which all the three Evangeliſts, that ſpeak of them, have laid together, and why we have referred them to ſeveral times, we ſhall give the reaſon of it in the order of the next following Section.

Harmony and Explanation.

Luke 5. verſ. 17. *As he was teaching there were Phariſees and Doctors of the Law ſitting, &c.*

OUR Saviour having walked and preached through *Galilee* for a good ſpace, doth now near Paſsover time, betake himſelf to *Capernaum* to his own home again, that he might provide there for his journey to *Jeruſalem* to the Feaſt: To *Capernaum* there had followed him, beſides others that fell to him, in his *Galilean* perambulation, *Phariſees, Scribes and Doctors of the Law*, for all the three are mentioned by the three Evangeliſts in the relation of this ſtory, and it will not be amiſs, nor much beſides our buſineſs to look a little diſtinctly what kind of men the *Scribes and Phariſees and Doctors of the Law* were, ſeeing there is ſo frequent mention of them in the Goſpel.

§. 1. The diſtinction and diviſion of the Jewiſh Nation.

For the proceeding in which inquiry, it may not be impertinent, in the firſt place, to look upon the diviſion of the whole Nation of the Jews as it is held out very ordinarily and commonly in their own writers. And that was into תלמידי חכמים & עם הארץ *The Scholars* or *Diſciples of the wiſe*, and *The people of the land:* or the learned ſort of people, and unlearned: or thoſe that were men of breeding, and that were not. Examples of this *dichotomy* might be produced by hundreds out of the Jewiſh Authors, I ſhall only offer theſe few.

Maſſecheth derech arets Zuta per. 4. *The Scholars of the wiſe are comely in a ſociety, but the people of the land are not comely in a ſociety.*

Juchaſin fol. 22. *Rabbi Akiba ſaid, when I was of the people of the land, I ſaid, Oh for a Scholar of the wiſe, how would I kiſs him, &c.*

Maym. in Talm. Torah. per. 4. *Is there a matter of controverſie between a Scholar of the wiſe and one of the People of the land? They adhere to the Scholar.*

Idem. *The Scholars of the wiſe might not eat in an Inn, nor in the ſtreets, nor with the people of the land.*

Idem. in Tephil. per. 12. *A Prieſt of the people of the land readeth in the Synagogue before a great wiſe man an Iſraelite.*

Id. in Talm. torah. per. 3. *A baſtard, if a Scholar of the Wiſe, is of more value than an High Prieſt of the People of the land.* Where by *a Prieſt* and *High Prieſt of the People of the land* he meaneth ſuch as indeed was a true Prieſt or High Prieſt, but ſuch a one as was unlearned. For, *They called every one that knew not the doctrine of the Law, The folk of the land*, Elias Lev. in Tiſhb.

§. 2. The

§. 2. *The diviſion and diſtinction of the learned of the Nation.*

Thus was the firſt and general diviſion of the Nation into learned and unlearned, men bred up in the ſtudy of Law, and men that were not: and to this diviſion doth that ſpeech of the *Phariſees* themſelves refer, *Joh.*7. 48,49. *Doth any of the Rulers or of the Phariſees believe in him? But this people which know not the Law, &c.* Now the learned of the Nation which were called *The wiſe* and *The Scholars* or *Diſciples of the wiſe* were parted and even crumbled into many ſub-diviſions: *Scribes, Phariſees, Sadduces, Herodians*, mentioned in Scripture, and *Eſſeans, Chaſidim, Jechidim, Zelotæ, Therapeutæ*, in Jewiſh writers.

Now the reaſon of this their diviſion was in regard of ſome of them holding to, and others of them warping from, the National and State Religion, ſome more, ſome leſs, ſome one way, ſome another. For if their own Authors did not tell, reaſon it ſelf and common ſenſe would do it, that that Nation, which only of all others, had Religion among them, had ſome common and ſet Rule for their Religion, by which they were to go and to be guided in the practiſe of it. The Rule was *Moſes and the Prophets:* the ſetting of this rule for practiſe, that is, giving it its fixed and determinate ſenſe for that purpoſe, was by the *Sanhedrin* or great Council: and according as any one kept exactly to the rule ſo determined, or ſwarved from it by exceſs, or defect, he came under one or other of theſe titles and recogniſances.

§. 3. *The National and State Religion of the Jews in the times of Chriſt.*

Their Religion in theſe times, howſoever they pretended to the Scriptures for their rule, yet lay in a manner all in traditions, which they not only valued above the Scriptures, but by them they made the Scriptures of none effect at all. *Mark*7.7,8,9. They held *That the Lord made his Covenant with them according to the Traditional Law. Baal Turim*, on *Gen.*1.3. They held *The written Law ſcant and narrow in compariſon of the Traditional.* Tanc. fol.4. And that *the written Law might be taught for hire, but the Traditional might not.* Maym. in Talm. torah per.1.

Now their Traditions were twofold, either thoſe that they called and accounted הלכה למשה מסיני *an unwritten Law given to Moſes at Sinai* and handed by Tradition from generation to generation: or the practical Gloſſes and Canons which were made upon that unwritten and traditional Law, in the ſeveral generations as they paſſed: Both theſe were called *The Traditions of the Fathers and of the Elders, Matth.*15.2. *Gal.*1.14. 1 *Pet.*1.18.

The deliverers of the *Cabbalah*, or unwritten Law (which they ſay came ſucceſſively from *Moſes*) they will name you, as directly from generation to generation, as the Papiſts will name you Popes ſucceſſively from *Peter. Moſes*, ſay they, *received this Traditional Law from Sinai, and delivered it to Joſhua, Joſhua to the Elders, the Elders to the Prophets, and the Prophets to Ezras great Synagogue: Talm. in Avoth. per.* 1. The particular hands through which it paſſed thither we obſerved at *Matth.*3. *v.*7.

After the return of the Captivity they derive its pedegree thus, *Simeon the Juſt received it from Ezra; Antigonus of Soco from Simeon; Joſes the ſon of Joezer of Zeredah, and Joſeph the ſon of Johanan of Jeruſalem received it from Antigonus; Joſhua the ſon of Perakiah, and Nittai the Arbelite received it from them; Judah the ſon of Tabbai, and Simeon the ſon of Shetah received it from Joſhua and Nittai; Shemaiah and Abtalion received it from Judah and Simeon; Hillel and Shammai from them; Rabban Simeon the ſon of Hillel, and Rabban Jochanon ben Zaccai received it from Hillel and Shammai; Rabban Gamaliel, called the old* (Pauls *maſter*) *received it from Rabban Simeon his father; Rabban Simeon the ſon of Gamaliel received it from Gamaliel*, he was ſlain at the deſtruction of the Temple; *After him was his ſon Rabban Gamaliel of Jabneh who received it from his father; and after him was Rabban Jochanan ben Zaccai who had received it from Hillel and Shammai, &c.* Avoth. ubi ſupr. Maym. in præf. ad Madda. & Juchaſin fol.13,14. &c.

Thus is the Tradition concerning the deſcent and conveyance of the traditional Law; of which perſons and of which Law theſe two things are to be taken notice of: 1. That all thoſe that are named ſingle in this ſucceſſion, were the Heads or Preſidents of the *Sanhedrin*, and where they are named double or (זוגות) *paires*, the firſt named of the two was *Naſi*, or *Preſident*, and the ſecond named was *Ab beth din*, or *Vice-preſident.* 2. That this *Cabbalah* or traditional Law whoſe conveyance they thus pretended from *Moſes*, might not be diſputed, as concerning the truth or certainty of it, though it received in every generation, ſome illuſtration and practical Gloſs for the laying out of its latitude and extent.

They

They that fixed theſe poſitive practical ſenſes upon it, were the Elders of the great *Sanhedrin*, concluding thereupon in the Councel, and commenting this traditional Law into particular Laws and Ordinances as rules to the nation whereby to walk: and the *Sanhedrin* of every generation was adding ſomething in this kind or other. And ſo they held *That the great Sanhedrin at Jeruſalem was the foundation of the traditional Law, and pillars of inſtruction, and from them decrees and judgements went out unto all Iſrael: And whoſoever believed Moſes, and his Law, was bound to reſt and lean upon them for the matters of the Law.* *Maym. in Mamrim. per.* 1.

Now the way or manner of their legiſlative determining upon this unwritten Law was thus.

1. The general rule by which they went to work, was עשה סיג לתורה *To make a hedge to the Law*, that men ſhould not break in upon it to tranſgreſs it. And this was a ſpecial ground and riſe, and a ſpecious colour for all their traditions: for they pretending to make conſtitutions to fence the Law from violation, and to raiſe the obſervance of it the higher, they brought in inventions and fancies of their own brains for Laws, and ſo made the Law indeed nothing worth. Take a patern of one or two of their hedges that they made to this purpoſe: The written Law forbad, *Thou ſhalt not ſeeth a kid in her mothers milk.* Now to make ſure, as they pretended, that this ſhould not be broken in upon, they fenced it with this tradition, *Thou ſhalt not ſeeth any fleſh whatſoever in any milk whatſoever. All things that were appointed to be eaten the ſame day, the command taught till the dawning of the next morning: If ſo, why do the wiſe men ſay but till midnight: namely to keep men far enough from trangreſſing*, *Beracoth. per.* 1.

And ſuch another hedge they made to the times, in that ſtory that is mentioned by *Tanchumah fol.* 37. *A man in the time of the perſecution in the days of the Greeks, rode upon a horſe on the Sabbath day, and they brought him before the Sanhedrin and they ſtoned him: not becauſe it was fit to do ſo, but becauſe of the times it was neceſſary to do ſo.*

2. This then being the ground upon which they went to work (with an aime to this hedge, as they pretended in all their conſtitutions) they hammered their *Cabbalah*, or unwritten Law into theſe three parts or forms תקנות גזרות מנהגות *Conſtitutions, Decrees, and Cuſtomes*, or practices: *vid. Maym. in Mamrim per.* 1, & 2. I ſhall not be curious to give the exquiſite difference of theſe three in this place, they were (in a few words) Laws which they hewed out of their *Cabbalah*, injoyning ſome things to be done, or forbidding others, or preſcribing the manner of doing. We ſhall take up one example or two to this purpoſe. *It is a command to pray every day, as it ſaid, Ye ſhall ſerve the Lord your God: They learned by Tradition that this ſervice is prayer, becauſe it is ſaid, Ye ſhall ſerve him with all your heart. The wiſe men ſay, What ſervice is that that is with the heart? It is prayer: Now there is no number of prayers appointed by the Law, nor no fixed time for prayer appointed by the Law, nor no obligation to this prayer ſet down in the Law*, that is, no mention of perſons tied to it. *Maym. in Tephillah per.* 1.

Therefore the *Sanhedrin* in ſeveral generations, made Canons and conſtitutions to decide and determine upon all theſe particulars, as their own reaſon and emergencies did lead them and give occaſion: As in one generation they preſcribed ſuch and ſuch times for morning and evening prayer: In proceſs of time, they found theſe times allotted to be too ſtrait, therefore the *Sanhedrin* of another generation did give inlargement as they thought good. And ſo concerning the number of prayers to be ſaid dayly, one *Sanhedrin* appointed ſo many, but time and experience found afterwards that theſe did not anſwer ſuch or ſuch an occaſion, as it ſeems was not obſerved when they were appointed, therefore the *Sanhedrin* of another generation thought good to add more and more ſtill as occaſions unobſerved before, did emerge, and ſo the number of their dayly prayers grew at laſt to be eighteen, *And in the days of Rabban Gamaliel* (ſaith my Author laſt cited) רבו מינים בישראל *Hereticks increaſed in Iſrael* (he meaneth thoſe that from Judaiſm turned to Chriſtianity) *and they vexed Iſrael and perſwaded them to turn from their Religion. He ſeeing this to be a matter of more import than any thing elſe, ſtood up, he and his Sanhedrin, and appointed another prayer, in which there was a Petition to God to deſtroy thoſe Hereticks: and this he ſet among the prayers and ordained it to be in every ones mouth: and ſo all the dayly prayers were nineteen.* ibid. per. 2.

Sect. IV. *The Scribes and Doctors.*

Thus was the State Religion of the Jews, and thus ſtated and ſetled. The groundwork was pretended traditions from *Moſes* expounding the written Law, delivered from hand to hand in the *Sanhedrins* of ſeveral congregations: the ſuperſtructure was legiſlative and practical ſenſes made hereupon, and determined for the uſe of the people by the *Sanhedrin*: Now they that had to deal in theſe determinations, were called *The Scribes*, and thoſe were divided into four ranks.

1. The *Naſi* and *Ab deth din*, that is, *Preſident* and *Vice-preſident*, who were the ſpecial Treaſurers of the *Cabbalah*, which they pretended did deſcend from *Moſes*.

2. The whole *Sanhedrin* it ſelf, which made their Canons and conſtitutions out of this *Cabbalah*, and did impoſe them upon the people.

3. Thoſe men of the *Sanhedrin* or others that kept Divinity Schools, and read publick Lectures in explication of theſe traditions, as *Hillel*, *Shammai Gamaliel*, *Tyrannus*, or *Turnus*, *Acts* 22. 3. & 19. 9. &c.

And 4. Thoſe that expounded theſe Laws, as the publick preachers in their Synagogues.

According to which ſeveral acceptations the word *Scribe* is to be conſtrued in the New Teſtament, ſutable to the ſcope of the place, and to the occaſion whereupon the word is uſed. As 1. in that diviſion of the *Sanhedrin* into chief *Prieſts* and *Scribes* and *Elders*, *Mat.* 26.3. the Scribes are here peculiarly to be underſtood, either for the Preſident and Vice-preſident, the Receivers and deliverers of the *Cabbalah*, or for thoſe that kept Divinity Schools: for properly all the members of the *Sanhedrin* were *Elders*, and all of them were Scribes: and yet this diſtinction is uſed to difference theſe Scribes in the ſenſe mentioned from the reſt of the company, and the Elders of the people from the Elders of the Prieſthood. 2. In that paſſage, *The Scribes and Phariſees ſit in Moſes chair*, *Mat.* 23. 2. the word *Scribes* meaneth the whole *Sanhedrin* who ſate in the chair of Judicature. And in this ſenſe is the word taken in that common and ordinary phraſe which the Hebrew Authors infinitely uſe, דברי סופרים *The words of the Scribes.* 3. In ſuch paſſages as theſe, *The Scribes ſay Elias muſt firſt come:* and *He taught as one having authority, and not as the Scribes:* and, *A Scribe taught to the Kingdom of Heaven bringeth out of his Treaſure things new and old, &c.* the word is more properly to be underſtood for their publick teachers.

And ſo it is to be conſtrued in this paſſage that we have in hand, *Mark* 2. 6. *There were certain of the Scribes ſitting there*; which *Luke* expoundeth *Doctors of the Law, out of every Town of Galilee, &c.* For Scribes and Doctors were terms convertible, as *Luke* 5. 17. with *verſ.* 21. and ſo were Scribes and Lawyers, *Matth.* 22. 35. with *Mark* 12. 28.

Sect. V. *Of the Sects warping from this State Religion.*

We ſhall not trouble the Reader with canvaſſing the queſtion about all the Sects of the Jews which are or might be mentioned, we ſhall only look upon thoſe that are of ſo frequent mention in Scripture, *the Phariſees and Sadduces*, eſpecially the *Phariſees* which are named in the Text that we have in hand: Now that theſe, and the *Eſſeans* who commonly by humane Authors are named with them, were but *Schiſmes* or *Sectaries* from the ſtate and national Religion, may appear (to omit more) by theſe two particulars. 1. Becauſe by *Joſephus* they are commonly ſo called, Αἱρέσεις, as *Antiq. lib.* 12. *cap.* 9. & *cap.* 18. *De Bell. lib.* 2. *cap.* 12. *Antiq. lib.* 18. *cap.* 2. where he alſo calls them *Philoſophiæ*; which very title uſed by him and other Authors, doth evidently argue, that none of theſe was the general and ſet Religion of the Nation, but an excreſcency, out of it, and a ſingularity from it: as *Luke* 18. 9. And reaſon it ſelf might tell ſo much, becauſe there was a long time when neither *Phariſaiſm* nor *Sadduciſm*, nor *Eſſeaniſm* were in being, and yet the Nation had National Religion in that time, and when theſe came up, they all differed from it, and one from another. 2. A paſſage of *Joſephus* in the ſtory of his own life, is remarkable to this purpoſe. *I grew*, ſaith he, *to a great meaſure of learning, being reputed to excel in memory and knowledge. And being a youth but of fourteen years of age, I was commended by all for a ſcholar: and the chief Prieſts and the chief men of the City would come unto me to be informed of the Law.* Περὶ ἐκκαίδεκα δὲ ἔτη γενόμενος ἐβουλήθην αὐτὸς παρ' ὑμῶν αἱρέσεων ἐμπειρίαν λαβεῖν, &c. *Being of ſixteen years of age, I thought to make trial of the Sects that were among us: Now they are three, the firſt of the Phariſees, the ſecond of the Sadduces, and the third of the Eſſeans: For I thought I ſhould chooſe the beſt if I were verſed in them all. And ſo enduring much hardſhip, and with great pains I went through all three: And not thinking this enough but underſtanding that there was one Banus a Hermit, who uſed no cloaths but what were made of Trees, and that ate nothing but what grew of it ſelf, and that for chaſtity ſake waſhed himſelf often day and night in cold water, I was very zealous to become an imitator of him, and I ſpent three years with him.*

By which words it is apparent that there was a Religion in which *Joſephus* was brought up the moſt of his youth, diſtinct and different from any of theſe Sects Religion: and that he was a Student and learned in ſtudies different from their learning and ſtudies: till ſuch a time as Curioſity put him to dive into their doctrines and practices, which took upon them to be the very *Apex* and perfection of Religion and Learning.

Sect.

Sect. VI. *Of the Sadducees.*

Sadock and *Baithus* two Scholars of *Antigonus of Socho* were the firſt Schiſmaticks and Hereticks againſt this ſtate Religion, of which we have ſpoken: They denyed the reſurrection, which to deny was hereſie indeed; and they or their Scholars denied the whole Traditional Law, which the Jews did take for a worſe Hereſie than the other: *Antigonus* their Maſter had uſed an obſcure expreſſion in his doctrine, exhorting his Scholars to embrace the Law *not looking for a reward*, meaning that they ſhould embrace it for the love of it ſelf. But theſe unlucky Scholars miſconſtrued his doctrine even to the denying that there was any reward in the World to come at all: and thereupon they denied the Reſurrection, and ſo did the *Sadduces* after them, who took their denomination from this *Sadock* the firſt Author of their Sect. *Avoth. R. Nath. per.* 5. *Juchaſin. fol.* 15. *Elias Lev. in Tiſhbi*; See *Matth.* 22. 22. *Acts* 23. 8.

Hereupon that and the ſucceeding generations were put to it, to take up words and arguments whereby to face and confute this Hereſie: And ſo came the Phraſes *The world to come*, *Gehennah*, *Paradiſe*, *Abrahams boſom*, *The ſecond death*, *&c.* into uſe and requeſt, that the very expreſſions might aſſert the Reſurrection, and cry down the wicked opinion of *Sadock*, *Baithus*, and their followers who denied it. And among other fortifications that were made againſt this Hereſie, that argument of *Gebikah ben Paſiſa*, or *ben Koſem* is deſervedly renowned, מאן דלא הוה הוה מאן דהוה דת כל שכן *That which was not, came into being, and ſhall not that much more that hath been already? Juchaſ. fol.* 13. meaning, that God who had made the body of man when it had never been in being, can much more raiſe up that body that hath been in being before.

This was the only Hereſie of *Sadock* and his followers at the firſt, and they diſturbed the ſetled religion with no other, (only he and his fellow *Baithus* went away to the Temple at *Gerizim*, and became Samaritans) but he afterward and the Sadduces which came after him, and took their name from him, held another opinion, which by the Jews was taken for as bad or a worſe Hereſie than this (though in it ſelf indeed it deſerved no ſuch brand) and that was, They denyed the Traditional Law, and would owne no Law but the written Law of *Moſes*: and hereupon they were alſo called *Karaites* or Scripturiſts, becauſe they were all for the written Text, and would not indure any Traditions: and ſo they ſtruck at the very root of the then religion, which was built upon Traditions in a manner only.

Hear how *Rambam* complains againſt them, *From that aroſe* ſaith he, *the curſed Sect of Hereticks which were called Karaites: but they are called alſo by the wiſe men Sadduces and Baithuſæans: they began to oppoſe the Cabbalah*, or traditions, *and to expound the Text as themſelves thought good, without hearkning to any of the wiſe men at all.* In Avoth. per. 1. And *Elias Levita* thus. Antigonus *of* Socoh *had two Scholars* Sadoc *and* Baithus, *which grew exceeding wicked and denied the Traditional Law, and believed only what was written in the written Law, therefore they called them Karaites.*

The *Sadduces* were addicted to a Ceremonious Religion as well as the *Phariſees*, though in all things they went not ſo far, and in the ſame things they went not always alike. They uſed Phylacteries as well as the *Phariſees*, but they wore them not after the very ſame faſhion. *Megil. fol.* 24. Nay ſomtimes ſome of the Prieſts adminiſtred the ſervice at the Temple, על דעת הצדוקים *after the way of the Saduces*, different from the Ordinary way, but ſuch (as the *Jeruſalem Talmud* relateth) dyed ſtrange deaths. And the matters wherein they followed the way of the *Sadduces* were all about Ceremony.

But they would own none of the Ceremonies they uſed, as derived from Tradition, but, (as they pretended) deduced in all points from *Moſes* his Text: For they would acknowledge nothing but what was written, though oftentimes they did not ſo much find it to be written ſo, as they made it ſo by their conſtruction: and joyned in many things with the Traditional Ceremonies, but ſcorned to receive them from Tradition, but would make ſhift to find ground for them in the Text: even as many amongſt us at this day, hold Arminian, Socinian, or Popiſh *Tenets*, yet ſcorn to fetch them or to acknowledge them fetcht from *Arminius*, *Socinus*, or *Rome*, but will ſeem to fetch them out of the very Text of Scripture.

Let me conclude this matter with ſome words of *Joſephus* to ſhew how they deſpiſed and rejected traditions, and with a paſſage in *Maimonides*, that ſheweth how they would have nothing but what was to be ſeen in the Text of Scripture. Νόμιμα πολλὰ τινὰ παρέδοσαν τῷ δήμῳ οἱ φαρισαῖοι, &c. *The Phariſees* (ſaith *Joſephus*) *delivered many things unto the people as appertaining to the Law, by Traditions from the Fathers, which are not written in the Law of Moſes. And therefore the Sect of the Sadduces caſt them off, ſaying that theſe things are to be accounted for Laws, which are written, but that theſe things that come by Tradition from the Fathers ought not to be kept. And about theſe matters were often great diſputes and differences betwixt them.* Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18.

And, *It is unlawful* (ſaith *Maymonides*) *for a man to teach when he is drunk: but if he teach a thing that is ſo plain in the Law,* ער שידעוהו צדוקים *that even the Sadducees will acknowledge it, then is it lawful: as that a creeping thing is unclean, a frog clean, blood forbidden, &c.* In biath. hammikdaſh. per. 1.

Sect. V. *Of the Phariſees.*

As the *Sadducees* on the one hand made nothing of Traditions at all, ſo the *Phariſees* on the other hand did make exceedingly too much, not only beyond the *Sadducees*, but alſo the reſt of the Nation that walked in the high way of the State-Religion, ſeparating and ſingling themſelves in a more ſtrict courſe of Ceremonious devotion, from other people. The Jews do write their name פרושים & פרוש *Paruſh & Paruſhim* with *u* in the ſecond Syllable. But the Greek of the New Teſtament, and *Joſephus*, as alſo the Syriack and Arabick do read it with *i* φαρισαῖοι & פרישא *Phariſh:* Suitable to the Chaldee and Syriack language which was then ſpoken. The word *Paraſh* is uſed but once in Scripture for *ſeparation*, as ii is obſerved by *Elias Levita*, whoſe words are theſe פרש לשון הבדלה והפרשה ולא נמצא נמקרא רק במקום אחר *&c. Paraſh*, ſaith he, *betokeneth diviſion and ſeparation, and it is found in Scripture but only once.* בתוך צאנו נפרשות *Ezek.* 34. 12. (His *ſcattered or parted ſheep* πρόβατα διακεχωρισμένα in the Septuagint rendred by the Latine, *oves ſeperatæ*) *yet our Rabins of happy memory have uſed it exceeding much. And from hence is the Noun Paruſh and Paruſhim*, that is Phariſee and Phariſees, *and they were men ſeparate from the ways of the world, as were the Nazarites. Baal Aruch* yet clearer פרוש הוא שפירש עצמו מכל טומאה ומן מאכל טמא ועם הארץ שאינו מרקדק במאכל *A Phariſee* (ſaith he) *is he that ſeparateth himſelf from all uncleaneſs and from all unclean meats, and from the common people that underſtand not the exact orders for meats, &c.* According to this ſenſe of ſeparation *Juchaſin* calleth *Merlins* mother a פרושה *a Phariſee*, that is a *Nun* or recluſe. His ſtory of him and her is briefly thus. בימי ליאון היה החכם הגדול מירלין באינגא לטוירא ואמרו שהיה בן שר ואמו היתה בת מלך פרו שה ועשה ספרים הרבה *In the days of Pope Leo was the great wiſe man* Merlin *in* England: *And they ſay he was the ſon of a Spirit: Now his mother was a Kings daughter, A Nun: And he made many books*, fol. 144. col. 1.

And divers other paſſages in the Jewiſh writers might he produced, by which they ſhew the general acceptation of the word *Phariſee*, namely, that it ſignified and imported *ſeparation:* and that the Phariſees were Separatiſts from others of the Nation.

Now about the ſeparation of the Phariſees from other perſons, two things are to be examined. 1. In what their ſeparation did conſiſt. And 2. from what perſons it was that they did ſeparate.

As to the firſt; their Separation from others was not about the publick Ordinances or refraining the publick Aſſemblies as the Separatiſts of our times do, but it conſidered in ſome other thing, In *Mat.* 12. 9, 13. *Luke* 6.6,7. there were *Phariſees* in the Synagogue at the publick Worſhip, &c.

And Separation from the publick Aſſemblies was againſt their own poſition. תפלת הצבור נשמעת תמיר ואפילו היו בהן חו שאים *The prayer of the Congregation* (ſaith their Tradition) *is always heard: Yea though ſinners be among them, yet the Holy bleſſed God refuſeth not the prayer of the Aſſembly: Therefore it is neceſſary that a man joyn himſelf with the Congregation, and pray not alone at any time when he may pray with the Congregation: And let a man ever go to Morning and Evening prayer in the Synagogue: for his prayer is not always conſtantly heard but in the Synagogue: And every one that hath a Synagogue in his City, and prayeth not in it with the Congregation he is called* שכן רע *an evil neighbour.* Maymon. in Tephillah. per. 8.

Nor did their Separation conſiſt in refraining the company and converſe of others, for they ſate in the *Sanhedrin* with Sadducees, *Acts* 23. 6. *Mark* 3.6. ſee alſo *Mat.* 16.1. they to other mens houſes. *Mark* 16. 16. &c.

Converſed with any ſorts of men to make them Proſelytes, *Mat.* 23. 15. conferred ordinarily with Chriſt and his Diſciples, *Mat.* 15. 1. & 12. 1, 2, &c. And indeed it will be a hard thing to find in the Jews antiquities, mention of Separation of any of the Nation, from the converſe of others: unleſs it were from a perſon *Anathemated*, which falleth not under the conſideration that we have in hand.

To eat indeed with the common ſort of people they made it ſhy, as *Mark* 2. 16. *for none of the Scholars of the Wiſe would eat with the people of the Land*, (as was obſerved before) no more would any of the people of the land with a Heathen, *Act.* 11. 3. (therefore that prophane perſon of the Church of *Corinth* muſt be uſed as a Heathen or Publican, *Mat.* 18.17. they muſt not eat with him. 1 *Cor.* 5. 11.) but to talk, walk, ſit, buy, ſell, and to uſe other common converſe with men of the Nation, it was neither againſt the *Tenents* nor practice of the *Phariſees*, nor any other Sects of the Nation, unleſs it were the *Eſſeans* growing *Theraputæ*, or the Colledges of Hermites in *Egypt*.

2. The

2. The ſeparation of *Phariſees* therefore did not conſiſt (which is the ſecond thing to be looked after) ſo much in their withdrawing from the ſociety of men, as it did in a ſingularity of holineſs and devotion, which they pretended and took upon them to have above, beyond, and diſtinct from other men: walking beyond and above the rule of the State Religion, and common devotion of the Nation, and ſeeming ſomething above *Ha* in the ſcale of holyneſs to the eyes of others, whereas he whoſe eyes walk through the Earth, ſaw them to be but painted Sepulchers full of rottenneſs and corruption, *Mat.* 23. 27.

Their tranſendency of holyneſs which they took upon them, they deſired ſhould appear eſpecially in theſe two particulars. 1. In extream Ceremoniouſneſs beyond other men, as in frequent waſhings, large Phylacteries, *Touch not, taſte not, handle not, &c.* And 2. In extraordinary pretended devotions, as long and frequent prayers, much ſhew of faſtings, &c. that they might be ſeen of men.

We will not antedate the conſideration of theſe particulars, by inſiſting on them here, but reſerve them to be looked after as they come to hand in our future progreſs: only here let us take the pattern and Character of the Phariſees, as the *Talmud* it ſelf, and the Jews own Authors do picture them, which for the preſent may ſerve for ſome explanation of thoſe particulars, wherein the Goſpels do point at their pretended and hypocritical ſuperlative holineſs. The *Talmud* nameth ſeven kind of Phariſees. 1. פרוש שכמי *The Schechemite Phariſee* העשה מעשה שכם שמלו שלא לשם מצוה *that doth like the Shechemites, who circumciſed themſelves, not for the commandment ſake,* but for advantage: 2. פרוש נקפי *The daſhing or ſtumbling Phariſee,* for ſo we may interpret it המתרחק מלרחות בני אדם בדרכים *that avoids thruſting upon men in the way:* ונופק רגליו באבנים *And daſhes his feet againſt the ſtones:* he went ſo demure a grave pace that he would not lift up his feet from the ground, but daſht and ſtumbled againſt every ſtone that lay in his way. 3. פרוש קואי *The Phlebotomizing Phariſee* כיוצא הוא נדחק שלא להזיק חעוברים ושביס *He as he went would thruſt up to the wall, leſt he trouble the paſſengers that went and came,* ומקיו דם בנותלים ſo hard that he would daſh his face againſt the wall and draw blood: 4. פרוש מרוביא *The Peſtil Phariſee* כיוך בגדיו בודו *that wrapt his coat about his hand* ומראה עצמו מתרחק ממגע בני אדם שלא יטמא *And kept off himſelf from touching of any men, leſt he ſhould be defiled:* uſing his hand mufled in his cloaths, as it were a peſtil to drive off men from him. 5. פרוש מה חובתי ואעשנה *The Supererogation Phariſee, that ſaid what is my duty and I will do it and to ſpare, ſhew me my trangreſſion and I will amend it, as meaning, that there is no man that can ſhew wherein ever I tranſgreſſed.* 6. פרוש אחר נקפי *Another daſhing Phariſee,* שהולך כפוף *that went bending double, in ſhew of humility: and winked as he went and daſhed his feet againſt ſtones: but his heart was naught: He drew blood by daſhing againſt walls: ſeeming to be very humble, and for the abundance of his humility, he would not look about him as he went, but daſhed his arms or ſhoulders againſt walls, and drew blood: and all this not in the fear of God but to deceive men.* 7. פרוש מאהבה *The Phariſee of love:* that became *a Phariſee for the love of men or for the love of God.* Vid. Talm. in Sotah per. 3. in Gemara & Aruch R. Nathan in voce, פרוש where he alſo mentioneth יוחני אשה פרושה *Joanna a woman Phariſee:* of whom he giveth this ſtory in the word יוחני *Joanna the Daughter of Retibi by witchcraft hindred womens childbearing, and put them to extream pain in childbirth: Now ſhe pretended to be a very holy woman, and they uſed to come to her and to beg her Prayers in behalf of ſuch or ſuch a woman, that ſhe might be delivered: and then ſhe would looſe the charm, and the woman was ſoon brought to bed: At laſt ſhe was diſcovered to be a Witch, and then they ſlew her.* He calleth her פרושה *A Phariſee* becauſe of her pretended holineſs.

Thus was the *Phariſees* Separation or diſtinction from other men: not in regard of refraining of the ſociety of men, either in publick or private, either in Synagogue or ſtreet, but in taking on him and ſeeming to be more incomparably holy, and moſt diſtinctively tranſcendent above all other: *Luke* 18. 10. They deſpiſed the *Sadduces* as Hereticks; and the ſtrictneſs of the *Eſſeans* as far ſhort of their Ceremoniouſneſs (though I believe they were the far honeſter and more ſincerely religious men) and the reſt of the learned of the Nation that were not of theſe Sects were nothing in their eyes, becauſe not of their way and practiſe: But as for the common people, it is above expreſſion how ſcornfully they looked upon them. לא יאכל זב פרוש עם זב עם הארץ *A Phariſee that had an Iſſue might not eat with one of the common people that had an iſſue,* though they were both under the ſame uncleanneſs: *Sabbath per.* 1. *in Gemara.* Nay they had a ſcornfull *Maxim,* בגדי עם הארץ מדרס לפרושים That *the garments of the common people were to them as the ſhooes of him that had an iſſue:* Hagigah. per. 2. *for having touched their garments, they waſhed themſelves before they ate, is having been defiled by them with an high uncleaneſs.* Aruch in voce פרוש And that ſpeech of theirs mentioned before may top up all, *John* 7. 49. *This people that know not the Law is curſed.*

Thus

Thus were the *Phariſees* ſeparated and ſevered in their own conceit and practice, and would appear ſo in the eyes of others, from all other men of the Nation, as in an higher form, and pitch of holineſs and devotion: looking down upon all ſorts of men as below them in piety and Religion, and though not ſeparating from their ſociety, yet not equalling them within their thoughts, but deſpiſing them: converſing ordinarily with the common people, but waſhing after coming near them, as having received defiling from them.

This great pretence and ſhew of holineſs they politickly uſed to bring them into the eſteem and repute of men and in favour with the people: which end they accordingly attained unto ſo far, that they got all the applauſe and indeed all the power into their own hands. *The Phariſees have ſo great power with the multitude* (ſaith *Joſephus*) *that if they ſpeak any thing againſt the King, or againſt the High-Prieſt they are preſently believed* Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18. And a little after. *The Sadduces did only win upon the rich, but had not the common people on their ſide. But the Phariſees had the multitude for them:* They had ſmall reaſon, conſidering how they ſcorned them, and domineered over them. And there he relates how they ſtirred up the peoples hate againſt *Hyrcanus* the King, and in chap. 23. how they did the like againſt King *Alexander*. And therefore when he was upon his death bed, he adviſeth *Alexandra* the Queen to keep in with the Phariſees: *For that they were very powerful with the people, and could hurt thoſe they hated and help their friends.* Μάλιστα γὰρ πιστεύεσθαι παρὰ τῷ πλήθει περὶ ὧν ἂν φθονοῦντες τὶ κακὸν λέγωσι. *For that they are mightily believed by the people, eſpecially if they ſpeak evil of any man whom they hate. And I my ſelf ſaith the King came into diſfavour by their means becauſe I gave them offence:* And to trouble the Reader but with one Character more of them: the ſame *Joſephus Ant. lib. 17. c. 3.* gives them this badge: Φαρισαῖοι βασιλεῦσι δυνάμενοι μάλιστα ἀντιπαρῆσαν: περιμηθεῖς κακῷ πρᾶσσειν εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν τε καὶ βλάπτειν ἑτοιμότατοι. *The Phariſees are exceeding ſtrong to oppoſe Kings: they are ſubtil and very forward to make open war, and to do miſchief.*

Now although the word *Scribes* and *Phariſees* are made terms convertible in this portion of Scripture that we are upon (for whereas *Luke* calls them *Phariſees and Doctors of the Law*, verſ. 17. and *Scribes and Phariſees*, verſ. 21. the other two Evangeliſts have only called them *Scribes*) and the like convertibleneſs is uſed in other places, yet was there a diſtinction to be made betwixt a *Scribe* and a *Phariſee*. To this purpoſe is that paſſage obſervable in *Acts* 23. 6, 7, 9. where the *Sanhedrin* is deſcribed to conſiſt of *Phariſees, Sadduces, and Scribes which were on the Phariſees part:* that is, *Scribes* that were of the *Phariſees* mind and part in matter of opinion, but were not *Phariſees* in demeanour in matter of ſo preciſe converſation (unleſs the word *Scribes* there do mean the Preſident and Vice-preſident of the Councel.) For it was very poſſible, nay eaſie for a man, to be a *Scribe*, that is, either a member of the *Sanhedrin*, or a publick Teacher, and yet neither a *Sadduce* in opinion, nor a *Phariſee* in practice. The *Sadduces* of the *Sanhedrin* may be called *Scribes*, becauſe they were of the Law-makers to the Nation as well as the *Phariſees*, but the *Phariſees* more properly might be called ſo, becauſe they were ſo zealous of Traditions and of the decrees of the *Scribes* that had ſtill gone before them: but every *Scribe* that held with the *Phariſees* in that point, went not with them in the ſtrictneſs of their Ceremonious demeanour: ſo that every *Scribe* was not a *Phariſee*, and every *Phariſee* not a *Scribe*. For the title *Scribe* did denote a function, but the title *Phariſee* did denote devotion: Now theſe that the Evangeliſts ſpeak of in the place that we have in hand, were both *Phariſees* and *Scribes*, that is, not only the publick Teachers in their Schools and Synagogues, of thoſe Traditions upon which the State-Religion was ſetled, and according to which the body of the Nation walked, but ſuch as took upon them a preciſeneſs and devotion above the common rate and practiſe of thoſe that walked in the State-Religion. The concourſe of theſe Doctors was occaſioned partly by *Chriſts* peregrination throughout their Synagogues of *Galilee*, where they were eye and ear witneſſes of his works and words, and partly by that fame that was now ſpread of him through all the Countries thereabout, as *Mat.* 4. 25. And *Chriſt* in this great concourſe of ſuch learned, prying and captious men, doth mightily and abundantly ſhew forth his power of healing which *Luke* hath uttered, *The power of God was preſent to heal them*, that by ſuch demonſtrations he might convince them that he was the *Meſſias*.

Mark 2. Verſ. 4. *They uncovered the Roof, and when they had broken it up, they let down the bed.*

It ſeemeth by ſome paſſages of Scripture, that as their houſes were flat roofed, ſo that they had grates on the top of the roof, through which they received light and air when they pleaſed, and when they would they covered thoſe grates with a covering to keep out cold and foul weather; So it is ſaid of *Noah* that he removed *the covering of the Ark and looked*, *Gen.* 8. 13. though it had a window in the ſide of it to have looked out,

Verſ.

Verſ. 8. And of *Ahaziah*, that he fell through *a lattice*, 2 *King.* 1. 2. which may be underſtood of this grate, as he was walking over it. Now whether the Evangeliſts mean that theſe men, took up this cover, grate, and all, and let down the bed, or rather as their expreſſion ſeem to carry it, that they broke the ſolid and whole roof, we ſhall not inſiſt to make inquiry after it, only we cannot but obſerve how like this bed and man in it comes down from the top of the houſe to the coming down of *Peters* ſheet from Heaven, *Acts* 10. let down by the four corners.

Mat. 9. Verſ. 2. *Son be of good cheer, thy ſins are forgiven thee.*

What *Matthew* and *Mark* utter, *Son*, *Luke* expreſſeth *Man*, *Luke* 5.20. and the terms may be underſtood convertibly according to the idiom of the Language uſed both among the Hebrews and the Chaldees: or if the word *ſon* be conſtrued in its cloſer ſtrictneſs, it may be taken as an expreſſion uſed by Elders to younger perſons, or by ſuperiours to inferiours, as *Joh.* 7. 19. 1 *Sam.* 4. 16. *Luke* 16. 25. But I ſhould expound it in a cloſer ſtrictneſs ſtill, as ſpoken by *Chriſt* in much tenderneſs and cheriſhing to that ſingular faith of this man that he obſerved in him. It is ſaid indeed by all the Evangeliſts, that *Jeſus* ſaw *their Faith*, as applying it to the four men that brought the palſick man thither, but it cannot be ſo much as ſurmiſed but that the diſeaſed man had faith as well and as vigorous as they. And indeed a greater faith had not been ſhewed by any that had dealt with *Chriſt* in all the ſtory hitherto, than was ſhewed in this action, of bringing this man before him in ſuch a manner, and thereupon it is the leſs to be wondred at, if *Chriſt* do in moſt melting and tender expreſſion call him *ſon*, and pronounce healing of the Soul to him that came for healing of his body.

It is not to be doubted, but that upon theſe words of *Chriſt* the man had received healing though he had ſaid no more to him: ſince none that came to him in faith went away not ſped. Yet herein lyeth ſome ſcruple and queſtion, how the forgiveneſs of his ſins could have influence into the healing of his diſeaſe. Since that is the cure of the ſoul and not of the body, and ſince juſtified perſons are as incident to diſeaſdneſs and to death; as thoſe that are not juſtified: There is a paſſage in the Prophet *Eſay*, ſomething agreeable to this matter in hand, and that is in Chap, 33. 24. *The Inhabitant ſhall not ſay I am ſick, the people that dwell therein ſhall be forgiven their iniquity.* Now in ſuch paſſages as theſe there ſeemeth reference to be had to thoſe curſes threatned for violation of the Law in *Deut.* 28. amongſt which there are ſad diſeaſes of body and mind mentioned and denounced verſ. 21, 22, 27, 28, 35, 59, 60, 61. And from that ground ſeemeth to have riſen their giving up men that were palpable offenders to a *Cherem* or *a curſe*, and the giving up of men to *Satan:* For as for incorrigible offenders, that would not be reclaimed by correction, and for whom there was no expreſs and poſitive Law to put them to death, what was there to be done with them? But to devote them ſolemnly and to leave them to thoſe curſes that God denounced againſt ſuch violaters of his commandements: which Judicial proceſs founded upon the warrant, and belief of his word, it pleaſed the Lord very often to follow with anſwerable effect: and ſuch a perſon became *a curſe among his people*, as *Numb.* 5. 27. And this I ſuppoſe to be *the giving up to Satan* mentioned in the Scripture as devoting ſuch a wretch, out of the care and protection of God, to the power and diſpoſal of the Devil: And this that common and proverbial ſpeech among the Jews לוּף לשטן *Pack to Satan*, which is to be found in their Talmudical writers ſeemeth to have reſpect and reference unto: And accordingly divers diſeaſes in the Goſpel are aſcribed to the inflicting of *Satan*, as *Luke* 13. 16. & 11. 14. &c. And the giving up of the perſon to *Satan*, 1 *Cor.* 5. muſt be *for the deſtruction of the fleſh*, verſ. 5.

Verſ. 5. *Whether it is eaſier to ſay, Thy ſins be forgiven thee, &c.*

It was indeed a truth that the Scribes aimed at, when they ſaid *this man blaſphemeth*, namely that *none can forgive ſins but God only*, but their ignorance concerning the perſon about whom they ſpake, did cauſe themſelves to blaſpheme, when they ſaid he blaſphemed. In this anſwer of *Chriſt* to them, *whether it is eaſier to ſay, &c.* 1. He meaneth not whether is it eaſier to pronounce thoſe words, but whether is it eaſier to effectuate thoſe words, that is, to do thoſe things that the words do mean, namely to forgive ſins, or to heal a palſie? 2. He meaneth that it had been an eaſier thing to have ſaid, *Riſe, take up thy bed and walk*, and ſo to have recovered the man of his malady, as a Prophet or one indued with the gift of miracles might have done. But 3. that he ſaid *Thy ſins are forgiven thee*, purpoſely that they might take notice not only by his uttering of the words, but alſo by the effect that was to follow them, that he had power to forgive ſins: As he had mightily revealed his power in the two cures that he had wrought

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in the ſtories before, in caſting out a Devil and healing a Leper; ſo doth he here ſhew this power a greater power than either of thoſe; and it may be conceived, That he purpoſely uſeth thoſe word, *Thy ſins are forgiven thee*, for the mans healing, rather than *Riſe, take up thy bed*, not only becauſe he would ſhew his own power to forgive ſins, but becauſe he would glorifie the doctrine of forgiveneſs of ſins before theſe Phariſees, who ſtood altogether upon legal righteouſneſs: And ſo at once would ſhew the great work of the *Meſſias* to *ſave his people from their ſins*, as *Matt.* 1. 18. and the great tenor of the Goſpel, *faith and remiſſion of ſins*, He ſaw *their Faith*, and ſaid, Thy *ſins are forgiven.*

Verſ. 9. *He ſaw a man named Matthew ſitting at the Receipt of Cuſtom.*

Matthew is now writing his own ſtory, and he is not aſhamed to ſpeak the worſt of himſelf, that the grace of God might be the more magnified in him, and to tell you that he was of the worſt ſort of men, namely, a *Publican*, as he ſpeaks it out, Chap. 10. 3. He was alſo called *Levi*, for ſo *Mark* and *Luke* do ſtyle him, and whether he carried theſe names, one before his calling and the other after, it is but needleſs to enquire, ſince double-namedneſs among the Jews was ſo familiar. He was the Son of *Alphæus* or *Cleopas* and ſo Chriſts kinſman; and thus that one man hath four ſons that were Apoſtles, namely, *James* called *the leſs*, and *Judas* (called alſo *Lebbeus* and *Thadeus*) and *Simon* called the *Canaanite*, and *Levi* called alſo *Matthew.*

Matthew it ſeemeth was a Publican at *Capernaum* Cuſtom-houſe, on the Sea ſide (for ſo it appeareth by the relation of *Mark*) to gather tribute or Cuſtom of Paſſengers over the water, and of thoſe whoſe imployment lay in that Sea of *Galilee.* And here I cannot but mention a Gloſs of *Rabbi Solomon* on *Judg.* 5. 10, 11. *You* (ſaith he) *that walk afoot by the way, ſpeak and mention this deliverance which you have from the noiſe of thoſe that ſhot at you from Ambuſhes,* ליסטים ומוכסין *Thieves and Publicans that lay in wait by flocks to ſurpriſe thoſe that came over the waters:* And the *Chaldee Paraphraſt* at the ſame place, ſpeaketh of the *Publicans ſitting beſides the waters.* And to this purpoſe alſo, may be produced that Tradition in the Treatiſe *Sabbath per.* 8. *To carry out ink on the Sabbath to write with it,* קשר מוכסין *one of the Publicans Tickets, and to carry out one of the Publicans Tickets was unlawful. The Gemariſts* there explain what theſe *Publicans Tickets* were כמה שיעור קשר מיכסים בּ אותות *How big* (ſay they) *was one of theſe Publicans Tickets? It was two great Letters written in Paper, or on ſomething elſe, &c.* And the intent of theſe Tickets were, that he that had paid his whole toll, or Cuſtom on this ſide the water, ſhewing it when he came on the other ſide of the water, he was freed from paying any more.

Now *Publicans* were of two ſorts, either thoſe that voluntarily ſet themſelves to a mony-changing and mony-breaking trade, and in that trade, by cheating and oppreſſion raiſed profit; and ſuch *Baal Aruch* meaneth, when he ſpeaketh of מוכס העומד מאליו *A Publican that ſets up of himſelf, or ſuch as were ſet up by the Romans to gather their Tribute of the Jews,* (as ſaith Haggaon) *and they favoured ſome in partiality, and on others they laid load, and exacted more than right, and proved but thieves. Aruch* in מכס And whether voluntary or authorized Publicans, they are both branded as wicked and unconſcionable wretches, not only by the Scripture, but alſo by the Jews own writers: and as in Scripture they are commonly mentioned in conjunction with ſinners or harlots; ſo are they alſo linked in their writings with the vileſt perſons: נודרין להרגין לחרמין ולמוכסין *vows made to murderers, thieves, and Publicans may be broken, Talm. in Nedarim per.* 3. *halac.* 4. אלו פסולין רועין גבאין ומוכסין *Theſe perſons are prophane* or unlawful, *Shepherds, alms-gatherers and Publicans, Sanhedr. per.* 1. *fol.* 24. And in *Baba kamah fol.* 94. *The repentance of ſhepherds, alms-gatherers and Publicans is very hard, &c.* Of ſuch a rank and profeſſion was *Matthew* before his calling, and yet (ſo great is the power of Chriſt in his ſpirit and grace) he becomes not only an Apoſtle but a Pen-man of the Goſpel: and (as it is not improbably held) the firſt that ſet Pen to paper in that kind, of all the four. *Matthæus in Judæa Evangelium primus ſcribit. Euſeb. in Chr. ad Annum Domini.* 41.

SECTION.

SECTION XXIV.

St. JOHN Chap. V.

The second Paſſover after Chriſts Baptiſm.

AFTER this there was a Feaſt of the Jews, and Jeſus went up to Jeruſalem.

2. *Now there was at Jeruſalem by the* [a] *Sheep gate, a Pool which is called in the Hebrew tongue* [b] *Bethesda, having five* [c] *porches.*

3. *In theſe lay a great multitude of impotent folk, of blind, halt,* [d] *withered, waiting for the moving of the water.*

4. *For an Angel went down at a certain ſeaſon into the pool and troubled the water, whoſoever then firſt after the troubling of the water, ſtepped in, was made whole of whatſoever diſeaſe he had.*

5. *And a certain man was there which had an infirmity thirty and eight years.*

6. *When Jeſus ſaw him lye, and knew that he had been now a long time in that caſe, he ſaith unto him, Wilt thou be made whole?*

[a] The *Syriack* omits the clauſe ἐπὶ τῇ προβατικῇ and readeth thus, *There was there at Jeruſalem a place of a pool*, but the *Arabick* retains it ſo far, that it uſeth the very Greek word. The vulgar hath read both the words in one caſe. *Eſt autem Jeruſolymis Probatica piſcina*, (though now amended, as ſaith *Janſenius*) and with the like *ſyntax* readeth *Theophylact*, but both diſagreeing from the beſt copies, and both by ſuch a reading, cauſing a very rough and hardly to be conſtrued conſtruction. The *Chaldee Paraphraſt* in *Jer.*31.39. ſpeaketh of *Piſcina vitularia*, or the *Calf or Heifer Pool*, for he hath rendred נועתה by לבריכת עגלרא interpreting the Hebrew word according to its ſignification of *lowing* or *bellowing*; where whether he mean this pool here in mention, be it referred to the learned to examine the place and judge.

[b] *Bethesda.*] The Vulgar reads it *Bethſaida*, and ſo doth *Tertullian* and *Theophylact* in one edition, as is obſerved by *Beza:* but as he well cenſureth, *Scriptura proculdubio propter horum nominum affinitatem, a librariis & aliis Hebraeæ linguæ imperitis depravata.* And even ſome of the Romaniſts themſelves who value the Vulgar edition at its full rate, yet forſake it in that reading here. *Bethesda*, which is the common and moſt received reading, is conceived by ſome to be derived or compounded of בית אשר which ſignifieth *the place of effuſion*, or *falling in of waters*; either, ſay ſome, becauſe the rain water falling off the houſes gathered here: or as others, becauſe the waters uſed in the Temple, fell in through an underground channel hither: or as yet ſome others, becauſe water ran out of another pool into this: nay yet ſome further, have dreamed of the blood of the ſacrifices running in hither: But certainly (to omit to examine theſe opinions) the title of *the place of effuſion* is a note but little diſtinctive of a peculiar pool (and it is apparent enough the Evangeliſt would put a diſtinction upon this pool here) ſince it may be given to any pool near *Jeruſalem*, or near any City whatſoever. The *Syriack* therefore hath more pertinently and properly expreſſed it בית חסרא as ſignifying the *place of mercy* or compaſſion, in regard of the vertue that it had of healing thoſe that were diſeaſed.

[c] The Greek word στοὰ which is conſtantly rendred in the Latine *Porticus*, is both it, and that Latin word, as conſtantly rendred in our Engliſh *A porch:* in which there is ſome ambiguity, becauſe of the ſingular ſignification that we in *England* put upon that word. We take it only for the προσυλον, firſt entrance into a houſe, or Church, or the like, as our common experience tells us what a *Church porch* or a *Houſe porch* is, and in other ſenſe than this we uſe it not: whereas the Greek and Latine words, and the Rabbinick word סטיו (the ſame with στοὰ) do ſignifie commonly and conſtantly, cloiſter-walks, (ſuch walks as in which they walk in the Royal Exchange *London*) namely, walks roofed over, and the roof born up on one ſide with pillars. In the ſurvey and deſcription of the Temple, we have had occaſion largely to treat of this matter, and there we have explained and ſhewed the fabrick and faſhion of Στοὰ Σολομῶντος *Solomons Porch* or Cloiſter-walk mentioned in the Scripture, and of Στοὰ Βασιλικὴ, *The Cloiſter-royal* mentioned by *Joſephus*, and of כסטיו לפנים מסטיו *Cloiſter within Cloiſter*, ſpoken of by the Talmudiſts. And ſo is the word to be underſtood in this place, that joyning to the buildings or walls that ſtood about this pool, there were Cloiſters or walks made, for the people there to lie or walk under, free from rain and weather. The Syrian uſeth the ordinary Talmudick word אסטוא which is but the Greek word στοὰ brought into an Hebrew garb.

[d] Sinew-ſhrunk, as 1 *King.*13.4. *Matth.* 12.10. there are only three ſorts of diſeaſed ones named by the Evangeliſt, not but that other diſeaſes attended here for cure, but theſe three were hardeſt of curing, and withal the unreadieſt to get down into the water when it was troubled.

St. JOHN Chap. V.

7. *The impotent man answered him, Sir, I have no man when the water is troubled to put me into the pool: but while I am coming another steppeth down before me.*

8. *Jesus saith unto him, Rise, take up thy bed and walk.*

9. *And immediately the man was made whole and took up his bed and walked:* [e] *and on the same day was the Sabbath.*

10. *The Jews therefore said unto him that was cured, It is the Sabbath day, it is not lawful for thee to carry thy bed.*

11. *He answered them, He that made me whole, the same said unto me, Take up thy bed and walk.*

12. *Then asked they him, What man is that which said unto thee, Take up thy bed and walk?*

13. *And he that was healed wist not who it was; for Jesus* [f] *had conveyed himself away; a multitude being in that place.*

14. *Afterward Jesus findeth him in the Temple, and said unto him, Behold, thou art made whole, sin no more lest a worse thing come unto thee.*

15. *The man departed and told the* [g] *Jews that it was Jesus which had made him whole.*

16. *And therefore did the Jews persecute Jesus, and sought to slay him, because he had done these things on the Sabbath day.*

17. *But Jesus answered them, My Father worketh hitherto, and I work.*

18. *Therefore the Jews sought the more to kill him, not only because he had broken the Sabbath, but said also that God was his Father, making himself equal with God.*

19. *Then answered Jesus and said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do, for what things soever he doth, those also doth the Son likewise.*

20. *For the Father loveth the Son, and sheweth him all things that himself doth, and he will shew him greater works than these that ye may marvail.*

21. *For as the Father raised up the dead, and quickneth them; even so the Son quickneth whom he will.*

22. *For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son.*

[e] *And on the same day was the Sabbath,*) the expression is something strange, and it might almost induce to think, that by the *Sabbath* is meant not the Sabbath in its proper sense, but one of the Sabbatical or holy days in the Passover week, and so some apprehend it: but that we find not the Evangelist speaking of the Sabbath but in the proper sense: By Sabbath therefore in these words, is to be understood the Sabbatism of the day, as well as the very day it self.

[f] Ἐξένευσεν) The word by some Expositors is made of a questionable derivation: whether from ξένευω or from ἐκνέυω: The latter is the more undoubted, both as better suiting with the sense of the place, and having also its parallel in the Old Testament, as 2 *King.*23.16. *And as Josiah turned himself he saw the graves, &c.* The Septuagint have it Καὶ ἐξένευσεν Ιωσιας καὶ ἴδε, &c. So *Jesus* when he had done his cure upon the man, turned himself away and was gone; Having picked out this long diseased man to do his work upon, and not minding in his wisdom to heal any more, nor to be observed by the multitude more than he must needs: What brought the concourse together in this place, is somewhat hard to find. *Jerusalem* was now full of people, it being the Passover, and whether these cloisters were full of the poorer sort that had come up to the feast; and could not find better accomodation of lodging for themselves (who can tell whether they were not built for such a purpose) or whether the multitude had followed *Jesus* thither, or gathered thither upon the report of the mans recovering, be it left to those to think upon that desire to be resolved of it.

[g] *The Jews,*) that is, the *Sanhedrin* or the Rulers, for so it is very common with the Evangelists, especially with this, to mean by that expression, as Chap.1.19. *The Jews sent Priests and Levites from Jerusalem,* Chap.7.1. *The Jews sought to kill him.* Chap.9.22. *The Jews had agreed* to put out of the Synagogue, &c. Chap. 18.12. *The Officers of the Jews took Jesus,* vers.14. *Now Caiaphas was he that gave Counsel to the Jews,* &c. So that Christ is here convented before the *Sanhedrin*, although the Evangelist hath not expressed so much *totidem verbis*, and is put to answer for his life, about the violation of the Sabbath, which they laid to his charge, upon what he had done and commanded to the man that he had recovered.

23. *That*

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23. *That all men ſhould honour the Son even as they honour the Father. He that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father which hath ſent him.*

24. *Verily, verily, I ſay unto you, He that heareth my word and believeth on him that ſent me, hath everlaſting life, and ſhall not come into condemnation: but is paſſed from death unto life.*

25. *Verily, verily, I ſay unto you, The hour is coming and now is, when the dead ſhall hear the voice of the Son of God: and they that hear ſhall live.*

26. *For as the Father hath life in himſelf, ſo hath he given to the Son to have life in himſelf.*

27. *And hath given him authority to execute judgment alſo,* [*b*] *becauſe he is the ſon of man.*

28. *Marvail not at this: for the hour is coming in which all that are in the graves ſhall hear his voice:*

29. *And ſhall come forth, they that have done good unto the reſurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the reſurrection of damnation.*

30. *I can of mine own ſelf do nothing; as I hear I judge: and my Judgment is juſt, becauſe I ſeek not mine own will, but the will of the Father which hath ſent me.*

31. *If I bear witneſs of my ſelf, my witneſs is not true.*

32. *There is another that beareth witneſs of me, and I know that the witneſs which he witneſſeth of me is true.*

33. *Ye ſent unto John and he bare witneſs unto the truth.*

34. *But I receive not teſtimony from man: but theſe things I ſay that ye might be ſaved.*

35. *He was a burning and a ſhining light: and ye were willing for a ſeaſon to rejoyce in his light.*

36. *But I have a greater witneſs than that of John: for the works which the Father hath given me to finiſh, the ſame works that I do, bear witneſs of me that the Father hath ſent me.*

37. *And the Father himſelf which hath ſent me, hath born witneſs of me: Ye have neither heard his voice at any time, nor ſeen his ſhape.*

38. *And ye have not his Word abiding in you: for whom he hath ſent, him ye believe not.*

[*b*] Some divide this ſeven and twentieth verſe, and joyn the latter part of it *becauſe he is the Son of man*, to the verſe following, and read it in this ſenſe and juncture, *Becauſe he is the Son of man, Marvail not at this:* that is, Marvail not at this that I ſpeak, although ye ſee me to be a man, &c. And thus readeth the *Syriack* and *Chryſoſtome* and ſome that follow him; And *Chryſoſtome*, the rather upon this ground, becauſe *Paulus Samoſatenus* abuſed the verſe pointed as we have it, to the denial of the Godhead of *Chriſt*, making this argument upon it. If authority to execute judgment was given to Chriſt becauſe he was the ſon of man, then had he not this power of himſelf as God. To which *Chryſoſtome* gave this anſwer, If the Father gave authority of judging unto the Son upon this ground and reaſon becauſe he was man, then by the ſame reaſon all men ſhould have the ſame authority, for they are men likewiſe. And ſo it appeareth that he was ſtrained to point the verſe as he did, joyning that clauſe, *Becauſe he is the Son of man*, to the verſe following, that he might avoid the dint of the Hereticks argument: which had been more fairely fenced againſt and without ſtraining the Text, had the term, *The Son of man*, been cautelouſly interpreted, and the diſpenſations of the Father to the *Son as he was the Meſſias*, obſerved; As for the pointing that we follow, joyning the clauſe, *Becauſe he is the Son of man*, to the words preceding, and not to thoſe that follow, it is plainly cleared and aſſerted by the very ſenſe and conſtruction of the place it ſelf: And with all it hath this conſent and concurrence of antiquity, *Auguſtinus eam diſtinctionem ſequitur quam ille (Chryſoſt.) Samoſateno tribuit* (they are the words of *Beza*) *ut plane appareat Latinam Eccleſiam ſemper ita legiſſe. Conſentiunt veteres omnes Græci codices quos vidimus. Cyrillus quoque non aliter diſtinguit.* To which I may add *Nec aliter diſtinguit Arabs*, for the Arabick pointeth alſo as we do.

The ſame *Beza* in his verſion of the *Greek* Text hath rendred it, not *Becauſe he is the Son of man*, but *As he is the Son of man*, which caution enough, if with as much warrant of the language.

St. *JOHN* Chap. V.

39. [*i*] *Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testifie of me.*

40. *And ye will not come to me, that ye might have life.*

41. *I receive not honour from men.*

42. *But I know you, that ye have not the love of God in you.*

43. *I am come in my Fathers name, and ye receive me not: If another shall come in his own name him ye will receive.*

44. *How can ye believe which receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only?*

45. *Do not think that I will accuse you to the Father: there is one that accuseth you even Moses, in whom ye trust.*

46. *For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me.*

47. *But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?*

[*i*] Gr. Ἐραυνᾶτε] It is not to be distinguished from the word it self whether *Christ* speak here, by way of command, and injunction, as requiring them to search the Scripture, or whether he speak historically, as relating that they did search them: and so it lieth questionable whether it is to be translated, *ye search*, or *search ye*. It is very generally received in the latter sense, namely that he sendeth them to the study of the Scripture, and biddeth *Search the Scriptures*: and I suppose a main induction to that sense is the signification of the Greek word, which denoteth a narrow or a serious searching, and so the Italian of *Brucioli* doth render it *Guardate diligentemente*: But I rather construe it in the Indicative sense, *ye search the Scriptures*, upon these reasons. 1. Because of what is said in the verse it self, *Ye think ye have eternal life in them*: in which words our Saviour intendeth not so much to shew what they might have in the Scriptures, for then it had been proper to have said, *In them ye may have eternal life*: as he meaneth to touch upon the erroneous conceit of the Jews, who thought they obtained eternal life by the study of the Law, *ex opere operato*: 2. Because of the context in the verse following, which lieth far fairer in this sense, *Ye study the Scriptures scrutinously, and they are they that testifie of me, and yet ye will not come unto me*: than taken thus, *Search ye the Scriptures, for they testifie of me, And ye will not come to me, &c.*

Reason of the Order.

FOR the clearing of the Order of this Section (the currency and continuance of the story being the hardest here, to make out of any place in all the Gospels) we must seriously weigh, and if we can give an answer to these two questions.

Quest. 1. Whereas the next Section before, concludeth with the calling of *Levi*, unto which story the Evangelists and the progress of the history have fairly led us, and whereas all the Evangelists that have spoken of *Levies* call, have also spoken of a Feast that he made for *Christ*, in the very next verse, as if it had been on the very next day of his calling, if not on the same; upon what ground or reason can we part his call and his feast as we have done, which all the Texts have laid so close together, *Matth.* 9. 9, 10. *Mark* 2.14,15. *Luke* 5.27,28,29.

Ans. As the Reader may find the time of *Levies* calling, to be as it is laid in the preceding Section, by the undeniable continuance of the story thither: so will he find by one passage afterward, that the time of his calling was not the time of his Feast, but his Feast was a good while after his Call: and that passage is this. In *Matth.* 9.18. it is related that *Jairus* came to *Christ* to beg the healing of his daughter, whilest *Christ* was speaking concerning the children of the Bride-chamber not fasting, and of New wine to be put into new bottles: which speech as *Luke* doth inform us was made at *Levies* Feast, *Luke* 5.29,30,31,32,33,34. &c. Now the coming of *Jairus* to intreat for his daughter, will be found by any that will study the progress of the story, a long space after that time, which the undeniable continuance of the story hath given for *Levies* Call in the Section preceding. And at the same distance must we lay *Levies* Feast.

Quest. 2. But since the story of *Levies* calling and of his feasting must be parted, what reason is there, to lay this fifth Chapter of *John*, next to the story of his calling above any other part or story in the Evangelists?

Answ. The clearing of the reason of this, and the confirmation of the proper order of this Chapter here, will be made out by observation of these particulars.

1. That the Feast that is spoken of in the beginning of the Chapter, was the Feast of the Passover: which indeed is contradicted by some, as *Cyrill* and *Chrysostome*, &c. and held to be the Feast of Pentecost (it may be they thought so because a Passover was the Feast last mentioned before Chap. 2.23. and a Passover is so soon mentioned after, Chap. 6. 4.)

6.4.) but may be confirmed by theſe arguments. 1. Whereas this Evangeliſt *John* of all the reſt, only undertaketh to give account of the time of *Chriſts* publick Miniſtry, reckoning it by Paſsovers: if the Feaſt ſpoken of in this Chapter were not a Paſsover, the Miniſtry of *Chriſt* will prove to have been but two years and an half, from his Baptiſm to his death, which the Prophet *Daniel* did foretell, and preceding Types did fore-ſignifie ſhould be three years and an half, as hath been cleared heretofore: 2. When *Chriſt* was in the field of *Samaria*, it was then but four months to Harveſt, as was obſerved on *Joh.*4.35. Now their harveſt began at the *Paſsover*, at which time, they offered the firſt fruits ſheaf at the firſt putting the Sickle into the Corn. It was therefore four months before the Paſsover, when our Saviour uttereth thoſe words, or towards the latter end of our *November:* betwixt which time and the Paſsover, there was no Feaſt (unleſs the Feaſt of dedication were after thoſe words ſpoken, which had no great ſolemnity at *Jeruſalem* above what it had in other places, nor was there any command of attending it there: nor indeed could *Chriſt* reach up to it at *Jeruſalem*, after his utterance of thoſe words if it were after, conſidering the time he ſpent in *Galilee* before.) This Feaſt therefore that the Evangeliſt mentioneth here, being the next that *Chriſt* went unto or indeed could go unto, it muſt of neceſſity be the Feaſt of the Paſsover: And this may be ſuppoſed the reaſon why the Evangeliſt did not ſyllabically call it the Feaſt of the Paſsover, though he meant ſo, becauſe that ſpeech and paſſage in the fourth Chapter, did inforce it to be ſo underſtood, though not expreſſed.

2. Look back to the end of the laſt Section about *Levies* calling: and then forward to what muſt next follow it (ſince his Feaſt did not, as hath been obſerved) and the two Evangeliſts *Mark* and *Luke* will reſolve you, that the next ſtory in their relation that did follow, was the Diſciples plucking the ears of Corn: They have indeed laid *Levies* Feaſt and the Diſciples queſtioning at that time about faſting, between, becauſe they would conclude all *Levies* ſtory together, but it will ſufficiently appear to him that will but ſtudiouſly ſearch and examine the Order of the ſtory, that his Feaſt was not at his calling, but a good while after: The plucking of the ears of Corn then being the ſtory that in thoſe two holy Penmen is next to follow, we muſt conclude that a Paſsover muſt come between: For till the Paſsover the Corn was not ripe, and till they had offered a firſt fruits ſheaf, on the ſecond day after the Paſsover, it was not lawful to put the Sickle into the Corn to cut it down, to pluck the ears to eat neither, till the offering of the firſt ſheaf had ſanctified the Corn to their eating, as well as it gave them liberty to fall to harveſt. But a word that *Luke* hath uſed hath put the matter out of all doubt: He ſaith the plucking of the earns of Corn was ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ, that is, on the firſt Sabbath after the ſecond day in the Paſsover week, on which ſecond day they offered their firſt ſheaf, and from which ſecond day they counted their weeks and Sabbaths until Pentecoſt. Between *Levies* calling then and the Diſciples plucking of the ears of Corn, a Paſsover muſt neceſſarily be underſtood to have paſſed: and this Feaſt that is mentioned in the beginning of this Chapter muſt alſo needs be that Paſsover, or elſe you find not that Paſsover mentioned at all, and you find not any place in the *ſeries* of the Evangelical ſtory, where this Feaſt and the ſtory attending it in the fifth of *John* can be ſo fitly and properly laid.

And for the clearer obſervation of theſe things, let us trace the time and the progreſs of *Chriſt* from his being in *Sychar* field at *Jacobs* well, when he ſaith it was then four months to harveſt (or to the Paſsover when their harveſt began) to this Feaſt which we doubt not to aſſert for that next Paſsover. Two days he tarried in *Samaria*, and then he goes for *Galilee*, *Joh.*4.43. There he preacheth up and down in their Synagogues, and at laſt cometh to *Nazareth* his own City, *Luke* 4.14, 15, 16. with *Joh.* 4.43, 44. Being refuſed and in danger there, he goeth and dwelleth at *Capernaum*, *Matth.* 4.13. calleth four Diſciples, *Luke* 5.1. &c. continueth in *Capernaum* ſome Sabbaths, *Luke* 4.31. on one caſteth out a Devil, healeth *Peters* mothers in law, and divers diſeaſed: Goeth and preacheth abroad in the Synagogues of *Galilee*, *Mark* 1.23.29.32.39. cureth a Leper in one of thoſe Cities, *Luke* 5.22. returns to *Capernaum*, and recovereth a Palſick man, and calleth *Levi* from the receipt of cuſtom, *Mark* 2. and by this time his four months may well be expired, and we muſt look out for a Paſsover, which we find in this Chapter that we have in hand, or we know not where to find any.

Harmony and Explanation.

Verſ. 1. *Jeſus went up to Jeruſalem, &c.*

OUR Saviours conſtant appearing at the feſtivals at *Jeruſalem*, did not only ſhew his obedience to the Law, which injoyned that appearance, but his Communion with the Church of *Iſrael*, for thoſe appearances were Ordinances and Symboles alſo of Communion. At ſuch times he had moſt pregnant opportunities to reveal himſelf, (as far as his Divine Wiſdom thought it fitting) when all the people of the Country were gathered together, and might be ſpectators and auditors of what was done and ſpoken by him. At the Paſsover before this mentioned, in this Chapter (which was at this time 12 month) he had done many miracles there, ſo that he could not but be looked upon as a Teacher come from God, as *Nicodemus* profeſieth of him, Chap. 2. At this Paſsover, of which there is mention in the preſent Section, he doth a remarkable miracle in healing a man ſo long diſeaſed, but doing it on the Sabbath day, it became offenſive to them that ſtrained at a Gnat and ſwallowed a Camel, Chap. 7. 21. 23. For this he is convented before the *Sanhedrin* to anſwer for himſelf: and there he doth as clearly and fully not only confeſs, but alſo prove himſelf to be the *Meſſias*, as at any time, or in any paſſage in all the Goſpel beſides: And to this his ſpeech, he himſelf doth refer them once and again (when they queſtion him who he was) as to an acknowledgment ſo plain, that there had needed no more queſtioning, had they not been wilfully blinded, Chap. 8. 25. *They ſaid unto him, Who art thou? And Jeſus ſaith unto them, Even the ſame that I ſaid unto you from the beginning*, Chap. 10. 25, 26. *They ſaid to him, If thou be the Chriſt tell us plainly. Jeſus anſwered, I told you and ye believed not, &c.* He had preached before, *That the Kingdom of Heaven*, or the revealing of the *Meſſias* was at hand, and here in his plea before the Council, he confirmeth that doctrine and cleareth it, affirming and proving himſelf, moſt undeniably to be he. How he came off upon this his plain ſpeech, the Evangeliſt hath not particularly mentioned or recorded; (within the compaſs of a week, at the leaſt, he was walking in the Corn fields, and put to it again to plead about the Sabbath as he doth here:) Whatſoever the *Sanhedrin* ſaid or did to him, upon this his diſcourſe, certainly he left ſuch a proof and evidence of himſelf amongſt them, that he left them no room to plead ignorance of him, or that they did not know him, but made them, in their croſsneſs and bitterneſs againſt him, utterly unexcuſable: The Reader obſerving how plainly *Chriſt* ſpeaketh out himſelf at this time, and that before the *Sanhedrin* may have occaſion to uſe this his obſervation upon ſeveral paſſages in the ſtory afterward, and he may make ſome advantage of the uſe of it.

Verſ. 2. *Now there was at Jeruſalem by the Sheep-gate a pool which is called in the Hebrew tongue Bethesda.*

The ſituation and the healing vertue of this people, do as much trouble Expoſitors to find out the place of the one, and the cauſe of the other, as any one verſe doth in all the Goſpel: for ſo little is ſaid of either in the Old Teſtament, or in *Joſephus*, or in the Talmudiſts, that all that have medled with them, have had enough to do, to make but handſom conjectures concerning them. And the Anabaptiſts (as *Tolet* reports them) have held this ſtory to be but a fiction, blaſpheming what they could not underſtand, or what they thought did pinch their opinion.

In following the inquiry after theſe two things that lie ſo obſcure, we ſhall not be much ſollicitous to find a ſubſtantive to fit the word προβατικῇ whether to render it *by the Sheep-gate*, or by the *Sheep-market*, the one no doubt took the name from the other, and they were ſo near together as to breed no ſcruple in our iniquiry. I ſhould rather render it the *Sheep-gate*, and ſo the moſt have done, becauſe there is ſuch a gate mentioned in Scripture, *Nehem.* 3. 1. 32. & 12. 39. and rendred πύλη προβατικὴ by the Septuagint.

1. This Gate lay upon the South-eaſt point of the outmoſt wall of the City, as may be ſuppoſed upon theſe grounds. 1. *Nehemiah* in numbring the Gates and ſurveying this wall round about the City, beginneth at the *Sheep-gate*, and goes the round till he comes to the *Sheep-gate* again, *Nehem.* 3. 1, 32, 33. In this his circuit he goes from the Eaſt along the South wall, and ſo Weſt, North, and to the Eaſt again: If this were a place to ſurvey *Jeruſalem*, this might be ſhewen at large through all the particulars of that Chapter; It will be enough to an obſervant eye, for diſcovery that his march is this way, when he ſees him, go up from *the pool of Siloam*, which lay on the Weſt of the City, (as ſhall be ſhewed by and by) along by the aſcent of the ſtairs of *Sion*, and ſo upward on *Sion* to the ſepulchers of *David*, verſ. 15, 16. and behind the Kings

houſe

houſe full North, verſ. 24. and at length he is got to the Eaſt quarter, to the *Water-gate*, verſ. 26. to *Ophel*, verſ. 27. and the *Horſe-gate*, verſ. 28. which was on the Eaſt, *Jer.* 31. 40. and about the turning of the South-Eaſt corner he is got to the Sheep-gate again where he began, verſ. 32.

II. This *pool of Bethesda*, I cannot but conjecture to be the ſame with that which by *Joſephus* is called *the pool of Solomon*, in this paſſage of his, *lib. de bell.* 5. *cap.* 13. where he thus deſcribes the ſituation of the outmoſt wall. Πεὸς δύσιν διὰ τῦ Βηθσὼ καλυμβδος χωρεῖ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἐσσηνῶν πύλην κ) ἔπειτα πρὸς νότον ὑπὲρ τὴν Σιλωὰμ ἐπιστρέφον πάλιν, ἔνθενδε πάλιν ἀνακλῖνον πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ὅπῃ τὴν Σολομῶνος κολυμβήθραν, κ) διῆκον μέχρι χώρε τινὸς ὃν καλῦσιν Οφλᾶς, τῇ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν στοᾷ τῦ ἱερῦ σωπᾶται. *On the Weſt it goeth along through the valley called Bethſo to the Eſſene-gate: and then on the South, turning above the fountain Siloam, from thence it winds about to the Eaſt, to Solomons pool: and going along to a place called Ophel, it reacheth to over againſt the Eaſt cloiſter of the Temple.* In this ſurvey it is eaſie to obſerve that he comes the way back that *Nehemiah* had gone forward, and below the turning of the South-eaſt corner (whereabout we place the *Sheep-gate*) he placeth *Solomons pool*, upon the Eaſt: Let any one but ſeriouſly conſider of the ſituation of the *Sheep-gate* in *Nehemiah*, and of this *pool of Solomon* in *Joſephus*, and he will not find about all *Jeruſalem* a place ſo likely to be *Bethesda* as was this.

III. The waters of this pool were drawn and conveyed in a ſource thither from the fountain of *Siloam*. For the clearing of this we muſt 1. obſerve, that *Gihon* and *Siloam* were all one: And ſo the *Chaldee Paraphraſt* renders theſe words, in 1 *King.* 1.33. Bring him down to *Gihon*, and 33. They brought him down to *Gihon*; Bring him down to *Siloam*, and they brought him down to *Siloam:* and ſo likewiſe *Rabbi Solomon* and *David Kimchi* ſay upon the place, *Gihon is Siloam.* 2. The fountain *Gihon* or *Siloam*, had two courſes or ſtreamings into two ſeveral pools which were called the *upper* and the *neather*, ſee *Eſa.* 7.3. & 2 *Kings* 18.17. The neather pool was that which was called the *Pool of Siloam*, *Joh.* 9.7. *Neh.* 3.15. which lay on the Weſt of the City, being brought down thither by *Hezekiah*, 2 *Chron.* 32. 20. The upper pool was this pool of *Solomon*, called *the old pool*, *Eſa.* 22.11. from that its ancient author; the water-courſe to it was ſtopped by *Hezekiah*, that he might the better and fuller be furniſhed with water at his own pool of *Siloam*, near his gardens, *Nehem.* 3.15. but in aftertimes opened again in times of danger for the advantage of the City, and ſo it continued. And thus did the fountain *Siloam* lying on the Weſt of *Sion* called *Siloam*, and the other on the Eaſt of *Jeruſalem* called of old *Solomons* from its Author, and now *Bethesda* from its ſoveraign Virtue.

IV. Now when and whereupon this wondrous excellency accrewed to this pool, it is eaſier to alledge what others have ſuppoſed upon it, than to produce any ſubſtantial propoſal of ones own: yet ſhall I not inſiſt upon opinions given hereupon already, which are very well known, but offer mine own thoughts, in this conjecture. 1. The waters of *Siloam* in the Lords own conſtruction did ſignifie and reſemble *Davids*, and ſo, *Chriſts* Kingdom, *Eſa.* 8.6. And in regard of this ſignification *Levi Gerſhom*, and other of the Jews do not obſerve amiſs, that *David* chooſeth to have *Solomon* anointed at *Siloam* or *Gihon:* in token of the continuance and ſpreading of his Kingdom, as the ſpringing of that Fountain was continual, and the ſtreams of it did dilate themſelves: And ſince God had put ſuch an honour upon thoſe waters, as to make them an embleme of that Kingdom, the Jews held them in ſo high a repute, that they applied thoſe words of the Prophet to thoſe waters, *Eſa.* 12.13. *With joy ſhall ye draw water out of the Wells of Salvation:* and they drew and poured out of thoſe waters at the Feaſts of Tabernacles in their higheſt rejoycing: nay ſtuck not to ſay, משם שאבים רוח הקודש *From thence they drew the Holy Ghoſt*, *Talm. Jeruſ. in Succah. fol.* 55. 2. It may therefore be a conjecture not altogether groundleſs: That ſince God had made thoſe waters of ſo high a reſemblance, as to betoken ſo high a Kingdom: and ſince that that reſemblance, (held out by God himſelf) had brought thoſe waters into ſo high an eſteem and obſervation with the people: It pleaſed him againſt the coming and appearing of that promiſed King and Kingdom, to honour and indue thoſe waters with ſuch ſoveraign and healing virtue as the ſtory we are upon, ſpeaketh of; that as they had hitherto repreſented his Kingdom, ſo their healing virtue, given them againſt his appearing, did repreſent his healing power, as *Mal.* 4.2. And not only that, but alſo gave occaſion to the people to think that the glory of *Davids* Kingdom was near at hand, when ſuch unwonted and wondrous excellency did now appear in thoſe waters that did ſignifie it. So when the time of the promiſe to *Iſrael* in *Egypt* drew nigh, God beſtowed a miraculous and ſupernatural courſe of nature, if we may ſo call it, for the Generation and Birth of their children, *Act.* 7.17.

V. I ſhall

V. I ſhall not ſtrive to conclude any under this opinion with me; I ſhall only conclude with two things which are remarkable, about the waters of *Siloam*, from which Fountain I do ſuppoſe the waters of *Bethesda* to have their flowing. 1. The firſt is, that as this collection of *Siloam* waters in *Bethesda* was honoured with this miraculous virtue of healing of all diſeaſes: ſo that in *Joh.9. Chriſt* honoured the other pool that was filled from *Siloam*, with the miraculous cure of eyes born blind. 2. Secondly, Let it be obſerved, how ſtrangely, and one would wonder to what purpoſe, the Holy Ghoſt doth conſtrue the Hebrew word *Siloam*, into a Greek expreſſion, *Joh.9.7. Go waſh in the Pool of Siloam, which is by interpretation ſent.* Who ſent? Let the Reader but examine whether he can find any to whom the conſtruction may ſo properly be applied as to *Chriſt*, ſent of God, whom that Fountain or waters ſignified.

§. *Having five Porches.*

We obſerved before that theſe *Porches* are to be underſtood for *Cloiſter walks:* five in number according to the *quinque lateral*, or five-angle form of the pool and place: for ſo it is more proper to hold, concerning the number rather than to look after alluſions and allegories about it, which give but little ſatisfaction as to the hiſtorical matter: whether theſe Cloiſters were built before the healing virtue of the water firſt appeared for the conveniency of thoſe that had occaſion to come to the waters, or after the appearing of that miraculous excellency for the accommodation of them that ſtayed there for healing, it is not much worth the labour to inquire, and there is but little hope to find it out. It is more generally thought that they were built upon the latter occaſion, and ſo we leave them.

The general ſilence of the Jews about the race and wondrous virtue of this pool is ſomething ſtrange, who in the abundant praiſes and privileges and particulars of *Jeruſalem*, which they give, yet ſpeak not one ſyllable that I have ever found, towards the ſtory of *Bethesda*, though it might have been a ſtory of ſo remarkable recogniſance: which makes me the rather to believe that this healing virtue of it, was, and was taken for a preſage of the near approach of the *Meſſias*, as we have ſpoken, becauſe they to weaken the truth of his coming have ſubtilly been ſilent in ſuch a matter.

I may not utterly omit to ſay ſomething about the opinions of others concerning the ſoveraign efficacy of theſe waters, the two that are the moſt current, and that carry the faireſt probability and colour with them are theſe,

1. That in this pool the Sacrifices were waſhed, and God would honour the rite of Sacrifice with ſuch a miraculous work in the place where they were waſhed and fitted for the Altar: which if the thing were true, were not impertinent in the application, but the truth I queſtion. For if they mean that the beaſts that were to be ſacrificed were waſhed here whilſt they were alive, as ſome, and thoſe not a few will have it, it is neither to be proved by the Scripture, nor dreamed of by any Jews that write upon that ſubject, that any ſacrificed beaſt was to be waſhed till he was ſlain: But if they mean that the inwards of the ſlain Sacrifice was waſhed here (as the inwards indeed were the only things except the legs, that were to be waſhed, *Lev.* 1. 9.) it is eaſie to be proved by Scripture that the inwards were waſhed at the Temple, and never brought out thence; and the Talmudiſts ſhew us a room at the Temple for this very purpoſe, called *The waſhing room*, which we have ſpoken of in its place, where they had their firſt ſcouring, and marble Tables in the Court, where they had a ſecond.

2. Another opinion is, that God by this wondrous virtue of *Bethesda* waters would antedate, as it were, honour to the waters of *Baptiſm* which was now to come in.

But might not the Phariſees as well miſconſtrue the matter, and ſay it ſealed the honour of their waſhings, which were of uſe already and ſo long before, as well as of Baptiſm that was now coming in? I am not ignorant of the conception of *Tremellius* in this matter, in his marginal notes to *Nehem.*3. but when I conſider what kind of man *Eliaſhib* was, to whom that opinion refers ſo much, I can ſee but little ſatisfaction in that conjecture: eſpecially conſidering how dead the appearing of Angels or miracles had been, from the times of *Eliaſhib*, till near the appearing of Chriſt in humane fleſh.

Verſ. 4. *For an Angel went down at a certain ſeaſon, &c.*

It is but a kind of labour loſt to ſtand to debate, whether this ſeaſon were fixed to all the three feſtivals, or to Paſsover time alone, or to Pentecoſt alone, or to ſome other determinate time of the year, for theſe opinions are ſeverally aſſerted; it is moſt probable the time was uncertain, and the waiters there could not gueſs when the Angel would come,

come, but ſtood in continual expectation and attendance for his coming: Whether he appeared in viſible ſhape is alſo queſtionable, but though he were not to be ſeen, which is the more probable, yet did he give ſo viſible and apparent evidence of his being there, by troubling the water, either cauſing it to boyl, or tumble in waves, or ſome ſuch thing, that the parties preſent did perceive well enough when he was come. The Lord would uſe an Angel in this imployment, and the Angel muſt uſe the troubling of the water, for the healing effect, not only becauſe it is Gods ordinary way of providence to uſe the miniſtration of Angels in ſuch things, nor altogether becauſe the meer troubling of the water did produce ſuch an efficacy, but becauſe the people might the more viſibly obſerve the reſtoring of ſenſible miniſtration of Angels, and of works miraculous, which had been either a very meer ſtranger, or if at all appearing, exceeding rare, ever ſince the death of the laſt Prophets or thereabout: And upon this reaſon I cannot but hold that this miraculous virtue was but of a later date; becauſe miracles and Angels had not been ſo conſpicuous among them till near Chriſts coming.

Verſ. 5. *A certain man which had an infirmity* 38. *years.*

Our Saviour is pleaſed to chooſe out for his cure, a man and malady of the longeſt languiſhing and of the greateſt unlikelihood of recovery. If we run back theſe eight and thirty years to the firſt beginning of his infirmity, we ſhall find that he was entred into this his diſeaſe ſeven years and an half before Chriſt was born, for Chriſt was now compleat thirty years old and an half: and it may be his diſeaſe was as old as was this virtue of *Betheſda* waters. It began upon him immediately after the Temple was finiſhed and completed by *Herod*, as it will appear to him that will calculate and compute the times. Now I ſhould aſſoon date this healing virtue of *Betheſda* from about thoſe times as any times I can think upon. For as the providence of God did bring on and uſher in the coming of the *Meſſias* (when it drew near) by ſeveral diſpenſations and degrees, ſo the bringing of the Temple to the higheſt glory that ever it muſt have (but only that the King of glory came into it,) and the reſtoring of Angelical and miraculous adminiſtrations were not the leaſt of thoſe diſpenſations.

But be it how it will, whether the mans diſeaſe were as old as the pools virtue or no, it was ſo old, as doubtleſs the oldeſt in all the pack, and as to glorifie the power of Chriſt moſt ſingularly in the healing of it.

Verſ. 6. *He ſaith unto him, Wilt thou be made whole?*

Chriſt doth not queſtion this as doubting of his deſire, but to ſtir up his faith and expectation. His lying and waiting there ſo long, did reſolve the queſtion, That he would be made whole; but the greater queſtion was, Whether he had faith to be healed, as *Acts* 14. 7. and that our Saviour puts to trial by this interrogation.

Verſ. 8. *Jeſus ſaith unto him, Riſe, take up thy bed and walk.*

Here is a queſtion alſo not unjuſtly moved; Why would Chriſt injoyn him to carry his bed on the Sabbath day? It was contrary to the letter of the Law, *Jer.* 17. 21, 22. *Bear no burden on the Sabbath day, &c.* It was extreamly contrary to their Traditions. *For bringing a thing out and in from one place to another was a work, and one of the ſpecial works forbidden to be done on the Sabbath day.* Mayim. in Shab. per. 12. *And he that carryeth any thing on the Sabbath, in his right hand, or left, or in his boſom, or upon his ſhoulder, he is guilty.* Talm. in Sab. per. 10. And it was dangerous to bring him either to whipping or to ſuffer death. The moſt general anſwer that is given is, that Chriſt would have him hereby to ſhew that he was perfectly and entirely healed, when he that could not ſtir before, is able now to carry his bed: and ſo by this action, at once he gives a publick teſtimony of the benefit received, and an evident demonſtration of the perfectneſs of the cure.

But both theſe might have been done abundantly, only by his walking ſound and well, ſeeing that he could not walk nor ſtir of ſo long before. A man that had been ſo diſeaſed ſo long a ſpace, and had lain at theſe waters ſo great a time, for him now to walk ſtrongly and well, would ſhew the benefit received, and the cure done as well as walking with his bed on his back. There was therefore more in this command of *Chriſt*, than what did barely refer to the publication of the miracle; and that may be apprehended to have been, partly in reſpect of the man, and partly in reſpect of the day.

In reſpect of the man, it was to trie his faith and obedience, whether upon the command of Chriſt, he durſt and would venture upon ſo hazardous an action, as to carry his bed on the Sabbath day, which might prove death, or ſore beating to him:

and he relies upon the word of him that commanded, and casts off fear and does it. And to this sense his own words do construe the command when the Jews question him upon the fact, *He that made me whole* gave me warrant to do it, for he bad me, and said, *Take up thy bed and walk.* He whose power was able for such a cure, his word was warrant for such an action. And as our Saviour stirs up his faith in his question before, *Wilt thou be made whole?* so he tries what it is in this command, *Take up thy bed and carry it home:* for so we must construe that Christ ment by *walking*, from the like expression, *Mark* 2. 9. with *vers.* 11.

In respect of the day, it was to shew Christs power over the Sabbath: And as in healing of the palsick man, *Mark* 2. 9. he would not only shew his power over the disease, but also over sin, and so forgave it: So it pleased him in this passage, to shew his power over the Sabbath, to dispence with it, and to dispose of it as he thought good, as he shewed his command over the malady that he cured.

And here is the first apparent sign toward the shaking and alteration of the Sabbath in regard of the day that we meet withall, and indeed a greater we hardly meet with, till the the alteration of the day came. To heal diseases and to pluck off ears of corn for necessary repast on the Sabbath day, had their warrant even in the Law it self, and in all reason: but to enjoin this man to carry his bed on that day, and to bear it home, whereas the bed might very well have lain there till the Sabbath was over; and his home was no one knows how far off; certainly it sheweth that he intended to shew his authority over the Sabbath, and to try the mans faith and obedience in a singular manner. It was easie to foresee how offensive and unpleasing this would be to the Jews (for it stuck with them a long time after, *Joh.* 7. 23.) and how dangerous it might prove to the man himself, and yet he purposely puts him upon it, that he might hereby assert his own divine power and God-head, as it appeareth by his arguing for it, when they cavil at him all along the Chapter. Even the same power that could warrant *Abraham* to sacrifice his own son, and *Joshua* to march about *Jericho* on the Sabbath day.

Vers. 14. *Afterward Jesus findeth him in the Temple, &c.*

The Faith and Obedience of the man upon Christs command (though it were of so nice consequence) do argue to us, that his appearance at the Temple, was to render his thanks for the great benefit he had received. The poor wretch had hardly been at this Temple for eight and thirty years together, (the date of *Israels* wandring in the Wilderness after Gods decree upon them, *Numb.* 14.) and now seeing he is miraculously inabled to go thither, it is time to go to give praises to him who had done so great things for him. It was at the Passover that he was recovered, a time when all the people upon the ingagement of the command, were to present themselves before the Lord: but his long absence and his present miraculous inabling to appear, did double and treble the ingagement upon him.

There Christ findeth him, where it was fittest he should be found, owns him again, and giveth him the wholsome admonition, *Sin no more lest a worse thing come unto thee.* Not only implying that all our maladies come for sin, but as it seemeth concluding that this long and sore diseasedness had seised upon him, for some particular and notorious offence.

Vers. 15. *The man departed and told the Jews that it was Jesus, &c.*

Not with an evil will or intention, to have Christ indangered or persecuted for his work on the Sabbath day, but in zeal to profess and publish him to the Jews, for the wonder wrought so powerfully by him: we need no other argument to prove the negative; namely, that he sought not to endanger Christ, than even common sense and reason: For, for a man so gratiously recovered from so sad and so long a malady, to go about in requital of this, to forward and seek the destruction of him that did recover him, is a thing so horrid and incredible to conceive, that it would speak a Devil rather than a man that did it. It is true indeed that the Jews to whom he went to tell this, were the *Sanhedrin*, or the men of authority; but that he did it for the honour of Jesus who had cured him, his obedience to Christs command, his pleading the warrant of that command, his resorting upon his healing to the Temple, his lesson given him by Christ there, and his mentioning only the miracle of healing, and not the command to carry his bed, are arguments sufficient to evince. So that this healed mans errand to the Jews is not to accuse Christ, but to preach him, and to incite them to take such notice and respect of him, as was fit for one that had done so great a miracle.

Vers.

Verſ. 17. *My Father worketh hitherto, and I work.*

The ſpeech of Chriſt from hence to the end of the Chapter, was made by him (as hath been ſaid) before the *Sanhedrin*, before which he was called to anſwer for what he had done on the Sabbath day: for whereas it is ſaid the *Jews did perſecute him and ſought to kill him*, it is moſt proper to underſtand it, that they went about it in a Judicial way, (as they would pretend) even as they did when they put him to death indeed. Now through all the ſpeech he pleads himſelf to be the *Meſſias*, in as plain terms and with as ſtrong arguments as could be uttered, and yet that Court that was to judge of true and falſe Prophets, doth neither believe him for the true *Meſſias*, becauſe of the wickedneſs of their own hearts, nor yet puniſh him for a falſe, becauſe of the fear they had of the people, and becauſe his time was not yet come. It is ſomething ſtrange that the Evangeliſt hath not given us intelligence of the iſſue of this ſo plain and ſo full a plea, which Chriſt pleadeth even for his life: but by his ſilence in ſuch a thing, we may well conclude the irreſiſtible power and truth and clearneſs wherwith he ſpake, which though the Jews would not comply with, nor entertain, yet were they not able to deny or contradict it.

For the aſſerting of the act that he had done on the *Sabbath*, he averreth his power as he was the *Meſſias*, and alledgeth the Teſtimony of *John*, of his own miracles, of the voice from Heaven, and of the Scriptures to prove he was ſo: And though he do acknowledge that he had received his copy and power of working from the Father, yet doth he account it no robbery to equal himſelf with him in his mighty working, and authority, and particularly in thoſe three great affairs, the managing of which are only proper for the hands of God, and thoſe are, raiſing of the dead, judging of the world, and diſpoſing of the Sabbath: He proves this laſt which was the matter that he had in pleading, by his authority and power that he had in the two former: That as God raiſed the dead, ſo he raiſed whom he would, and as God judged men, ſo he alſo judged; nay, the father had committed all judgement to him, and therefore as the Father had authority over the Sabbath, ſo had he alſo authority over it: That is his argument in theſe words that we have in hand, *My Father worketh hitherto, and I work:* in which he referreth to what is ſpoken concerning God, in relation to the Sabbath, That *God reſted on the ſeventh day, and bleſſed that day, and ſanctified it:* and yet God by his providential actings worketh hitherto, even every Sabbath, *and ſo* ſaith he, *do I alſo work*; doing good on the Sabbath, and diſpenſing providences for the benefit of man, and for the accompliſhing of his miniſtration: But how does the parallel between Gods works of providence on the Sabbath, and this acting of Chriſt on the Sabbath, hold throughout, or in all the parts of it? As God doth good on the Sabbath, diſpenſing his Ordinances, ſending rains and Sun-ſhine, providing food for all fleſh, &c. ſo Chriſt did good on this Sabbath, healing a diſeaſe, and recovering a man from ſo long an infirmity. Herein the parallel holdeth clearly: but Chriſt went a ſtep further, for he commanded the man to carry his bed, which tended to the viſible violation of the Sabbath, which Gods providential actings do not do. It is true indeed that God alſo commanded the Prieſts of the Temple to work on the Sabbath in killing, ſlaying, aud ſacrificing beaſts, but this was for the greater promotion of his ſervice: and he commanded *Joſhuah* to march about *Jericho* on the Sabbath day, but that was for the more forwarding of the publick good: but this command to the man to carry his bed, tended neither to the one end, nor to the other, but meerly and mainly to ſhew the power and authority that Chriſt had over the Sabbath: Skan but conſiderately that command and action, and you will find the tendency of it, ſo directly and properly to nothing, as to this very thing: Say it was to ſhew the compleatneſs of the cure, that might have been ſufficiently, and indeed as much ſhewed, either by the mans ſound walking without his bed, or by carrying his bed the next day; Was it more for the glorifying of God? Regarding the bare action, one would ſuppoſe, that to have kept the Sabbath and not giving offence to others, might have tended to that end more fairly. There was therefore this chief thing in it, beſides the tryal of the mans faith and obedience, That Chriſt would glorifie his divine power and authority, in ſhewing his command and diſpoſal that he had over the Sabbath.

Therefore whereas his pleading, *My Father worketh hitherto, and I work*, does anſwer moſt directly but to one objection that lay againſt him, namely, for healing on the Sabbath, yet doth it ſatisfie the other ſufficiently, which was his command to the man to carry his bed; for he that wrought in other things with the ſame authority that the Father worketh, he alſo hath the ſame authority over the Sabbath that the Father hath; who as he ordained it, ſo can he diſpenſe with it as pleaſeth him.

Now Chriſt in this command cannot be conceived to have intended to vilifie the Sabbath, as it was a day of reſt, or to lay that Ordinance of keeping ſuch a day of reſt unto the Lord, in the dirt; but he that was to alter the Sabbath to a new day, and in that equality of working which he had with the Father, he was to ſet a new Sabbath day upon the finiſhing of the work of Redemption, as the Father had done the old upon the Creation: and therefore as in preface to ſuch a thing, he both giveth ſuch a command, and pleadeth for what he had done, from his divine authority, as beginning to ſhake the day which within two years was to be changed to another, The proof of the divine inſtitution of the day of the Chriſtian Sabbath, may be begun here.

Verſ. 19. *The Son can do nothing of himſelf but what he ſeeth the Father do.*

1. By *the Son* in this place, and in the diſcourſe following, we are to underſtand, not the ſecond perſon in the Trinity, ſimply and ſolely conſidered in his God-head, which while ſome have done, they have intricated theſe words with endleſs and needleſs ſcruples: but *the Son*, as he ſtood there before them, when he ſpeaketh theſe words, namely, as the *Meſſias*, God and Man; and ſo he himſelf doth teach us to underſtand it at *verſ.* 27. The Father hath given authority to the Son to execute Judgement *becauſe he is the Son of man.*

2. The terms of *Father* and *Son*, do not only ſpeak that relation of the Father and the Son in the God-head, which doth peculiarly regard the eternal generation of the Son begotten of the Father, and the mutual and natural notion of Fatherhood and Sonſhip that is betwixt them by that generation, but it more ſingularly referreth to the ſeveral or diſtinct managings of the Father, as to the affairs of the old Teſtament, and the Son as to thoſe of the new. For though it is moſt true, and undeniable, that the Father in times of the old Teſtament, did work by the Son in his diſpenſations to the Church and World; as by him he made the World, and him he made Lord of all things: yet was his acting by the Son in the times of the new Teſtament, infinitely more apparent and diſcernable, becauſe the Son appeared in humane and viſible ſhape, the *Meſſias* ſent of God, God bleſſed for ever: and did great and powerful things parallel to any done by the Father in the adminiſtration of the old Teſtament. And this conſtruction of the Relative terms *Father* and *Son*, the very ſcope of Chriſts diſcourſe, doth call upon us to make, and the particulars of it as we come to take them up, will help to clear unto us and confirm: For 1. the matter that Chriſt was pleading now about, which was concerning his preſent demeanour towards the Sabbath, needeth not ſo much a diſcourſe to tell the Jews how far the ſecond perſon in the Trinity ſimply conſidered as God, could act of himſelf, or how far he received his activity from the firſt Perſon, or how far the firſt perſon ſhewed his Counſels to the Second, as to ſhew how far the Lord gave power, and imparted himſelf unto the *Meſſias*; and how far he in his Kingdom and Adminiſtrations did come neer to the Lord in his: For 2. the Jews were not ſo well acquainted with the diſtinction of the Perſons in the Trinity, the firſt and the ſecond, as they were with the diſtinction of the Father or the Lord, that had ruled in the world hitherto, and the *Meſſias*, that in his time ſhould be the King and Ruler by the Lords appointment; and it was proper for *Chriſt* to ſpeak to them ſo as they might beſt underſtand him, and ſo he doth according to their own diſtinction, which indeed was moſt true and proper. And 3. Obſerve the whole ſpeech of *Chriſt* throughout this Chapter, and you find it divided into theſe two parts, 1. To ſhew what was the power and acting of the *Meſſias* to verſ. 31, 32. and 2. to prove and evidence that he was he: Not ſo much to ſhew what is the power and acting of the ſecond Perſon in the Trinity ſimply conſidered in his Godhead and compared with the firſt, nor ſo much to prove that he was the ſecond Perſon in the Trinity, as to ſhew and to prove himſelf to be the *Meſſias*.

3. When he ſaith therefore, *The Son can do nothing of himſelf*: he meaneth, that the *Meſſias* cometh not in his own power, though the ſecond perſon in Trinity be Omnipotent, but he is ſent and hath his Commiſſion from God the Father, as he doth continually both in this ſpeech and in other places inculcate, that the Father ſent him. As he is the Son of God, he is all powerfull in his nature, and as he is the *Meſſias* he hath all power put into his hand by the Father, and yet he ſaith *He can do nothing of himſelf*, becauſe he owns the appointment by which he was ſent as *Meſſias* by the Father. He could do all things of himſelf as he was God, but he could do nothing of himſelf as he was *Meſſias*, becauſe he was a ſervant, and bare that Office upon the deſignment. And therefore the *Arrians* were miſerably wide and wilfully blind, when they produced theſe words of the Son himſelf to infringe the glory of the Son, and to prove him not equal to God the Father; not diſtinguiſhing, what a Child might have done, betwixt his divine Nature which could do all things, and his Mediatorial Office, which could not do,

but

but what he that ſent him had appointed. In the former they might have owned infinite power, and in the latter infinite obedience: for it was not imperfection in him that he could do nothing of himſelf as *Meſſias*, but it was perfection of obedience and compliance to the will of him that ſent him: and this does not only argue the readineſs of his will, but the impeccableneſs of his nature, for he could do nothing of himſelf, but his actings were wholly and neceſſarily wrapped up in the Will of God.

4. Now to apply this part of his ſpeech to the occaſion of his preſent plea: He had done a great miracle, and he had, as they thought, violated the Sabbath, and he was eſpecially to ſpeak unto the latter, for thereupon lay his accuſation: and he argueth that he had not done what he did on the Sabbath of his own mind, but that it was comprehended within his Commiſſion, as *Meſſias:* and as he had in that his Office received authority from the Father to do wonders, to raiſe the dead, and to judge the world, ſo had he alſo, no have command and diſpoſal over the Sabbath peculiarly.

5. His words, *But what he ſeeth the Father do*, are to be pointed and referred to the ſame ſenſe, and limitation, to which the preceding part of the verſe hath been referred: To underſtand the words properly, and in their firſt apparent ſignification is ſomething difficult: To ſay ſtrictly that *Chriſt* could do nothing but thoſe individual and ſingular things which he had ſeen God the Father actually to do before him, would be very rugged, and ſuch a ſaying as would not be proved. For *fecit mundum, tamen non vidit Patrem ante facientem*, it is the objection of ſome of the Fathes: He made the world, and yet he ſaw not the Father make another world before him: He took upon him humane nature, yet he ſaw not the Father do ſo before him, and ſo of other particulars. But his meaning is, according to the thing that he was ſpeaking of, namely, that in his adminiſtrations under the Goſpel, he could do nothing, but according as the Father had done under the adminiſtration of the Old Teſtament: not as to every ſingular and particular adminiſtration, as if *Chriſt* in the adminiſtration of the New Teſtament was to do no particular thing, the like to which the Father had not done before, but it is to be underſtood in reference to the general, of power, authority and diſpoſal, according to which the *Meſſias* acted in the Goſpel, even as the Father had done before: And ſo the words immediately following do expound it, *Whatſoever he doth, the ſame doth the Son likewiſe.*

Verſ. 20. *For the Father loveth the Son.*

This God proclaimed twice in a voyce from Heaven, *Matth.* 3. 17. & 17. 5. which very words do teach how to underſtand the term *Son* all along this diſcourſe, namely for the *Meſſias*, God and man; *Eſay* 42. 1. *Eph.* 1. 6. whom as *David* repreſented in other things, ſo did he even in his name, which ſignifieth *Beloved*, and *Solomon* in his name *Jedidiah*, 1 *Sam.* 12. 24. The Father, beſides the infinite and eternal love he beareth to the Son, as God the ſecond perſon in the Trinity, *Prov.* 8. 30. is ſaid to love the Son as *Meſſias*, becauſe of his undertaking mans redemption, and promoting Judgment, righteouſneſs, knowledge, mercy, &c. the glory of the Father, &c. *Eſay* 42. 1,2,3,4. *Heb.* 1. 8, 9. *John* 10. 17.

§ *And ſheweth him all things that himſelf doth.*

By *ſhewing* is not meant barely diſcovering or revealing, but imparting and communicating: As *Pſal.* 4. 6. *Who will ſhew us any good:* that is, who will beſtow any good on us? *Pſal.* 85. 7. *Shew us thy mercy:* 1 *Kings* 2. 7. *Shew kindneſs, &c.* that is, grant and vouchſafe it. And ſuch is the meaning of *Chriſts* words here, that the Father doth grant and communicate to him, as the Adminiſtrator of the New Teſtament, the ſame power and activity that he himſelf exerciſed under the Old. To do and act in the ſame divine Authority, and in the ſame miraculous power, that he himſel uſed and acted in, doing whatſoever pleaſed him.

§ *And he will ſhew him greater works than theſe, &c.*

It was a great work that *Chriſt* had done, in healing a man of ſo long diſeaſedneſs and it was a great matter that he had aſſumed, when he granted ſuch a diſpenſation with the *Sabbath*, and yet he muſt do greater things than theſe, before he had done, namely, raiſe the dead, and change the *Sabbath* day. It is ſaid in verſe 16. *The Jews did perſecute Jeſus becauſe he had done theſe things on the Sabbath day: Theſe things*, that is, healed the man, and commanded him to bear his bed: In anſwer to thoſe two particulars, our Saviour ſpeaketh in this expreſſion *greater works than theſe:* and in the two next verſes he ſheweth what greater works thoſe are, namely, raiſing the dead and power of all Judgement,

Judgment. If any will take the clauſe, in compariſon with the works that the Father had done in the Old Teſtament, as that he would vouchſafe the Son to do the like, nay greater than theſe, there may be an innocent conſtruction made of it, for we read of greater miracles done by *Chriſt* than done before, but in that he inſtanceth in the two particulars, *verſ.* 21, 22. it argueth that he ſpeaketh not of doing greater works than the Father had done, (for the Father had done thoſe two works that he inſtanceth in) but of doing greater works than thoſe that he had done already, for which he was now upon his anſwer: He had healed a long continued diſeaſe; but as the Father raiſed the dead, ſo would he raiſe dead as he thought good, and he had only granted a diſpenſation for a particular action on the Sabbath; but the Father had committed all Judgment about the affairs of men into his hand, and he might alter the Sabbath if he pleaſed, and he would do it. Now whereas he referreth theſe his great works to no higher end in this his ſpeech, but only this, *That ye may marvail*, he propoſeth not this as their ultimate end, for that end you have in verſe 23. but he propoſeth this only as a fruit of thoſe works that he ſhould work, that they ſhould be to the aſtoniſhment and conviction of theſe that now accuſe him, though not to their intertaining of him and believing, Parallel to that *Acts*, 13. 41.

Verſ. 21. *For as the Father raiſeth up the dead, &c.*

This relateth to what is ſpoken of God in the Old Teſtament, *Deut.* 32. 39. and to what he did in the Old Teſtament, by the Miniſtery of his Prophets. He proclaims himſelf God alone, in the place cited, *becauſe he killeth, and maketh alive*, and he raiſed ſome dead by the means of *Elias* and *Eliſha*, &c. Now (ſaith *Chriſt*) as the Father or God whom ye acknowledge this great Agent in the Old Teſtament ſheweth this power, and ſo thereby ſhewed himſelf to be God alone: even ſo the *Meſſias* in the New Teſtament is inveſted with the very ſame power to raiſe and quicken whom he will, that all men ſhould honour the *Meſſias*, the Adminiſtrator of the New Teſtament, as they honour the honour the Father, the Adminiſtrator of the Old: For to this tenour (that I may ſay it again) doth he ſpeak all along this Chapter, parallelling the Father and the Son, not in regard of their equal Diety and Divine power as God, but in regard of their diſpenſations to the ſons of men under the two Teſtaments. As how is it poſſible to underſtand this paſſage in hand, *As the Father raiſeth the dead*, under any other notion, than as is mentioned, when verſ. 17, 18, 19. do clearly aſcribe the general Reſurrection to the Son?

Verſ. 22. *For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment to the Son.*

This is but the ſame in ſenſe and ſubſtance with thoſe many places of Scripture, where the Lord ſetteth up *Chriſt* as King and Lord of all things: as *Pſal.* 2. 7, 8. &c. *Pſal.* 89. 27. *Iſay* 9. 6, 7. *Heb.* 1. 2, 6. &c. *Dan.* 7. 13, 14. *Eſay* 42. 1, 2. &c. *Jer.* 3. 9. *Mat.* 28. 18. *Rev.* 16. 19. &c.

It pleaſed the infinite wiſdom of God to uſe this moſt divine and myſterious diſpenſation, that the Son of God ſhould become the Son of man, and this God-man, the Lord *Chriſt* ſhould be ſet up the head of all Principality and power, *Col.* 2. 9. and King and Ruler and Judge of all things. And this diſpenſation the Scripture aſcribeth to diyers reaſons.

1. To *Chriſts* natural and eſſential intereſt, as I may expreſs it, for he was the only begotten of the Father, and ſo neceſſarily the heir of all things, *Heb.* 1. 2.

2. To Gods love of the Son, becauſe he laid down his life for mans redemption, *Joh.* 10. 17. *Philip.* 2. 8, 9. *He became obedient to the death, &c. Wherefore God hath alſo highly exalted him.*

3. To Gods willingneſs and contrival that man ſhould have the utmoſt means of the knowledge and for the honouring of God that was poſſible, namely, by revealing his Son in humane fleſh, yet in the higheſt evidence of Divine power, *Matth.* 21. 37. *Heb.* 1. 1. When men for all the means that he had uſed for the bringing of them to the knowledge of himſelf, yet would not know God, nor worſhip him as God, but doted after Gods that were viſible, the Lord ſends his own Son in viſible ſhape, and in viſible demonſtration of his Divinity in that he raiſed himſelf from the dead, *Rom.* 1. 4. and ſetteth him up as Lord of all things, to be worſhipped as God bleſſed for ever, and in and through him the Father to be worſhipped who ſent him.

4. The Scripture holdeth out *Chriſt* as *the arm of the Lord*, *Eſay* 53. 1. & 40. 10. the Combatant and Champion againſt *Satan* and all the Lords enemies, *Gen.* 3. 15. *Revel.* 19. 11. &c. And the Lord hath ſet him up to reign till all theſe enemies be put under his feet, 1 *Cor.* 15. 24, 25.

5. God

5. God hath given him authority to execute judgment, *Becauſe he is the Son of Man*, *John* 5. 27. which we ſhall ſpeak to when we come to that verſe.

Verſ. 23. *That all men ſhould honour the Son, even as they honour the Father.*

The great deſign of the bleſſed Trinity was, to reveal it ſelf the eternal God-head to be worſhipped Trinity in Unity and Unity in Trinity: In the times of the Old Teſtament the Father was worſhipped and acknoweledged, diſpenſing indeed his adminiſtrations by the Son, the Angel of the Covenant and the Arm of the Lord, but himſelf more eſpecially owned, as the Fountain and Original of all Divine diſpenſations, as *Pſal.* 2. 6. &c. *Exod.* 23. 20, 21. *Prov.* 8. 22. *Eſai.* 42. 1. &c. Under the New Teſtament the Son was viſibly exalted, and ſet up as the Lord to whom every knee ſhould bow, and every tongue confeſs, in that he gave the Goſpel as the Father had done the Law, ſubdued Satan, triumphed over death, aſcended viſibly by his own power into heaven, and did as viſibly pour out and ſend down the Holy Ghoſt which he had promiſed: That as all men had honoured the Father under the Old Teſtament, ſo all men ſhould equally honour the Son under the New. The *Arian* in denying the God-head of *Chriſt*, and his coequality with the Father, is not only injurious to his perſon, but alſo contradicteth the higheſt and greateſt deſign of heaven, for *Chriſts* exalting: And the *Jews*, *Turks*, and whoſoever take upon them to honour God, and acknowledge not *Chriſt*, their undertaking is but vain, ſince they honour not the Son whom he hath ſet up and exalted over all.

Verſ. 24. *He that heareth my word and believeth on him that ſent me.*

Theſe words and thoſe in the verſes following, have their riſe from verſe 21. and lie in connexion with the ſenſe of thoſe words, and are in explanation of them. There he had ſaid, that, As the father raiſed the dead, ſo *the Son quickneth whom he will*, and in theſe verſes he ſpeaketh to that point, and in this verſe he ſheweth how he quickneth ſpiritually, and in the following how he quickneth bodily, and both his aſſertions he ſetteth on with this aſſeveration, Ἀμὴν Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν.

The matter of this verſe ſeemeth to be taken from thoſe words in *Eſay* 55. 3. Incline your ear and come unto me: *Hear and your ſoul ſhall live:* Upon which laſt words *Aben Ezra* giveth this gloſs, *It meaneth that the ſoul abideth though the body dye, or it meaneth that the Meſſias ſhall revive thoſe that turn to the Law of God.* And ſo likewiſe do other Jews confeſs there, that thoſe words, and the context before, do ſpeak of the teaching of the *Meſſias.*

Our Saviour in the verſes before had pleaded his equal acting as he was *Meſſias*, with God the Father as he ſhewed himſelf in the adminiſtration of the Old Teſtament: that as the Father raiſed the dead by Prophets then, ſo he quickened whom he pleaſed: and as the Father had judged, ſo now he had committed all Judgment unto him: and here he cometh on with a third parallel, and that is, that as the Father had given the Law, or the Word of the Old Teſtament, ſo he ſhould give the Goſpel the Word of the New: And as it was life to hearken to the Work of the Father, *Deut.* 30. 15. 20. ſo he that heareth his Word hath life everlaſting, &c. He was the Word of the Father, that came out of his boſom to reveal him, *Joh.* 1. 18. He was the great Teacher promiſed and expected, *Deut.* 18. 15. *Acts* 3. 23. and ſealed and proclaimed, *Matth.* 17. 5. 1 *Pet.* 1. 17. He was to be the deſtroyer of the works of *Satan*, the hearkning to whoſe word had been mans confuſion, and therefore it would not only be their piety to hearken to him who revealed the Father: nor would it be only ſutable to their expectation, who looked for the great Teacher and were reſolved to be taught by him, but it would be eternal life, and everlaſting healing to the Soul, againſt thoſe wounds that hearkning to the words of the Tempter had made in it.

Now in that he ſaith, *And believeth on him that ſent me*, 1. He doth moſt properly center the ultimate fixing and reſting of belief in God the Father: For as from him, as from the fountain, do flow all thoſe things that are the objects of Faith in its living and moving, namely, free Grace, the gift of *Chriſt*, the way of redemption, the gracious promiſes, &c. So unto him as to that Fountain doth Faith betake its ſelf in its final repoſe and reſting, namely, to *God in Chriſt*, as 2 *Cor.* 5. 19. and he doth hereby more clearly open that myſtery of God in *Chriſt*, than if he had ſpoken only of believing himſelf, or only of believing the Father. 2. There are ſome that conceive that he ſpeaketh of believing him that ſent him, rather than of believing him himſelf, that by this humble reference of all to God, he might make his ſpeech more accceptable to the hearers. 3. Compare this paſſage with *Exod.* 20. 19. and *Deut.* 18. 16, 17, 18.

His expreſſion of *paſſing from death to life*, ſeemeth to refer either to the doom upon *Adams* not hearkening to the voice of God, *thou ſhalt die the death:* or to the condition under

under which every man is left by the Law, namely, under a curſe: from which, hearkning to the voice of the Goſpel is deliverance. Or it may be it is ſpoken in ſome parallel to the caſe of the man healed, for he by hearkening to the Word of *Chriſt* received health of body, ſo whoſoever heareth his Word obtains life of the Soul: And thus doth *Chriſt* ſtill make good the word that he had ſpoken to the man for a diſpenſation with the Sabbath: and argueth that he might do ſuch a thing, becauſe he was to give the Law and Word of the New Teſtament, as the Father had done of the Old: and ſheweth that though violation of the Sabbath deſerved and had been puniſhed with death, yet obedience to his Word and Command, was diſcharge and a paſſing from death to life.

Verſ. 25. *The hour is coming, and now is, when the dead ſhall hear the voyce of the Son of God, &c.*

1. Theſe words are moſt generally underſtood, as aiming at thoſe dead that *Chriſt* raiſed by his voyce or word to life again, as ſaying to *Jairus* daughter, *Talitha Kumi*, to the widdows ſon of *Naim*, *Young man ariſe*, and to *Lazarus*, *Lazarus come forth:* And being taken in ſuch a relation, the connexion of them to the words going immediately before lyeth thus. *Chriſt* had ſpoken there of his ſpiritual reviving, whoſoever ſhould believe his Word, and here he either produceth a proof and evidence, of what he had there ſpoken, or elſe alledgeth it as another wonder and virtue of his power, that by his voyce he would raiſe thoſe that were bodily deceaſed. And he aſcribeth this reviving to the hearing of his voyce, partly becauſe he had aſcribed the ſpiritual reviving to the hearing of his Word, and partly to diſtinguiſh his raſing of thoſe dead from the raiſing of thoſe that were revived under the Old Teſtament: for they were not raiſed by a word, but by other applications, 1 *King.* 17. 21. & 2 *King.* 4. 34. & 13. 21.

2. It was the opinion of the Jews, that there ſhould be a reſurrection in the days of *Meſſias*. The *Chaldee Paraphraſt* gloſſeth *Hoſ.* 6. 2. thus, *He will revive us in the days of conſolation*, *Luke* 2. 25. *which are to come in the day of the Reſurrection of the dead.* And *Hoſ.* 14. 8. thus, *They ſhall be gathered out of their captivity, they ſhall ſit under the ſhadow of their Meſſias, and the dead ſhall revive, and good ſhall be multiplyed on the Earth.* And *Eſay* 49. 9. *I give thee for a Covenant to the people, to raiſe the righteous that lye in the duſt.* And *Kimchi* on *Eſay* 26. 19. *The Holy bleſſed God will raiſe the dead at the time of deliverance.* And in *Jer.* 23. 20. *In that he ſaith*, Ye *ſhall conſider it, and not*, They *ſhall conſider it, it intimateth the Reſurrection of the dead in the days of the Meſſias.* And on *Ezek.* 37. *It may be God ſhewed Ezekiel the viſion of the dead bones reviving, to ſignifie to him, that he would raiſe the dead of Iſrael at the time of deliverance, that they alſo might ſee the deliverance. Ab. Ezr. in Dan.* 12. 2. *The righteous that dyed in the captivity ſhall revive when the Redeemer cometh, &c.* And this was ſo far the opinion of the Nation that they underſtood the term *The World to come* of the ſtate of glory, and yet of the days of *Meſſias*, as ſhall be ſhewed when we meet with that phraſe: Now there was a Reſurrection in the days of the *Meſſias* accordingly, not only of thoſe three that have been named, but alſo of divers Saints whoſe graves were opened and bodies aroſe, *Mat.* 27. 52. And if the words that we have in hand be applyed to the raiſing of dead in a bodily ſenſe, they may moſt properly be pointed to that Reſurrection, which was ſo parellel to the expectation of the Jews; and *Chriſt* aſcribing ſuch a matter to himſelf, doth prove himſelf to be the *Meſſias*, even they and their own opinion being Judges.

3. But *the raiſing of the dead*, is taken in Scripture alſo in a borrowed ſenſe, namely, for the reviving and quickning of thoſe that were dead in treſpaſſes and ſins, &c. as *Epheſ.* 2. 1. And that ſenſe doth ſeem more agreeable to this place, becauſe our Saviour in the verſe before doth apparently ſpeak of ſuch ſpiritual reviving. The calling in of the Gentiles to the Goſpel, is called a Reſurrection in divers places of the Scripture: as *Eſa.* 26. 19. *Thy dead men ſhall live, together with my Body they ſhall riſe: awake and ſing ye that dwell in the duſt: for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the Earth ſhall caſt out her dead:* What dead theſe are that were to riſe with *Chriſts* body from the dead, is not ſo much intimated in that paſſage of the Evangeliſt, *The bodies of divers Saints aroſe*, *Matth.* 27. 52. as in that ſaying of our Saviour, *There ſhall no ſign be given them but the ſign of Jonah the Prophet:* By which he doth not only ſignifie his own death and Reſurrection, but he doth alſo gall the Jews with an intimation of the calling of the Gentiles upon his Reſurrection, as the *Ninivites* were called upon *Jonahs* Reſurrection out of the grave of the Whales belly. And that *dew* of his that ſhould inliven men as the dew doth herbs, is the dew of the Doctrine of the Goſpel, as *Deut.* 32. 2. And ſo likewiſe *Hoſ.* 6. 2. ſpeaketh to the very ſame tenor, of *Chriſts* raiſing the dead in a ſpiritual ſenſe, upon his own Reſurrection which was on the third day: And ſo is the Reſurrection in *Ezek.* 37. plainly expounded in that very chapter, to be in a ſpiritual ſenſe, and ſo the Apoſtle conſtrues it, *Rom.* 11. 15. And the calling of the Gentiles is ſtyled the *firſt Reſurrection*, *Rev.* 20. 5. &c.

That

That *Christ* meaneth *the dead*, and the *raising of the dead* in this sense in this place, might be argued upon these observations.

1. Because throughout his speech hitherto and some steps further the scope of his discourse is, namely, to prove his all powerful rule and disposal of the affairs under the Gospel, equal to what the Father had under the Law, of which the calling of the Gentiles was one of the most eminent and remarkable.

2. Because, as was said before, his very last words preceding, were of *passing from death to life* in a spiritual sense, which argues that he intends the same sense here.

3. In that he ascribeth reviving to his *Voice* here, as he did there to his *Word*.

4. Because he distinguisheth upon hearing his voice, *The dead shall hear it, and as many as hear it shall live:* which is applicable a great deal more fairly to the bare, and to the effectual hearing of the Gospel; than to dead in corporal sense.

And 5. lastly, Because there are so great things spoken of the calling of the Gentiles in the Scripture, and of *Christs* work about that matter, and their Heathenish condition so expressly called *death*, and their imbracing the Gospel a *resurrection*, that when Christ is speaking of his actings in the New Testament, and useth such words as these before us, we may not unproperly apply them in that sense: It would have prevented many controversies, and not a few errors, if the Phrases *the last days*, and *the day of the Lord*, and *the end*, and *new Heavens*, and *new Earth*, and *the dead raised*, *&c.* had been cautelously understood, and as the Scripture means them in several places: But as for the *raising of the dead* in the verse in hand, it needeth not very much curiosity to fix it to either of those as a determinate sense, since taken either way that hath been mentioned, it carries a fair construction most agreeable to the truth, and not very disagreeable to the scope and context.

Vers. 26. *For as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself.*

It is needless to dispute here how far the second person in the Trinity may be said to have or not to have his being of himself: for the words do not consider him simply as the second person, but as the *Messias* God and Man, as is the tenour of speech all along: And in this acceptation we may give the words this construction.

1. That they are a Paraphrase upon the name *Jehovah*, which betokeneth Gods eternal being in himself, and his giving of being to the Creature: and that they mean, that as the Father is *Jehovah*, so also hath he given to the Son the *Messias*, that name above all names, as *Philip.* 2. 9. to be owned and worshipped for *Jehovah*, having life in himself, as being the eternal and living God, and having the disposal of life in his power as being the God of all living.

2. That as the Father is the eternal and immortal God, so also is the *Messias*; and though he stand there before the *Sanhedrin* in humane appearance, yet should he never see corruption, as *Psalm* 16. 10. but declare himself mightily to be the Son of God, and to have life in himself, by his raising himself from the dead, *Rom.* 1. 4. Being the first and last, He that liveth though he died, and is alive for evermore, Amen, and hath the Keys of Hell and death at his disposal, *Rev.* 1. 17, 18.

3. As the words before may be applied to Christs raising from the dead those that were either bodily or spiritually deceased; so these are a reason and proof of that assertion, because as the Father hath the absolute disposal of life in his own power, so hath he given to the *Messias* the same disposal.

Vers. 27. *And hath given him authority to execute Judgment also, because he is the Son of Man.*

By this passage it is apparent in what sense our Saviour useth the term *The Son*, and *The Son of God*, all along this discourse; namely, for the Son of God as he was also the *Son of Man* or the *Messias*.

There hath been some scruple made (as was mentioned before) upon the reason given of Christs authority of Judging, namely, *because he was the Son of Man*, which will be removed, by rightly stating the sense of *the Son of Man*, which we may take up in these three particulars.

1. The Phraſe *the Son of Man*, may be taken to ſignifie ſimply *A Man*, and then the words are to be underſtood in this ſenſe, He hath given him authority of judging, *becauſe he is a man*; and then is the reaſon current and apparent under this conſtruction.

Firſt, Becauſe the Son of God humbled himſelf and became man for the redemption of man, therefore the Lord hath given him authority to be judge of man, as *Phil.* 2. 8, 9.

And ſecondly, He hath given the *Meſſias* authority of judging, *becauſe he is man*, that man might be judged by one in his own nature, as *Act.* 17. 31. *He hath appointed a day in which he will judge the World in righteouſneſs, by that man whom he hath ordained; whereof he hath given aſſurance unto all men, in that he hath raiſed him from the dead.*

2. The title, *The Son of Man*, which our Saviour ſo oft applieth to himſelf in the Goſpel, doth not ſpeak him barely *A Man*, but it owns him as that ſingular and peculiar ſeed of the woman, or *Son of Man* that was promiſed to *Adam* to be a repairer of ruined mankind, and the deſtroyer of the works of Satan, (as the term hath been cleared before.) And in this conſtruction, the reaſon of Chriſts authority of judging *becauſe he was the Son of Man*, is yet cleared further: namely, becauſe he was the Son of that promiſe, the Heir of the world, and Redeemer of mankind, and Deſtroyer of Devils; therefore the Lord did give authority to him to be Lord of the World, and Judge of Men and Devils; to deſtroy the Serpent and his ſeed that were his enemies, and to perfect and ſave the holy ſeed that ſhould believe in him and obey him; and to do and order all things here in this world, that were in tendency either to the one or the other end.

3. The *Meſſias* is thus charactered, in *Dan.* 7. 13, 14. *Behold one like the Son of man came with the clouds of Heaven, and came to the antient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a Kingdom that all people, nations, and languages, ſhould ſerve him.*

Upon which words R. *Saadias* gloſſeth thus, *This is Meſſias our righteouſneſs. But is it not written concerning the Meſſias lowly, and riding upon an Aſs? Becauſe he ſhall come in humility and not in pomp riding upon Horſes. And with the Clouds of Heavens, meaneth the Angels the Hoſt of Heaven: this is the abundance of greatneſs which the Creator ſhall give unto the Meſſias, &c.* Our Saviour in the words that we are upon, ſeemeth to point at thoſe words of *Daniel:* and whereas it was confeſſed by the Nation, that the *Son of Man* there ſpoken of, to whom all Dominion was given, was the *Meſſias*, he doth here plainly aver that it was himſelf; and that all Authority and Judicature was given him becauſe he was the Son of Man.

Obſerve how purpoſely he changeth expreſſions: In *ver.* 25. He ſpeaketh of raiſing the dead by the voice of *the Son of God*, and here, of executing judgment, becauſe he is *the Son of Man*; not only that he might aſſert the two natures in the *Meſſias:* but alſo that he might diſtinguiſh the double power that was in himſelf, natural as he was God, and diſpenſed as he was, and becauſe he was *the Son of Man.*

Verſ. 28. *Marvail not at this, &c.*

At what? *Cyrill* thinks, At the healing of the diſeaſed perſon; and he reduceth the words to this ſenſe, Think not the curing of this diſeaſe ſo great a matter, for I can, and once muſt raiſe even all the dead, and judge all the world. But for ought we find they were as much filled with indignation at that cure, as with wonder. Therefore it ſeemeth more likely that their marvailing muſt rather refer to the words of Chriſt that he had now ſpoken, than to the work that he had done. For comparing his perſon that they ſaw ſtanding before them, with the power and acting that they heard him ſpeak of, it is no wonder if they wondred at his words, and it is probable they did little believe his power. See *verſ.* 38, 40, 41, 42.

But how doth he ſatisfie their wondring and unbelief any whit by the words which follow? Had they believed theſe things that he had ſpoken hitherto, then might it have been proper to have added this about raiſing all the dead: but when they believed not the former, to what purpoſe was it to bring in this for confirmation, when they would believe neither this nor that?

Anſw. 1. Chriſt was to ſpeak in his authority, and the guilt of their unbelief was to reſt upon themſelves.

2. They could not deny him for a Prophet becauſe of his miracles, *Joh.* 3. 2. and he would wind them up to believe that he was the great Prophet.

3. It was a proper proof of his power and authority to judge all men, to aſſert that he had power to raiſe all men from the dead, and to bring them to judgment. And thoſe that did believe his former words, would believe theſe and ſee the arguing pregnant: but

but those that would believe neither, are left highly unexcusable, having heard Christ so fully and plainly asserting himself to be the *Messias*, as in all the Gospel he doth it not plainer.

4. Here we may add one thing more about the term *the Son of man*, for the clearing of that clause before, He hath given him authority of Judging *because he is the Son of man.*

It is observable that as the Jews do most constantly call Christ *the Son of David*, both in the Scripture, as *Matth.*21.9. & 22.42. *Luke* 18.38. and infinitely in their writings, so doth Christ most constantly call himself *the Son of man*; and that title is only used by himself and in his own speeches: The reason of this his different styling himself from their common title of the *Messias*, may be conceived to be, partly because whereas they under the term *the Son of David*, did conceit the *Messias* for an earthly King, as *David* was, he in his term *the Son of man*, would contrary them in that opinion: and partly because by that title he would shew what relation his office should have towards all men, even towards the Gentiles as well as the Jews, whereas they expected the *Son of David*, a King of the Jews only, or at the least, especially: For it is true he was indeed the Son of *David*, promised to *David*, and so the Jews had first interest in him: but withal he was בן אדם *The Son of man*, promised to *Adam*, and so whole mankind had interest in him: And his arguing in *vers.*27. may be understood not only in reference to his authority of judging, but also in regard of the generality of that authority; that as in *ver.*25. he was to raise even the Gentiles from their dead condition to the life of the Gospel, so in *vers.*27. he had authority and dominion given him throughout all the World, even among the Gentiles, and that because he was the *Son of man*, or the seed promised to *Adam*, in whose loins the Gentiles were as well as the Jews when that promise was made, and whose Mediatorship concerned them as well as the other. And if these words be taken up in such an interpretation, this confirmation of them by asserting his power to raise all the dead, cometh on thus: Marvail not at these transactions that I speak of with the Gentiles, as to raise them by the Gospel, and to execute Judgment even through all Nations, for I am to raise the dead of all Nations at the general Judgment, and that by the Testimony of the Scripture it self, *Dan.*12.2.

For the hour is coming in which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, &c.

These words do so directly speak the sense of that place cited in *Daniel*, though they differ something in expressions, that it is little to be doubted that they were spoken from thence.

An Angel to *Daniel* is there relating the grievous times that *Israel* should undergo under the persecution of *Antiochus*, and because at that time the cursed Doctrine of the Sadduces, which denied the world to come (a desperate Doctrine in times of persecution) should be at a great height and entertainment, therefore with the prophetick story of those times, he doth joyn the Doctrine of the Resurrection, and of everlasting reward, for the staying of the hearts of those that should live and suffer under those bitter days, and to arm them against fear of death and suffering for the truth.

It might be observed how Christ in this speech which he maketh before the *Sanhedrin*, which consisted of *Pharisees* and *Sadduces*, doth meet with both their Heretical principles, with a cutting doctrine: Against the Pharisees doting upon Traditions, he holdeth out his own word, as the great oracle of truth to be believed, *ver.*24. and against the Sadduces denial of the Resurrection, he holdeth out the Doctrine of that in this verse, and his own power to be the Author and effector of it. But this I do but note by the way.

These words might also be applied to a spiritual Resurrection as were the former, (and so *coming out of graves* meaneth, *Ezek.* 37.12.) the words of the verse following being only translated and glossed thus, *And they shall come forth, they that do good* after they hear his voice in the Gospel, *to the Resurrection of life: And they that do evil* after they hear the Gospel, *unto the Resurrection of damnation:* But they are more generally understood of the general Resurrection, and so will we take them; And that the rather because this sense is so exceeding sutable to the method that Christ useth in this speech. The main scope of his oration is to justifie himself to be the *Messias*, and from that very notion, to justifie the thing that he had done about the Sabbath. His Speech he divideth into these two heads.

1. To shew what his work and authority was as he was the *Messias.* And

2. To shew what testimony there was of his so being.

The former which he prosecuteth hither, he handleth in these several particulars; His power of miracles to the highest demonstration of Divine Power, equal with the Father, *vers.* 19, 20, 21. His absolute authority of ordering all things, *vers.* 22. His Divine Worship under the New Testament, as the Fathers under the Old, *vers.* 23. His being

being the Teacher of his Church and preacher of the Goſpel, *verſ.*24. His calling of the Gentiles, *verſ.*25. His raiſing of himſelf from the dead, and having the diſpoſal of life and death in his own hand, *verſ.* 26. His univerſal dominion over all, *verſ.*27. His being the powerful raiſer and Judge of all at the general reſurrection, *verſ.*28, 29, &c.

All that are in the graves,] In *Daniel* it is, *Many of thoſe that ſleep in the duſt, &c.* that is, *The many*, meaning *All:* Not that all the dead are in graves, for ſome were drowned, ſome burnt, &c. but becauſe the grave is the moſt common receptacle of the dead; and becauſe the Jews did ordinarily render the word *Sheol*, which betokeneth the place and ſtate of the dead generally, by the *grave*, as ſee *Targ. Jonath.* in *Gen.*37.35. & 44.29. &c. & *Buxtorf. in voce* שאול *ſignificat (Sheol) in genere locum corporum humanorum poſt mortem, unde communiter pro Sepulchro, &c.*

Shall hear his voice.] We might here intricate our ſelves in a diſpute, whether there ſhall be an audible voice of Chriſt at the general reſurrection, or whether the hearing of his voice do mean the feeling of his power only, (as ſome do underſtand it) to the expence of that time, which might be better improved in preparing againſt that time come: Theſe Scriptures ſpeak about that matter, 1 *Cor.*15.52. *The Trumpet ſhall ſound, and the dead ſhall be raiſed.* 1 Theſſ. 4. 16. *The Lord himſelf ſhall deſcend from Heaven with a ſhout, with the voice of the Archangel and with the Trump of God.* 2 Pet.3.10. *The day of the Lord will come as a Thief in the night, in the which the Heavens ſhall paſs away with a great noiſe, &c.* But as for that Text which is commonly produced to the ſame purpoſe, *Mark* 24.31. *He ſhall ſend his Angels with a great ſound of a Trumpet, and they ſhall gather together his elect from the four winds, &c.* It plainly ſpeaketh only of Chriſts ſending his Miniſters with the Trumpet of the Goſpel to fetch in people to the Faith; for *verſ.*34. ſaith that this and the other things ſpoken with it in the verſes before, muſt be accompliſhed before that generation that was then alive ſhould paſs.

It is not to be doubted but the coming of Chriſt to Judgment, will be in the dreadfulleſt ſtate and terror that heart can conceive, (and the terror of that day of accounting for all actions, may well be gueſſed by the terror of the day of giving the rule of all actions, *Exod.* 19, & 20.) and that the Lord ſhall then utter his voice, his mighty voice; it is not to be doubted neither, but this in thunders and dreadful and majeſtick noiſes, (for ſuch are called the *voice of God*) rather than in any articulate ſound of words: The *Talmud* in *Sanhedrin fol. 97.* cited before, ſpeaking of *Voices and Thunders* that ſhould be a little before the coming of the *Meſſias*, the Gloſs there ſaith, *Theſe are the voices of the Son of David.*

I ſhall leave it to the Readers own thoughts to make the moſt feeling and dread commentary upon theſe words that he can, towards the awing of his heart to a preparedneſs againſt that dreadful time when it ſhall come.

Verſ. 30. *As I hear I judge: and my judgment is juſt, becauſe I ſeek not mine own will, but the will of the Father which ſent me.*

Our Saviour ſeemeth in theſe words to allude to two cuſtoms and traditions of the Jews, and to plead with them from their own principles.

1. The Talmudick tract *Sanhedrin*, ſpeaking concerning mens inquiring of the Judicatories in matters of difficulty, hath this Tradition: *They ask firſt of the Sanhedrin in their own City* אם שמעו אמרו *If they had heard it, they reſolve them. If not, they go to a Sanhedrin near their City* אם שמעו אמרו *If they had heard it they reſolve them: If not, they go to that in the gate of the Mountain of the Houſe* אם שמעו אמרו *If they had heard it they reſolve them, &c. Perek.* 11. where by the words, *if they had heard*, they mean if the *Sanhedrin* had heard by Tradition what was to be the determination of ſuch a matter, they judge accordingly: but if they had not heard, then the laſt recourſe was to the great *Sanhedrin* of 71. which was the very Treaſury of Traditions. Chriſt being come now before the *Sanhedrin*, ſeemeth here to ſpeak to them according to their own rule, As you judge according as you hear and receive by Tradition, ſo *I judge as I hear:* meaning, either as he had heard and received from the Father in the divine and ſecret Counſels between them, or rather as he received intelligence and warrant for his actions from the Word of God; doing thoſe things that were there written of him: And the words immediately before, *I can do nothing of my ſelf*, being underſtood of him as God-Man, may be eaſily underſtood, and without ſtraining, in ſuch an expoſition.

2. *Rambam* in his tract about שלוחין ושותפין *Meſſengers and Partners*, and the Talmudiſts occaſionally in the Treatiſes about *Contracts*, *Eſpouſals*, and *Divorces*, *&c.* conclude this for a Maxim, שליח עושה שליחותו כל מעשו קיימין *That a Meſſenger that doth that upon which he was ſent, all his acts are good in Law:* And שליח שעבר על דברי משלחו לא עשה כלום *A Meſſenger that tranſgreſſeth againſt the words of him that ſent him, his act is nulle:* upon this very ground Chriſts arguing here is clear and pregnant, and

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cometh home to their own poſition: My judging is juſt, becauſe I being ſent of the Father, do not mine own will, but do the errand that he ſent me upon and do his will. And to this ſenſe may we alſo interpret his words in *verſ.*24. for the fuller clearing of them, *He that heareth my word and believeth him that ſent me*, becauſe his words were but the words of him that ſent him, the Doctrine of the Goſpel, being but the ſame with the Doctrine of the Law and Prophets.

Verſ. 31. *If I bear witneſs of my ſelf, my witneſs is not true.*

This he ſpeaketh alſo according to their own grounds and manner of proceeding in their Courts: *Though he did bear witneſs of himſelf, yet his witneſs was true*, *Joh.*8.14. but in their Judicatories, a man was not to be witneſs in his own cauſe, but he ſtood or fell by the witneſs of others: And ſo *not true* here, is to be underſtood *ad modum recipientis*, they would not accept it as a current teſtimony in his pleading for himſelf to bear witneſs of himſelf; therefore in the verſes following he produceth other witneſſes on his behalf, and this verſe is but a tranſition to the ſecond part of his oration, which was to produce proof that he was the *Meſſias:* he had in his diſcourſe hitherto, declared his power, authority, and actings, as he was *Meſſias*. But I know (ſaith he here) that what I ſay of my ſelf will not be a current Teſtimony with you, therefore I ſhall produce you others to witneſs of me, as *John* the Baptiſt, *verſ.* 33. the works he wrought, *verſ.* 36. the Father, *verſ.* 37. the Scriptures, *verſ.* 39. and particularly *Moſes*, in whom ye truſt, *verſ.* 46.

Verſ. 32. *There is another that beareth witneſs of me, and I know, &c.*

This is *John the Baptiſt*, as the verſes following do explain this: to whom they before whom Chriſt is now pleading, had ſent to enquire, as *Joh.* 1. 19. and he gave teſtimony concerning Chriſt, then near at hand: Now in that he ſaith, *I know that his witneſs is true*, it will admit of a double conſtruction: either I know that his Teſtimony is current with you, and will paſs for ſufficient; or though you ſhould ſleight his Teſtimony, as invalid, yet I know it is true. And though I need no humane teſtimony, yet do I refer you to his Teſtimony, that if it would be, I might bring you to be perſwaded and to believe that I am what I take on me to be, that ye might be ſaved.

Verſ. 35. *He was a burning and a ſhining candle, and ye were willing for a ſeaſon to rejoyce in his light.*

Here is a glorious and eminent teſtimony concerning *John* who was yet alive, though now that burning and ſhining candle was put under the buſhel of an unworthy priſon. It is familiar with Scripture to denote the Miniſtry of the Word and Ordinances in the Church, under the notion of the Lamps or Candles burning in the Golden Candleſtick, as *Zech.*4. *Revel.* 1. & 11. &c. And according to that tenor of ſpeech doth our Saviour ſpeak here concerning the Baptiſt, &c.

The latter part of the verſe, which is the more difficult, *ye were willing for a ſeaſon to rejoyce in his light*, is variouſly underſtood. By ſome thus: Ye were taken and affected with his holineſs and exemplary life, but his Doctrine and teſtimony concerning me, ye cared not for: By others, to this ſenſe. You were content to intertain and rejoyce in the doctrine of *John*, for a while, but would none of the true light when he is come whoſe light laſteth for ever. But by others thus and more near the purpoſe, Though *John* were ſo bright a candle, yet ye cared for his light but for a while.

It appeareth by the ſtory of the Goſpel, that upon the firſt breaking forth of this light, it was intertained with exceeding great and general applauſe and affection, as ſee *Matth.*3. and *Luke* 3. and the people received *John* as a Prophet, *Matth.* 21. 26. But did the *Sanhedrin* ſo alſo? (for to them *Chriſt* is ſpeaking) And if they did ſo, what cauſed them to caſt him off? *Anſwer*, It is evident by *Luke* 7.30. that theſe great Doctors and Rulers of the people, refuſed *Johns Baptiſm*, and yet it is as evident by theſe words, that they rejoyced in his light for a while: which contrary carriages are to be conſidered with theſe reſpects: When the Miniſtry of *John* firſt appeared, it ſhewed it ſelf in ſo high a demonſtration of power and holineſs, that the Nation, eſpecially the learned that were moſt obſervant, could not but rejoyce to ſee ſo much dawning of Propheſie appear, which had been ſo long nighted, and ſo fair a ſign of the coming of *Meſſias* which was expected about that time: For though *John* did no miracles, *Joh.* 10.41. which might proclaim him for a Prophet, yet was his Doctrine ſo powerful and convincing, his converſation ſo admirably holy and religious, his admonitions ſo free and fearleſs, his ſpeech ſo

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to the glory of *Christ*, and not of himself, and the concourse to him so general and wonderful, that it could not but be a rejoycing to them to see so much hopes towards the answering of their long and longing expectation of *Messias* coming: especially when now they looked that he should shortly appear, *Luke* 19. 11. and when they also looked for a great change upon his coming, (such a change was *Johns* baptizing and his doctrine.) But when they found not in *John* those mistaken carnal characters that they looked after, as that he was neither very *Elias* from Heaven, nor one of the Prophets from the dead, nor *Messias* himself, and when they found his doctrine to tend to so dangerous an issue (as they held it) as to the crying down of their self-righteousnes of which they so much triumphed, and of their Pedegree-Privileges, and to the alteration of their frame of Religion, then is *John Baptist* lost in their repute, and he scandaled to have a Devil, *Matth.* 11. 18. Observe that *Christ* saith not Ye were willing *to walk* in his light, but *to rejoyce* in it: yea and to rejoyce in it exceedingly, for so the Original word importeth: Not that they took any holy content, or had any joyful inclination to reform according to the Doctrine that *John* preached, but that they hoped those glorious times of the *Messias* that they looked for, did now begin to appear in this new risen Prophet, and that they should see and have their share in those pompous and brave businesses that they had fancied to themselves at *Messias* his coming: It seemeth by *Joh.* 1. 19, 20, &c. that they had looked upon *John* with such thoughts and conceit a great while together before they put him to trial who he was, namely from his first beginning to Preach and Baptize, till after *Christs* forty days of temptation was finished in the Wilderness, which was above seven months: conceiting that it was possible that this was the *Messias*, *Luke* 3. 15. (and to this conceit it is that *John* gives his first *No*, *Joh.* 1. 20.) but when they found not all things answering their low and carnal apprehensions concerning the *Messias*, *Johns* light was no more regarded by them.

Vers. 36. *The same works that I do, bear witness of me.*

Here is the second witness that he produceth to prove himself to be the *Messias*, namely the undeniable testimony of his great works, which he calleth a testimony greater than *Johns*, partly because *John* did no miracles, partly because these miracles that he did, carried with them more pregnant conviction than the words of *John*: It might be some question *quoad rem ipsam*, whether the testimony of *John* were not as Divine a Testimony, as the witness of *Christs* miracles, but he speaketh as referring to the influence and validity of them towards the convincing of the people.

The faithless Jews, for the evading of the undeniable force and argument of *Christs* miracles, have found out two cursed and damned tergiversations, and they are these.

1. *That the Messias when he came should do no miracles at all:* this position is asserted in the *Talmud* in *Sanhedrin* in that famous Chapter called *Helek*, where the *Gemarists* do speak exceeding much concerning the *Messias* and about his coming: And from thence it is produced by *Maymony in Melachin Umilcha moth per. ult.* The wretched deceivers having this poor shift to answer to all the miracles that *Christ* did, which indeed were infinite.

To which they have also 2. joyned another, more visibly blasphemous than indeed this, but both rancorous alike at the heart, and that is, That what miracles *Jesus* did he did them by the power of the Devil: as *Matth.* 12. 24. *The Pharisees said, This man casteth not out Devils but by Beelzebub the Prince of Devils.* And so the Talmudists in the Treatise *Shabbath, fol.* 104. *Did not the son of Satda* (so they title our Saviour, and there is a blasphemy in it) *bring Sorceries out of Egypt?*

What the unprejudiced opinion of the people was in these two points, we may observe in *John* 7. 31. *And many of the people believed on him, and said, When Christ cometh will he do more miracles than this man hath done?* In which they conclude fairly and plainly against the two blasphemous and rancorous opinions that have been alledged and assert, That *Messias* when he came should do miracles; and that the miracles that *Jesus* did were sutable to those of the *Messias:* the Scripture spake the former, and his miracles themselves the latter, so plainly that it was not reasonable, but brutish and devillish to deny either: And when our Saviour in the beginning of the verse calls his works, *The works which the Father had given him to finish*, he both sheweth that his works were from God, and that God had appointed that the *Messias* should do such works, *Esay* 53. 10. *The pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand:* It was the Lords pleasure, and he performed it accordingly.

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The works that God gave appointment and authority for the *Messias* to do, were indeed the actions of his whole life, for he was doing the Will of God continually, but those that he meaneth more especially here, when he saith they *were given him to finish*, may be reduced to these three heads, His fulfilling the Law in the holiness of his life, his Preaching the Gospel, in the demonstration of abundance of the Spirit, and his working miracles for the good of the people: There was none of these three taken singly, but they did resplendently bear witness of him, that he was the person, he took on him to be: much more did they give an undeniable testimony of him, being considered altogether: The Phrase *To finish* seemeth to reflect upon that Prophesie in *Esa.*42.4. *He shall not fail nor be discouraged till he have set judgment in the Earth:* Wherein is foretold that the *Messias* should accomplish and finish whatsoever in the work of his Mediatorship he should undertake: And the title that God puts upon him in the first verse of that Chapter, *My servant*, declareth that his works were given him to finish by the Father.

1. The holiness of his conversation was so exact, that we need not to go to Testimony of Scripture that doth so highly celebrate it; he himself doth challenge the Jews, who were sufficiently captious, to accuse him of sin if they could, or to find any mote in his holiness, and do their worst.

His lowliness, meekness, zeal, and earnestness to do good, and all these acted in an unfading constancy and in the highest activity, and that to the continual hazard of his person, might be illustrated to this purpose if it were needful. As *Johns* extraordinary sanctity was the greatest testimony that raised him in the hearts of the people: for miracles he did none, and his Doctrine and Baptizing they could not tell so well what to say to, as to his holiness which was so visible: So *Christ* in this kind had a testimony beyond him, and as far beyond him, as real and cordial holiness is beyond Ceremonial: For though it is true indeed that *John* was really and cordially holy, yet that Sanctity that the people admired in him, was in his external and Ceremonial strictness of rayment, dyet and conversation.

2. His Doctrine and Preaching was so parallel to the predictions of the Old Testament concerning the Doctrine that was to be revealed by him, it was so high in discovery of the things of Heaven, it was so clear in opening the hard things of the Law, it was so convincing of the Errors of their false Teachers, it was so Divine in its tenor, it was so gracious in his mouth, and so piercing in the hearts of the hearers, that where wilful malice and mischief had not blinded, they could not but confess, *That never man spake like him*, Joh.7.46.

3. His miracles were done in such power and number, without difficulty or restriction upon men and Devils, healing all diseases, and denying healing to none that sought it, and all this when working miracles had been dead so long, and in all this he seeking no glory to himself; these gave a testimony so fully of a vertue above humane, nay above Prophetick, that where again malice and mischief had not blinded, they could not deny, that the *Messias* could not do greater miracles than he did, *Joh.*7.31.

Vers. 37. *And the Father himself which hath sent me hath born witness of me.*

This is the third Testimony that he produceth for himself, namely the witness of the Father: which may be taken either for the testimony which God had given him of old in the Law and Prophets, or a late by a voice from Heaven when he was baptized: If we understand the words in the former sense, then the context following, *Ye have neither heard his voice, &c.* may be taken thus, Though God hath never to your eyes nor ears born witness to me from Heaven by any sensible demonstration and evidence, yet hath he given abundant testimony of me in the Word of the Scriptures: But if we take them in the latter sense, than the context speaketh to this tenor. Although it be a most rare thing to hear any audible voice, or to see any visible appearance of God from Heaven, and you never heard or saw any such thing in your Generations, yet for my sake and to bear witness of me there hath been such a voice and appearance: Or if we understand them joyntly both of the Testimony that God gave of the *Messias* in the Old Testament, and of the witness that he gave by a voice from Heaven, the sense of the words following ariseth to this, The Father of old in the Scriptures, and of late by a voice from Heaven hath born witness of me, but as ye never heard his voice from Heaven, nor saw his shape, so neither do you regard nor retain his Word since ye believe not him whom he hath sent.

Verſ. 39. *Ye ſearch the Scriptures, &c.*

Beſides thoſe reaſons that have been alledged already out of the words of the verſe it ſelf, to prove that the verb Ἐρευνᾶτε is to be rendred in the Indicative ſenſe, *Ye ſearch*, rather than *Search ye*, theſe conſiderations may alſo be added for the confirmation of that conſtruction.

1. That *Chriſt* is ſpeaking to the Doctors of the *Sanhedrin*, the moſt acute, diligent and curious ſearchers of the Scripture of all the Nation. Men that made that their glory and imployment: and howſoever it was their arrogancy that they thought their skill in Scripture more than indeed it was, yet was their diligence and ſcrutinouſneſs in it real and conſtant even to admiration: It was exceedingly in faſhion among the Nation to be great Scripture-men, but eſpecially the great Maſters of the *Sanhedrin* were reputed as the *very Foundations of the Law and pillars of inſtruction*, as *Maymony* ſtiles them in the treatiſe *Mamrim, cap.* 1. And therefore it cannot be ſo proper to think that *Chriſt* in this clauſe, ſets them to the ſtudy of the Scripture, upon which they ſpent all their wits and time already, as confeſſing their ſtudiouſneſs in Scripture, yet ſheweth them how unprofitably they did it and to little purpoſe.

2. They did exceeding copiouſly and accurately obſerve and take up the Propheſies in Scripture that were of the *Meſſias*, and though they miſſed in expounding ſome particulars concerning him, yet did they well enough know that the Scriptures did teſtifie of him abundantly.

3. The word that is uſed Ἐρεύνᾶτε, which betokeneth a narrow ſearch, ſeemeth to be intended purpoſely to anſwer the word דרש which they themſelves aſcribe to themſelves in their unfolding of the Scriptures.

4. It was their conceit that the skill and knowledge in Scripture was now in its floure and prime amongſt them, having been reſtored by *Hillel* who died about the twelfth year of our Saviours age, *even as Ezra had reſtored the Law when it was forgotten. Juchaſin. fol.* 55. And let us take a ſcantling of the reſt of the Doctors now preſent, by this teſtimony which is given of two of them, namely of *Rabban Gamaliel the old, and Rabban Jochanan ben Zaccai* who were both of the *Sanhedrin* at this time: *From the time that Rabban Jochanan ben Zaccai died, the beauty of wiſdom failed, and from the time that Rabban Gamaliel the old died, the glory of the Law failed, &c. Sotah. per.* 9. So that theſe things conſidered, and the verſe next following looked into, the ſpeech of our Saviour in theſe words appeareth, not to be intended ſo much to urge them to whom he ſpeaketh to the ſtudy of the Scripture, as to ſpeak to them in ſuch a reproof as this, for ſtudying the Scripture they knew not how, *Ye ſearch the Scriptures and they are the very things that teſtifie of me, and Yet ye will not come unto me, &c.* which is much to the ſame tenour and effect that thoſe words are to *Nicodemus*, Chap. 3. 10. *Art thou a Maſter in Iſrael, and yet knoweſt not theſe things?*

Now in that he ſaith, *In them ye think to have eternal life*, he denieth not that eternal life is to be had in the Scriptures, nor doth he that thinketh to have eternal life in them think amiſs, but yet he taxeth the Jews grounds and principles upon which they went, about this matter. They thought that the very ſtudy and knowledge of the things in the Scripture was available to Salvation by the very work wrought. And as they thought that the people that did not know the Law were curſed, *Joh.* 7. 48. ſo they reputed that they that were skilful in the Law, had bleſſedneſs enough by that very thing though they went no further: It were eaſie to ſhew, how they placed the fruit and efficacy of all duty in *opere operato*, even as the Romaniſts do about their devotions. How the repeating of their Phylacteries, ſaying over their prayers, reſorting to their Synagogues, &c. were reputed by them as enough done, if they did but do the outward formal work: And as concerning the bare ſtudy and knowledge of Scripture, and the bare hiſtorical belief of them, how far they reſted in that, we need go no further than to *Rom.* 2. 17, 18, 19, 20. &c. *Jam.* 2. 19. &c. otherwiſe it might be ſhewed out of their own Authors copiouſly what was their opinion in this point.

In what he addeth, *They are they that teſtifie of me*, the *Emphaſis* may not be paſſed unobſerved. He ſaith not only *they teſtifie of me*, but, *they are they that do it:* as intimating that the Scriptures are the great, ſingular and intended witneſſes of *Chriſt*, the fulleſt and the higheſt teſtimony of him, as 2 *Pet.* 1. 19. And ye ſtudy and ſearch them curiouſly (ſaith our Saviour,) and they are they that do abundantly, and were given purpoſely to teſtifie of me, and yet ye will not come to me: Ye think of having eternal life in the Scriptures, now this life is only to be had by coming to me,

and

and not by the bare ſearching of them, and yet ye will not come to me. And thus doth *Chriſt* read unto us,

1. The dignity of the Scriptures, as his choiceſt witneſs.
2. The end of them, himſelf.
3. Their work, to bring men to him.
4. And 4. the fruit of all, Eternal Life.

Verſ. 41. *I receive not honour from men.*

He had ſaid, that he received not teſtimony from men, before verſe 34. and now he ſpeaketh of another matter: He had copiouſly aſſerted himſelf for the *Meſſias* in the former part of his ſpeech, and had ſhewed what Divine teſtimony he had that aſſerted the ſame in the latter part; and now he cometh to ſhew the end and manner of his actings and demeanor, namely, not to receive honour from men, or that he might be glorified with any worldly glory, but that he might ſeek the glory of God, and the glory which is of God only: as the 43 & 44 verſes help to explain his ſpeech here: In verſe 43. he ſaith he came not in his own Name but in his Fathers, and that doth teach us to conſtrue the words that we are upon, That therefore he ſought not to magnifie his own Name with any humane or mundane honour, but that he ſought Gods glory. And in verſe 44. he oppoſeth ſeeking honour from men and the glory which is from God, as things contrary and inconſiſtent, and therefore when he ſaith here, I receive not honour from men, he diſclaimeth all humane glory and ambition, though he had ſpoken of his equal power and dignity with the Father before, and of the high teſtimony that was of him: And he may be conceived to ſpeak this the rather,

1. Becauſe of the conceptions that the Nation had, of the *Meſſias* coming in an earthly pomp and glory.

And 2. becauſe of his words that he had ſpoken immediately before, *And ye will not come to me, &c.* which he would clear from any carnal or ambitious ſenſe, which might be put upon them, as if he deſired to make himſelf the head of a party. No ſaith he, it is not honour from men that I look after, but the glory of God, and to approve my ſelf to him, &c.

Verſ. 42. *But I know you that ye have not the love of God in you.*

There needeth no much curious inſiſting upon the manner of expreſſion, whether to take the verſe as it lies *verbatim* before us, or to make only the ſenſe of it (as ſome do) *I know that you have not the love of God in you:* To take it either way it is very ſharp and cutting, and carries a ſmart and a ſad, but a moſt deſerved cenſure in it, compare *Exod.* 3. 19. *Revel.* 2. 2, 7. 13. 19. &c. *Joh.* 2. 25. &c. The juncture of theſe words with the former (for the word *but* relates them thither) is firſt to be looked after, and then the intent of the words themſelves. Our Saviour had ſaid before that he received not either teſtimony from men, or glory from men; but that he had his witneſs from God (for this is plainly expreſſed) and that he received honour from God (for that is included:) But he concludeth that they for all this would neither receive that Teſtimony that God had given of him, nor would they regard him himſelf, nor the honour of God that he looked after, and all becauſe they had not the love of God in them.

Were the love of God in them, they would receive him whom God ſent, to whom he bare witneſs and to whom he gave honour, but I know you (ſaith he) that ye have not this love in you.

Herein 1. He taxeth their great hypocriſie, who pretended ſo much religion, and ſo much love of God and godlineſs, when as there was indeed no ſuch matter in them.

2. He meeteth particularly with their pretended zeal about the Sabbath, which they charged him that he had violated, and ſheweth that howſoever they took upon them ſo much forwardneſs in that cauſe of God, yet did it not proceed from any love in them that they bare to God; for they ſeemed to call the Sabbath a delight, but they did not delight themſelves in the Lord, as *Iſa.* 58. 13, 14.

And whereas he ſaith, *He knoweth them*, that they are devoid of this love:

1. It may be underſtood in oppoſition to the apprehenſions of others concerning them, who were deluded with their fair outward ſhews, and thought they had abundance of piety and the love of God in them, but he knew them that there was no ſuch thing.

2. He ſpeaketh this as the *Meſſias* the knower of the heart, and their hearts if they had any ſtirring in them could not but witneſs with him that he ſpake to purpoſe.

3. He might ſpeak this from that viſible evidence and experiment that they gave continually of their want of the love of God, in accepting the perſons of men, and diſregarding thoſe that came in the name of the Lord, as he proſecutes this argment in the verſe following: And thus the Lord is come to his own Temple, as a Refiners fire and Fullers ſope, a ſearcher of hearts and a diſcerner between droſs and ſilver, betwixt him that loveth the Lord and him that loveth him not, *Mal.* 3. 2. Judging the great Judges of the *Sanhedrin*, and charging moſt juſtly upon them, who were the great examiners of witneſſes, for deſpiſing the witneſs of God, and who were to be *cuſtodes utriuſque tabulæ*, that the ſum and tenor of the firſt Table, the love of God, was not at all in their hearts.

Verſ. 43. *I am come in my Fathers name, and ye receive me not: if another come in his own name, him ye will receive.*

1. Here is a proof and confirmation of what he had ſaid before, that the love of God was not in them, for they received not him that came in the name of God.

2. He ſeemeth to foretel, how ready they ſhould be to embrace falſe Prophets and falſe Chriſts, which would ariſe abundantly amongſt them after they had refuſed the true *Meſſias*, as *Matth.* 24. 24. as, to omit all other inſtances, *Rabbi Akibah* the very head of the *Sanhedrin* in his time, became even Armour-bearer to *Ben Cozba* a falſe pretended *Meſſias*, who drew many thouſands into error and ruine in the time of *Adrian.*

3. He ſheweth that their principles carried them neceſſarily to deſpiſe thoſe that were ſent of God, and to embrace them that came in their own name, becauſe they looked after and regarded humane glory.

And upon this point our Saviour Chriſt differed from all falſe Prophets, and falſe Chriſts, that had appeared either before or after him, becauſe he ſought not the praiſe of men, but of God. The falſeſt cheats that came, took upon them to come in the name of God, even as he did; and yet he ſaith they came in their own names, becauſe they ſought their own glory and worldly advancement, which he did not. *Ben Cozba* made wars, obtained great victories, ſtamped coin in his own name, and looked only after worldly pompouſneſs: But our Saviour came poor and lowly, ſought nothing of this world, and aſcribed all he did to the glory of him that ſent him.

Verſ. 44. *How can ye believe which receive honour one of another? &c.*

How theſe great ones looked after the praiſe of men, not caring to approve themſelves to God, it is intimated in the Goſpel many times over, *Matth.* 23. 5: *All their works they do for to be ſeen of men*, *Joh.* 12. 43. *They loved the praiſe of men, more than the praiſe of God, &c.* Now this ambitious humor of theirs was as far contrary to believing in Chriſt, as could be poſſible; For their high thoughts and his lowly condition were not conſiſtent, or of capacity to ſuit together: ſince they that were all for vain glory and the praiſe of men, did think it ſcorn to be Diſciples to one of ſo mean a condition as he appeared, Compare *James* 2. 1, 2, 3. *&c. Seeking the honour that cometh from God only*, is ſo to approve heart and ways before him, and unto him, as to have his approval, *Euge bone ſerve, &c.* See *Rom.* 2. 29.

Verſ. 45. *Do not think that I will accuſe you to the Father, &c.*

As *Elias* did *Iſrael*, *Rom.* 11. 2. and *Eſay* did, *Chap.* 6. 5. *Coals* (ſaith *Rabbi Solomon*) *are mentioned concerning Eſay and concerning Elias* מפני שאמרו דילמוריא על ישראל *becauſe they ſpake accuſation againſt Iſrael: the one called them a people of uncircumciſed lips, and the other ſaid, they have forſaken thy Covenant, &c.*

Our Saviour in the verſes before, had juſtly taxed theſe men for divers guilts; as, for want of the love of God, for unbelief, for defect of the Word in them, for ambition and ſeeking the praiſe of men and not of God; and upon all theſe he might take occaſion to accuſe them to the Father: But the ſpecial thing that he aimeth at, in theſe words that we are about, is their refuſal of him whom the Father had ſent among them: as *verſ.* 38. *Him ye believe not. verſ.* 40. *Ye will not come to me. verſ.* 43. *I am come*

come in my Fathers name and ye receive me not, whereas another coming in his own name ye will receive, &c. And for this might he deſervedly make a return of their contempt of him, to the Father which ſent him, by praying and complaining to God againſt them, but *Think not that I will accuſe you, &c.*

Did they think of any ſuch thing? Or did they regard whether he accuſed them to God or no?

Anſw. 1. There might be places alledged out of their Talmudical writers, in which they bring in the *Meſſias* ſometimes complaining againſt his generation, „ and it is their confeſſion, that *in the generation when the Son of David ſhould come* קטיגוריא בחח *there ſhould be accuſations againſt the Scholars of the Wiſe*, Cetuboth in Gemar. ad fin.

2. It might be ſuppoſed they meaſured the temper of Chriſt, by their own diſpoſitions, or by common humane manners. He was now before the High Court, from which whither ſhould he appeal if he be wronged by it, but to God? And ſo would paſſionate and meer men be ready to do, and pray to God againſt, and they might judge that he would be of the ſame temper and practice. But

3. Our Saviours meaning is, that he needed not to accuſe them to the Father for diſregarding him, though the Father had ſent him, for they had their accuſer already, even *Moſes* in whom they truſted.

Not the perſon of *Moſes* accuſing them, but his doctrine: As when the Apoſtles are ſaid *to ſit on twelve thrones judging the twelve Tribes of Iſrael*, it meaneth, by their doctrine, and not in their perſons: They truſted in *Moſes* doctrine, as looking to be juſtified by the works of the Law: whereas his doctrine tended all along to drive men to Chriſt. And therefore a juſt accuſation lay againſt them even in his writings, which mainly aimed to ſhew juſtification by Chriſt, when they taking on them to be ſo obſervant Scholars of *Moſes*, yet utterly diſregarded and refuſed him, whom *Moſes* had clearly, chiefly, and ſolely propoſed as the main and ultimate end of his Law. And ſo our Saviour in theſe words doth apparently aver the Law of *Moſes* to be a doctrine of Faith.

The End of the Third Part.

A Few, and New

OBSERVATIONS,

UPON

THE BOOK

OF

GENESIS.

THE

Moſt of them Certain, the reſt Probable, all Harmleſs,
Strange, and rarely heard of before.

ALSO AN

Handful of Gleanings

OUT OF

THE BOOK

OF

EXODUS.

By *JOHN LIGHTFOOT* D.D.

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MDCLXXXII.

A Few, and New

OBSERVATIONS,

UPON

THE BOOK

OF

GENESIS.

CHAP. I.

THE Scripture the Word of Knowledge, beginneth with the Story of the Creation, becauſe firſt, the firſt ſtep towards the knowledge of *God* is by the Creature, *Rom.* 1. 20. Secondly, the Story of the Creation pleadeth for the juſtice of *God*, in planting and diſplacing of Nations as he pleaſeth, ſince the Earth is his own and he made it. Thirdly, the Reſurrection is taught by the Creation, and the end of the world from the beginning, for *God* that made that to be, that never was, can much more make that to be, that hath been before, namely theſe our Bodies, Heaven and Earth, Center and circumference created together in the ſame inſtant, and clouds full of water (not ſuch as we ſee made by evaporation, but ſuch as are called the *Windows or Cataracts of Heaven*, *Gen.* 7. 11. 2 *Kings* 7. 19. *Mal.* 3. 10.) created in the ſame inſtant with them, *verſ.* 2. The earth lay covered with waters, and had not received as yet its perfection, beauty and deckage: and that vaſt vacuity that was between the convex of thoſe waters, and the concave of the clouds, was filled as it were with a groſs and great darkneſs, and the Spirit of *God* moved the Heavens from the firſt moment of their Creation in a circular motion, above and about the earth and waters, for the cheriſhing and preſervation of them in their new begun being, *v.* 3. Twelve hours did the Heavens thus move in darkneſs, and then *God* commanded and there appeared light to this upper *Horizon*, namely to that where *Eden* ſhould be planted [for, for that place eſpecially is the ſtory calculated] and there did it ſhine other twelve hours, declining by degrees with the motion of the Heavens to the other *Hemiſphere*, where it inlightned other twelve hours alſo, and ſo the firſt natural day to that part of the world was ſix and thirty hours long, ſo long was *Joſhua's* day, *Joſh.* 10. And ſo long was our Saviour clouded under death.

Verſ. 6. When the light began to ſet to the *Horizon* of *Eden*, and the evening or night of the ſecond day was come, *God* commanded that the Air ſhould be ſpread out inſtead of that vacuity, which was betwixt the waters upon the Earth, and the waters in the clouds, and in four and twenty hours it was accompliſhed, and the Air ſpread through the whole univerſe with the motion of the Heavens. In this ſecond days work it is not ſaid as in the reſt that *God ſaw it good*, becauſe whereas this days work was about ſeparation of waters, they were not perfectedly and fully parted, till the waters which covered the Earth were couched in their channels, which was not till the third day: and there it is twice ſaid that *God ſaw it good* once for the intire ſeparation of the waters, and again for the fructification of the ground.

Verſ. 9. In the new created Air the *Lord* thundered and rebuked the waters, *Pſal.* 104. 7. So that they haſted away and fled all weſtward, into the channels which the Lord had appointed for them. And ſtill as they flowed away, and dry land appeared the Earth inſtantly brought forth Trees and Plants in their ſeveral kinds. This production was only of the bodies and ſubſtances of them, for their verdure and maturity was not till

till the ſixth day: And now was *Eden* planted with the bodies of all trees fit for meat and delight, which by the time that *Adam* is created are laden with leaves and fruit.

Verſ. 14. The Moon and ſome Stars created before the Sun: She ſhone all the night of the fourth day in her full body, and when the Sun appeared in the morning, then was her light augmented, yet her body obſcured from the World till the ſixt day at even, which was her prime day, and ſhe ſhewed her creſcent and gave light to *Adam*, who was but newly got at that time out of the darkneſs of his fall, by the luſtre of the promiſe.

Verſ. 21. Whales only of all brutes ſpecified by name, to ſhew that even the greateſt of living creatures could not make it ſelf.

Verſ. 25. Beaſts wild and tame created, and all manner of creeping things, and the World furniſhed with them from about *Eden* as well as with men: of clean beaſts were ſeven created, three couples for breed, and the odd one for *Adams* ſacrifice upon his fall, but of unclean only one couple for the propagation of the kind.

Verſ. 26. Man created by the *Trinity* about the third hour of the day, or nine of the clock in the morning.

CHAP. II. The three firſt verſes, that treat of the inſtitution of the Sabbath, are according to their proper Order of time, to be taken in at the end of the third chapter.

Verſ. 4. *&c.* On the morning of the ſixth day a miſt, that had gone up from the Earth fell down upon it again in rain or dew, and watered the Earth, with which watering the trees and plants budded to maturity in a trice: this dew being as a natural cauſe thereof, yet the effect being withal exceeding ſupernatural, becauſe ſo ſpeedy.

*Verſ.*7. Of the duſt of the Earth thus watered, *God* created the body of man, and to this the Pſalmiſt alludeth, *The dew of thy youth*, *Pſal.* 110.3. And into that Earth ſo prepared, he breatheth the Spirit of Life and Grace, *Epheſ.*4.24.

Verſ. 10. *Eden* watered by a river that overflowed it once a year, after the manner of *Nilus* and *Jordan*; Chap.13.10.

To *Adam* thus created and made Lord of the creature, the Lord himſelf bringeth the creatures to receive their names, which he giveth to them agreeable to their natures, and that at the firſt ſight, ſhewing at once his dominion over them, and his wiſdom, among them all he ſeeth no fit match for himſelf, but by ſeeing every one of them mated, and that they came before him by pairs, he is brought to be ſenſible of his own want of a fellow: which thereupon *God* provideth for him out of his own body of a rib, which part of him might beſt be ſpared. And thus the Creation endeth in the making of the woman.

CHAP. III. The woman thinking it had been a good Angel that ſpake in the trunk of the *Serpent*, ſhe entreth communication with the Devil: who perceiving her both to add and to diminiſh to, and from the Commandment that was given them, groweth the more impudent to tempt, and ſeduceth her by the *luſt of the fleſh and the luſt of the eyes; and the pride of life*, as 1 *John* 2.16. And ſhe perſwadeth her husband, and ſo they both are fallen on the very ſame day that they are created, *Gen.*9.1,2,3. *Pſal.*49.12.

Chriſt is promiſed before the man and the woman are cenſured: and they are queſtioned alſo before they be ſentenced, but ſo was not Satan, for *God* had mercy in ſtore for them, but none for him. The curſe is not upon man himſelf but upon the Earth, to teach him to ſet his affections on things above and not on the curſed ground, and not to look for an earthly Kingdom of Chriſt on this Earth which the Lord hath curſed.

Adam apprehendeth and layeth hold upon the promiſe by Faith, and in evidence of this his faith he calleth his wives name *Eve* or *Life*, becauſe ſhe was to be the mother of Chriſt according to the fleſh, by whom life ſhould come; and of all believers that by faith ſhould live in him, for an outward ſign and ſeal of this his Faith, and for a further and more lively expreſſion of the ſame; God teacheth him the rite of ſacrifice, to lay Chriſt dying before his eyes in a viſible figure: And with the skins of the ſacrificed beaſts *God* teacheth him and his wife to cloath their bodies. And thus the firſt thing that dieth in the world is Chriſt in a figure.

At the end of this third chapter imagine the three firſt *verſes* of Chap. 2. concerning the Sabbath to be obſerved, to come in, and ſuppoſe the texture of the ſtory to lye thus. *Adam* thus fallen, cenſured, recovered, inſtructed and expelled *Eden* on the ſixth day, the next day following he by *Gods* appointment keepeth for a Sabbath or an holy reſt, and ſpendeth it only in divine duties. Now the reaſon why it ſtandeth in the place where it doth, Chap. 2. Is partly becauſe *Moſes* would lay the ſeven days, or the firſt week of the world altogether without interpoſition, and partly becauſe he would ſhew by ſetting it before *Adams* fall, that had he perſiſted in innocency, yet muſt he have obſerved a Sabbath.

The

The ſeventh day or Sabbath is not bounded in the Text with the ſame limits that the other days are, for it is not ſaid of it as it was of them, *The Evening and the Morning were the ſeventh day*, becauſe a time ſhould come when it ſhould have a new beginning and end, and though to the *Jews* it was from Even to Even, yet from the beginning it was not ſo expreſſed.

CHAP. IV. *Cain* and *Abel* twins of one birth; and firſt was born he that was natural, and after he that was ſpiritual.

The faith of *Abel* appeared in the very materials of his ſacrifice; it being of ſlain beaſts and ſo a repreſentation of the death of Chriſt: for this, it is fired from Heaven, and *Cain's* is not, though his dry ears of Corn were materials far more combuſtible. *Cain* and *Abel* were both their own Prieſts, for it cannot be proved that Sacrifices were ever offered but upon emergent occaſions, till the Law fixed it for a common ſervice: and he that had ſuch an occaſion, had liberty to be his own Prieſt, even under the Law, as it appeareth by *Gedeon*, *Manoah*, *&c.* and then much more was that liberty before.

The word *Sin*, in *verſ.* 7. ſeemeth rather to ſignifie an offering or attonment for ſin than puniſhment: For firſt *God* cometh not to deject *Cain* lower than he was, but to raiſe him from his dejection, as it appeareth both by his deigning to give him an Oracle from Heaven, and alſo by the words wherewith he beginneth. Secondly, If the words, *Sin lieth at the door*, intend ſuddain Judgment ready to devour him, what dependance can the words following have with theſe? *If thou do not well, thou ſhalt certainly be puniſhed, and thy brothers deſire ſhall be ſubject to thee:* for this were to threaten poor *Abel* more, or at leaſt as much as *Cain*. Thirdly, The Original word *Chateath* as it ſignifies *Sin*, ſo alſo doth it the ſacrifice for ſin, as *Hoſ.* 4. 8. 2 *Cor.* 5. 21. And all along *Leviticus*, and it was the cuſtom, according to which *Moſes* ſpeaketh as beſt known, to lay the Sacrifice at the Sanctuary door.

Verſ. 14. *Cain* ſenſible of his puniſhment though he was not of his ſin, beggeth of *God*, that he might die to eaſe him of it, *Therefore let any one that findeth me kill me*, but this *God* denyeth to him reſerving him to a lingring puniſhment: and *Cain* being aſſured of long life, giveth himſelf to all ſenſuality, to ſweeten it as much as he can, and this is the way of *Cain*, *Jud. verſ.* 11.

Verſ. 23. *Lamech in horrour of Conſcience for his Polygamy*, which now began to be examplary to the general corruption of the world, acknowledgeth his ſin ſeventy times greater than *Cains*, and his deſert of puniſhment proportionable: for *Cain* had ſlain but one man and but the body, but he by his evil example had killed old and young and their very ſouls: and therefore he maketh his complaint to his two wives that had brought him to it.

CHAP. V. A Chronicle of 1556 years: and all the years are reckoned compleat but only *Noahs* five hundreth year, in *verſ.* 32.

Verſ. 3. *Seth* born in Original ſin: the Father of all men in the new world after the flood, *Numb.* 24. 17.

Verſ. 23. *Enoch* liveth as many years as be days in a year.

Thoſe that lived nearer the flood lived the longer, unmarried becauſe they would not generate many children for the water.

Verſ. 29. *Noah a comforter, becauſe in him liberty ſhould be given to the World to eat fleſh.*

CHAP. VI. In the general corruption of the World, *Noah the eighth perſon* in deſcent from *Enoch*, in whoſe time profaneneſs began, as 2 *Pet.* 2. 5. Eſcapeth the abominations and deſolation of the times.

CHAP. VII, VIII, IX. *The flood:* the Beaſts in the *Ark* live without enmity, which ſheweth how the words, *Gen.* 3. 15. about enmity with the Serpent, are to be underſtood, the Serpent and *Noah* are now friends each to other: this is alluded to, *Eſay* 11. 6, 7. *Noah* is in the *Ark* juſt a compleat and *exact year of the Sun*, but reckon'd in the Text by the *Lunary Months*. *Univerſal darkneſs* all the forty days rain. *The door* of the *Ark under water:* The *Ark* draweth water *eleven cubits*. The waters when they came to abate while they lay above the Mountains, *fell but one Cubit in four days*, but far faſter afterward. After their coming out of the *Ark* for a whole half year together, *Noah* and his family, and all the Creatures live upon proviſion that was ſtill in the *Ark*, for they came out juſt upon the beginning of Winter, when there was neither graſs corn nor fruits

fruits till another ſpring: The forbidding to eat fleſh with the blood, condemneth the Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation.*

CHAP. X, XI. *Seventy Nations* diſperſed from *Babel*, but *not ſeventy Languages*: the *fifteen* named in *Act.* 2. were enough to confound the work, and they may very well be ſuppoſed to have been the whole number. *Sem* as he ſtandeth in the front of the Genealogy of the new world, hath *neither Father nor Mother* named, nor *beginning of days nor end of life. Nahors* life is ſhortned for Idolatry.

CHAP. XII. *Abraham* at 75 years old receiveth the promiſe, and cometh into *Canaan* and juſt *ſo many* years did *Sem* live after *Abrahams* coming thither, and ſo might well be *Melchizedeck* in Chap. 14.

Verſ. 6, 7. *Abraham* buildeth *an Altar* near, if not *upon Mount Gerizim* the hill of bleſſing: and *verſ.* 8. Another Altar he buildeth near unto, if not *upon Mount Ebal*, the hill of curſing, *Deut.* 27. And ſo taketh poſſeſſion of the land by faith in the very ſame place, where his ſons the Iſraelites did take poſſeſſion of it indeed, *Joſh.* 8. 12. *&c.* 30.

Verſ. 11. When he is ready to enter into *Egypt* whither famine drave him, as it did his poſterity afterward, he is afraid of his life in regard of *Sarah*, who being *a white woman* would ſoon be taken notice of by the *Egyptians* who were *Blackmoors.* This was one main inticement to *Joſephs* Miſtreſs to caſt an eye of luſtfulneſs upon him, becauſe he was a white Man and ſhe a Moor. Of the ſame complexion was *Pharaohs* daughter whom *Solomon* took to wife: of whom that in the firſt and literal acceptation is to be underſtood, which ſpiritually is to be applied to the Church, *Cant.* 1. 5, 6. *I am black but comly*: and *I am black becauſe the Sun hath looked on me*, and that *Pſal.* 45. 13. *The Kings Daughter is all glorious within*: for ſhe was a Blackmoor without.

Verſ. 20. *Pharaoh* plagued for *Sarah's* and *Abrahams* ſake who was an *Hebrew Sheepherd*, giveth charge to the *Egyptians*, making it as it were a law for time to come, that they ſhould not converſe with Hebrews nor with forrain Sheepherds, in any ſo near familiarity as to eat or drink with them, which the Egyptians obſerved ſtrictly ever after, *Gen.* 43. 32. & 46. 34.

CHAP. XIII. *Abraham and Lot quarrel*, and part *in the valley of Achor*: and this is at the very ſame time of the year that *Iſrael* came into the Land, *viz.* in the firſt month of the year, or *Abib.*

CHAP. XIV. *Noah* in the bleſſing of his ſon *Sem*, maketh him in a ſpecial manner Lord of the Land of *Canaan*, *Gen.* 9. Hither therefore came *Sem*, and built a City, and called it after his own peaceable condition *Salem*: here he reigned as a King, but ſo quietly and retiredly as that he was a Prieſt alſo. In this ſequeſtration of the father from worldly cares and affairs, *Elam* his eldeſt ſon and heir apparent, though he were ſeated far diſtant in the Eaſt, yet it concerneth him to have an eye to *Canaan*, and how matters go there, for the land by bequeſt of his grand-father *Noah*, deſcended to him as by the Common Law. *This title bringeth Chedorlaomer* an heir of *Elam* from *Perſia* into *Canaan*, when the five Cities of the plain rebel. Into this war he taketh three partners *younger brothers of the Houſe of Sem*, *Amraphel of Arphaxad*, King of *Chaldea*, *Arioch* of *Lud*, King of *Ellaſar* bordering upon *Babylonia*, and *Tidal* of *Aſſur* King of Nations, and late built *Niniveh.* Theſe four thus banded together, and all children of *Sem*, and all in claim of his land againſt the uſurping *Canaanites* are reſolved to march over and ſo they do, all that Country both within *Jordan* and without. Their firſt inrode is upon the *Rephaims* that lay moſt North and lay firſt in their way; and ſo over run, the *Zuzims* in *Ammon*, *Emims* in *Moab*, *Horites* or *Hivites* that were *Troglodytes* or dwelt in the rocky Caves of Mount *Seir* in *Edom*, as *Jer.* 49. 10. *Obad. ver.* 3. And all the *Canaanites* South-Eaſt and full South to *Hazezon Tamar* a point below the dead Sea: There they turn in to the land of *Canaan* properly ſo called, and as they had ſubdued all the Countries from North to South without *Jordan*, ſo now they intend to do from South to North within. And ſo they did: but when they were come to *Dan* the North out-going of the land, *Abram* overtaketh them and conquereth the conquerors, and now he is doubly titled to the land, namely by promiſe and by victory. This *Sem* or *Melchizedeck* obſerveth upon his return with triumph, and perceiveth that it was he and his poſterity to whom the Lord had deſigned that Land in the prophetick ſpirit of *Noah*, and had refuſed the heirs that were more apparent in Common Law and reaſon: and therefore *he bringeth forth bread and wine the beſt fruits of the land, and tenders them as livery and ſeiſin of it*, to him, whom he perceived that God had choſen and pointed out for the right heir.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV. All fear of claim by any of *Sems* ſons was now paſt, becauſe of the late conqueſt, but only of *Aram* the youngeſt, who had no chalengers or children; in the war of him was *Eliezer* deſcended who was *Abrahams* chief ſervant, and whereas the title by *Sems* reſignation, was to deſcend to *Abram* and his heirs, *Eleazer* was like to be next if *Abram* had no child of his own. When this jealouſie ſomewhat troubleth *Abram*, God removeth it by the promiſe of a Son of his own Loyns: and by a Covenant with ſacrifice, even of all manner of creatures that were to be ſacrificed.

CHAP. XVI. *Abram* aſſured of a ſon of his own body (but not whether by *Sarah* or not) taketh *Hagar* to compaſs the promiſe, ſhe wearied out by *Sarai*'s ſtrictneſs, is travailing to her own Country *Ægypt*, and by the way hath a viſion of the Angel of the Covenant, which was ſtrange to her to have *viſions* out of *Abrams* houſe: *therefore ſhe called the Name of the Lord that ſpake unto her; Thou art the God of viſion: for ſhe ſaid, Did I here alſo look after a viſion*, in a place ſo far diſtant from *Abrams* family? And the well alſo where he ſpake unto her was called, *The well of the lively one of viſion.*

CHAP. XVII. *Circumciſion inſtituted in Hebron, and about the time of Eaſter*, the place and time of the year where and when the Baptiſt was born, who was to bring in Baptiſm inſtead of Circumciſion. *Abram* and *Sarah* upon Circumciſion, ſaith *Rabbi Menahem*, were as new creatures, and therefore alſo muſt they have new names.

CHAP. XVIII. The *three Perſons* in the Trinity in the ſhape of three men appear to *Abraham* and dine with him, and eat *the Firſt fleſh* that is mentioned eaten in all the Scripture. *Abraham* beggeth for *Sodom* till he thought he had been gotten within the compaſs of righteous ones in *Lots* family, and then he ceaſeth.

CHAP. XIX. The Son and the Holy Ghoſt come into *Sodome* to deſtroy it, and now they are called Angels, becauſe they were ſent, by the Father. *Lots* wife is *ſtruck dead with lightning*, and ſtiffened and fixed in the place where ſhe ſtood, and *of a ſalt* and brackiſh *ſmell*, and therefore called *a pillar of ſalt*: *Sodom* deſtroyed by a ſtrange fire, and the memorial of ſo great a Judgment preſerved to this day by as ſtrange a water; *Jordan* before that time had an iſſue further, but from that time it pleaſed God to ſtop it, and to lay that valley up on a fatal pool. *Lot* had *two Daughters* at the leaſt that *periſhed* in the fire and brimſtone, as well as he had two that eſcaped. It is obſervable how ſoon after the inſtitution of Circumciſion thoſe Cities came to deſtruction, which ſo hideouſly abuſed that member, wherein the Covenant for the land was ſealed.

CHAP. XX. XXI. *Abraham* flitteth into the Land of the *Philiſtims*, that *Iſaac* might be born out of the Land of *Canaan* properly ſo called for the greater myſtery to his birth. God himſelf cometh in viſible form, as chap. 18. *Sarah hath once a greater meaſure of the Spirit of Propheſie than Abraham*, namely in the matter of caſting out the bond woman and her ſon. There is good *probability of Iſmaels ſalvation*. *Abraham* conſecrateth a grove at *Beerſheba*, that he might have *hallowed wood*, for his ſacrificing fires, as well as holy fire for his ſacrifices.

CHAP. XXII. *Abraham* paſſed through *ten temptations*, and the ſacrificing of his ſon the laſt and greateſt.

CHAP. XXIII. When *Rebeccahs* ſon is riſen in the laſt Chapter. *Sarah* ſets in this. The firſt foot of Land, and all the Land that *Abraham* hath in *Canaan* in poſſeſſion is only a place of burial: God by this very thing drawing him, and his to look after the ſpiritual part of the promiſe.

CHAP. XXV. At what time *Abraham* married *Keturah* is uncertain: the Text hath laid it after *Iſaacs* marriage, becauſe it was fit that all the actions of *Abraham* which any whit concerned the promiſe, ſhould be handled firſt and together, before the other which either did not at all or did it the leſs. But that *Abraham* was married to this woman, long before *Iſaacs* marriage or *Sarahs* death, is probable upon theſe conjectures. 1. He that held it ſtrange to have a ſon at an hundred years old, it is not like he would marry at an hundred and forty. 2. In chap. 24. 36. when the ſervant is to make the match for *Iſaac*, he ſaith that *Abraham* had given all his eſtate to *Iſaac*, which had been unneceſſary to mention, had he had no more children but *Iſmael* who was gone from his houſe long before.

Abrahams diſpoſing of his ſons into the Eaſt Countries of *Arabia*, was not upon uſurpation, but upon juſt claim by conqueſt, *chap.* 14. All theſe Countries were of the Land

of *Canaan*, and of the promiſe, and therefore are circumciſed ones ſeated in them inſtead of *Canaanites*.

When the Text hath recited theſe ſons of *Abraham* and their ſettlement, it bringeth him and *Iſmael* to their graves: Not that they died before the birth of *Jacob*, and *Eſau*, as the Text hath laid it, for *Abraham* lived till they were fifteen years old, and *Iſmael* till they were at their climacterical year of ſixty three, but now hath *Moſes* no more to ſay of them, and therefore he concludeth their ſtory at once. *Eſau* born all hairy over like a Kid, but of a reddiſh colour, and therefore they called him *Eſau*, *Factus*, *made*, and perfected already, as having both his beard and *pubes* as ſoon as he was born.

In a ſore year of famine in the Land, *Eſau ſelleth his birth-right for want of meat.*

CHAP. XXVI. The famine that had cauſed him to part with his birth-right cauſeth *Iſaac* his father to part out of the Land of *Canaan*. The Philiſtims (*Africans* by deſcent, *Gen.*10.14. and tawny like them) do ſoon eſpy the beauty of *Rebeccah* a white woman.

CHAP. XXVII. *Iſaac* being arrived at the age of one hundred and thirty ſeven years, at what age *Iſmael* his brother had died, by his example, beginneth to think of his own death, and to diſpoſe himſelf for that. He ſendeth *Eſau to hunt* for veniſon *for a trial*, whether he ſhould bleſs him or no; for miſſing of veniſon before, he had loſt his birth-right, and if he miſs to day as he did then, it would be a ſure ſign that he muſt loſe the bleſſing: And ſo though *Iſaac* had paſſed away the main bleſſing at unawars, yet when *Eſau* cometh home ſped of a prey, he ſeeth that it was the will of God he ſhould have ſome bleſſing, and ſo bleſſed him alſo. *Eſaus* garments in which *Jacob* obtained the bleſſing, *were the garments of the Prieſthood* which belonged to the firſt born.

CHAP. XXIX, XXX. *Jacob ſtronger than three men*, and rolleth away the ſtone from the wells mouth alone, which they could not do with all their ſtrength united: he is deceived by *Laban* by a ſuborned perſon, and imbraced *Leah* thinking he had imbraced *Rahel*, as he deceived his father by a ſuborned perſon, taking on him to be *Eſau* when he was *Jacob*: He *ſerveth* in hardſhip in *his marriage week*, and bringeth feſtivity to others but labour to himſelf; *Joſeph*, *Zebulun* and *Aſher* were in their mothers wombs at the ſame time, but *Joſeph* born laſt; *Dinah* was not born in theſe ſeven years, unleſs ſhe were a twin with *Zebulun*. *Reuben* about five years old following the reapers findeth Mandrakes and bringeth the *Apples* thereof to his mother, for which poor rate *Jacob* is in manner ſold for a time by *Rahel*.

CHAP. XXXI. *Rahel* ſtealeth *Labans Teraphim for a civil uſe*: to preſerve the memory of ſome of her anceſtors whereof they were the pictures, and which *Laban* had impiouſly *Idolized*.

CHAP. XXXII. *Jacob for diſtruſt in the Promiſe* ſo far, upon *Eſaus* approach, that he ſendeth him above a thouſand cattel of all ſorts, of which he had vowed the Tithes to the Lord, and before he paid them, is met by the way by the Lord, *and in danger to be killed by him*: but by prayer and ſupplication he prevaileth with the Lord, and eſcapeth only with a lame leg. This lameneſs of *Jacob* was not reputed to him for a maim, but like the honourable ſcars of a valiant Captain, for a ſpecial dignity. For at *Bethel* he exerciſeth the part and office of a Prieſt, which if his halting had been reputed for a maim, he had been diſabled to do, and his poſterity in all ſucceeding ages, reſerve the honorable memory of this his lameneſs, in not eating the ſinew that ſhrank. That was *the firſt Ceremony* that diſtinguiſhed *Iſrael* for a peculiar people, becauſe with this his lameneſs *Jacob* is firſt dignified with the name of *Iſrael*. Circumciſion differenced them not from the other ſeed of *Abraham*, by *Hagar* and *Keturah*, but this *curioſity in meats firſt beginneth Judaiſm*. *They refrained not to eat the joint* where the ſinew was, as a leg of Mutton or of Beef, for the legs of the Paſsover were to be eaten, *Exod.*12. 10. *but they ſpared the ſinew*. And that *not in abomination* or abhorring of it, *but in honour* and ſpecial reſpect, becauſe it bare the memorial of their firſt naming *Iſrael*: The portion of meat that *Elkanah* gave to his beloved *Hannah*, *Manah Ahhath Appaiina* the *portion of repreſentation* may not unfitly be underſtood of this joint, and the ſame piece of the meat did *Samuel* reſerve for *Saul*, in honour, *The Cook took up the* leg, 1 *Sam.* 9. 24.

CHAP. 33, 34. *Shechem an Hivite* by original, *chap.* 34. 2. *is an Amorite* by habitation, *chap.*48. 22. So *Anah the Hivite* by deſcent, *chap.* 36. 2. *Beeri the Hittite* by habitation in one place, *chap.* 26. 36. and *an Horite* by habitation in another, *chap.* 36. 30, 24.

Judah was not at the murder at Shechem, but at *Chezib* upon the borders of the Philiſtims, married and reſident there, many miles diſtant.

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CHAP. XXXV. The *Proſelytes of Shechem admitted to Jacobs family by Baptiſm*, for circumciſion to the *Shechemites* was become deadly.

Benjamin born by the ſtrength of the promiſe, verſ. 11. for *Jacob* was now paſt the natural vigour of generating, and therefore he juſtly calleth his name *Benjamin*, *the ſon of the right hand.*

CHAP. 36. Strange alteration of names in this Chapter, from what they are in others, *Judith*, Chap. 26. 34. called *Aholibamah* becauſe of her Idolatry. *Anah* her father, *Chap.* 36. 2. *an Hivite* by original, is *Beeri an Hittite*, Chap. 26. 34. becauſe he dwelt among them about *Beer-la-hai-roi*. *Baſhemath*, Chap. 26. 34. is *Adah* here, to ſhew Gods diſlike againſt *Eſaus* matches *Mahalath*, is *Paſhemath* to ſhew the *Canaanitiſh* qualities of a daughter of *Iſmael*.

Compare this genealogy in this Chapter with the ſame in 1 *Chron.* 1. and *Timna* which is here a woman and a *mans concubine*, is there made *that mans ſon*, for the Scripture uſeth to ſpeak ſhort in known ſtories.

CHAP. 37. When the Text hath diſpatched with *Eſau* the hater of his brother that loſt his birth-right by his own fault, it falleth upon *Joſeph* the hated of his brethren, that obtained the birth-right by the fault of another. He feeding the flocks with his brethren joyneth in company with the ſons of the handmaids, for *Leahs* children cared little either for them or him. Among them where he thought to have reſpect, he found hardſhip, for they made him as their ſlave or ſervant, *Vehu nagnar, and he was a ſervant with the ſons of Bilhah and Zilphah*, verſ. 2. This evil report of his brethrens uſage of him he told his father, whereupon he made him *a coat of divers colours as a badge of the birth-right* which his father intended to confer upon him, that his brethren for this ſhould reſpect him the more. But this procureth their greater hatred, *Reuben* only excepted who ſought his good though he had gotten his birth-right, which ſheweth that the inceſtuous man was now become a penitent and holy.

CHAP. 38. *Judah* puniſhed in his children and his own ſhame for the ſale of his righteous brother. He was married about eight years before *Joſeph* was ſold, being then not above twelve years of age if he were ſo much. Therefore the words in the beginning of the Chapter, *At that time*, have not ſo much any reference to the exact time of *Judahs* marriage, as to the miſcarriage of *Er* and *Onan*, which befel not long after *Joſeph* was ſold, and ſo teach of his requital in his children for the ſale of his righteous brother.

CHAP. XXXIX, XL, XLI. *Joſeph made* a ſlave: *his Blackmoor miſtreſs* luſteth after his beauty and whiteneſs. By the interpretation of other mens dreams he is promoted as by the relating of his own he was ſold into miſery. *Pharaoh* giveth him a new name after their Oracular God *Baal Zephon*, *Zophnath Paanea.*

CHAP. XLII. *Joſephs* words חי פרעה *verſ.* 15, 16. not an oath by the Creature but an apprecation and prayer for *Pharaohs* life: *So let Pharaoh live as ye are ſpies*, as *Lev.* 25. 36. helpeth to explain the verb.

CHAP. XLVII. *Pharaoh* having *never ſeen ſo old a man as Jacob*, nor ſo grave a head nor ſo gray a beard in all his life, in admiration aſketh him no other queſtion but concerning his age.

CHAP. XLVIII. The birth-right which *Jacob* intended for *Joſeph* before his ſale is conferred and confirmed upon him, when *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh* are taken by him for his ſons, as *Reuben* and *Simeon*: and hence came *Ephraim* to be firſt born among the Tribes, and therefore *Moſes* chooſeth *Joſhua* one of that Tribe for their conductor into *Canaan.*

CHAP. XLIX. *Jacob bleſſeth every one of the Tribes*, verſ. 28. therefore in his words to *Reuben*, *Simeon* and *Levi*, which are the moſt bitter, we muſt find a bleſſing or we loſe his ſence. His words alſo *concern the future events* of the Tribes, as much or more than the twelve Patriarks that ſtood before him, *verſ.* 1. Theſe ground-works being then thus laid for the underſtanding of theſe his laſt words as neceſſarily they muſt, let it be tolerated to touch upon ſome of them of the moſt difficulty, as far as Grammatical conſtruction, and truth of hiſtory will warrant and juſtifie.

Reuben thou art my firſt born, my might and the beginning of my ſtrength. There is *a remnant of dignity* for thee, *and a remnant of ſtrength*: For ſo the word יתר ſignifieth many times in the Bible, and ſo was *Reuben* dignified in leading the Van in the wars of *Canaan*,

Joſh.

Joſh. 4. 12. And ſo had he *a reſidue of ſtrength* in being frontier againſt the *Hagarens*, 1 *Chron.* 5. 10.

אל תחר Ne relinquas. מכרותיהם Venditionis Ipſorum.

Verſ. 4. *Unſtable as water* in affecting the Prieſthood; *Numb.* 16. 1, 2. and in refuſing of the Land of promiſe, *Numb.* 32. אל תחר *Leave no remnant* of thine inſtability, &c.

Verſ. 5. *Simeon and Levi brethren, their traffickings are inſtruments of cruelty*, for their pretence of trading with *Shechem* they made an inſtrument to execute their bloodineſs.

Verſ. 6. *For in their anger they ſlew a man, as for their will they would hough an ox.* For they uſed Circumciſion, as a means to maſter and murder me, as if they ſhould have cut the ſinews of an Ox to bring him under to their will.

Verſ. 13. *Zebulon ſhall dwell at the haven of the Seas:* the Sea of *Galilee* or the lake of *Genezaret* Eaſt, and the Sea of *Phœnicia* or the *Mediterranian* North-Weſt.

Verſ. 14. *Iſſachar is an Aſſe of bone couching down between two burdens of* the Kingdom of *Phœnicia* on the one ſide, and the *Kingdom* of *Samaria* on the other.

Verſ. 22. *Joſeph is a ſon of fruitfulneſs, his fruitfulneſs in ſons ſhall be by the well: In daughters it goeth even to the Enemy.* This Interpretation of that part of *Joſephs* bleſſing be referred to the cenſure of the learned Reader as conjectured at, rather than boldly averred, and that upon theſe conſiderations. Firſt, That there is a plain *Antitheſis* betwixt *Ben* and *Bavoth*, and therefore is to be conſtrued accordingly of ſons and daughters. Secondly, That the word *Ben* is by his place *in regimine*, but by his vowel not, ſo is *Porah* by his laſt letter *in regimine*, but not by this place: and therefore both of them to be rendered ſomething anſwerable to this their double condition. *Ben-Porath, Joſeph is a ſon of fruitfulneſs*, here they have the due of their place, and *Porath Ben fruitfulneſs of ſons:* here they have the due of their vowels and letters. Thirdly, That *Porath* alſo is to be underſtood in the latter clauſe, *Porath Bavoth, fruitfulneſs in daughters.* Fourthly, That *Shur* ſignifieth natively in Hebrew *an Enemy*, *Pſal.* 92. 12. and it is but from the *Chaldee* idioms that it betokeneth a *wall*. *Joſephs fruitfulneſs in ſons* then did chiefly ſhew it ſelf by *the well* of *Shechem*, where *Joſhua of Joſeph* aſſembleth all the Tribes as Prince over them, and there alſo *Jeroboam of Joſeph* raiſeth up that houſe to a Kingdom. From theſe words of *Jacob* the inhabitants of *Sychar* had their warrant to maintain, that their well was *Jacobs* well, and that his ſons and cattel drank of it. For it might not have been digged of a thouſand years after *Jacob* was dead and gone, for ought any *Samaritane* alive could tell, if he fetched not his authority from theſe words of *Jacob*, who having given that portion of ground to *Joſeph*, *Gen.* 48. 22. doth here intimate that there was a well in it, and beſides that *well* in his houſe ſhould riſe to honour. His fruitfulneſs by daughters you may ſee in *Judg.* 21. where the daughters of *Jabeſh Gilead* and of *Shiloh*, both of *Joſeph*, make up the breach of an hoſtile *Tribe* the *Tribe* of *Benjamin*, or elſe it had decayed.

AN

AN
Handful of Gleanings
OUT OF
THE BOOK
OF
EXODUS.

SECTION I.

Iſrael afflicted in Egypt about 120 *years.*

FROM the giving of the promiſe to *Abraham*, *Gen.* 12. to the deliverance out of *Egypt*, and the giving of the Law, were 430 years, *Exod.* 12. 40. *Gal.* 1. 17. This ſum of years divided it ſelf into two equal parts, for half of it was ſpent before their going into Egypt, and half of it in there being there. Two hundred and fifteen years were taken up before they went into Egypt, thus: From the promiſe given to *Abraham*, to the birth of *Iſaac*, five and twenty years; compare *Gen.* 12. 4. with *Gen.* 21. 5. From the birth of *Iſaac* to the birth of *Jacob*, threeſcore, *Gen.* 25. 26. from thence to their going down into Egypt a hundred and thirty, *Gen.* 27. 9. The other two hundred and fifteen years they ſpent in Egypt, namely ninety four, before the death of *Levi* the longeſt liver of all the twelve Tribes, and a hundred and twenty one betwixt his death and their deliverance.

For *Levi* and *Joſeph* were both born in the ſeven years of *Jacobs* ſecond apprentiſhip, *Gen.* 29. & 30. *Levi* in the fourth, and *Joſeph* in the ſeventh, ſo that there were three years between them: Now *Joſeph* when his Father and brethren came down into Egypt, was nine and thirty years old. Compare *Gen.* 41. 46. 51. & 45. 6. And then was *Levi* forty three. *And Levi lived an hundred thirty and ſeven years*, *Exod.* 6. 16. out of which thoſe forty three being deducted which he had ſpent before their coming down into Egypt, it appeareth they were in Egypt ninety four years before his death: And thoſe ninety four being deducted out of the two hundred and fifteen, which they ſpent in that land, it appeareth alſo that a hundred twenty one years paſſed betwixt his death and their delivery, and till his death they felt no affliction, *Exod.* 1. 6, 7, 8.

SECTION II.

The 88 *&* 89 *Pſalms, penned in the time of this affliction.*

THESE two Pſalms, are the oldeſt pieces of writing that the World hath to ſhew, for they were penned many years before the birth of *Moſes*, by two men that felt and groaned under this bondage and affliction of Egypt, *Heman* and *Ethan*, two Sons of *Zerah*, 1 *Chron.* 2. 6. In *Pſalm* 88. *Heman* deploreth the diſtreſs and miſery of *Iſrael* in Egypt in moſt paſſionate meaſures, and therefore titles his Elegy, *Gnal Mahalath Leannoth, concerning ſickneſs by affliction*, and accordingly he and his brethren are called the Sons of *Mahol*, 1 *King.* 4. 31. In *Pſal.* 89. *Ethan* from the promiſe, *Gen.* 15. ſings joyfully their deliverance, that the raging of the Red Sea ſhould be ruled, *verſ.* 9. and *Rahab* or Egypt ſhould be broken in pieces, *verſ.* 10. and that the people ſhould hear the joyful ſound of the Law, *verſ.* 15.

Object. But *David* is named frequently in the Pſalm, who was not born of many hundreds of years after *Ethan* was dead.

Anſw. 1. This might be done Prophetically, as *Samuel* is thought to be named by *Moſes*, *Pſal.*99.6. for that Pſalm according to a rule of the Hebrews, is held to have been made by him.

2. It will be found in Scripture, that when ſome holy men indued with the Spirit of God, have left pieces of writings behind them, indited by the Spirit, others that have lived in after times, indued with the ſame gift of Prophecy, have taken thoſe ancient pieces in hand, and have flouriſhed upon them, as preſent, paſt, or future occaſions did require. To this purpoſe, compare *Pſal.* 18. & 1 *Sam.* 22. *Obadiah*, and *Jer.* 49. 14. and 1 *Chron.* 16. and *Pſal.* 96. and 105. and 2 *Pet.* 2. and the Epiſtle of St. *Jude*. So this piece of *Ethan* being of incomparable antiquity, and ſinging of the delivery from *Egypt*, in after times, that it might be made fit to be ſung in the Temple, it is taken in hand by ſome divine Pen-man, and that ground-work of his, is wrought upon, and his Song ſet to an higher key; namely, that whereas he treated only of the bodily deliverance from *Egypt*, it is wound up ſo high as to reach the Spiritual delivery by Chriſt, and therefore *David* is ſo often named from whence he ſhould come.

SECTION III.

The words of the Hebrew Midwives not a lye, but a glorious confeſſion of their faith.

THEY were Hebrew Midwives, but Egyptian Women. For *Pharaoh* that in an ungodly Councel had deviſed and concluded upon all ways, whereby to keep the Iſraelites under, would not in ſuch a deſign as this, uſe Iſraelitiſh women, who he knew were parties in the cauſe againſt him; but he intruſteth it with women of his own Nation. They are named for their honour, as *Mark* 14. 9. that whereſoever the Goſpel or the Doctrine of Salvation ſhould be Preached, this faith and fact of theirs ſhould be publiſhed in memorial of them.

The Midwives ſaid unto *Pharaoh*, *Becauſe the Hebrew women are not as the Egyptian women, for they are lively, &c.* Theſe words of theirs, proceed from the ſame faith, from whence had proceeded their work of charity, the childrens preſervation. And ſo far are they from being a lye, that they are ſo glorious a confeſſion of their faith in God, that we find not many that have gone beyond it. And the things they ſpake of, ſo far from falſe, that they were moſt admirably and miraculouſly true and really done. They ſaw in very deed the immediate hand and help of God, plainly and really ſhewed to the Hebrew women in their labour, and that whereas other women naturally in that caſe are weak, fainting, and long in pain, theſe were ſtrong, lively, and ſoon delivered. For as the ſtrength of the promiſe ſhewed it ſelf in the Males of *Iſrael*, in that, the more they were preſſed under ſervitude, and afflicted, the more were they able for generation, *v.* 2. *Act.*7.17. So did the ſtrength of the promiſe ſhew it ſelf upon the women, in that they were delivered of their children with a ſupernatural and extraordinary eaſe and quickneſs: Therefore the Midwives boldly ſtand out to *Pharaoh*, to the venture of a Martyrdom, and plainly tell him, that ſince they were not in travel as other women, but lively, and ſtrong, and had ſoon done, it could be nothing but the immediate hand of God with them, which hand they are reſolved they will not oppoſe for all his command, leſt they ſhould be found to fight againſt God. For this confeſſion ſo reſolutely and gloriouſly made before *Pharaoh*, and for their fact anſwerable, *God made them houſes, becauſe they feared him, verſ.* 21. that is, married them into the Congregation of *Iſrael*, and built up Iſraelitiſh Families by them.

SECTION IV.

Moſes his birth, ſupernatural, Exod.2.2.

MOSES was born when his mother by the courſe of nature was paſt child-bearing: For if *Levi* begat *Jochebed* at an hundred years old, which is hardly to be conceived, as *Gen.*17.17. yet is *Jochebed* within two of fourſcore when ſhe bare *Moſes*. But it was more than probable that ſhe was born long before *Levi* was an hundred, unleſs we will have *Levi* to be above half a hundred years childleſs, betwixt the birth of *Merari* and *Jochebed*: And thus the birth of *Moſes* was one degree more miraculous, than the miraculous and ſupernatural birth of the other children of the Hebrew Women, and ſo was his brother *Aarons* not much leſs wondrous. She then having a goodly child, at ſo great an age, ſaw the ſpecial hand of God in it, and therefore labours his preſervation againſt *Pharaohs* decree: for by Faith ſhe knew he would be preſerved for ſome

ſpecial

ſpecial inſtrument of Gods glory, but the manner of his preſervation ſhe knew not yet.

SECTION V.

Our Saviours allegation of Exod. 3. 6. *in* Luke 20. 37. *cleared.*

MOSES in *Midian*, under the retiredneſs of a Paſtoral life, giveth himſelf unto contemplation of divine things; in one of thoſe raptures, God himſelf appeareth viſibly to him in deed; and that in a flaming fire, now he is about to perform the promiſe, as he appeared to *Abraham* when he made it: *and it came to paſs, when the Sun went down, and it was dark, behold a ſmoaking furnace, and a burning Lamp that paſſed between thoſe pieces. In the ſame day the Lord made a Covenant with Abraham*, Gen. 15. 17, 18.

The words which Chriſt here uſeth to *Moſes* in the buſh, he urgeth again to the Jews, whereby to evince the Reſurrection, *Luke* 20.37. *And that the dead are raiſed, even Moſes ſhewed at the buſh, when he calleth the Lord, the God of Abraham, the God of Iſaac, and the God of Jacob, for he is not a God of the dead, but of the living:* which words indeed do infer the reſurrection as they lie in themſelves, but far more clearly, if they be laid to, and compared with the Jews own doctrine and poſition.

Rabbi Simeon Ben Jochai ſaith, the holy bleſſed God nameth not his name on the righteous in their life, but after their death, as it is ſaid, to the Saints that are in the earth, Pſal. 16.3. *When are they Saints? When they are laid in the earth: For all the days that they live, the holy bleſſed God joyneth not his name to them: And why? Becauſe the holy bleſſed God truſteth them, not that evil affections will not make them to err; but when they be dead, the holy bleſſed God nameth his name upon them: But behold we find that he nameth his name on Iſaac the righteous whilſt he liveth, for ſo he ſaith to Jacob, I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Iſaac. Rabbi Barachiah, and our Doctors: our Doctors ſay, He ſaw his duſt, as it was gathered upon the Altar, and Rabbi Barachiah ſaith, ſince he was blind of his eyes, he is reputed as dead, becauſe he was ſhut up in the midſt of the houſe.* Rabbi Tanch. in Gen. 28. Rabbi Menahem in Exod. 3.

SECTION VI.

The power of Miracles, Habbak. 3. 2. *and* Act. 19. 2. *explained.*

THE gift of Propheſie or Foretelling things to come had been in the Church ſince the fall of *Adam*, and now are Miracles added becauſe of unbelief: For obſerve that when *Moſes* ſaith, *Behold they will not believe*, the Lord immediately anſwers, What is that in thine hand? This double faculty being given here to *Moſes* the firſt Prophet of the Church of *Iſrael*, it alſo deſcended to a ſucceſſion of Prophets in that Congregation from time to time. But with this excellent gift it was alſo given *Moſes* himſelf to know, and ſo likewiſe them that did ſucceed, that they had this double power not from themſelves, but from another: *Moſes* his ſtammering tongue taught himſelf and them ſo much for Propheſie, and his leprous hand taught ſo much for Miracles. This ſucceſſion of Prophets began from *Samuel* and ended in the death of *Chriſt*, *Acts* 3.24. Not that there were not Prophets betwixt *Moſes* and *Samuel*, but becauſe they were not expreſſed by name, as alſo becauſe viſion in that ſpace of time was exceeding rare, 1 *Sam.*3.1.

Now from the beginning of the rule of *Samuel* to the beginning of the captivity in *Babel*, were four hundred and ninety years; and from the end of that captivity to the end of Chriſts life upon earth, were four hundred and ninety years more. The ſeventy years of captivity between, which were the ſeventh part of either of theſe two Numbers, that lay on either ſide, are called by *Habbakkuk*, *The midſt of years*, namely, from the beginning of Propheſie in *Samuel* to the ſealing of Propheſie in the death of Chriſt. *Revive thy work in the midſt of the years, in the midſt of the years make known.* Then was it juſtly to be feared that the ſpirit of Propheſie would quite have ceaſed from *Iſrael* when they were captived among the Heathen. This made the Prophet to pray ſo earneſtly, that God would preſerve alive, or *revive* his *work* of *Miracles* in the midſt of years, and in thoſe times of captivity, that he would make known things to come by that gift of Propheſie. And he was heard in what he prayed for, and his ſupplication took effect, in the moſt prophetick and powerful Spirit of *Daniel*.

The Jews had an old Maxim, *That after the death of Zachary, Malachy and thoſe laſt Prophets, the Spirit of God departed from Iſrael and went up.* So that from thence forward, prediction of future things and working of miracles were rarities among them. To this aimed the anſwer of thoſe holy ones, *Act.*19.2. *We have not ſo much as heard whether there be*

be any Holy Ghoſt. Not that they doubted of ſuch a perſon in the Trinity, but that whereas they had learned in their Schools, that the Holy Ghoſt departed away after the death of *Malachy*, they had never yet heard, whether he was reſtored again in his gifts of Propheſie and Miracles till now or no.

SECTION VII.

The two firſt miracles, Exod. 4.

1. THE turning of *Moſes* rod into a Serpent, did utterly diſclaim any power of the Devil in theſe wonders which he was to work, which power only the Magicians wrought by: For as a Serpent was the fitteſt Embleme of the Devil, as *Gen.*3. and *Revel.* 12.9. So was it a ſign that *Moſes* did not theſe Miracles by the power of the Devil, but had a power over and beyond him, when he can thus deal with the Serpent at his pleaſure, as to make his rod a Serpent, and the Serpent a rod as he ſeeth good.

Yet it is worth the obſerving, that he is commanded to *take it by the tail, verſ.* 9. for to meddle with the Serpents head belonged not to *Moſes*, but to Chriſt that ſpake to him out of the buſh, as *Gen.*3.15.

His rod at *Sinai* is ſaid to be turned into *Nahaſh*, a common and ordinary Snake or Serpent; but when he caſts it down before *Pharaoh*, it becometh *Tannin*, *Chap.*7.10. a Serpent of the greateſt dimenſions, be like a Crocodile, which beaſt the Egyptians adored, and to whoſe jaws they had expoſed the poor Hebrew Infants in the River.

2. His Leprous hand diſclaimed alſo any power of *Moſes* his own in theſe wonders which he wrought, for it was not poſſible that ſo great things ſhould be done by that impure and unclean hand, but by a greater.

3. Both of theſe Miracles which were the firſt that were done by any Prophet in the world, did more ſpecially refer to the Miracles of that great Prophet that ſhould come into the world, by whoſe power theſe Miracles were done by *Moſes* at this time. For as it belonged to him only to caſt out the power of the Devil out of the ſoul, and to heal the ſoul of the leproſie of ſin, ſo was it reſerved for him firſt, to caſt out the Devil out of the body, and to heal the leproſie of the body. For though the Prophets from *Moſes* to Chriſt had the gift of doing Miracles, and performed wonders many of them in an high degree, yet could never any of them or any other caſt out a Devil or heal a Leper till the great Prophet came. *Eliſha* indeed directed *Naaman* how he ſhould be healed, but he neither touched him nor came out to him at all, that he might ſhew that it was not his power, but ſuch cures were reſerved for Chriſt to come.

SECTION VIII.

Moſes in danger of death, becauſe of diſtruſt, Exod. 4. 24.

THE fault of *Moſes* that brought him into this danger, was not the uncircumciſion of his Son, as it is commonly held, for that had been diſpenſable withal in him, as it was with thouſands afterwards of the Iſraelites in the Wilderneſs, but his fault was grievous diffidence and diſtruſt. For this is that that makes him ſo much ſo oft, and ſo earneſtly to decline ſo glorious and honourable a meſſage as the Lord would ſend him on, and this was that that brought him into this danger of death, when he was even going on this meſſage. Obſerve therefore his evaſions, and how they found exceeding hollow and empty of belief.

Firſt, *Who am I that I ſhould go to Pharaoh?* Chap. 3.11. This the Lord anſwereth, I will be with thee, and this my appearing to thee may be an undoubted token to thee that I have ſent thee, *verſ.*12.

Secondly, *But who ſhall I ſay hath ſent me?* For forty years ago, they refuſed me, ſaying, *Who made thee a Prince and a Ruler over us?* Chap.4.1. This ſcruple the Lord removeth by giving him the power of miracles.

Thirdly, But I am not eloquent, neither heretofore, nor ſince thou haſt ſpoken to me, for though I may work miracles upon others, yet is not this wrought upon my ſelf, that I ſpeak any whit better than I did before. This receiveth this anſwer, *I will be with thy mouth*, verſ.10.11,12.

Fourthly, *But I pray thee ſend by that hand that thou wilt ſend or ſtretch out*, verſ.13. for thou ſaidſt to me, *I will ſtretch out mine hand*, and ſmite Egypt, &c. *Chap.* 3.20. Now therefore I pray thee ſtretch out this hand of thine, for the hand of man is not able to perform it. At this the Lords anger was kindled againſt him, and that deſervedly. For in this he denied the myſtery of the Redemption which was to be wrought by a man, the God-head going along with him.

Now

Now it is time for *Moſes* to ſet for *Egypt* when he ſeeth God angry at his excuſing: he doth ſo, but he taketh his diffidence along with him, in that he taketh his wife and children with him. One would think that had been a ſpecial piece of charity, but it being looked into, will prove a ſpecial piece of diſtruſt.

For when God appeareth to him, at the very firſt, he giveth him aſſurance of the peoples delivery, and that they ſhould come in their journies to that very place, *When thou haſt brought the people forth out of Egypt ye ſhall ſerve God upon this mountain*, Chap.3.12.

Now if *Moſes* had believed certainly this promiſe, and that undoubtedly he and the people ſhould come thither, he would never have taken wife and children with him to trouble them and himſelf in ſo long a journey, and in ſo earneſt a buſineſs, but would have left them ſtill with *Jethro*, till he and *Iſrael* ſhould march up to them. But this he feared, that this his journey would be to no effect, that *Iſrael* would accept of none, and therefore ſhould obtain no delivery; that this meſſage would produce nothing, unleſs danger to himſelf, and that while he ſpake of delivering others, he might incur bondage himſelf, ſo that if he left wife and children behind him, it was odds he ſhould never ſee them again. And therefore to make ſure work he will take them with him, and for this his diſtruſt the Lord meets him, and ſeeks to kill him.

Nor was this diſtruſt and diffidence little or ſmall in him, but if the circumſtances be conſidered, it will appear to be very great, and his want of faith exceeding much.

Zipporah his wife was now lying in Childbed, a weak woman but lately delivered, and therefore far unfit for ſo long a journey, and the new-born child as unfit, if not unfitter than ſhe: and yet Mother and child in this weak caſe, muſt travel to the hazzard of both their lives, for he durſt not leave them behind him for fear he and they ſhould never meet again: For this it is that *Zipporah* twice calleth him a bloody husband: before the childs circumciſion, and after: before, becauſe he had hazzarded both their lives in bringing them forth, both of them being in their blouth and blood: and after, becauſe ſhe through him was put to Circumciſe the child, which bloodineſs a tender mother muſt needs abhor: and for this alſo is the word *circumciſions* in the plural number, *verſ.*26. *A bloody husband*, Lemuloth, *becauſe of the circumciſions.*

SECTION IX.

Zipporah but very lately delivered of her child.

THAT *Zipporah* was ſo lately delivered of child, is plain by obſerving theſe things.

Firſt, That *Jethro* her Father was circumciſed both he and his houſhold, for he was a *Midianite*, a Son of *Abraham*, by *Keturah*, and all *Abrahams* children after the fleſh were circumciſed, and that not by uſurpation or unwarrantable imitation, but by the bond and tye of the inſtitution: therefore though *Moſes* had been abſent never ſo long, or never ſo far off, yet would *Jethro* have taken care of the childs circumciſion on the eighth day: but now the child may not ſtay, till he be eight days old, and whole again upon his circumciſion, but muſt travel young and uncircumciſed as he is.

Secondly, Obſerve the childs name, which was uſually given at Circumciſion, and if the child were older than we ſpeak of, then had he been ſo long without a name, or had had another name than *Eliezer.*

Thirdly, He called his name *Eliezer, for the God of my fathers, ſaid he, hath been mine help and delivered me from the ſword of Pharaoh*, Chap.18.4. Now *Moſes* was not ſecure of *Pharaohs* ſword, till juſt at his ſetting for *Egypt.* For after he came from *Horeb* into *Midian* again, the Lord tells him that all thoſe are dead which ſought his life, *verſ.*19. This doth aggravate his diffidence the more. Who though he had ſeen ſuch wonders at *Horeb*, and heard of other wonders done for him by God in *Egypt*, in cutting off his enemies there, yet durſt he not truſt the promiſe of God, for his returning to his wife and children, but will take them along with him. For this God brings him into danger of his life viſibly, which *Zipporah* poor woman thought to have been for the uncircumciſion of her Son, therefore ſhe taketh and circumciſeth him: but *Moſes* being conſcious of his own infidelity or diſtruſt, in this ſo great a danger, rubbeth up his faith again, and the peril refineth it as ſilver, ſo that now he betaketh himſelf wholly to God, by confidence in the promiſe, and to expreſs this his faith, he calleth his Son when the mother had circumciſed him, *Eliezer*, *God is mine helper*; ſo that I ſhall eſcape danger from *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians* in this mine errand: And the Lord ſaw his faith, and let him go.

SECTION X.

Of the name Jehovah, *and how it was unknown to the Fathers*, Exod. 6. 3.

THIS is the uncommunicable name of God, not given at any time unto the Creature, *Esay* 42. 8.

This name in its ſound and letters was known unto the Fathers, yea even in its ſignification. *Abraham* calls mount *Moriah*, *Jehovah Jireh*, *Gen.*22.14.

Iſaac called upon the name of *Jehovah*, Chap. 26. 25. And *Jacob* ſaith; *Jehovah* thy God hath brought it to me, Chap.27.20.

The name *Jehovah* ſignifieth three things,

Firſt, Gods eternal being in himſelf, without dependence or mixture, upon, or with any other thing. For his being undependent, it is rendred, *the firſt*, *and the laſt*; *and which is*, *and which was*, *and which is to come.*

For his being without mixture, or compoſition, it is ſaid here, שמי יהוה לא נודעתי Not, *By my name* Jehovah *I was not known:* Nor, *My name* Jehovah *was not known:* But, *My name* Jehovah, *I was not known*, to ſhew that God and his Name are not two things, united by compoſition, but one and the ſame thing.

Secondly, *Jehovah* betokeneth Gods giving of being to the Creature. To this purpoſe, it is obſervable, that God is never called *Jehovah*, till all the Creation be perfected, and every thing have received its being, *Gen.* 2.4.

So in all the ſpeeches that paſs between *Job* and his friends, God is never called *Jehovah* but once, where mention is made of the Creatures receiving their being, *Job* 12. 10.

Thirdly, *Jehovah* ſignifieth the faithfulneſs of God in his promiſe, and in this ſenſe it is rendred, *Amen*, *true and faithful.* In this ſenſe it is ſet after ſo many commands, Thou ſhalt, or thou ſhalt not do thus and thus, *I am Jehovah.*

And in all theſe ſignifications it is juſtly prefixed before all the Commandments, *Exod.* 20. I am *Jehovah* thy God.

As this name is not communicable to any Creature, but only appropriate to the Godhead, ſo it is ſeverally given to every Perſon in the Trinity.

Firſt, To the Father, *Pſal.*110.1. For he is the fountain of being in himſelf.

Secondly, To the Son, *Jer.*23.6. For he is the giver of being to the Creature.

Thirdly, To the Holy Ghoſt: compare *Eſay* 6. 8, 9, 10. with *Act.* 28.25,26. For he is the Spirit of Truth, and giver of being to the promiſe.

The name *Jehovah*, and the ſignificancy of it to the utmoſt, did the holy Fathers know before *Moſes*. But they ſaw not experience of the laſt ſignification named, namely the faithfulneſs of God in his promiſe made to *Abraham* concerning his delivery of his ſeed from bondage, and bringing them into a Land flowing with milk and honey: God gave them the promiſe by the name of *El Shaddai*, *God Omnipotent:* and they relied upon his omnipotency, becauſe he that promiſed was able to perform: but they beheld it afar of, and taſted not of my performance of it, but now will I ſhew my ſelf *Jehovah*, faithful to bring to paſs and accompliſh what I promiſed.

SECTION XI.

Putiel, Exod. 6. 25.

MANY, and the moſt of them far fetcht, notations are given upon this name: and when all is ſaid of it that can be ſaid, the laſt reſolution lieth but in a conjecture; and then may we gueſs as well as others.

Eliezer married his wife in *Egypt*, and of the *Egyptian Idiom* doth this name of her Father ſeem as probably to ſound as of any other.

Now among the Egyptian names or titles, theſe two things may be obſerved.

Firſt, That among them, Gentry, Nobility, and Royalty, ſeem to have been denoted and diſtinguiſhed by theſe increaſing Syllables, *Phar*, *Phara*, and *Phara-oh*. The Gentry by *Phar*, as *Poti-phar* a Captain, *Gen.*41.45. The Nobility by *Phara*, as *Poti-phara*, a Prince, *Gen.*41.45. And Majeſty by *Phara-oh*, the common name of all their Kings.

There was another title of dignity given to the Governour of the *Jews* in *Alexandria* in that Land, in after times, namely *Alabarcha*, as is to be ſeen in *Joſephus:* which though he and others would derive from Ἅλς, *Salt*, yet ſince we are yet to ſeek for the latter part of the word, it may as probably be conceived to be compounded of the Article *Al*, ſo common in the Arabick tongue, and *Abrech* which hath relation to dignity and honour, *Exod.*41.43.

Secondly,

Secondly, The *Egyptians* delighted to affix or joyn to their names and titles, the word *Poti*, or *Puti*, whether in memorial of their Uncle *Put*, *Gen.* 10. 6. or in reverence of ſome Diety of that name, or for what elſe is not ſo eaſily reſolved, as it may be conceived they did the thing, by the names forecited, *Potiphar*, and *Potiphara*, and of the ſame nature ſeemeth to be *Putiel*, the word that is now in hand.

This *Putiel* therefore may ſeem to have been ſome convert *Egyptian*, [imagine him to have been of the poſterity of *Puti-phera*, among whom *Joſeph* had ſowed the ſeeds of true Religion] who changing his Idolatry, and irreligiouſneſs for the worſhip of the true God, did alſo change the latter part of his name *Phera*, into the name of that God which he now profeſſed, and inſtead of *Puti-phera*, to be called *Puti-el*. The beſt reſolution, as was ſaid before, that can be given in this point, can be but conjectures, and in a matter of this nature, it is as excuſable if we err, as difficult to hit a right.

SECTION XII.

Of Moſes words, Glory over me. Exod. 8. 9.

THE Plagues of *Egypt* began anſwerable to their ſins, the waters wherein the childrens blood had been ſhed, and they poor ſouls ſprawled for life, are now turned into blood, and ſprawle with Frogs.

The former Plague of blood, was not ſo ſmart as the other of Frogs, for by digging they found freſh water, and ſo had that remedy againſt that Plague. But they had none againſt the Frogs, for they came into every place, and ſeiſed upon all the victuals that lay in their way, and devoured them; nay they ſpared not to raven upon men themſelves: Therefore the Pſalmiſt ſaith, *Frogs deſtroyed them.*

Yet for all this doth *Pharaoh* make but a mock at *Jehovah* in all this his doing: and ſcornfully and in deriſion, bids *Moſes* and *Aaron* try what *Jehovah* could do for the removing of them. To whom *Moſes* anſwers, *Glory over me*, mock me hardly with my *Jehovah*, yet appoint when I ſhall pray, and I will pray, that thou mayeſt know that there is none like my *Jehovah*. And *Pharaoh* appoints him the next day for his prayer, which he would never have put off ſo long, had he in earneſt thought that *Jehovah* could have removed them upon *Moſes* prayer.

SECTION XIII.

The Plague of Lice. The ſpeech of the Sorcerers, This is the finger of God, Exod. 8. 19. *not a confeſſion of the Lord, but an hideous and horrid blaſphemy.*

AT the Plague of Lice, the Sorcerers are put to a *non-plus*, and in the leaſt creature can do nothing, for [beſides that it was the will of God, to bring their devices to nought, and to ſhew himſelf *maximum in minimis*] if they ſhould have imitated this miracle, they muſt have done two things: firſt, they muſt have produced duſt, and then of the duſt, Lice, for the Text ſaith, *That all the duſt of the Land became Lice, throughout all the Land of Egypt, verſ.* 17. Neither of which they can do, and therefore ſay, *This is the finger of God.* For the underſtanding of theſe their words, obſerve theſe things.

Firſt, That in the two foregoing Plagues of blood and Frogs, *Moſes* gave warning of them before they came, but of this he did not.

Secondly, That the Lice were alſo in the land where *Iſrael* dwelt, as well as in other parts of *Egypt*, for there is no ſevering betwixt *Goſhen* and *Egypt* mentioned, till the next Plagues of Flies, *In that day, I will ſever the Land of Goſhen, in which my people dwell, And I will put a diviſion between my people, and thy people, verſ.* 22, 23. whereas none had been put before.

For when *Moſes* turned the waters of *Egypt* into blood, the Sorcerers did ſo alſo with their inchantments, and turned the waters of *Goſhen* into blood likewiſe. Here *Pharaoh* thinketh his Sorcerers have matched the *Jehovah* that *Moſes* ſo talked of, and that they could do as much againſt his people, as he could do againſt theirs.

And ſo when *Moſes* from *Jehovah* brought Frogs upon *Egypt*, the Magitians alſo by their inchantments bring Frogs likewiſe upon *Goſhen*, and ſtill they think their God is hard enough for *Iſraels Jehovah.*

Thus is blood and Frogs through all the Land of *Goſhen*, but neither were theſe real Blood or Frogs, nor was this any puniſhment at all upon *Iſrael*, for it was not from the Lord, but only vain deluſions permitted by the Lord, that at laſt he might catch the crafty in their own net.

But

But when the Plague of Lice cometh, it cometh alſo upon *Goſhen* from the Lord himſelf, and this is a Plague indeed upon his own people, laid upon them by him, as well as upon *Egypt:* For *Iſrael* that had partaken in ſo many of *Egypts* ſins, muſt alſo think to partake in ſome of her puniſhments.

For this it is, why the man of God in *Pſal.* 78. reckoning up the Plagues of *Egypt*, never mentioneth the Plague of Lice: becauſe that was equally a Plague to *Iſrael*, as to the *Egyptians*, they had both Blood and Frogs as well as they, but not as really nor from God, and therefore no Plague to them.

Thirdly, The *Egyptians* acknowledged a ſupream great Deity, whom they thought they adored in their petty deities, whom they worſhipped. For when they adored an Ox, a Dog, a Crocodile, &c. they adored not the carcaſs, but the good qualities that in theſe creatures conduced to their benefit and good, ſo ſaith *Euſebius*, that whatſoever was helpful, or furthered the good of humane life, that they accounted a Deity.

Fourthly, They accounted not of *Jehovah*, the God of the Hebrews, but as a petty, trivial god, ſuch as every Nation had one or more of, that that god could do ſomething, as they ſaw in the Blood and Frogs, but could do no more, if ſo much, as theirs, *Chap.* 5.2. *Who is Jehovah that I ſhould obey him? I know not Jehovah, neither will I let Iſrael go.* So that the Magicians words, *This is the finger of God*, come from them reaſoning thus: When Blood and Frogs came, *Moſes* gave warning of them before, from his *Jehovah*, but theſe Lice come and he never gave warning; Hence it is plain, this is none of *Jehovahs* doing, otherwiſe would *Moſes* have known it before, but now he did not. Again, when the Hebrews *Jehovah* brought Blood and Frogs upon our land, he brought none upon theirs, but ſpared his own people: but this Plague of Lice is alſo upon them, as ſoon as upon us, and without our doing: And therefore this cannot be *Jehovah*, for he would not plague his own people, but this is done by the finger of *Elohim* the great deity, and the *Jehovah* of the Hebrews is a God of no value.

SECTION XIV.

The Plague of Boyls, Exod. 9. 9. *Two contrary Plagues in one.*

MOSES and *Aaron* muſt take their handfuls of aſhes out of the Furnace, that whence *Iſrael* had had their ſore affliction, *Egypt* might receive their corporal puniſhment. *Moſes* is to ſcatter the four handfuls into the Air towards the four quarters of Heaven, hereupon a double miracle followed. 1. That ſo little or few aſhes were multiplied ſo as to flie throughout all the Land of *Egypt*, and to light upon every man and beaſt in it. 2. That lighting on them, it was a Plague to them in their bodies.

As the Miracle was double, ſo was the Plague.

1. The Aſhes became *Shehin*, that is, a burning itch, or an inflamed Scab: for ſo the word ſignifieth, as is plain, *Job* 2. 7, 8. where the holy mans body is ſtruck with *Shehin*, ſuch an intolerable dry hot itch, that his nails would not ſerve to ſcratch enough, but he is glad to get a potſheard to skrub himſelf.

2. This Itch had alſo blains and boils broke out with it, [and ſo *Jobs* had not] ſo that the Egyptians were vexed at once, with intolerable itch and intolerable ach: Their itch called upon them to ſcratch and skrub, and yet they could not do ſo, for the ſoreneſs and aching of their boils.

In the five preceding Plagues, the obduration of *Pharaohs* heart is attributed to himſelf; in theſe five forward, it is attributed to God: And juſtly [when being puniſhed for his ſins, he hardneth his heart ſo many times] is his heart hardned ſo many times that he ſinneth for a puniſhment.

SECTION XV.

The Plague of darkneſs, Exod. 10. *Why firſt named*, Pſal. 105.28.

AS the men of the old world, of *Sodom* and the *Jews* at the death of Chriſt were ſtruck with darkneſs, before they entred into utter darkneſs; ſo it is with the Egyptians here.

This Plague lay upon them three days, namely, the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth days of the month *Niſan*. For upon the concluſion of the darkneſs, *Moſes* being ſent for to *Pharaoh* giveth him ſuch diſtaſt that he chargeth him never to come into his preſence again, which *Moſes* ſaith he will not do, *I will ſee thy face again no more:* but before he goeth out of the preſence, he giveth him warning concerning the ſlaughter of the firſt born to be that night, *Chap.* 11. *Verſ.* 4. by which it is clear that the darkneſs ended on the Paſsover day in the morning.

Queſt.

Queſt. Why then ſeeing it was the ninth plague in number hath *Pſal.* 105. ſet it firſt?

Anſw. Becauſe it was the moſt terrible of all the Plagues that came upon them. For thoſe that had gone before had plagued only their land, or cattle, or bodies; that that came after, light not upon all, but only on the firſt born, but this is a Plague even to the very mind and conſcience, and univerſally ſo to them all.

It was not their ſitting in darkneſs and not ſtirring about their buſineſs for three days together, that plagued them ſo much, for this had been no great torment, but their torture was, that in this darkneſs they ſaw fearful apparitions of Fiends and Devils, and horrible viſions, which ſo hideouſly affrighted and even diſtracted them, that they were as it were in Hell already. For obſerve that *Pharaoh* that had been nothing at all moved in a manner with all the Plagues that went before, is ſo ſtirred with this, that he ſends for *Moſes* as ſoon as ever the darkneſs is over, and permits him to depart, *Exod.*10.24. which mear ſitting in darkneſs could not have wrought him to, but thoſe terrors which he ſaw in the dark.

Hence it is that *Pſal.*78.49. nameth not the Plague of darkneſs by its name, but in the place where it ſhould come, he mentioneth that which was the very quinteſſence of it. *He caſt upon them the fierceneſs of his anger, wrath, and indignation and trouble, by ſending evil Angels among them.*

SECTION XVI.

Iſrael circumciſed in the three days darkneſs. He ſent darkneſs and made it dark, and they rebelled not againſt his word, Pſal. 105. 28.

THIS latter clauſe, *they rebelled not againſt his word,* is to be underſtood of *Iſrael,* who in this Plague of darkneſs performed ſome ſpecial part of obedience: And that upon inquiry will be found to be their undergoing of circumciſion. For they had followed the Idols of *Egypt,* and in Idolatry were become like the *Egyptians,* ſo were they alſo in uncircumciſion. For when *Joſhuah* had circumciſed them at their entrance into *Canaan,* he ſaith, I have rolled away from you the reproach of *Egypt,* *Joſh.*5.9. or that wherein ye were like unto the *Egyptians* uncircumciſed to your reproach.

But when God ordaineth the Paſover, he giveth charge for circumciſion, for no uncircumciſed perſon muſt eat thereof, *Exod.*12.48.

Then was required a general circumciſion of all the people, or at leaſt of the moſt of them, for all were uncircumciſed, unleſs it was ſome few that were more conſtant to the Covenant of their God. And that there was a general Circumciſion in *Egypt,* is inferred in the forenamed place, *Joſh.* 5. where God commandeth *Joſhua* to Circumciſe the people *a ſecond time,* which inferreth that there was a firſt time when they were circumciſed with a general Circumciſion as they were that ſecond time. But in *Egypt* muſt this firſt Circumciſion be, for the Text in that very place telleth, that in the Wilderneſs there was no Circumciſion at all.

Whilſt then *Iſrael* ſat ſore of their Circumciſion, God cloſeth up *Egypt* in three days darkneſs, and in horror, that they might not take the opportunity againſt his people.

SECTION XVII.

The beginning of the year changed, Exod. 12. 1.

THE world from her creation hitherto, had begun her years in *Tiſri* or *September,* which was the time of the year when ſhe was created. This will eaſily be ſhewed [againſt thoſe that maintain the world did begin in *March*] by theſe reaſons.

1. From *Exod.*23.16. *The feaſt of in-gathering in the end of the year.*

2. From *Joel* 2.23. *The latter rain in the firſt month.*

3. Had *Adam* been created in *March* he had had no fruits ripe for his food, but in Autumn they were ready for him.

4. Should the months before the Paſover be reckoned to begin from *March,* it will follow that the general deluge increaſed in the heat of Summer, and abated and dried up in the deep and moiſt of Winter.

5. Had the year begun from *March* from the beginning, it had been unneceſſary to have commanded them to begin it thence, who never knew where to begin it elſe.

From the creation then the years began from *September,* but here upon a work greater in figure, as which repreſented the Redemption by Chriſt, the beginning is tranſlated to *March.* And this is the firſt Commandment given to *Iſrael* by *Moſes.*

As that old account began from an Equinox, ſo muſt this, but not alike; That began exactly from the Equinox day, this from the firſt new Moon after, and not from that day unleſs that day was the new Moon. The fourth day of the worlds creation was both Equinox and new Moon: and though the years after began from that day of the Sun, yet were they counted by the months of the Moon.

Their year then beginning thus from a new Moon it plainly ſpeaketh for it ſelf that it was reckoned by Lunary months, which falling ſhort eleven days of the year of the Sun, every third year was leap year, or intercalary of a month added of 33 days, which was called *Veadar:* So that howſoever it is ſaid that *Solomon* had twelve ſpecial officers for the twelve months of the year, it meaneth the ordinary year, and not the *Emboliſmæan* or leap year: for that year, thoſe twelve in their ſeveral months ſerved ſo much the longer, as that the added months might be made up by them, and not a new officer choſen for that month, who ſhould have no imployment when that month was over till three years after.

The equity or life of this Law that their years ſhould begin from *March* or *Abib* was becauſe the preaching of the Goſpel ſhould begin, and the redemption be conſummate from that time. For it was juſt at that time of the year when *John* began to baptiſe, which was the beginning of the Goſpel, *Mark* 1. 1. *Acts* 1. 22. And it was at that time of the year when our Saviour ſuffered, and fulfilled that which this prefigured our Redemption.

SECTION XVIII.

Particulars concerning the Paſſover, Exod. 12.

1. THE Paſchal Lamb was Chriſts body in a figure. Compare *Exod.* 12.46. with *John* 19. 36. and to this it is that the word *hoc*, in the words of our Saviour, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, had reference and reſpect. They had but newly eaten the Paſſover Lamb, and that had been the body of Chriſt Sacramentally to the *Jews* hitherto: but now Jeſus took bread, and bleſſed, and brake it, and told them that this hence forward muſt be his body under the Goſpel in that ſame manner that the Paſchal Lamb had been his body under the Law.

Secondly, The Lamb muſt not be eaten raw, *verſ.* 9. which would never have been forbidden, if the very raw fleſh and blood of Chriſt, as it was upon the Croſs, were eaten in the Sacrament, as Tranſubſtantiation dreameth, for then had the raw Paſſover repreſented it the better. And eſpecially among thoſe People who ſometimes uſed to eat raw fleſh in their haſty meals as the Jews did.

Neceſſity ſometimes transfers the Paſſover to another month, but never further than the next. So the firſt Paſſover but one, was kept by ſome on the fourteenth day of the ſecond month; becauſe uncleanneſs by a dead corps neceſſitated them to forego it at the right time, *Numb.* 9. 11. And ſo the laſt Paſſover but one that we read of before the Captivity was kept in the ſecond month, 2 *Chron.* 30. 2. becauſe *Hezekiah* coming to his Crown but juſt in the beginning of the year, or very little before, could not procure the Temple, and the Prieſts to be ſanctified and purged ſufficiently, and the People to be aſſembled againſt the right Paſſover day. See 2 *Chron.* 29. 3.

This tranſlation of the Feaſt a month out of its place, did the more enforce its ſignificancy of things future than of things paſt; as rather recording the death of Chriſt to come, than their delivery from *Egypt:* for the force of the commemoration of that was infeebled much, when it hit not upon the very night. Again, this moveableneſs of this Feaſt, which ſo nearly repreſented the death of our Saviour, received its equity when our Saviour died, not upon the very Paſſover day, but deferred the Sacrificing of himſelf to a day after.

Object. But it ſeemeth that Chriſt did not eat his Paſſover on the fourteenth day, for *Joh.* 18.28. The Jews went not into the Judgment Hall, leſt they ſhould be defiled: but that they might eat the Paſſover.

Now it is moſt apparent that our Saviour had eaten the Paſſover, over night: which as ſoon as he had done he was apprehended, and arraigned all night, and the next morning early he is brought to *Pilate*, into whoſe houſe the Jews durſt not come for fear of defiling, but that they might eat the Paſſover: ſo that it appears that either Chriſt or the Jews hit not upon the right Paſſover day injoyned by the Law, either he a day too ſoon, or they a day too late.

Anſw. Neither the one nor the other. For the Text expreſly ſaith, that Jeſus eat his Paſſover, and the Jews theirs upon the ſame night, which was on the fourteenth day at even.

Matth. 26. 17. *Now the first day of the Feast of unleavened bread, the Disciples came to Jesus, saying unto him, Where wilt thou that we prepare for thee to eat the Passover?*
Mark 14. 12. *The first day of unleavened bread when they killed the Passover*, So Luke 22. 7.

So that the Passover which the Jews reserved themselves to the eating of, when they durst not enter into *Pilates* Judgment Hall for fear of defiling, is not to be understood of the Paschal Lamb, which they had eaten the evening past, but of the Passover Bullock whereof mention is made, *Deut.* 16. 2. 2 *Chron.* 35. 7, 8, 9.

Now these Bullocks were indeed slain at Passover time, but not for the Passover beast properly taken, for that must be of a Lamb or Kid unalterably: but these Bullocks were slain as attendants upon the Paschal, from the nature of which Sacrifice they differed in these particulars.

First, the Paschal Lamb was always, and all of him rosted: these were sodden, 2 *Chron.* 35. 13.

Secondly, the Paschal Lamb was rosted whole, and eaten without breaking the bones, these were broken piecemeal, and so parted among the people.

The Paschal Lamb was a necessary service to which they were bound by command: these were arbitary according to their stay in *Jerusalem* in the Passover week; for if they would they might return home the next morning after the Paschal Lamb was eaten, *Deut.* 16. 7. and then they needed no Bullock to be killed for their dyet the rest of the Feast: but if they stayed any more days of the Feast at *Jerusalem* than the first, then was not their dyet arbitary to eat any thing what they would, but they must eat of these Bullocks, because their dyet must be holy at time. Hence resulteth another difference betwixt the Paschal Lamb, and these, which is this; that these were not of the first institution of the Passover, nor had they any Bullocks slain at the Passover in Ægypt, but Lambs only.

SECTION XIX.

That the Supper in Joh. 13. *was not the Passover Supper.*

FIRST, It is very commonly held that the Supper in *John* 13. was the Passover Supper, and that *Judas* stayed not the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, for that our Saviour having dipped a sop into the bitter or sowre sawce, which they used to the Paschal Lamb, and given it to him, Satan with it entring into him, he packed him away with, What thou doest do quickly: An opinion mistaken in the ground-work that it builds upon, and consequently in the structure built upon it. For that that was no passover at all, the Evangelist makes it most plain in *ver.* 1. when he saith, it was before the Feast of the Passover, and *Matthew* in *Chap.* 26. 2. telleth, it was two days before, and indeed, two miles from *Jerusalem*, namely in *Bethany*: The serious Harmonizing of the four Evangelists together, at this place, will make this most clear.

Secondly, if then it were not the Passover Supper, there can be no Paschal Lamb looked for at it, nor no *Haroseth*, or sawce of bitter herbs to eat it with, but the meat that they were then eating, and the sawce in which our Saviour dipped the sop, was ordinary meat, and ordinary sawce.

Thirdly, *Judas* when he was packed away with his *Quod facis fac cito*, went not from *Jerusalem* to *Gethsemanai*, where Christ was apprehended by him on the Passover night, but he went from *Bethany* to *Jerusalem*, to bargain with the chief Priest, for his betraying, which when he had done, he returned to *Bethany* again.

SECTION XX.

Borrowing Egyptian Jewels, Exod. 12. 35, 36.

IT may be equally questionable, whether Israel shewed less honesty in borrowing what they meant not to restore, or Ægypt less wisdom, in lending what they knew would not be restored?

For the first, it is easily aswered, that they had the expres warrant of God, who cannot command unrighteousness, and whom to obey in all things is piety.

The second is as easily resolved thus, that Idolaters, in the worship of their Idols, used to deck themselves with Jewels, and Ear-rings, and fine things, thereby to make them as they thought the more acceptable, to their fine decked Diety. So do the *Ægyptians* now conceive of *Israel*, that seeing they desired these their fine knacks, being now going to sacrifice, they intended to sacrifice to the *Ægyptian* gods, as they had done heretofore; and they thought, sure there can be no danger of departing the Land, be-

cauſe they ſtill adhere to our Religion. For *Moſes* had but ſtill ſpoken of going three days journey into the Wilderneſs to worſhip.

SECTION XXI.

Rameſes, and Succoth, verſ. 37.

THE moſt famous of the Dieties of Ægypt, was their Goddeſs *Iſis*, mentioned in all Heathen Authors; of her doth the laſt Syllable in *Raam-ſes*, and *Rame-ſes*, ſeem to ſound, as being Towns that bare the name of this Goddeſs, and importing the Town or Temple, or ſome ſuch thing of *Iſis*. For that which the Ægyptians called *Ses* or *Sis*, other Languages in pronouncing would augment with a vowel before, for ſo was it ordinary. *Ægypt* at home was called *Cophti*, but forreigners did call it *Ecopti*, and ſo it came to be *Egypti*. So the Sea that lay among the Gentiles of Greece, was in Hebrew *Mare Goiim*, the Sea of the Gentils, but other Nations would put E before, and ſo it came to be called *Egoiim* or *Egæum*. The Syrian and Arabick Teſtaments, and the writing of Jewiſh Authors are full of examples of this nature. *Succoth*, is held to have been ſo called, becauſe *Iſrael* here lodged and pitched their tents in their March out of *Ægypt*: but they marched too much in ſuſpition of *Pharaohs* purſuit, to ſettle a Camp, and to pitch tents ſo near him. But it rather ſeemeth to have taken denomination from the cloud of glory coming upon them in this place, which was as a covering to them. *Pſalm.* 135. 39.

This their Divine conducter, ſtayed with them till *Moſes* death, ſave that it was taken up for a while, becauſe of the golden Calf: as *Moſes* death it departed from them; for when they are to march through *Jordan*, the Ark is to lead the way, which while the cloud was with them it never did, but went in the body and very heart of the Army.

As the cloud departed at the death of *Moſes* the firſt Prophet, ſo is it reſtored and ſeen apparently at the ſealing of the great Prophet, *Luke* 9. 34.

SECTION XXII.

The decree at Marah, Exod. 15. 25.

SHAM Sam lo hhok umiſhpat: There he ſet a decree, and a judgment for them: God is beginning now to compoſe and platform the people into a ſetled policy, which while they were under the fear and danger of *Pharaoh* could not be done; And here he paſſeth a decree and judgment upon them, what they muſt look for in the wilderneſs, according to their dealing with him. If they will diligently hearken to his words, &c. he will heal and keep them free from diſeaſes, as he healed thoſe brackiſh waters, and of bitter had made them ſweet; but if otherwiſe, they muſt expect accordingly. Thoſe that have obſcured this place by queſtioning whether this Ordinance at *Marah*, were for the Sabbath, or for the red Cow, or for the trial of the ſuſpected Wife, or for the dimenſum of their diet in the Wilderneſs have made obſcurity where there is none at all, and have ſuppoſed this to have been an Ordinance whereafter *Iſrael* was to walk, whereas it was rather a decree whereafter God would deal with them according to their walking; And anſwerably ſeem the latter words, *Veſham Niſſahu*, to bear this ſenſe, *for there he had tryed them.*

The word *Hhok*, is taken in a ſignification agreeable to this, *Pſal.* 2. 7. *I declare it for a decree*, that ſince the Lord hath ſaid unto me, Thou are my Son, &c. That therefore, ye Kings, and Potentates, &c. ſubmit to the obedience of him, or elſe his anger will ſhortly kindle, &c.

SECTION XXIII.

That this ſtory of Jethro *is miſplaced, and why.*

THAT this ſtory is miſplaced, is plainly by theſe things: Firſt, *Jethro, Moſes Father in Law, took a burnt offering, and ſacrifices for God, verſ.* 12. Secondly, *Now on the morrow, Moſes ſate to judge the people*, verſ. 13. *and made them know the Statutes of God, and his Laws*, verſ. 16.

But as the ſtory lyeth here, there was no Tabernacle nor Altar for Sacrifice yet built; Neither as yet did *Moſes* know the Statutes and Laws of God himſelf, for as yet they are not come to *Sinai.*

Thirdly,

Thirdly, *Moſes* himſelf telleth that the chooſing of Judges and Elders, which was done upon *Jethroes* Counſel, was not till their departing from *Sinai*. *The Lord your God ſpake unto us in* Horeb, *ſaying, You have dwelt long enough in this mountain, &c. And I ſpake unto you at that time, ſaying, I am not able to bear you my ſelf alone, &c.* Deut. 1. from *verſ.* 7. to 19.

So that this ſtory ſhould lye at the 10 of *Numbers*, and come in betwixt the tenth and eleventh verſes of that Chapter, and the ſtory to be conceived thus. When *Moſes* had received all the Laws which God would give him at *Sinai*, from *Exod.* 20. to the Law of the ſilver Trumpets, which was the laſt, *Numb.* 10. then came *Jethro*, and brought *Moſes*'s Wife and Children, and ſeeing him toyling in judgment, he adviſeth him to chuſe Judges to eaſe him; which being done, ere long the cloud removed, and they muſt flit from *Sinai*, *verſ.* 11. When they are ranked to march, *Moſes* deſireth *Hobab* or *Jethro* his Father in Law to go along with him, which he denyeth, but returneth to his own Country, *Numb.* 10. 29, 30, 31, 32. compared with the laſt verſe of this Chapter. Thus lyeth the order of the ſtory. Now, the reaſon why it is miſplaced is this. In the laſt verſe of the preceding Chapter, there is a perpetual curſe decreed againſt *Amaleck*, *The Lord hath ſworn that the Lord will have war with Amaleck, from generation to generation.* Now the *Midianites* and *Amalekites* lived ſo promiſcuouſly together, that they were as one people, and the *Kenites*, or the family of *Jethro*, dwelt in the midſt of them, 1 *Sam.* 15. 6. Therefore that it might be obſerved that *Jethro* fell not under that curſe of *Amaleck*, *Moſes* bringeth him in coming to the Camp of *Iſrael*, and to God, as ſoon as ever the curſe is uttered, that every eye might preſently obſerve that *Jethro* was exempted from it.

Object. But *Moſes* and *Iſrael*, by this account lay almoſt a twelve month at *Sinai*, before his Wife and Children came at him, and can this be thought, that they ſhould be ſo unnatural one to another?

Anſw. This was *Moſes* his doing, not of unnaturalneſs, but piety, to reſtrain their coming, till his great task of receiving and giving the Law, and building the Tabernacle was over; Letters and Viſits paſſed betwixt them there is no doubt, and they kept at diſtance thus by conſent for a ſeaſon.

That letters paſſed may be collected from *verſ.* 6. 7. *And Jethro, Moſes Father in Law, ſaid unto Moſes, I Jethro thy Father in Law, come to thee. And Moſes went out to meet his Father in Law. Jethro* ſaid not thus to *Moſes* his face, *I am come to thee:* For then why or how upon this tidings, could *Moſes* go forth to meet him, when they ſpake face to face already? Nor could this ſpeech be delivered by a meſſenger, for it had been an improper and ſenſeleſs ſpeech of a meſſenger to ſay, *I Jethro come to thee:* but this *Jethro* himſelf telleth *Moſes* by letter, before he cometh at him, whereupon *Moſes* goeth forth to meet him.

SECTION XXIV.

Iſraels *march from* Rephidim *to* Sinai. Saint Paul *explained.* 1 Cor. 10. 4.

Queſt. HOW can it be ſaid that they departed from *Rephidim*, and came to *Sinai*, whereas *Rephidim* and *Sinai* were all one? For every one knoweth that the mountain whereon the Law was given is called *Horeb* and *Sinai*, indifferently: as *Exod.* 19. 18. compared with *Malach.* 4. 4. Now when they were at *Rephidim*, chap. 17. 1. they were at *Horeb*, verſ. 2. So that to go from *Rephidim* to *Sinai*, is to go from *Horeb* to *Horeb*.

Anſw. The hill on which the Law was given had indeed two names, and as *Bellonius* ſaith, two tops, the one ſide of it was called *Horeb*, from the rocky drought of it, being utterly devoid of water: The other ſide was called *Sinai*, from the buſhes and brambles that grew upon it, in one of which *Moſes* ſaw the Lord in a flame of fire; if ſo be it took not the name from *Sini* the Son of *Canaan*, Gen. 10. Now when *Iſrael* lay at *Rephidim* they lay upon *Horeb* ſide, and there out of the droughty rock, *Moſes* miraculouſly bringeth forth water. Their march from *Rephidim* is at the skirts of the hill from *Horeb* to *Sinai* ſide of the mountain. And in the ſame ſenſe is *Paul* to be underſtood, 1 *Cor.* 10. 4. *They drank of the Rock that followed them.* Not that the Rock ſtirred and went along with them, but that the water which miraculouſly guſhed out of the one ſide of the hill *Horeb*, ran along with them as they marched at the foot of the hill, till they came to the other ſide of the hill *Sinai*. And ſo is *Moſes* himſelf to be underſtood. *I caſt the duſt of the golden Calf into the brook that deſcended out of the Mount*, Deut. 9. 21. Not that the brook guſhed out of the mount on that ſide on which the Calf was erected, but on the other, and at the skirt of the hill came running to that.

SECTION XXV.

The Station and Poſture of Iſrael before Sinai, Exod. 19.

ON the firſt day of the month *Sivan*, which was towards the middle of our *May*, in the year of the world 2513. they come from *Rephidim* to *Sinai*, and pitch in their main body, more eſpecially on the South and South Eaſt ſide of the Mount, See *Deut.* 33. 2. and compare the ſituation of *Seir* in the point of the Compaſs.

In three parts or ſquadrons did their Camp ſit down before it.

1. Next to the hill pitched the Elders or 70 heads of the chief families which had gone into Ægypt, theſe are called the *houſe of Jacob*, *Verſ.* 3. as *Gen.* 46. 27.

2. Next behind them pitched the People in their main body, conſiſting of ſo many hundred thouſands: theſe are called *the children of Iſrael*, *verſ.* 3. And this diſtinction is obſerved, *verſ.* 7. 8. *And Moſes called the Elders, &c. And all the people anſwered.*

3. On the outſide of all lay the mixed multitude or the Ægyptians that had joyned to them and came out with them.

On the ſecond day of the month, and of their arrival there, *Moſes* goeth up into the mountain, being called up by the Lord, *verſ.* 3. and when he cometh down, telleth the people the words of the Lord, *verſ.* 5. *If ye will hear my voyce indeed and keep my Covenant, ye ſhall be my peculiar people:* To which the people even before they know what the Commandments of the Lord would be, do promiſe to obey and hearken, not by raſh undertaking to perform they knew not what, as ſome have been bold to tax them, nor yet preſuming upon their own ability to keep the Law, as others have concluded upon them; but having been trained up from their infancy, and inſtructed in the doctrine of Faith, they piouſly conclude, when God cometh to give them a Law and to make a covenant with them, that God would not croſs himſelf in the Doctrine of ſalvation, but that the Law that he would now give them ſhould be a Law conducing and leading to Faith ſtill, a Schoolmaſter to Chriſt, and not an extinguiſher of the doctrine of Salvation by him.

On the third day of the month *Moſes* goeth up into the mountain again, *verſ.* 9. and is charged to ſanctifie the people, which accordingly is done on that day; and on the fourth and fifth, and on the ſixth day in the morning the ten Commandements are given.

SECTION XXVI.

The Jews Tenet concerning the Law, Talm. in Maccoth. Rab. Abhuhahh Ner. 1.

THE *whole Law*, ſay they, *was given to Moſes in ſix hundred and thirteen precepts. David in the fifteenth Pſalm bringeth them all within the compaſs of eleven.* 1. *To walk uprightly.* 2. *To work righteouſneſs.* 3. *To ſpeak truth in the heart.* 4. *Not to ſlander.* 5. *Not to wrong a Neighbour.* 6. *Not to entertain or raiſe an ill report.* 7. *To vilifie a reprobate.* 8. *To honour them that fear the Lord.* 9. *That altereth not his oath.* 10. *Not to lend to uſury.* 11. *Not to take bribes againſt the Innocent.*

The Prophet Iſaiah brings theſe to ſix, in Chap. 33. 15. 1. *To walk juſtly.* 2. *To ſpeak righteouſly.* 3. *To refuſe gain of oppreſſion.* 4. *To ſhake hands from taking bribes.* 5. *To ſtop the ears from hearing of blood.* 6. *To ſhut the eyes from ſeeing of evil.*

Micha reduceth all to three, Chap. 6. 8. 1. *To do juſtly.* 2. *To love mercy.* 3. *To walk humbly with God. Iſaiah again to two, Chap.* 56. 1. 1. *Keep judgment.* 2. *Do juſtice. Amos to one, Chap.* 5. 4. *Seek me. Habakkuk alſo brings all to one, Chap.* 2. 4. *The juſt by his Faith ſhall live.* Thus the Jews witneſs againſt themſelves while they conclude that Faith is the ſum of the Law, and yet they ſtand altogether upon works; A Teſtimony from Jews exceedingly remarkable.

SECTION XXVII.

Articles of a believing Jews Creed collected out of Moſes Law.

1. *I believe that ſalvation is by Faith, not by Works.*

WHEN the Talmudick Jews make ſuch a confeſſion as is mentioned inſtantly before, wherein they reduce all the tenor and marrow of the Law under this one doctrine of living by Faith, *Hab.* 2. 4. *The juſt by his Faith ſhall live*: it is no wonder if the more ancient and more holy Jews under the Law looked for ſalvation, not by

by their own merits and works, but only by Faith: This fundamental point of Religion they might readily learn by theſe two things.

1. From the impoſſibility of their keeping the Law, which their conſciences could not but convince them of, by their diſability to hear it, and by their daily carriage.

2. In that they ſaw the holieſt of their men, and the holieſt of their ſervices, to receive ſanctitie, not from themſelves, but from another. So they ſaw that the Prieſt (who was or ſhould be at leaſt the holieſt man among them) was ſanctified by his garments, and that the ſacrifices were ſanctified by the Altar. From theſe premiſes they could not but conclude, that no man, nor his beſt ſervice could be accepted as holy in it ſelf, but muſt be ſanctified by another.

2. *I beleive that there is no ſalvation without reconciliation with God, and no reconciliation without ſatisfaction.*

The firſt part of this Article is ſo plain that nature might teach it, and ſo might it the latter alſo; and laying hereto *Moſes* his *lex talionis*, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, it made it doubtleſs.

3. *I believe that ſatisfaction ſhall once be made.*

This they might ſee by their daily ſacrifice, aiming at a time when there ſhould full ſatisfaction be made, which theſe poor things could not do. No leſs did their *Jubilee* year intimate when men in debt and bondage were quitted; The very time of the year, when the Jubilee year began, calling all *Iſrael* to think of a Jubilee from ſin and Satans bondage, into which mankind fell at the ſame time of the year.

4. *I believe that ſatisfaction for ſin ſhall be made by a man.*

This is anſwerable to reaſon that as a man ſinned, ſo a man ſhould ſatifie: but *Moſes*'s Law about redemption of Land by a kinſman, taught *Iſrael* to expect that one that ſhould be akin in the fleſh to mankind, ſhould redeem for him morgaged heaven: גאל in Hebrew is both a kinſman and a Redeemer.

5. *I believe that he ſhall be more than a man.*

This they learned from the common ſervice about the Tabernacle, wherein the high Prieſt, a man as fully hallowed and ſanctified as man could be, for his outward function; yet did he offer and offer again for the people and himſelf, and yet they were unclean ſtill. This read a Lecture to every ones apprehenſion, that a meer man could not do the deed of ſatisfaction, but he muſt be more.

6. *I believe the redeemer muſt alſo be God as well as man.*

The diſability of beaſts to make ſatisfaction, they ſaw by their dying in ſacrifice one after another, and yet mans conſcience cleanſed never the better. The unability of man we ſaw before: The next then that is likely to do this work are Angels. But them *Iſrael* ſaw in the Tabernacle curtains ſpectators only and not actors in the time and work of reconciliation. From hence they might gather that it muſt be God dwelling with man in one perſon, as the cloud, the glory of God never parted from the Ark.

7. *I believe that mans Redeemer ſhall die to make ſatisfaction.*

This they ſaw from their continued bloody ſacrifices, and from the covenants made, and all things purged by blood. This the heedleſs man-ſlayer might take heed of, and ſee that as by the death of the high Prieſt he was reſtored to liberty, ſo ſhould mankind be by the death of the higheſt Prieſt to the glorious liberty of the Sons of God. Their delivery from *Egypt* by the death of a Lamb taught them no leſs.

8. *I believe that he ſhall not die for his own ſins, but for mans.*

Every Sacrifice read this Lecture, when the moſt harmleſs of beaſts and birds were offered.

9. *I*

9. *I believe that he ſhall overcome death.*

This *Iſrael* ſaw by neceſſary concluſion, that if Chriſt ſhould fall under death, he did no more than men had done before. His Reſurrection they ſaw in *Aarons* Rod, Manna, Scapegoate, Sparrow, &c.

10. *I believe to be ſaved by laying hold upon his merits.*

Laying their right hand upon the head of every beaſt that they brought to be offered up, taught them, that their ſins were to be imputed to another, and the laying hold on the horns of the Altar, being ſanctuary or refuge from vengeance, taught them that anothers merits were to be imputed to them, yet that all offenders were not ſaved by the Altar, *Exod.* 21. 12. 1 *King.* 2. 29. the fault not being in the Altar but in the offender, it is eaſie to ſee what that ſignified unto them.

Thus far each holy *Iſraelite* was a Chriſtian in this point of doctrine, by earneſt ſtudy finding theſe points under the vail of *Moſes*. The ignorant were taught this by the learned every Sabbath day, having the Scriptures read and expounded unto them. From theſe ground works of *Moſes*, and the Prophets Commentaries thereupon concerning the *Meſſias*, came the ſchools of the Jews to be ſo well verſed in that point, that their Scholars do mention his very name *Jeſus*: the time of his birth in *Tiſri*: the ſpace of his preaching three years and an half: the year of his death the year of *Jubile*, and divers ſuch particulars to be found in their Authors, though they knew him not when he came amongſt them.

SECTION XXVIII.

The Covenant made with Iſrael: They not ſworn by it to the ten Commandments, Exod. 24.

WHEN *Iſrael* cannot indure to hear the ten Commandments given, it was ready to conclude, that they could much leſs keep them. Therefore God giveth *Moſes* privately fifty ſeven precepts beſides, namely Ceremonial and Judicial: to all which the people are the next morning after the giving of the ten Commandments, ſworn and entred into Covenant, and theſe made them a Ceremonial and ſingular people. About which theſe things are obſervable.

1. That they entred into Covenant to a written Law, *Chap.* 24. 4. *And Moſes wrote all the words of the Lord, &c.* Againſt traditions.

2. That here was a book written forty days before the writing of the two Tables: Againſt them that hold that the firſt letters that were ſeen in the world, were the writing of God in thoſe Tables. And we have ſeen before alſo two pieces of writing before this of *Moſes*, *viz.* the eighty eighth, and eighty ninth Pſalms: And of equal Antiquity with them, or not much leſs was the penning of the book of *Job*, moſt probably written by *Elihu* one of the Speakers in it, as may be conjectured from Chap. 32. 15, 16, 17. and ſome other probability.

3. That this firſt Covenant was made with water, and blood, and figurative language: For the twelve pillars that repreſented the people are called *the people*, *Exod.* 24. 4. 8. As the words in the ſecond Covenant, *this my Body*, are to be underſtood in ſuch another ſenſe.

4. That the ten Commandments were not written in the book of that Covenant, but only thoſe 57. precepts mentioned before.

For 1. The Lord giveth the other precepts, becauſe the people could not receive the ten: for could they have received and obſerved thoſe as they ought, they muſt never have had any parcel of a Law more: as if *Adam* had kept the Moral Law, he had never needed to have heard of the promiſe; and ſo if we could but receive the ſame Law as we ſhould, we had never needed the Goſpel. Now it is moſt unlike, that ſince God gave them thoſe other commands, becauſe they could not receive the ten, that he would mingle the ten and them together in the Covenant.

2. It is not imaginable that God would ever cauſe a people to ſwear to the performance of a Law which they could not indure ſo much as to hear.

3. The ten Commandments needed not to be read by *Moſes* to the people, ſeeing they had all heard them from the mouth of the Lord but the day before.

4. Had

4. Had they been written and laid up in this book, what neceſſity had there been of their writing and laying up in the Tables of ſtone?

5. Had *Moſes* read the ten Commandments in the beginning of his book, why ſhould he repeat ſome of them again at the latter end, as *Exod.* 23. 12.

Let ſuch ruminate upon this, which hold and maintain that the Sabbath as it ſtandeth in the fourth Commandment, is only the Jewiſh Sabbath, and conſequently Ceremonial. And let thoſe good men that have ſtood for the day of the Lord againſt the other, conſider, whether they have not loſt ground, in granting that the fourth Commandment inſtituted the Jewiſh Sabbath. For,

Firſt, The Jews were not ſworn to the Decalogue at all, and ſo not the Sabbath as it ſtandeth there, but only to the fifty ſeven precepts written in *Moſes* his book, and to the Sabbath as it was there, *Exod.* 23. 12.

Secondly, The end of the Ceremonial Sabbath of the Jews was in remembrance of their delivery out of Ægypt, *Deut.* 5. 15. but the moral Sabbath of the two Tables is in commemoration of Gods reſting from the works of Creation. *Exod.* 20. 10, 11.

SECTION XXIX.

The puniſhment of Iſrael *for the golden Calf.* Exod. 32.

ISRAEL cannot be ſo long without *Moſes*, as *Moſes* can be without meat. The fire ſtill burneth on the top of mount *Sinai*, out of which they had ſo lately received the Law, and yet ſo ſuddainly do they break the greateſt Commandment of that Law to extreamity of *Ægyptian* Jewels, they make an *Ægyptian* Idol, becauſe thinking *Moſes* had been loſt, they intended to return for *Ægypt*.

Griveous was the ſin, for which they muſt look for grievous puniſhment, which lighted upon them in divers kinds.

Firſt, the Cloud of Glory, their Divine conductor, departeth from the Camp, which was now become prophane and unclean.

Secondly, the Tables *Moſes* breaketh before their face, as ſhewing them moſt unworthy of the Covenant.

Thirdly, the Building of the Tabernacle, the evidence, that God would dwell among them, is adjourned and put off, for now they had made themſelves unworthy.

Fourthly, for this ſin God gave them to worſhip all the hoſt of Heaven, *Acts* 7. 42.

Fiftly, *Moſes* bruiſed the Calf to Powder, and ſtraweth it upon the waters, and maketh the People drink. Here ſpiritual fornication cometh under the ſame tryal that carnal did. *Numb.* 5. 24. Theſe that were guilty of this Idolatry the water thus drunk, made their belly to ſwell, and to give a viſible ſign and token of their guilt: then ſetteth *Moſes* the *Levites* to ſlay every one whoſe bellies they found thus ſwelled, which thing they did with that zeal and ſincerity that they ſpared neither Father, nor Brother of their own, if they found him guilty.

In this ſlaughter there fell about three thouſand, theſe were ring-leaders and chief agents in this abomination, and therefore made thus exemplary in their puniſhment: upon the reſt of the People the Lord ſent a Plague, *verſ.* 35.

Aaron had firſt felt the ſmart in this deſtruction, had his action in this buſineſs been as voluntary as was theirs, but what he did, he did in fear of his life.

SECTION XXX.

That Moſes *faſted three Faſts of forty days apiece.*

IT is a doubt of no ſmall import: Why ſeeing it pleaſed God to appoint the Feaſt of expiation, the ſolemn Feaſt of Humiliation, in that month of the year, in which ſin entred into the world, why he alſo did not appoint it upon the ſame day in which ſin entred, *viz.* the ſixth day of the month, but on the tenth.

The reaſon of this is to be found out by obſerving *Moſes* his Faſts in the mount, and the concluſion of the laſt of them.

That he faſted thrice forty days, is not frequently obſerved, as it eaſily may be concluded from his own words.

The firſt Faſt in *Exod.* 24. 18. *And* Moſes *was in the mountain forty days and forty nights:* At the end of theſe days they made the Golden Calf.

The

The Second Faſt, *Exod.* 32. 30, 31. *It came to paſs on the morrow that* Moſes *ſaid unto the People, Ye have ſinned a great ſin, and now I will go up into the mount*, &c. *and* Moſes *returned unto the Lord*, &c. *which he explaineth*, Deut. 9. 18. *I fell down before the Lord, as at the firſt, forty days and forty nights*, &c.

The Third Faſt when he goeth up with the new hewed Tables, *Exod.* 34. 28. *And he was there with the Lord forty days and forty nights*, &c.

All which being reckoned together from the day after the giving of the ten Commandments, or from the ſeventh day of the month *Sivan*, it will be found that his laſt faſt, when he had obtained pardon for *Iſrael*, and the Tables renewed, ended on the tenth day of *Tiſri*: on which day he came down with the glad tydings of reconciliation: in memorial of which, that day was ever after obſerved for the Feaſt of expiation: upon the tydings of this, and of the making of the Tabernacle the People begin to diſpoſe of their tents, and to build them booths, becauſe it will be long ere the work be finiſhed, and they remove from *Sinai*: for this the fifteenth day of the month is inſtituted for the Feaſt of Tabernacles, ever after.

Hence forward is the Tabernacle begun, and is half a year in making within a very little.

SECTION XXXI.

The form, or Idea, and repreſentation of the Tabernacle.

THE Form and Fabrick of the Tabernacle is thrice rehearſed in the pattern, in the making, and in the ſetting up, as if by this threefold cord of deſcription, the Holy Ghoſt would draw all to a ſerious obſervation.

Moſes ſaw a glorious Tabernacle pitched in Mount *Sinai* to be the pattern of his, as his was to be the pattern of a more glorious: According to the exact form of this that he ſaw, was he to make his: This taught *Moſes* and *Iſrael*, that the making and ſervice of their Tabernacle, did only ſerve to the Pattern and ſhadow of heavenly things, *Heb.* 8. 5. Chriſt is the true Tabernacle, by, and in whom God dwelleth among men. *Joh.* 2. 21. *Heb.* 9. 11. Now as there was a Tabernacle pitched before God in *Sinai*, before there was one made in *Iſrael*, ſo was Chriſts incarnation in the decree of God, long before he was exhibited in the fleſh. Upon the making of *Moſes* his Tabernacle, this in the mount vaniſhed, as that of *Moſes* was to do upon the coming of the true one, Chriſt.

The Tabernacle was *Iſraels* moveable Temple, and ſo at every flitting might teach them to look for one that ſhould not be moved. It conſiſted of three parts, the holieſt, the holy, and the Court, as our Churches do, of the Chancel, Church and Churchyard. It was always pitched Eaſt and Weſt, whenſoever it was ſet down, as our Churches ſtand, but with this difference, that the chiefeſt place in the Tabernacle, or holieſt of all, anſwering to our Chancels, ſtood Weſtward, and *Iſrael* worſhipped with their faces Weſtward, becauſe they would not imitate the Heathen, who worſhipped towards the Sunriſing. And in their ſervices looked always towards us Gentiles in the Weſt, as expecting us to be joyned to their God with them.

SECTION XXXII.

The dimenſions of the Tabernacle.

THE Tabernacle was thirty cubits long, for twenty planks of a cubit and a half breadth apiece made one ſide, or the length of it, and it was ten cubits broad, as ſhall appear hereafter. But firſt obſerve theſe two things.

Firſt, That thoſe which are tranſlated *boards*, were indeed planks of a good thickneſs, even of nine inches thick apiece, for it is ſaid, in the faſtning of the ſides of the Tabernacle, that a barr of Shittim wood, ran through the thickneſs of the boards, as they ſtood edging one to another. Now this barr was no ſmall one, for it was the chief ſtrength of the ſide, and therefore muſt have a large hole bored to run through, and conſequently, it muſt be a thick plank that would bear ſuch a hole, and not an inch, or two inch board.

Secondly, The Cubit by which the Tabernacle is meaſured, was but half a yard, or the common cubit, and not the Sanctuary or holy cubit, which was a full yard. For, firſt, it is ſaid that every plank was a cubit and a half broad; if this were a yard and an half, do but imagine where planks of ſuch a breadth ſhould be had: Secondly, every plank was ten cubits long; if this were ten yards, imagine how they ſhould be carryed: Thirdly, every two ſilver Baſes were as long as a plank was broad; now two talents would fall ſhort of reaching to a yard and an half. Laſtly, the Altar of burnt offering

offering was three cubits high; if this were three yards, who could reach to ſerve at it? Theſe things conſidered, you find that the cubit here ſpoken of, is but half a yard, and this will help well in meaſuring all the things to be ſpoken of after.

SECTION XXXIII.

The peoples contribution to the ſilver foundation: and its form and poſture.

MEaſure out in your imagination, an unequal ſquare, or a plot of ground, of thirty cubits, or fifteen yards long, and of ten cubits or five yards broad, ſuch was the compaſs of the Tabernacle betwixt Wall and Wall. The Foundation was of maſſy pieces of ſilver, ſhewing the ſolidity and purity of the truth, whereupon the Church is founded; Of theſe maſſy pieces there were an hundred in all, and in every piece was a talent of ſilver. Every man in *Iſrael* from twenty years old and upward, was to give half a Shekel, towards theſe foundation pieces, whereas for other things they were not bound to a ſet ſum, but to give what their hearts moved them: This might teach them, that to the fundamentals of their Religion, they were all bound, but to other things, each one according to the gift given him. Their manner of giving half a Shekel, you find *Exod.* 38.26,27,28. thus. There were numbred of *Iſrael*, from twenty years old, and upward, ſix hundred thouſand, and three thouſand five hundred and fifty men. Reckon thus; The Talent of the Sanctuary, contained one hundred and twenty pound, the pound twenty five ſhekels, or fifty half ſhekels, ſo that every Talent contained three thouſand ſhekels, or ſix thouſand halves: ſo that ſix hundred thouſand half ſhekels, given by ſix hundred thouſand men, do amount to an hundred talents: Now there were three thouſand five hundred and fifty men beſides, which gave ſo many half ſhekels, or one thouſand ſeven hundred ſeventy five whole ones, with which were made the hooks of pillars, &c. *Exod.* 38. 28. Theſe hundred Talents of ſilver were thus wrought. Each one was caſt into a ſolid piece of thirteen inches and an half long, and nine inches ſquare; in the ſide that laid upward was a morteiſe hole, near unto the end, now two and two were laid cloſe together, end to end, and the morteiſes were not in the ends that joyned, but in the utmoſt ends.

Now every plank, whereof the ſides were made, was in height five yards, but in breadth three quarters, juſt as broad as two of theſe pieces of ſilver were long, at the foot of the plank, at either corner was a tenon made, the plank being cut down, or abating ſo much between the tenons, as the tenons themſelves were in length, ſo that when the tenons were ſhrunk in the morteiſes, the middle of the plank ſetled upon the pieces or Baſes.

SECTION XXXIV.

The walls and juncture of the Tabernacle.

THeſe ſilver Baſes then were thus laid: forty at the South ſide, forty at the North ſide, and ſixteen at the Weſt end, laid as cloſe together as was poſſible, ſo that though there were ſo many pieces, yet was it but one intire foundation; Here are fourſcore and fifteen of the hundred Talents diſpoſed of, in the two ſides and the Weſt end, what became of the four talents remaining, and of the Eaſt end, we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Theſe Baſes thus laid, the planks were ſet in them, one plank taking up two Baſes, twenty planks making the South ſide, and twenty the North, and eight the Weſt end; theſe were five yards long apiece, and ſo when they were ſet up, they made the Tabernacle five yards and a little more, high upon the walls; Now for the making of theſe planks ſure, and to ſtand ſtedfaſt, the two corner planks were great helps, of which firſt, you remember the length of the ſides, namely fifteen yards or twenty planks, of three quarters breadth apiece. The Weſt end had ſix planks intire, beſides a plank at either corner, joynting end and ſides together. Theſe corner planks were of the ſame breadth that all the other were, and thus ſet: The middle of the breadth of the one plank, was laid cloſe to the end of the South ſide, or to that plank that was furtheſt Weſt, ſo that a quarter of a yard of the breadth of the corner plank, was inward, to make up the Tabernacle breadth, a quarter was taken up with the thickneſs of the ſide plank to which it joyned, and a quarter lay outward.

Thus at the South-weſt, juſt ſo was it at the North-weſt corner. Then count; the two corner planks were inward a quarter of a yard apiece, and the ſix planks that ſtood between them of three quarters apiece, behold five yards, juſt the breadth of the houſe between wall and wall. Theſe corners knit end and ſide together, and were the ſtrength of the building, as Chriſt is of his Church, making Jews and Gentiles one ſpiritual Temple.

Beſides theſe corners ſtrengthening the Fabrick, there were ſeven bonds to make all ſure. Firſt, planks to planks were cloſe joynted at the foot, ſo that the Text calls them תאמים or twins. Secondly, each plank was linked to the next, at the top, with a golden link. Thirdly, on the ſide, ſtaples of Gold were faſtned in every plank, ſo that four bars of Shittim wood, overlaid with Gold, were carryed in the ſtaples, from one end of the Tabernacle to another. Beſides theſe, there was alſo another bar of the ſame wood, that ran from end to end, through the body or thickneſs of the planks, a hole being bored through each plank for the purpoſe. By theſe bars Chriſt is fitly reſembled, who is conveyed throughout the whole Scripture, in the rings of divers paſſages and ſtories; In the fourth Chapter of the *Epheſians*, there are ſeven bonds that bind the Church to unity; Firſt, one Body; ſecondly, one Spirit; thirdly, one Hope of our calling; fourthly, one Lord; fifthly, one Faith; ſixthly, one Baptiſm; ſeventhly, one God and Father of all.

Now view in imagination the body of the Tabernacle, as it ſtands only planked [without any more addition to it] with planks of Shittim wood. The length fifteen yards from end to end, the breadth five yards from ſide to ſide. The ſides and Weſt end planked up five yards high and ſomewhat more, the foundation of thoſe planks, maſſy pieces of ſilver: The top of the houſe, and the Eaſt end left open, till they be covered hereafter: Firſt then of the covering of the top, and ſides, and Weſt end.

SECTION XXXV.

Of the curtains of the Tabernacle.

THE Tabernacle was bounded with Curtains [as lighteſt for carriage] which Curtains covered top and ſides. Theſe Curtains were Tapeſtry work: The ground was of fine yarn dyed blew, Purple, and Scarlet, woven together; the embroydery was of Pictures of Cherubims.

Theſe Curtains were in number ten, each one being twenty eight cubits, or fourteen yards long, and four cubits or two yards broad: They ſewed together five Curtains in one piece, and five in another: ſo that they made two large pieces of Tapeſtry of fourteen yards long, and ten yards broad. Theſe two pieces are called couplings, *Exod.* 26.5. And theſe two were thus joyned together. In the edge of either, were made fifty loops of blew tape, one anſwerable or correſpondent to another; or one over againſt another; and with fifty hooks or claſps of gold, he linked the loops together, and ſo the two main pieces were made one covering or Tabernacle, *Exod.*36.13.

Queſt. Why are not all the ten Curtains ſewed together on one piece, but five and five ſewed together, to make two pieces, and then thoſe two thus looped together with a button or claſp of gold?

Anſw. Firſt, the Tabernacle conſiſted of two parts; the holy place, and the moſt holy: which two were divided one from another by a vail; of which hereafter: Now according to this diviſion of the houſe, was alſo the diviſion of the Curtains. For *Exod.* 26.32. it is plain that the vail that parted the holy from the moſt holy, was hung juſt under theſe golden claſps that knit the five and five Curtains together: So that five Curtains lay over the holy place, and the other five over the moſt holy, but with this difference: The holy place was ten yards long, and the five Curtains ſewed together were juſt ſo broad, and ſo they covered only the top and ſides, but hung not down at the end, which was Eaſtward; but the moſt holy was but five yards long, and the five Curtains over, that did not only cover the top, but alſo hung down at the Weſt end, to the ſilver baſes.

Secondly, the looping together of the Curtains, five and five on a piece, with a golden tye, doth ſweetly reſemble the uniting of the two natures in Chriſt, divinity and humanity, into one perſon, which two natures were not confounded, as Curtains ſewed together, but were ſweetly knit together by golden and ineffable union.

Thirdly, this might alſo fully ſignify the two Churches of Jews and Gentiles, knit together by Chriſt, that ſo they make but one ſpiritual Tabernacle.

Now come and meaſure the Curtains again, imagining them thrown length way over the Tabernacle: they were fourteen yards long, and twenty yards broad, when they were all ſewed and looped together: This breadth covered the length of the building, which was fifteen yards, and it hung down behind the Weſt end, even to the foundation. The Eaſt end was ſtill left open. Of the length of them, five yards were taken up in covering the flat top of the houſe, which was five yards broad between wall and wall: A quarter of a yard was taken up on either ſide, with covering the thickneſs of the planks: ſo that on either ſide they hung down four yards and one quarter, which was three quarters of a yard ſhort of the ſilver foundation, or little leſs.

SECTION XXXVI.

Of the Goat-hair Curtains.

TO help this defect, as alſo to ſhelter the rich Curtains from weather, were made Curtains of Goates hair, eleven in number; in breadth each one two yards, as was the breadth of other, but being one Curtain more than the other, they were two yards broader than the other, when they were all coupled together. Each Curtain was thirty cubits, or fifteen yards long, and conſequently a yard longer than thoſe ſpoken of before. Theſe were ſewed, ſix together on one piece, and five on another. Theſe two main pieces were linked together, with fifty claſpes of braſs, as the other were with fifty of gold. But when theſe curtains were laid upon the other over the Tabernacle, they were not ſo laid as theſe brazen loops did light juſt upon the golden ones, over the vail, but three quarters of a yard more Weſtward, ſo that the five curtains that went Weſt did reach to the ground, and half a Curtain to ſpare, *Exod.* 26. 12. The other ſix that lay Eaſt, reacht to the end, covered the pillars whereon that vail hung, and they hung half a curtain breadth, or a yard over the entrance. Their length of fifteen yards reacht half a yard lower on either ſide, than the other Curtains did, and yet they came not to the ground by a quarter of a yard, ſo that the ſilver foundations were always plain to be ſeen, every where but at the Weſt end.

Thus had the Tabernacle two coverings of Curtains; yet both theſe on the flat roof would not hold out rains, and weather, wherefore there was made for the top a covering of Rams skins dyed red, ſignifying well the blood of Chriſt the ſhelter of the Church.

Above that was alſo another covering of *Tahaſh* skins, a beaſt not perfectly known what he was, but well Engliſhed a Badger, and gueſſed well becauſe of his during hide. Thus if you view this building erected, and thus covered, you ſee the ſilver foundation always open to view. Half a yard above that hid only under one curtain: all the ſide above that under two, and the top with four.

SECTION XXXVII.

Of the moſt holy place.

THE Prieſts entred into the Tabernacle at the Eaſt end of it, and ſo muſt we; where pace up ten yards forward, and you come to the vail which parted between the Holy place, and the moſt Holy of all. The Holieſt place of all, was filled and furniſhed before the vail was hung up, and ſo it ſhall be firſt handled. This place was five yards long, five yards high, and five yards broad; a perfect ſquare, the figure of firmneſs, herein fitly ſignifying Heaven.

In this place, at the Weſt end, ſtood the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord of all the world, *John* 3. 11. typifying Chriſt, by whom God is come into Covenant with Gentiles as well as Jews.

The Ark was made like a Cheſt, hollow, that it might receive things within it. It was a yard and a quarter long, and three quarters broad, and three quarters high, made of Shittim boards, and it was gilded both within and without, repreſenting Chriſts purity, both in inward thoughts and outward actions. It had no feet, but the bottom ſtood upon the ground, a figure of Chriſts abaſing himſelf upon the earth. On the outſide of the upermoſt brink was made a Golden Crown round about, repreſenting (ſay the Jews) the Crown of the Law, but moſt fitly, Chriſt Crowned with glory. At each corner was ſtruck in, a ſtaple or ring of Gold, wherein were put two ſtaves of Shittim wood gilded over, to bear the Ark withall, which ſtaves were never to be taken out, but there to ſtay continually, teaching the Prieſts, as ſome ſay, to be ready preſt for their ſervice: but rather ſhadowing out Chriſts Deity, ſupporting his humanity, never to be parted from it. Now for the cover of this Cheſt, or Ark, it was made of pure Gold, beaten or formed to the juſt length and breadth of the Ark, that when it was laid on it touched the Golden Crown round about. At either end was made a Cherub, or the form of an Angel, like a child, ſtanding bowed, with wings reaching over the Ark, ſo that the wings of one Cherub touched the wings of another. They were of Gold, beaten out of the ſame piece that the cover of the Ark was of. Their faces were one to another, and both toward the cover of the Ark. This cover both by the Old and New Teſtament, is called the Propitiatory, vulgarly in our Engliſh, the Mercy-ſeat. So called, becauſe from hence God mercifully ſpake to his People. View this part well, and you ſee Chriſt fully.

First, the two Cherubims bowed toward the Mercy-ſeat. So all Angels to Chriſt.

Secondly, They looked each at other, but both toward the Mercy-ſeat. So both Teſtaments Old and New, look each at other, and both at Chriſt. So do the two Churches, of Jews and Gentiles.

Thirdly, This covered the Law: ſo doth Chriſt that it plead not againſt his people to condemn them.

Fourthly, God ſpeaks to *Iſrael* from hence, ſo God by Chriſt to us, *Heb.* 1. 2.

SECTION XXXVIII.

Of the holy place without the vail.

THUS was the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, or the moſt holy of all: for fabrick and furniture. To ſeparate this from the holy place was hung up a vail, of the ſame ſtuff and work that the rich curtains of the Tabernacle were: The hanging up of this vail was thus: Juſt under the golden claſpes that linked the curtains together, were ſet up four pillars of Shittim wood gilded over, upon four Baſes of ſilver, ſuch as the planks ſtood upon, and theſe make up the hundred pieces, or Talents ſpoken of before: The pillars ſtood a yard from each other, and the two outmoſt ſtood a yard from the wall. At the top of each pillar was faſtned a golden hook, on the which the vail hung, five yards broad, and five yards high; This vail repreſented Chriſts fleſh or humanity, celebrated by four Evangeliſts, the four Pillars that bare up that ſtory.

This place without the vail was ten yards long and five yards broad: Into this might the Prieſts come, and *Moſes* the Prince by a ſpecial warrant. The furniture of this was, the Shewbread Table, the golden Candleſtick, and the gilded Altar.

SECTION XXXIX.

The Table of Shewbread.

ON the Prieſts right hand, as he walked up this place was the Table of Shewbread, of this form and matter, and for this end.

A table frame was made two cubits long, and a cubit broad, and a cubit and a half high; the matter of it was *Shittim* wood all overlaid with Gold: Equal with the top of the frame was a curious wrought border of Gold, of an hand breadth; the higher edge equal with the top of the frame, and the border ſo broad below; on the higher edge of this border was ſet a golden Crown, which went quite about the frame, and within this Crown was the cover laid; At each corner or foot was faſtned a ſtaple or ring of gold, cloſe by the lower edge of the golden border. As the feet, ſo theſe rings were four, wherein were put ſtaves of *Shittim* wood gilt with Gold, to bear the Table.

Upon this Table were ſet twelve Cakes or Loaves, reſembling the twelve Tribes, who had their daily bread from God. As on *Aarons* ſhoulders, ſix and ſix names of Tribes, ſo on this Table ſix and ſix Cakes, for the Tribes were ſet one upon another. Each Cake had in it two Omers, which meaſure was ſignificative. For ſo much Manna every *Iſraelite* gathered againſt the Sabbath in the Wilderneſs, *Exod.* 16. and on the Sabbath were theſe Cakes ſet on the Table, to put *Iſrael* in mind by the very meaſure and day of their ſuſtenance in the Wilderneſs. Theſe Cakes were called the bread of faces, and the Table, the Table of faces, becauſe they were ſet before God continually; ſhewing that *Iſraels* proviſion was from and before God.

* קערות
* כפות
* מנקיות
* קושות

Under the loweſt Cake was * a golden diſh wherein that Cake lay, and between every Cake was * a golden diſh: on the top of either row lay * a golden diſh whelmed down; and upon that ſtood * a diſh of Gold with Frankincenſe in it. Theſe told *Iſrael* of Gods ſpecial providence toward every ſeveral Tribe.

SECTION XL.

The Golden Candelſtick.

OVER againſt this Table on the South ſide or on the left hand ſtood the golden Candleſtick of one maſſy piece: The form of it was thus; The foot of it was of Gold, from which there went up a ſhaft ſtreight, which was the middle light; near the foot was a golden diſh wrought Almond wiſe, and a little above that a golden knop, and above that a golden flower.

Then iſſued out two branches on either ſide one, which were carried bowed in equal rate they might be brought up ſtreight to be as high as the middle ſhaft out of which they proceeded.

proceeded. Upon either of theſe brances were wrought three golden Cups Almond-wiſe, that is, on ſharp Scollop ſhell faſhion, for ornament; above which was a golden knop or boſs, and above that a golden flower, and near above that the ſocket wherein the light was to be ſet. Thus were theſe two loweſt branches: Above which, in the middle ſhaft was a golden boſs, and then out came two branches more in form juſt like the other; above the coming out of which in the ſhaft was another knop or boſs, and out came two others like the former; from thence the ſhaft upward was decked with three golden Scollop cups or diſhes, a knop and a flower. Thus the head of all the branches ſtood in an equal height and diſtance. Here were ſeven golden Candleſticks repreſenting the ſeven Spirits of the Meſſiah, ſpoken of *Eſay* 11. 2. 3. and from thence by the *Talmudiſts* and *Apocalyptique*. The variety of ſevens here might remember *Iſrael* of the ſeven days of Creation. As the twelve Cakes repreſented the twelve Tribes, ſo the light of the Candleſtick ſet before them, ſignified the light of the Law whereby they were to be guided: And the lights always ſtanding here, as well as the Loaves there, tell *Iſrael* that they have as much need of this as of their daily ſuſtenance.

SECTION XLI.

The Altar of Incenſe.

BEtween the Candleſtick and the Table ſtood the Altar of Incenſe: fitly teaching that it is the incenſe of prayer that ſanctifies both our ſpiritual food ſignified by the light of the Candles, and our bodily food by the loaves. This Altar was made of *Shittim* wood, overlaid with Gold: It was a cubit long, as much broad, and two cubits high. At each corner it had a horn, made of the ſame piece with the corner poſt; Hornes, top and ſide were all gilded with Gold: On the end of the frame upward was ſet *a golden זר זהב
Crown; at the foot of which Crown, on either ſide were ſtruck two golden rings or ſtaples, in which were put two ſtaves of *Shittim* wood, overlaid with Gold to bear this Altar withall. This Altar was ſet near the vail, juſt in the middeſt of the breadth of the room (before the middeſt of the Ark which was within the vail) diſtant from either wall two yards and a quarter. On the north ſide of it ſtood the Table, which being ſet length way to the wall, took up half a yard of the breadth of the houſe: ſo between it and the Altar was a paſſage or way a yard and quarter broad. The Candleſtick was of the ſame breadth with his branches ſpread, that the Table was of length, and ſo was ſet over againſt it, ſhewing five inches between every ſocket, wanting one inch at the whole: This being ſet as far from the wall as the utmoſt edge of the Table that ſtood on the other ſide of the houſe, afforded the ſame ſpace between the Altar and it that the Table did. Thus was the furniture of this place called the Holy. Go into it at the Eaſt end, and look juſt before you, and there is the vail and golden Altar: on your right hand nigh the vail twelve loaves on a golden Table: on your left hand ſeven Lamps burning in ſeven golden Candleſticks made of one piece, by which you ſee golden ſnuffers and diſhes for the cleanſing of the Lamps morning and night. Look upon the walls on either ſide, and you ſee nothing but Gold; over your head, and there you behold pictures of Cherubims curiouſly wrought in rich Curtains: It is not fit every eye ſhould ſee ſo rich a room; therefore to prevent this, the Eaſt end had a hanging like the vail within, of the ſame dimenſions, and of the ſame materials wrought with needle. This was hung upon five Pillars of *Shittim* wood overlaid with Gold, each Pillar was faſtned in a baſe of braſs, and at the top had a golden hook on which the covering hung.

Queſt. Whether was the vail hung within the Pillars or without?

Anſw. Without, ſo that it hid the Pillars from the view of the people, elſe had not the building been uniform, all the Timber of the houſe being hid with hangings, and this not. Thus was the Tabernacle made, with all the furniture of it; Now are we to conſider the outmoſt part of it, or the Court of the people.

SECTION XLII.

Of the Court of the people.

THIS Fabrick of the Tabernacle was incloſed with another pale of curtains hanging round about it. On the South ſide of the houſe, twenty cubits diſtant from the houſe, were ſet a row of *Shittim* Pillars, twenty in number: Each Pillar was ſet in a baſe of braſs diſtant from each other five cubits, counting from the middle of one Pillar to another. So that the twenty made a length of an hundred cubits: in each Pillar was ſtruck a hook of ſilver, and each Pillar had a border of ſilver wrought about it. Thus were

were they on the South ſide, juſt ſo were they on the North. At the Weſt end, thirty five cubits from the houſe were ſet ten Pillars in the ſame manner and diſtance, making the breadth of the Court fifty cubits at either end, for juſt in the middle, the houſe took up ten cubits breadth: juſt ſo were the Pillars ſet at the Eaſt end, at the ſame diſtance from the houſe, and from one another. On the ſides upon the hooks of the Pillars were hangings faſtned, made of linnen well twiſted, of an hundred cubits in length and five in height; At the Weſt end were the like, juſt half ſo long, and juſt ſo high: At the Eaſt end there was ſome difference, for that had three pieces to make it up. On either ſide of the entrance was a piece hung of fifteen cubits long, and of the ſame height: Juſt in the middle was a piece of twenty cubits long; of the ſame height with the other hangings, but of more rich ſtuff; for whereas the other were made only of linnen, this was of the ſame ſtuff that the rich curtains were, curiouſly wrought with the needle. To faſten theſe hangings that they might not flie up in the lower end, there were cords faſtned to them, and theſe cords tied to braſen pins, which pins were faſtned in the ground, and ſo made all ſure. Thus were alſo the curtains that covered the houſe ſerved with pins of the ſame metal, with cords faſtned to them in like manner, to prevent the like inconvenience. So was the Court called the Court of the People, becauſe into this the people had entrance, as well as the Prieſts and Levites.

SECTION XLIII.

Of the Altar of Burnt Offerings.

IN the Court of the people ſtood the Altar of burnt ſacrifice up toward the Tabernacle, that the people might ſtand to behold the ſacrifice offered, with their faces toward the holy place; only the Laver ſtood above the Altar between it and the Tabernacle.

This Altar was made of *Shittim* wood, five cubits or two yards and a half long, and as much broad, and one yard and a half high, thus made: Firſt a ſtrong frame like the frame of a Table of theſe dimenſions: The open places in the frame were made up with boards. All this bulk was overlaid with braſs, at each corner was a horn made of the ſame wood and piece that each corner poſt was of. Thus ſtood it hollow, and within the hollow, juſt in the middle between bottom and top, was ſet a braſen grate made in manner of a net, that the Aſhes might fall through; upon this grate the fire burnt continually and never went out. At each corner of this grate was a braſen ring, which at each corner came through the Altar frame and hung out of the frame; in theſe rings were ſtaves of *Shittim* wood overlaid with braſs, put, which made the frame, and the grate ſure together, and ſo were they alſo carried together.

To this Altar belonged divers appurtenances made of braſs: As firſt braſen Pans, in which they carryed forth the Aſhes of the Altar. As alſo braſen ſhovels to ſcrape the Aſhes together. Then braſen baſons wherein to take the blood of the ſacrifice: Braſen hooks, with which they turned the burning pieces into the fire if any part lay out, that ſo every part might be ſurely burnt. Laſtly, braſen diſhes or Cenſors, in which the Prieſts took burning coals from the Altar to carry into the Holy place, there to offer Incenſe.

SECTION XLIV.

Of the Laver for water.

IN this Court alſo ſtood a veſſel of braſs, upon a foot or baſe of braſs, in which veſſel water was kept for the Prieſts waſhing themſelves, &c. The form of this is not expreſſed in the Text, therefore we will look only at the matter and the end. This veſſel was made of braſen bright pieces, which the women uſed to look their faces in: and out of this piece water was taken when a ſuſpected woman was to be tryed. The end why this was ſet ſo nigh the Altar was, that the Prieſts might waſh themſelves when they went about the Service of the Tabernacle, and that they might waſh ſome part of the Sacrifices. This Laver fitly reſembled the water of Baptiſm that admits us to ſacred Myſteries, and chiefly the blood of Chriſt that cleanſeth us from all filthineſs of fleſh and ſpirit.

SECTION XLVI.

High Prieſts Garments.

NEXT unto his fleſh he had a coat wrought checker work, this reacht down to his heels: ſuch a coat as this each one of his Sons had, *Exod.* 39. 27. This was made of fine linnen: and it was girded to him about his loyns, with a needle wrought girdle, of divers colours. כתונת תשבץ

About this he put another coat, called the coat of the Ephod, becauſe the Ephod, being put upon this did gird it. This coat was of all one ſtuff and colour, namely, of fine yarn dyed purple. This coat he put not on after the ordinary faſhion of putting on coats which were open before, but this he put on like a Surpleſs, over his head, for it had a hole in the top where-through he put his head, and this hole was edged about with an edging of the ſame ſtuff woven in, that the hole ſhould not rent. At the skirts of this coat, were made Pomegranates of linnen and woollen of divers colours, and Bells of gold, ſo that there were a Bell and a Pomegranate, a Bell and a Pomegranate, round about: This coat was not ſo long as the under coat, for then the Bells would have drawn on the ground, and would not have been heard, which to have miſſed had been death to *Aaron:* this repreſented to the Prieſts, that the ſound of good doctrine, and fruit of good living, muſt always be about them, as theſe Bells and Pomegranates: This coat alſo did fitly reſemble Chriſts humane Nature. Firſt, as this was of one ſtuff without mixture, ſo that, without corruption. Secondly, as this was put on after an extraordinary manner, ſo Chriſt put on humanity by an extraordinary conception and generation. Thirdly, as was the edge about the hole to keep it from renting, ſuch was the unſeparable union of Chriſts two natures. Fourthly, as were the Bells and Pomegranates, ſuch were his life and doctrine. מעיל האפוד

SECTION XLVII.

High Prieſts Ephod.

ABove this he put the Ephod, the materials of which were fine yarn or threds dyed blew, and purple, and ſcarlet, and with every thred of theſe, was twiſted a thred of gold, fitly ſhewing the purity and holineſs of the Prieſt in every action, as alſo moſt fitly reſembling the luſtre of the diety ſhining in each of Chriſts humane actions. אפוד

The word *Ephod* doth generally ſignifie any thing that girdeth a man, ſo the word originally ſignifies. More particularly it betokens garments or other things uſed in divine ſervice: So *Samuel* miniſtred before *Eli* in a linnen Ephod, or a linnen coat girded to him. So *David* when he brought up the Ark to *Jeruſalem*, being deſirous to be as Prieſt-like as he might, he was cloathed with ſuch a garment, a linnen Ephod: So the abomination which *Gideon* made *Judg.* 8. 27. is called an Ephod. Becauſe he made it to reſemble that Ephod which he had ſeen upon the High Prieſt at *Shiloh.* Moſt eſpecially the Ephod ſignifies the upmoſt garment of the High Prieſt when he ſerved at the Altar or Tabernacle. The form of this was ſomewhat like the aprons, which ſome workmen wear, tyed over their ſhoulders and covering their breaſt: Such was this, a rich piece of ſtuff, of the materials before named, the breadth of the Prieſts breaſt; at either ſide it had a ſhoulder piece of the ſame piece, which went over the Prieſts ſhoulders and were faſtned behind one to another: Before his breaſt the piece came down to his paps, and there was the lower edg of it, upon which was woven a piece to gird it withall, of the ſame ſtuff and piece, ſo that it was girded over his paps or heart; whence *John* ſpeaketh, when he ſaith he ſaw Chriſt girded about the Paps with a golden girdle, *Apoc.* 1. 13. Upon the ſhoulder pieces were two precious ſtones ſet in ouches of gold, one on the one ſide, and another on the other. The ſtones were שהם or Beryl, vulgarly Onyx, the ſtone which among the twelve belonged to *Joſeph.* In theſe two ſtones were ingraven the names of the twelve Tribes of *Iſrael*, ſix on one and ſix on another.

Thus when the Prieſt appeared before the Lord, he bare the charge of all *Iſrael* upon his ſhoulders: A full reſemblance of Chriſt.

Upon the ſhoulder pieces likewiſe were two boſſes of gold near to theſe ſtones, unto which the gold chains that tyed the Breaſt-plate to the Ephod, were made ſo faſt that they might not part one from another. Thus was the curious work of the Ephod, with its girdle and other apurtenances, a full ſignification of the precioufneſs, and yet heavy charge of the Prieſthood.

SECTION

SECTION XLVIII.

The Breaſt-plate.

חשן המשפט UPON the Ephod was the Breaſt-plate faſtned; it was called the Breaſt-plate of Judgement, becauſe from it God anſwered by *Urim* and *Thummim*, *Numb.* 27. 21. The materials of this were the ſame that the Ephods were, *viz.* Fine yarn or thread, of various colours, and a thread of gold twiſted with each, which thread woven together, made as it were cloath of gold. This Breaſt-plate was of this cloath, of ſuch a piece, as when it was foulded double, was a juſt ſquare of a ſpan every way: Thus as the beſt part of all the Tabernacle, *viz.* the moſt holy, was a perfect ſquare, ſo is the beſt piece of *Aarons* garments. This piece was double, becauſe of the weight of the ſtones in it, which required that it ſhould be ſtrong.

In this piece were twelve precious ſtones, ſet in four rows, three in a row, every ſtone bearing upon it the Name of a Tribe.

First, 1. *Ruben*, 2. *Simeon*, 3. *Levi*.
Second, 1. *Judah*, 2. *Iſſachar*, 3. *Zebulun*.
Third, 1. *Dan*, 2. *Naphthali*, 3. *Gad*.
Fourth, 1. *Aſher*, 2. *Joſeph*, 3. *Benjamin*.

SECTION XLIX.

Of the Urim and Thummim.

THat *Urim* and *Thummim* ſhould be nothing but the name *Jehovah* written and put into the Breaſt-plate, as ſome have held, ſavours more of exorciſm than a divine Oracle. Or that the luſtre, or dimneſs of the twelve ſtones ſhould be the Oracle, as others, is as ſtrange a fancy as the former, if we conſider the particulars of Anſwers that have been given; As among others, that of *Davids*, Whither ſhall I go? the *Urim* anſwered, to *Hebron*.

This impoſſibility others having eſpyed, have averred that the *Urim* conſiſted of the names of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, and the Twelve Tribes, and that when a queſtion was asked, the letters that ſerved to give the anſwer, either roſe up above the others, or elſe met ſtrangely together, and made words to give an anſwer. But if the letter *Teth* were to be ſpelled in the anſwer where was it to be had?

Leaving then theſe and other conjectures, let us ſee what light the Scripture will give us concerning theſe things.

First, *Urim* and *Thummim* were not two things, but one and the ſame thing, and for this reaſon, they are called ſometime by a ſingle name, *Num.* 27, 21. 1 *Sam.* 28. 6. &c.

Secondly, the ſtones in the High Prieſts Breaſt-plate, are called the *Urim* and *Thummim*, *Exod.* 28. 30.

Thirdly, when God anſwered by *Urim* and *Thummim*, the anſwer was not given by any appearance in theſe ſtones, but by the mouth of the Prieſt, *Numb.* 27. 21.

Fourthly, the Prieſt when he was to receive his anſwer, was to have the Ephod on, 1 *Sam.* 23. 9.

Laſtly, the Prieſt when he was to receive an anſwer, ſtood before the Ark, *Judg.* 20. 27, 28.

The manner then of inquiring of the Lord by *Urim* and *Thummim*, was thus.

The things to be inquired of muſt be of weight and generalty: for the ſtones repreſented the Judgment of all the people, *Exod.* 28. 30. therefore the inquiry by them muſt concern the general: Such was the general queſtion at *Shiloh*, *Judg.* 1. 2. *Who ſhall firſt ſet upon the Canaanites?* Such was that of all *Iſrael*: *Shall I ſhall go up againſt my Brother* Benjamin? *Judg.* 20. 23. and divers others.

When ſuch a ſcruple was to be reſolved, it was told to the High Prieſt what he ſhould ask: So did *David* wiſh *Abimelech* the High Prieſt at *Nob* to enquire whether his journey ſhould proſper, 1 *Sam.* 22. 10. So did the *Danites* to the fained Idolatrous High Prieſts, *Judg.* 18. 5. The Prieſt knowing what to ask, put on the Ephod and Breſt-plate, which hung unſeparably at it. This do *Davids* words mean, when he ſaith to *Abiathar* the Prieſt, Bring hither the Ephod, 1 *Sam.* 23. 9. And for this it was that *Abiathar* made ſure of the Ephod, when he fled from bleeding *Nob*, 1 *Sam.* 23. 6. Without the ſtones on his breaſt, the Prieſt enquired not: for the ſtones repreſented *Iſrael*, and when the Prieſt brought them before the Lord, he brought as it were *Iſrael* and their matters before him. To go without theſe was to go without his errand. If *Sauls* conſcience could have told him off no other cauſe why God would not anſwer him, as it might many, yet he might ſee this to be one reaſon undoubted, *viz.* Becauſe though he had the Ark near him, yet had he neither High Prieſt nor Ephod: and ſeeing his croſs in this that he could not be anſwered, his conſcience might tell him what he did when he ſlew the Prieſts of the Lord.

When

When the Prieſt knew what to enquire about, and had put on theſe habiliments, he went and ſtood before the Ark of the Lord, and enquired about the matter, and the Lord anſwered him from off the Propitiatory from between the Cherubims, and ſo the Prieſt anſwered the People. Now there was ſome difference in the Prieſts manner of inquiring, according to the ſituation of the Ark, when the Tabernacle was up, the Prieſt went into the holy Place, and ſtood cloſe by the vail which parted the holy from the moſt holy, and there inquired, and God from between the Cherubims which were within the vail, gave him an anſwer.

But when the Tabernacle was down, or the Ark diſtant from the Tabernacle, travelling up and down, then did the Prieſt in his Robes ſtand before the Ark, as it ſtood covered with the curtains, and enquired, and the anſwer was given him, in behalf of *Iſrael* whom God ſaw on his breaſt: For this reaſon the ſtones, for whoſe ſakes the *perfect light* of reſolution was given, are called the *perfect light* or *Urim* and *Thummim*, and the anſwer given from the Prieſts mouth is called the anſwer by *Urim* and *Thummim*.

David once enquired of the Prieſt, having the Ephod, but wanting the Ark, and God anſwered him, and ſhewed that God was not bound to means. On the contrary *Saul* once enquired of the Ark, wanting the Ephod, and God anſwered him not, ſhewing him how God honoured his Prieſts whom *Saul* had diſhonoured, even to the Sword.

Thus have we ſeen the Breaſt-plates form, richneſs and glory. Form, four ſquare a ſpan every way: the richneſs, it was ſet with twelve precious ſtones: the glory, that for the ſake of theſe ſtones, that is, for their ſakes whoſe names theſe ſtones bare, God revealed ſecrets to his people. See this breaſt-plate faſtened to the Ephod, and you ſee *Aaron* the High Prieſt arrayed in his glorious garments. At each corner of the breaſt-plate, was a golden ring faſtned. On the upper ſide of the piece, juſt upon the edge, was laid a little golden chain, which ran like an edging lace upon the edge, and was brought through the two rings, which were at either corner one, and the ends of the chains were made faſt to boſſes or loops of gold which were on the ſhoulder pieces of the Ephod by the Onyx ſtones. At the lower edg of the breaſt-plate was an edging chain, carried juſt in the ſame manner that the other was, through two gold rings, and the chains tyed to the embroidered girdle of the Ephod, as the other were to the ſhoulder pieces. Breaſt-plate and Ephod might not be parted, no more than might the Staves and Ark.

SECTION L.

The erection of the Tabernacle.

IN the year of the World two thouſand five hundred and fourteen, which was the ſecond year current of *Iſraels* departure out of *Ægypt*, in the month *Abib*, or the firſt month *Stilo novo*, in the firſt day of the month, *Moſes* ſet up the Sanctuary under mount *Sinai*, and this was the manner of his ſetting it up.

He laid the ſilver foundations in their ranks, and in them he ſet up the planks and ſtrengthened them with the five bars, linking them alſo together at the top with a golden haſp. He ſet up the four Pillars in the houſe whereon to hang the vail, and the five pillars at the Eaſt end whereon to hang that vail alſo. He ſet the Ark in the moſt holy place, hanging up the vail before it. In the holy place he ſet the Table and Shew-bread on the North ſide, and the Candleſtick on the South, and the Altar of perfume, juſt in the middle betwixt them: And at the Eaſt end he hung up the vail to keep theſe things from vulgar eyes.

The Altar and Laver he ſet up before the entrance, and incompaſſed them, and the Tabernacle it ſelf with a pale of hangings round about.

Thus was the Sanctuary erected, and was lovely to them that beheld it, being the glory and the ſtrength of *Iſrael*. Then did the cloud of glory flit from off the Tent of *Moſes*, and lighted upon the Sanctuary, and dwelt there more glorioufly than on the other.

And thus endeth Exodus *in a cloud, under which we are to look for a more perfect Tabernacle, not made with hands, nor of this building, in which the God-head ſhould dwell bodily.*

FINIS.

A

COMMENTARY

UPON THE

Acts of the Apostles:

CHRONICAL & CRITICAL.

The Difficulties of the Text Explained,

And the times of the Story cast into ANNALS.

The First Part.

From the beginning of the BOOK, to the end of the Twelfth CHAPTER.

With a brief Survey of the Contemporary Story of the

JEWS and ROMANS.

By *JOHN LIGHTFOOT* D.D.

LONDON,

Printed by *W. R.* for *Robert Scott*, *Thomas Basset*, *John Wright*, and *Richard Chiswell*.

MDCLXXXII.

A CHRONICAL TABLE of the chief Stories Contained in this BOOK.

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In the Empire.

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He now in Capreæ, *having forsaken the City, living in all filthiness and cruelty,* 770.
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Strange accusing, 771.
The boldness of Sejanus *and* Terentius, 772.
Divers cruelties more, and other occurrencies, ibid.
Tiberius *troubled in mind,* 773.

Among the Jews.

A Commotion among them occasioned by Pilate, ibid.

Occurrences in the year of Christ XXXIV. Tiberius XIX.

In the Church.

Act. 6. Hellenists *murmuring against the* Hebrews,
Seven Deacons *chosen, And their office,* 777. &c. 780, &c.
Act. 7. Stephen *Martyred,* 785.
Act. 8. *Bitter persecution against the whole Church,* ibid.
Dispersion of the hundred and eight upon the Persecution, 786.
Samaria *receiveth the Gospel,* ibid.
Simon Magus, 787.
The Holy Ghost given by impostion of hands. 789, &c.
The Ethiopian Eunuch *converted,* ibid.
Act. 9. *to ver.* 10. Paul *converted and baptized,*

In the Empire.

Velleius Paterculus *flourisheth,* 795.
Troubles in Rome *about Usury* 796, &c.
Tiberius *still most bloudily cruel,* ibid.
Strang accusations among the People, ibid.
Marius *and his daughter wrongfully slaughtered,* ibid.
The miserable end of Asinius Gallus, *and* Nerva, ibid.
The miserable end of Agrippina *and* Drusius, ibid.
Other Massacres, ibid.

Occurrences in the Year of Christ XXXV. Tiberius XX.

In the Church.

No particular occurrence of the Church mentioned this year, 801.

In the Empire.

Tiberius *Reign proclaimed for ten years longer, and the Consuls punished for it,* ibid.
Many cruelties of the Emperour, 802.
A feigned Drusus, ib.

Among the Jews.

A commotion and slaughter of them caused by Pilate, 803
Philip *the Tetrach of* Trachonitis *dyeth,* ib.

Occurrences in the year of Christ XXXVI. Tiberius XXI.

In the Church.

No particular Occurrence mentioned this year.

Among the Jews.

Vitellius *Governour of* Judea, *he cometh to* Jerusalem, 809.
is courteous to the Jews,
Caiaphas *removed from the High Priesthood,* 810.

In the Empire.

A Rebellion in Parthia, ib.
Tiberius *still cruel and shameless,* 811.

Occurrences in the year of Christ XXXVII. Tiberius XXII.

In the Church.

Paul *cometh to* Jerusalem, 813. Act. 9.
The Disciples afraid of him, 814. *vers.* 23,
Persecution lasteth yet, ib. &c. *to*
Paul *presented to the Apostles; preacheth boldly, is persecuted, and goeth to* Tarsus, 815. *vers.* 32.

In the Empire.

The Parthian *War yet uncomposed,* 816, 817.
Artabanus *restored to his Kingdom,* ib.
A commotion in Cappadocia, ib.
Cruelties at Rome, ib.
Mishaps there through fire and water, ib.
The death of Thrasyllus *the Astrologer,* ib.

Among the Jews.

A commotion in Samaria, 818, &c.
Pilate *put out of Office,* ib.
Agrippa *his journey to* Rome, ib.
His imprisoment there, ib.
War betwixt Herod *the Tetrach, and* Aretas *King of* Arabia, ib.

Occurrences in the year of Christ XXXVIII. Tiberius XXIII.

Being also the first year of *Caius,*

No particular Occurrence of the Church specified this year.

In the Empire.

Macro *all base,* 823.
A wicked woman, 824.
Preparations of War against Aretas, 825, &c.
An Omen *to* Agrippa *in Chains,* ib.
Tiberius *near his end,* ib.
His choice of a successor, ib.
Tiberius *his Death,* ib.
Caius *his successor,* ib.
Tiberius *in a manner cruel being dead,* ib.

Agrippa

Agrippa *in perplexity and enlarged*, 825,&c.
His diſſimulation, ib.
He beginneth to ſhew himſelf in his own colours, ib.
His cruelty, ib.
Young Tiberius *brought to a miſerable end*, ib.

Occurrences in the year of
Chriſt XXXIX. Caius II.
No Occurrence of the Church mentioned this year.

In the Empire.
Cruelties at Rome, 831.
An end of Macro, 832.

Among the Jews.
Great troubles of the Jews *in* Alexandria, 832,&c.
Agrippa *at* Alexandria *abuſed*, ib.
A Pageant of one and more madmen, ib.
Sad outrages upon the Jews, ib.
Caius *will be a God*, ib.
More of their Miſeries, ib.
Agrippa *in his own kingdom*, ib.

Yet more Occurrences in the Empire.
Caius *the new God, little better than a Devil*, 836.&c.
Many and many cruelties of his, ib.

Occurrences in the year of
Chriſt XL. Caius III.
In the Church.
Act. 9. Peter *viſiting divers parts*, 839,840.
ver. 32. *Yet not at* Antioch *in this viſitation*, ib.
Act. 10. Dorcas *raiſed*, 841.
Cornelius *converted*, 842.
The keys of the kingdom of Heaven now only uſed, 845.
The Holy Ghoſt given to the Gentiles, 847.

In the Empire.
Caius *ſtill cruel*, 848,&c.
A moſt inhumane cruelty, ib.
Caius *his luxury and prodigality*, ib.
His ſtrange bridge of Ships, ib.
His covetouſneſs, ib.

Among the Jews.
Herod *and* Herodias *before the Emperour*, 852.
The Alexandrian Jews *ſtill perplexed*, ib.
Flaccus *his downfall*, ib.
The Jews *ſtill diſtreſſed for all that*, ib.

Occurrences in the year of
Chriſt XLI. Caius Caligula IV.
In the Chuhch.
Antioch *receiveth the Goſpel*, 855.
Act. 11. ver. 19. to ver. 26. Barnabas *cometh thither*, ib.

Among the Jews.
Troubles at Jamnia, 856,&c.
Caius, *his image to be ſet up in the Temple, cauſing troubles*, ib.
Petronius *his Letter hereupon to the Emperour*, ib.
Agrippa *his mediation for the* Jews, ib.
Flaccus Avilius *his end*, ib.
The Ambaſſadors of the Alexandrian Jews *before the Emperour* Apion, ib.
Philo *the* Jew *and his Writings*, ib.

In the Empire.
Caius *ſtill fooliſh and cruel*, 862.
Caius *profane*, ib.

Occurrences in the year of
Chriſt XXII. Caius V. Claudius I.
In the Empire.
Caius *his death contrived*, 865, &c.
The manner of his death, ib.
The ſequel, ib.
Diſſention about the government, ib.
Claudius, ib.
Cæſonia *and her child ſlain*, ib.
Claudius *made Emperour*, ib.
His demeanour at the beginning, ib.

In the Church.
The name of Chriſtian *firſt uſed*, 871. Act. 11. ver. 26.

Among the Jews.
The Theraputæ, 872.
The affairs of the Jews *in* Alexandria *and* Babylonia, ib.
The rebellion of ſome Jews, ib.

Occurrences in the year of
Chriſt XLIII. Claudius II.
In the Church.
A famine in Judea *and all the world*, 877.
Paul *rapt into the third heaven*, ib. Act. 11.
Peter *not this year at* Rome, 888. ver. 28.

Among the Jews.
Herod Agrippa *his coming to* Jeruſalem, 879,&c.
Imperial acts in behalf of the Jews, ib.
Peter *not impriſoned this ſecond year of* Claudius, ib.

In the Empire.
The Moors ſubdued, 881.
Claudius *beginneth to be cruel, and his Empreſs* Meſſalina *wicked*, ib.

Occurrences in the year of
Chriſt XLIV. Claudius III.
In the Church.
The martyrdomn of James *the great*, 883.
Concerning the Apoſtles Creed, 884.
Concerning Traditions, 885.
Peters *impriſonment and delivery*. ib.

In the Empire.
Some actions of Claudius, 887.
Meſſalina *abominably wicked*, ib.
An expedition into England, ib.
A whoriſh trick of Meſſalina, ib.

Among the Jews.
The fatal end of Herod Agrippa, 889.

THE

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

CHAP. I.

Verſ. 1. *The former Treatiſe have I made*, &c.

THE *Syrian* and *Arabick* render it, *The former* * *book have I written:* and ſo is the Greek word λόγος uſed in Heathen Authors, not only for an oration by word of mouth, but alſo for a Treatiſe or Diſcourſe that is done in writing; as might be proved by many examples. I ſhall only give one as parallel to the phraſe that we have in hand; as the Author himſelf is unparallel to our Evangeliſts in matter of truth; and that is, *Lucian* in his title of the firſt book of true Hiſtory, Ἀληθῶς ἱστορίας λόγος πρῶτος.

* כתבא by which word they render βίβλος: *Matth.*1.1.

Now the Evangeliſt at his entry into this Hiſtory, mentioneth *the former Treatiſe* of his Goſpel, becauſe this Treatiſe of *The Acts of the Apoſtles* taketh at that; and as that contained the Life and Doctrine of our Saviour himſelf, ſo doth this the like of his Apoſtles. And therefore the words immediately following, *Of all that Jeſus began to do*, may not unfitly be interpreted to ſuch a meaning, that *Jeſus began*, and his Apoſtles finiſhed: though it is true indeed, that in Scripture phraſe *to begin to do*, and *to do*, do ſound to one and the ſame ſenſe, as *Matth.*12.1. compared with *Luke* 6.1. *Mark* 6.2. compared with *Matth.*13.54. &c.

Now the method that the Evangeliſt preſcribes unto himſelf, and followeth in this Book is plainly this. From the beginning of the Book to the end of the twelfth Chapter, he diſcourſeth the ſtate of the Church and Goſpel among the Jews; and from thence forward to the end of the Book he doth the like, of the ſame among the Gentiles: and therfore accordingly, although the title of the Book be *The Acts of the Apoſtles*, as of the Apoſtles in general; yet doth he more ſingularly ſet himſelf to follow the ſtory of the two Apoſtles *Peter* and *Paul: Peters* to the 13 Chapter, and *Pauls* after; becauſe that theſe two were more peculiarly the fixed Miniſters of the circumciſion, and of the uncircumciſion, *Gal.*2.8. and ſo doth *Moſes* intitle a reckoning of the heads of the Fathers houſes of all the Tribes of *Iſrael* in general, *Exod.*6.14. and yet he fixeth at the Tribe of *Levi*, and goeth no further; becauſe the ſubject of his Story lay eſpecially in that Tribe, in *Moſes* and *Aaron*.

§. *Of all that Jeſus began to do and to teach.*

Not that *Luke* wrote all things that *Jeſus* did, nor indeed could they be written, *John* 21.25. but that, 1. He wrote all thoſe things that were neceſſary, and not to be omitted. *Theophylact* and *Calvin*. 2. πάντα may be taken for πολλά, *all* for *many*; as it is frequently done in Scripture. 3. And chiefly, that he wrote ſomething of all the heads of Chriſts actions and doctrine; for he ſaith not πάντα, but περὶ πάντων, *Camerarius*. Or, 4. As the woman of *Samaria* ſaith, that Chriſt had told her *all things that ever ſhe did*, Joh. 4. 29. whereas he told her but ſome few particulars; but they were ſuch, as whereby ſhe was convinced he could tell her all: So though *Luke* did not ſpecifie all and every action and doctrine of Chriſt that ever he did and taught; yet did he write of ſuch, as whereby it was moſt clear that Chriſt was the Meſſias.

Year of Christ XXXIII. Vers. 2. *After that he through the Holy Ghost had given commandments to the Apostles whom he had chosen.*

There is some diversity in pointing and reading this Verse: some take it in the order and posture that our English hath it; applying the words *through the Holy Ghost*, to Christs giving commandments; and read it thus, *after he had given commandments through the Holy Ghost:* and so doth the *Vulgar Latine*, *Theophylact*, *Marlorat*, and indeed the pointing, in the best Copies. Others, as the *Syrian*, *Arabick*, and *Beza*, with them conjoyn it thus, *Giving commandments to the Apostles whom he had chosen by the Holy Ghost.* Now in the main thing it self, there is not so much difference, as to make any great scruple or matter how the words are pointed; for Christ may as well be said to command his Disciples by the Holy Ghost, as to chuse them by the Holy Ghost; and so *e contra.* But it is material to consider,

First, That it is more proper by far to conceive Christ acting the Holy Ghost upon the Disciples, and that when they were called; than his acting him in himself in calling them.

Secondly, That there is no mention at all of such an acting of the Holy Ghost in the Disciples choosing; but there is expresly at their receiving their charge; and therefore not only the pointing of the Text, and the consent of divers Copies, Expositors and Interpreters that read as our English doth; but even the very thing it self, and truth and evidence of Story require that it should be so read: Now, why Christ should be said to give commandment *through the Holy Ghost*; and what commandment this was that was so given to them, is much in controversie.

There is mention indeed of Christ breathing of the Holy Ghost upon them, *Joh.* 20.22. and of a commandment or two given them afterward, as *To go teach all Nations*, *Matth.* 28.19. and *to abide at* Jerusalem *till the promise of the Father*, Act. 1.4. And the exposition and interpretation that is commonly given of these words doth sense them thus, That Christ by the vertue of the Holy Ghost in himself did give them these commands: Whereas it is far more agreeable to the stile and phrase of Scripture, to expound them in another sense; namely, that Christ by the Holy Ghost infused into his Disciples did command them; not by the words of his own mouth, but by the direction of his Spirit within them: and so the Prophets were commanded, *Zech.* 1.6. where the LXX use the same Greek word.

For, first, else to what purpose did he breath the Holy Ghost upon them, and bid them receive it? Sure they had something beside the Ceremony of breathing, bestowed upon them; and what can that be conceived to be, if not the Holy Ghost, to inform them of what they yet knew not, and to direct them what he would have them to do?

Secondly, It is therefore observable, that on Pentecost day they received Δύναμιν, *vers.* 8. and *Luke* 24.49. *Power* and abilities to execute their charge: for indeed their charge was given them by Christ before. Now Christ was not with them continually to talk with them and to instruct them, but came by times among them, and away again: and therefore on the very first night that he appeared unto them, he distributed the Holy Ghost among them, to be their constant instructer, and injoyner what they were to do, in that calling and employment to which they were ingaged: and the fruit of one of these instructions and injunctions by the Holy Ghost within them, was the choosing of *Matthias.*

Vers. 3. *To whom also he shewed himself alive after his passion, by many infallible proofs.*

§. *The History of the resurrection, and Christs several apparitions after it.*

(a) *Luke* 24.1. On the first day of the week (*a*) very early in the morning, (*b*) when it began to
(b) *Matt.*28.1. dawn (*c*) while it was yet dark, *Mary Magdalen*, and the other *Mary* (*d*) the wife of
(c) *Joh.*20.1. *Cleopas*, and (*e*) mother of *James* and *Joses*; and (*f*) *Salome* (*g*) the mother of *Zebe-*
(d) *Joh.*19.25. *dees* children; and (*h*) *Joanna* the wife of *Chusa*, *Herods* Steward; and other women
(e) *Luke* 24.10. *Mark* 15.48. that were with them set out to see the Sepulchre, and brought the Spices with them that
(f) *Mark* 16.1 they had prepared. And as they went, they (*k*) said, *Who shall roul the Stone away for us?*
(g) Compare *Matth.*27.56.& *Mark* 15.40. But when they came to the Sepulchre (*l*) the Sun being by this time risen, they found the
(h) *Luke* 24.10 stone rolled away: For there had been (*m*) a great earthquake, and the Angel of the
(i) *Luke* 8.3. Lord had descended from Heaven and rouled back the stone from the door, and sate upon
(k) *Mark* 16.3 it: as the Women came unto the Sepulchre, they saw this (*n*) Angel like a young man,
(l) *Mark* 16.2. (m) *Matth.*28.2 sitting on the right hand of the entry in, in a long white robe, and they were sore
(n) *Mark* 16.5 troubled. (*o*) But he said unto them, Fear ye not, I know that ye seek Jesus which was
(o) *Matth.*28.5 *Mark* 16.6. crucified; he is not here, for he is risen; come see the place where they laid him.

And

And (p) they entred into the Cave, and found not the Body in the Sepulchre; but there they see (q) two Angels more in shining garments; the one at the head, and the other at the feet where the body had lain, (r) who spake to them, Why seek ye the dead among the living? *Year of Christ* XXXIII.
(p) *Luke* 24. 3. (q) *Joh.*12.12. (r) *Luke* 24.5.

(s) The Women having seen this, go in haste and tell the Disciples. (t) Whereupon *Peter* and *John* run to the Sepulchre, and see the linnen cloaths, but see not the Angels. (u) When they were gone home again, *Mary Magdalen*, who had again followed them to the Sepulchre, standing at the door seeth the Angels again within, and turning her self she seeth Jesus without, whom at first she took for the Gardiner. (s) *Ibid.*9. *Mark* 16.8. (t) Joh.20.2,3, 4, &c. (u) *Ibid.*10.11. &c.

So that the first apparition of our Saviour being risen was to her alone, *Joh.* 20. *vers.* 11. to 19. 1. *Apparition.*

The same day he appeareth to the two men that went to *Emmaus*, *Luke* 24. 13. the one of them was *Cleopas*, *vers.*18. the Father of *James* and *Joses*, and the husband of the other *Mary*; Compare *John* 19. 25. and *Matth.* 15. 40. and the other was *Simon Peter*, *Luke* 24.34. 1 *Cor.*15.5. 2. *Apparition.*

That night he appeareth to the twelve, as the Apostle calls them, 1 *Cor.*15.5. or to the eleven, and them that were with them, *Luke* 24.36,39. 3. *Apparition.*

John 20. 19, 20. and sheweth them his hands and feet, and eateth a piece of broiled fish and an honey-comb with them, *Luke* 24.43.

Eight days after he appeareth to the Disciples, and convinceth *Thomas*, *Joh.*20.26. 4. *Apparition.*

At the Sea of *Tiberias* he appeareth again to seven of his Disciples, and fore-telleth *Peter* of his suffering for the Gospel, *Joh.* 21. This *John* calleth his third appearing, *vers.*24. namely, which he had made to any number of his Disciples together, and which *John* himself had mentioned. 5. *Apparition.*

On a mountain in Galilee he sheweth himself to the eleven, *Matth.*28.16. and to five hundred brethren at once, 1 *Cor.*15.6. for so it may be supposed; seeing *Galilee* and this mountain was the place of rendevouz that he had appointed, not only from the time of his resurrection, *Matth.*28.7. but even before his passion, *Matth.* 26.32 and to this convention seemeth the word συναλιζόμενος in the next verse to have reference: of which in its proper place. 6. *Apparition.*

The Apostle mentioneth another appearance of his to *James*, 1 *Cor.* 15. 7. But neither do any of the Evangelists tell when, or where it was, nor make they mention of any such thing; nor doth *Paul* determine which *James* it was. 7. *Apparition.*

Lastly, He appeared to all the Apostles, 1 *Cor.* 15. 7. being gathered to *Jerusalem* by his appointment, *Acts* 1.4. and thence he led them forth to *Bethany*, and was taken up, *Luke* 24. 50. 8. *Apparition.*

§. *By many infallible Proofs.*

Ἐν πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις, *By many Signs*, say the *Syrian* and *Arabick*: *Arguments*, saith the *Vulgar Latine*: But the word includeth Signs of undoubted truth, and arguments of undoubted demonstration; and accordingly hath our English well expressed it, *By infallible proofs*. These were very many, exhibited and shewed by Christ, which evidenced his resurrection: and they may be reduced to these three purposes.

First, To shew that he was truly alive again, as his eating, walking, conferring and conversing with his Disciples.

Secondly, To shew that he had a true and real body, as offering himself to be handled, as *Luke* 24.39.

Thirdly, To shew that it was the same body that suffered, when he sheweth the scars in his hands, feet, and sides, as *Joh.*20.20,27.

Every apparition that are reckoned before, and are mentioned by the Evangelists, had one or more of these demonstrations; and yet were there certain appearances, and divers such proofs, which are not recorded, *Joh.*20.30.

§. *Being seen of them forty days.*

Δι' ἡμερῶν, saith *Theophylact*, not ἐν ἡμέραις: *For that Christ was not continually conversing with his Disciples, but he came among them at certain times*; Yet do the Syrian and Arabick, translate it *in Forty days*.

Forty years after this, a year for a day (as *Numb.*14.33,34.) was *Jerusalem* destroyed, and the Nation of the Jews rooted out; because they would not believe in Christ, who had so mightily declared himself to be the Son of God, by his Resurrection from the dead, and who had so plainly declared his Resurrection from the dead, by so many appearings, and infallible proofs for forty days.

Year of Christ XXXIII. And that the sin might be fully legible in the Judgment, they were besieged and closed up in *Jerusalem*, at a Passover, as at a Passover they had slain and crucified the Lord of life: Now, that this remarkable work of the Lords Justice upon this Nation, in suiting their judgment thus parallel to their sin and unbelief, in regard of these years, and this time of the year may be the more conspicuous to the mind of the Reader; for the present, it will not be much amiss to lay down the times of the *Roman* Emperors from this time thitherto; for even by their times and stories, this time and truth may be measured and proved: and in the progress of the discourse to come, the particulars both for year and time may be cleared more fully.

Now the times of the *Roman* Emperors, that came between the death of Christ, and the destruction of *Jerusalem*, are thus reckoned by the *Roman* Historians themselves.

Tiberius began to reign about *August* the 18.
He reigned 22 years, 7 months, and 7 days. *Dion.* And died in the 23 of his reign. *Suet.*
He died *March* 26. *Dion.* Or the 17 of the Calends of *April. Sueton.*

Caius Caligula began *March* 27.
Reigned 3 years, 9 months, 28 days, *Dion.* Or 3 years, 10 months, 8 days, *Sueton.*
Died *January* 23, or the 9 of the Calends of *February. Suet.*

Claudius began *January* 24.
Reigned 13 years, 8 months, 20 days. *Dion.* He died in the 14 year of his reign. *Suet.*
Died *October* 13. *Dion.* Or the 3 of the Ides of *Octob. Suet.*

Nero began *Octob.* 14.
Reigned 13 years, 8 months, *Dion.*

Galba reigned 9 months, 13 days, *Dion.* Died in his 7 month, saith *Suet.*

Otho reigned 90 days, *Dion.* 95 days, *Suet.*

Vitellius reigned 1 year wanting 10 days, *Dion.*

Vespasian reigned 10 years wanting six days, *Dion.*
In his second year *Jerusalem* is destroyed by his son *Titus*, *Joseph. de Bello Judaic. lib.7. cap.* 18.

And now if we cast up the times, from the 18 of *Tiberius* to the second of *Vespasian*; and compare and parallel them with the years of our Saviour, we shall find them running together in this manner,

Christ	*Tiberius*	*Christ*	*Claudius*
33	18	54	13
34	19	55	14
35	20	56	1 *Nero.*
36	21	57	2
37	22	58	3
38	1 *Caius* begins in	59	4
39	2 *March* 27.	60	5
40	3	61	6
41	4	62	7
42	1 *Claudius* begins	63	8
43	2 *January* 24.	64	9
44	3	65	10
45	4	66	11
46	5	67	12
47	6	68	13
48	7	69	14
49	8	70	1 *Galba* and *Otho.*
50	9	71	1 *Vitellius.*
51	10	72	1 *Vespasian.*
52	11	73	2 *Jerusalem* destroyed.
53	12		

Vers.

Year of Christ XXXIII.

Verſ. 4. *And being aſſembled together with them.*

There is no ſmall difference among Interpreters about rendring this clauſe out of the Original. Some read συναλιζόμενος μετ' αὐτῶν, others leave the words μετ' αὐτῶν out; as thinking the word συναλιζόμενος ſufficient: ſome render it *Eating with them*, as the Syrian, Arabick, *Oecumenius*, *Chryſoſtome*, Vulgar Latine, *Deodate*, and our Engliſh in the Margin, the Rhemiſts, and thoſe that follow the Vulgar, which *Valla* thinketh was miſtaken, and read *conveſcens* in ſtead of *converſans*. Others, *Aſſembling them*, or *being aſſembled with them*, as *Beza*, *Camerarius*, *Deodate*, and our Engliſh in the Text; the *Tigurine*, *Spaniſh*, *French*, *Eraſmus*, and others; *Epiphanius* as he is cited by *Camerarius*, readeth it, συναυλίζομενος, and *Valla* as he is cited by *Eraſmus* ſaith, it is ſo written in ſome Greek Copies. For the ſetling therefore of the right conſtruction of this place;

Firſt, It is the concurrent agreement of all men, this laſt excepted; to read the word συναλιζόμενος, and not συναυλίζομενος; which word indeed the thing it ſelf will not bear, for though Chriſt converſed, and was much among his Diſciples after his Reſurrection, yet do we not read that he ever lodged with them; which the word συναυλίζειν doth properly import.

Secondly, In the difference about the tranſlation, whether to render it *eating*, or *being aſſembled* with them; the current of Greek Authors in the uſe of the word, do vote for the latter ſenſe, and not at all for the former, as *Beza* and *Camerarius* do prove at large; and more proofs might be given, were it needful.

Now this phraſe ſeemeth to refer to Chriſts meeting his Diſciples on the mountain of *Galilee*, which he himſelf had appointed for a meeting place, *Matth.* 28. 16. And the words μετ' αὐτῶν may not be wanting. For in other of his appearings, it was accidental and unexpected when he came among them; but upon this mount he was *aſſembled together with them* upon appointment. And here it is like were the five hundred Brethren mentioned by *Paul*, and ſpoken of before; for where was it ſo likely ſo many ſhould have the ſight of Chriſt at once; as in that place where he had promiſed that he would meet them, and had appointed to aſſemble with them.

§. *Commanded them that they ſhould not depart from* Jeruſalem.

Not that they were at *Jeruſalem* when they received this command, but that he commandeth them now to *Jeruſalem*, and there to contine. Till they were come into *Galilee*, they had no warrant to ſtay at *Jeruſalem* at all, but command to the contrary; for he commanded them away from thence into *Galilee*, *Matth.*28.7.16. becauſe he would appear to all thoſe at once, that had been moſt conſtant Auditors of him; for there had been his greateſt converſe; and being there *aſſembled together with them*, according to his promiſe and his appointment, he then chargeth them to return to *Jeruſalem*, and not to depart from thence till the promiſe of the Father be come.

Chriſt confineth them to *Jeruſalem*, for the receiving of the Holy Ghoſt. 1. Becauſe of the Propheſie, *Eſay* 2.3. Out of *Zion* ſhall go forth the Law, &c. 2. Becauſe there would be the greateſt company to be ſpectators of that great work, and to be wrought upon by it, as is proved by the ſequel. 3. Becauſe that this great work of Chriſts power, was fitteſt to be ſhewed there, where had been his great humiliation: and that thoſe that would not be convinced by the reſurrection, might be convinced by this miraculous gift of the Holy Ghoſt.

Verſ.6. *They asked of him, ſaying, Lord wilt thou at this time reſtore again the Kingdom to Iſrael?*

This was and is the great deluſion of that Nation unto this day, and not a few Chriſtians do ſide with them in it; ſuppoſing that at the Jews converſion, they ſhall be brought home to *Canaan*, there inhabit with Chriſt viſibly among them, *Jeruſalem* built again; and their peace and proſperity ſo great, as never the like; and ſo conſtant, as never interrupted. To this tune ſpake the petition of *Salome*, the wife of *Zebedee*, and *James* and *John* her two ſons, *Matth.*20.20. and the ſpeech of *Cleopas*, *Luke* 24.21. And how common this Doctrine is among the Jewiſh Authors, it is needleſs (for it might be endleſs) to recite; it is evidence enough, in that we ſee it the common and general *quære* of all the Diſciples met together: Chriſt ſince his Reſurrection had ſpoken to them of the things that concerned the Kingdom of God, and they find belike, that he had paſſed a great Article of their belief unſpoken of, about reſtoring the Kingdom of *Iſrael*. Our Saviour anſwers their curioſity with a check, as he had done *Peter*, *Joh.* 21.22. and diverts their thoughts to the more needful conſideration of the calling that he would ſet them

Year of Chriſt XXXIII. them about, as in the next verſe; and ſheweth that the Kingdom of Chriſt, which they miſtook, ſhould be a ſpiritual power, which even juſt now was to begin; and of this power he tells they ſhould receive and dilate, and carry on his Kingdom.

§. *Certain Articles or Poſitions tending to the confutation of the Jews in this point, and the Millenaries that concur in many things with them.*

1. That the Book of *Daniel* ſpeaketh nothing of the ſtate of the Jews, beyond the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by *Titus*.

2. That the *Revelation* intendeth not the ſtories and times that are written in *Daniel*, but taketh at him and beginneth where *Daniel* left, to diſcourſe the ſtate of the new *Jeruſalem* when the old one was ruined.

3. That the fourth Monarchy in *Daniel*, is not *Rome*, nor poſſibly can be, *Dan.*7.11, 12. well weighed together.

4. That the blaſphemous horn in *Dan.* 7. 8, 25. &c. is not Antichriſt, but *Antiochus*.

5. That Antichriſt ſhall not be deſtroyed before the calling of the Jews, but ſhall perſecute them, when they are converted, as well as he hath done the Church of the Chriſtians: And that the ſlaying of the two Prophets, *Rev.*11. aimeth at this very thing, to ſhew that Antichriſt ſhall perſecute the Church of Jews and Gentiles, when towards the end of the world they ſhall be knit together in profeſſion of the Goſpel.

6. That the calling of the Jews ſhall be in the places of their reſidence among the Chriſtians, and their calling ſhall not cauſe them to chang place, but condition.

7. That *Ezekiels* New *Jeruſalem* is bigger in compaſs by many hundreds of miles, than all the land of *Canaan* ever was in its utmoſt extent.

8. That the earth was curſed from the beginning, *Gen.* 3.17. and therefore Chriſts Kingdom not to be of the curſed earth, *Joh.*18.36.

9. That the Kingdom everlaſting that began after the deſtruction of the fourth beaſt, *Dan.*2.44. & 7.14.27. was the Kingdom of Chriſt in the Goſpel, and began with the Goſpel, preached among the Gentiles.

10. That the binding of Satan for a thouſand years, beginneth from the ſame date.

11. That his binding up, is not from perſecuting the Church, but from deceiving the Nations, *Rev.*20.3,8.

12. That multitudes of thoſe places of the Old Teſtament that are applied by the Jews and Millenaries, to the people of the Jews, and their earthly proſperity, do purpoſely intend the Church of the Gentiles, and their ſpiritual happineſs.

Verſ. 8. *But ye ſhall receive power after the Holy Ghoſt is come upon you.*

§. 1. *How many of the Diſciples were ſpectators of Chriſts aſcenſion.*

It is apparent by this Evangeliſt, both in this place, and in his Goſpel, that there were divers others that were ſpectators of this glorious ſight beſide the twelve. For in the 14 verſe he hath named both the women and the brethren of Chriſt; which number of men in verſ. 15. he hath ſummed to 120 as we ſhall ſee there: And ſo likewiſe in his Goſpel, Chap. 24. he hath ſo carried the Story, as that it appeareth by him, that the beholders of his firſt appearing after his Reſurrection, were alſo the beholders of his Aſcenſion: for at verſ. 33. he ſpeaketh of the eleven, and them that were with them, and from thence forward he hath applied the ſtory until the aſcenſion indifferently to them all. And this thing will be one argument for us hereafter to prove that the whole hundred and twenty mentioned verſ.15. of this Chapter received the Gift of Tongues, and not the twelve only.

Verſ. 9. *While they beheld, he was taken up.*

§. *The year of Chriſt at his Aſcenſion.*

The time of Chriſts converſing upon earth cometh into diſpute (*viz.* whether it were 32 years and an half, or 33 and an half) mainly, upon the conſtruction of this clauſe, *Luke* 3.23. *Jeſus began to be about* 30 *years of age when he was baptized:* For though it be agreed on, that the time of his Miniſtry, or from his Baptiſm to his ſuffering, was three years and an half; yet is it controverted upon that Text, whether to begin thoſe from his entring upon his 30 year current, or from finiſhing that year compleat. The Text ſpeaketh out for the former; and in that it ſaith, *He began to be thirty*; it denieth his being thirty compleat; and in that it ſaith, *He began to be* * ὡσεὶ, *thirty after a certain reckoning*, or, *as it were thirty*; it denieth his drawing upon thirty compleat likewiſe: For

* So ὡς ἔτῶν τριακοντα, Act. 13.20.

For if he were full thirty, it were improper to say, he began to be thirty; and if he were drawing on to full thirty, then were it proper to have said, he began to be thirty indeed; and not began to be, as it were thirty. Therefore the manner of speech doth clearly teach us to reckon, that *Jesus* was now nine and twenty years old compleat, and was just entring upon his thirtieth year when he was baptized: and so doth it follow without any great scruple, that he was crucified, rose again, and ascended, when he was now thirty two years and an half old compleat, which we must write his thirty third year current. *Year of Christ* XXXIII.

§. 2. *The age of the world at our Saviours death, resurrection and ascension.*

We have shewed elsewhere, that these great things of our Saviours suffering and exaltation came to pass in the year of the world 3960 then half passed; or being about the middle. It will be needless to spend time to prove and confirm it here. The summing up these several sums which were as so many links of that chain will make it apparent.

From the Creation to the Flood	1656	*Gen.* 5. 6, 7. *&c.*
From the Flood to the Promise to *Abraham*, *Gen.* 12.	427	*Gen.* 11. & 12.
From the Promise to the Delivery from *Egypt*	430	*Exod.* 12. 40. *Gal.* 3. 17.
From the coming out of *Egypt* to the founding of *Solomons Temple*	480	1 *Kings* 6. 1.
From the founding to the finishing of the Temple	7	1 *Kings* 6. 38.
From finishing the Temple, to the revolt of the ten Tribes	30	1 *Kings* 6. 38. & 11. 42. compar.
From the revolt of the ten Tribes to the burning of the Temple	390	*Ezek.* 4. 5, 6.
From the burning of the Temple, to the return from *Babel*	50	*Jer.* 25. 11, 12. & 2 *Chron.* 36. 6. 9, 10. 2 *King.* 25. 2, 3. presly compar.
From the return from *Babel* to the death of Christ.	490	*Dan.* 9. 24, &c.
Total	3960	

And hereupon it doth appear, that as the Temple was finished by *Solomon*, just *Anno Mundi* 3000. So that it was fired by *Titus*, just *Anno Mundi* 4000. *Jerusalem* being destroyed exactly 40 years after Christs death, as was shewed even now.

Vers. 12. *Olivet, which is from Jerusalem a Sabbaths days journey.*

§. 1. *Why the Evangelist doth measure this distance at this time.*

This is the first matter of scruple in these words: and it is material to take notice of it, the rather, because that this same Evangelist hath made mention of the Mount of Olives in his other book, and yet never taketh notice of the distance of it from *Jerusalem* before, as *Luke* 19. 29. 37. & 22. 39.

§. 2. *Why the Evangelist doth measure this distance by a Sabbath days journey, rather than any other measure.*

This also is not impertinent to take notice of, because neither the present time, nor the present action had any reference to the Sabbath day at all: For had it been either the Jews Sabbath, or the Christian Sabbath, when this thing was done; it were easie to see why the measure of the distance betwixt these two places, is by such a standard; but since it was in the middle of the week when our Saviour ascended, and near neither the one Sabbath nor the other, it cannot but breed some just scruple why the Evangelist should mention a Sabbath days journey here.

But before we can give satisfaction to these two scruples, it is in a kind necessary to resolve one or two more which are of no less, if not of a greater difficulty: and those are;

§. 3. *Whether*

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§. 3. *Whether the Evangelist intend to measure the distance from the Mount Olivet to Jerusalem, or from the place where our Saviour ascended on Mount Olivet, to Jerusalem.*

§. 4. *What space a Sabbath days journey was.*

This last, must first fall under determination, and it is not of small obscurity in regard of the different measures that are made of it, and in regard of the different glosses that are made upon this Text.

The Syriack readeth it thus, *Which was from Jerusalem seven furlongs.* And this hath bred some difficulty more than was in the Text before; for that *Josephus* saith, Mount *Olivet* was but five furlongs from *Jerusalem*, *Antiq. lib.* 20. *cap.* 6. And *John* the Evangelist saith, *Bethany* was 15 furlongs from *Jerusalem*, *Joh.* 11.18. And certain it is that *Luke* in this place speaketh of the distance from *Olivet*, or from *Bethany*, or from both; and yet the Syriack glos upon him, hath found out a measure that agrees neither with *Josephus*, nor with *John*.

There is a like difference betwen their opinions that come to measure this space not by furlongs, but by another measure; some holding it to be two thousand paces, or two miles; others two thousands cubits, or but one mile: This latter to have been the measure of a Sabbath days journey, namely, two thousand cubits, is apparent in the *Talmud*, and it may be confirmed out of other Writers of the same Nation; for this position is in the Tractate of *Erubbin*, Chap. 4. מהלך אלפים פסיעות כינוניות וזו היא תחום השבת *a journey of two thousand middle paces is the bound of the Sabbath:* And the Scholiast there saith, פסיעה כינונית דרך הליכתו של אדם אמה *A middle pace in the way of a mans walk, namely a cubit.* And so the Chaldee paraphrast on the first of *Ruth*, אתפ קרנא למטר שביא ויומי טבא בדיל דלא להלכא בר מתרין אלפין אמין: *We are commanded to keep the Sabbaths and the holy das; so as to go not above two thousand cubits.* And this tradition or custom seemeth to be fetched from that place in *Josh.* 3. 4. where, because the people in their march after, and on either side the Ark, were to keep two thousand Cubits distance off it; it is thereupon concluded, that they pitched at that distance when the Ark and they were encamped; and so that that was the space that they went from their Tents to the Tabernacle on the Sabbath day: it is not worth the labour, to examine the truth of this opinion in this place; because we have not here so much to deal with it, as with a custom built upon it: and it is not so material whether that was the distance betwixt their Tents and the Tabernacle in their encampings in the wilderness (for some of them were double, treble that distance) as certain it is, that a custom was grown from this opinion of travelling no further than two thousand Cubits on the Sabbath day; and to this custom the Evangelist speaketh, and that is it that we must look after. Now if we 'count these two thousand Cubits for whole yards, then was the space a mile, and above half a quarter, or somewhat above nine furlongs in all: but if for half yards, which was the common Cubit, then was it but half so much, and neither of these sums agree with the Syriacks seven furlongs, nor with *Johns* fifteen. But the latter agreeth very well with *Josephus* his five, and so do I understand the measure to be.

For, first, it were easie to prove that the Cubit by which the Tabernacle was measured at the building of it, both for its own body, and for the ground it stood upon, and its Court, and all things about it, was but the common Cubit of half a yard; and it is most likely that those two thousand Cubits that did distance the people from it in the wilderness, and that measured out a Sabbath days journey now, were Cubits of the same size.

Secondly, The Text of *Luke* exactly measures the distance from the Mount of *Olives* to *Jerusalem*, and it is very questionable whether he intend the space from that place upon the Mount where our Saviour ascended, or no. He saith in the last Chapter of his Gospel, that *Jesus* led the Disciples out, ἕως εἰς Βηθανίαν, Vers. 50. not towards *Bethany*, but as far as unto it, as our English, and the Syriack, the Vulgar, *Beza*, and others do truly render it: now *Bethany* was about fifteen furlongs from *Jerusalem*, *Joh.* 11.16. and let us take the two thousand Cubits how we will, either common or holy Cubit, either half yard, or yard; or *Ezekiels* Cubit, of a Cubit and hand breadth: Yet will none of these measures reach to so many furlongs.

Now howsoever *Beza* hath sought to heal this difference by a supposal that *Bethany* was not only the name of a Town, but also a tract or a space of ground that lay about the Town, as a Lordship or Parish lieth about the Village; and that though the Town it self lay fifteen furlongs from *Jerusalem*, yet that the grounds and demeans that carried the same name, reacht within half that space to *Jerusalem*; the grounds of such a supposal are yet to seek; nay, there is good ground to the contrary.

For

For first, it is rare in Scripture to find open fields called by the name of a Town, when there is no expression that the fields are meant: particularly, if we should reckon up all the Towns named in the Bible that bear a *Beth*, in the beginning of them, as *Bethlehem*, *Bethshemesh*, *Bethsaida*, *Bethel*, and all the rest that are of the like beginning, we could never find that they signifie any thing but the very Town it self; and why *Bethany* should be singular, I see no reason.

Secondly, In all the mentioning of *Bethany* in other places in the Gospel, it is past peradventure that the Town is meant; as *Joh.*12.1. *Matth.*21.17. *Mark* 11.11. *Matth.*26.1. &c. and why it should not be so also in *Luke* 24 50. had need of cogent reasons to demonstrate.

Thirdly, It is very questionable whether *Bethphage* lay not betwixt *Jerusalem* and *Bethany*; or if it did not, it lay very little aside the way, as might be shewed out of the story of Christs riding into *Jerusalem*, *Matth.* 21.1. *Luke* 19.29. compared with *Joh.*12.1. and therefore that was like to cut off the name of *Bethany*, that it should not reach far in the fields towards the City: For Christ lay in *Bethany* all night, *Joh.*12.1. and on the morning was gone some way towards *Jerusalem* before he met with the Ass on which he rode, which he had commanded his Disciples to fetch from *Bethphage*, which was κατέναντι *before them*, as the Syrian well renders it; that is, either directly in their way to *Jerusalem*, or very little off it; as they were now setting out of *Bethany* thither. And this is confirmed by the gloss upon the *Gemars in Sanhedrin*, *Perek.*1. where mention being made of *Bethphage* in the Text, the Scholiast saith, Bethphage *was a place before the wall of the City, and governed as* Jerusalem *in all things.*

It is therefore of the most probability, that Christ when he ascended, led out his Disciples to *Bethany* Town, fifteen furlongs from *Jerusalem*, or thereabout, and that very way that he had ridden triumphantly into the City seven and forty days ago, he goeth now again to ride more triumphantly into Heaven. The Text then that we have in hand doth not measure the space from the City to *Bethany* where Christ ascended, but from the City to the foot of Mount *Olivet*, on which Mount, *Bethany* stood; and the measure he maketh of it is two thousand common Cubits, or about five furlongs. And so we have done with two of the Queries that were proposed. But now why he should measure this space at this time rather than any other, and why by the title of a Sabbath days journey, rather than any other measure, remaineth yet to be inquired after.

This Evangelist hath divers times in his Gospel mentioned this Mount, as was shewed before; but never shewed the situation or distance of it from the City till now, and that may be a reason why he doth it here, being the last time that ever he is to mention it in all his writings; and that one place might explain another: Namely, That from this Text the several passages done on Mount *Olivet* which are mentioned in his Gospel, might receive some illustration, and it might be known how far they were acted from *Jerusalem*; or at the least guessed how far, it being from hence determined, how far the foot of *Olivet* was distant from it: It had been indeed as ready to have said they returned from *Bethany*, which was from *Jerusalem* about fifteen furlongs; but the Holy Ghost is not so careful to measure the distance from the place of Christs Ascension (it may be for the same reason that he concealed the grave of *Moses*, for fear of superstition) as to measure from *Olivet* where so many, and remarkable occurrences besides Christs Ascension had passed, and been done by him.

Why he measureth it by the title of *Sabbath days yourney*, rather than by any other measure, as of paces, furlongs, or the like, since this day that was spoken of is not a Sabbath, we dare not be too curious to determine: Only to conjecture, it is very probable, that this was the common walk of the people of *Jerusalem* on the Sabbath day in pleasant weather for their meditations, when they had done the publick duties of the day: For so it is said of Christ, that he often resorted to a garden of *Gethsemani* with his Disciples, *Joh.*18.2. and though it be not certain whether he did on the Sabbath, yet it is certain that he did on the Passover night, after he and his Disciples had done the work of the day and Ordinance. And that time of the day fell under the same obligation that the Sabbath did in this particular. For, as was observed even now out of the Chaldee Paraphrast, not only on the Sabbaths, but also on other holy days it was not lawful to walk above two thousands Cubits; and this time that our Saviour set thither, was the beginning of such a day: namely, of the first day in the Passover week, which was to be observed as a Sabbath, *Lev.* 23. 7. and that day was begun at that even when our Saviour went out to *Gethsemani* to pray. And though *Judas* slipt from behind his Master after they were risen from the Table and come out of the House, and when he should have gone out of the City with him, he stept aside into the City, and got his cursed train up to go to apprehend *Jesus*; yet the Text allures us, *Joh.* 18. 2. that *Judas* knew where to have him, though he went not to observe whither he would go; because that that was our Saviours common retiring place upon such occasions. And so may we conceive

conceive it was the common haunt of others of the City, upon such times, and such occasions of prayer and meditation to resort thither, for the delightsomness of the place, and the helpfulness of it by the delight and solitariness to contemplation. And therefore the Evangelist may be conceived to use this expression for the measure betwixt it and the City, *A Sabbath days journey*; because it was most remarkably so; not only upon obligation, but for delight, and the peoples common Sabbath days walk.

Vers. 13. *They went up into an upper room.*

This was not that room in which Christ ordained his last Supper; for that was ἀνάγαιον, *Mark* 14. 15. *Luke* 22. 12. this was ὑπερῶον, and certainly the difference of words, argues difference of the thing it self: for ἀνάγαιον seemeth to signifie any room above stairs, be it but the first story, but ὑπερῶον the highest room in all the House, as *Act.* 20. 8, 9. which was the third story. Nor is it probable that this was the House of *John Mark*, mentioned *Act.* 12. 12. For though some Disciples were then assembled there, yet were the Apostles in another place. What place this was, is not worth the labour of searching; because it is past the possibility of finding out: be it in what house it would, this was the place where this society of Apostles and Elders kept as it were their College and Consistory, while they staid at *Jerusalem*, and till persecution scattered them. And therefore it is said, ἦσαν καταμένοντες, they were there abiding: This was not the meeting place in publick Worship for all the Believers in the City, which ere long, if not at this very time, were several Congregations: but this was the meeting and sitting place for the Presbytery of these Elders that took care of all those Congregations.

§. *Both Peter, and James, and John, &c.*

The *Syrian* readeth, *Peter*, and *John*, and *James*; and for *Bartholomew*, and *Matthew*, he and the *Arabick* read *Mathew* and *Bartholomew*; the reason best known to themselves.

§. *James the Son of Alpheus.*

The word *Son*, is not in the Greek, neither here, nor *Matth.* 10. 3. nor *Mark* 3. 18. nor *Luke* 6. 15. but it is only thus, *James of Alpheus*, and so reads the Vulgar. But the *Syrian*, *Arabick*, *Beza*, our *English*, and divers others have very warrantably put in the word *Son*.

Now this *Alpheus* and *Cleopas*, mentioned, *Luke* 24. 18. were but one and the same man: the *Syrian* חלפי serving indifferently to frame his name into Hebrew, or into a Greek pronunciation, *Chalphi* and *Cleophi*, as *Pauls* double name founded after these two languages: This *Cleopas* or *Alpheus*, was the Husband of *Mary*, *Joh.* 19. 25. and she the mother of *James* the less, and of *Joses*, *Matth.* 15. 40. and of *Judah* and *Simon*, *Mark* 6. 3. and from hence is warrant sufficient to call *James the Son of Alpheus*; though the Text hath not spoken out the word *Son*.

This *James* is he, that was commonly called *James the less*, mentioned, *Acts* 12. 7. & 15. 3. & 21. 18. *Gal.* 2. 9. &c. and so often called by the Ancients, the *Bishop* of *Jerusalem*, but upon what misprision shall be conjectured afterward.

§. *And Simon Zelotes.*

He is called *Simon the Canaite*, *Matth.* 10. 4. *Mark* 3. 18. which in Hebrew signifieth *zealous*, as is more apparent by the *Syriack* and *Arabick* writing of it, than the Greek: It is like he was so called from *Canah* in *Galilee*, the place of his abode; and the Evangelist translateth this proper Hebrew name, into a Greek appellative, as *John* doth *Siloam*, *Joh.* 9. 7. This *Simon* was the Son of *Alpheus* also, and so likewise was *Judas* mentioned instantly after, *Mark* 6. 3. And so hath *Alpheus* three sons that were Apostles, and *Joses* the fourth, is in fair choice to be one too, *vers.* 23.

Vers. 14. *With the Women.*

Some render it, *With their Wives*, which may indeed be very true; for the Apostles and Disciples which had Wives, took them with them, 1 *Cor.* 9. 5. but it is too strait: for doubtless there were some with them, that had either no Husbands at all, or none there, see *Luke* 8. 23. & 23. 49. & 24. 22.

§. *And*

§. *And Mary the mother of Jesus.*

We have no more mention of her in Scripture: it is like she continued under the care of *John* the Evangelist, to whom our Saviour had committed her, *Joh.* 19. 26, 27. and at the last in some persecution was taken away by martyrdom, as *Simeon* had prophesied of her, *Luke* 2.35.

§. *And his Brethren.*

That is, his Kinsmen; for by this term doth the Scripture use to express such relations: it is needless to shew examples: and to shew who these Kinsmen were, will be more proper for another place.

Vers. 15. *And in those days Peter stood up in the midst.*

Peter both in this place, and divers others, and indeed generally through so much of this Book as concerns the Church of *Judea* and *Jerusalem*, is ever brought in as the chief speaker, and chief actor; nay, commonly the sole speaker and actor upon all occasions: Not that the rest of the Apostles were either any whit inferior to him, either in authority or in forwardness to promote the Gospel; but upon these two most singular and peculiar grounds.

First, *Peter* was designed by a more special deputation and appointment to be the Minister of the Circumcision, *Gal.*2.8. and therefore while the Story stayeth among the Circumcised, it still mentioneth *Peter* above all the other: as when it cometh to speak of the uncircumcised, then it fixeth solely on the story of *Paul.*

Secondly, *Peter* was considerable under a notion that none of the rest of the twelve had fallen under, namely one that had denied and foresworn his Master: and therefore it was in some kind necessary that some special evidences of his perfect recovery again should be given. And whensoever he is thus honoured by mention of him, when the rest are not mentioned, it is not for that he outstript them either in dignity, or zeal; but to shew that he had recovered that ground which he had lost of them in his grievous fall. And these two considerations do mainly resolve, why you read hardly of any mans speeches, or any mans actions but only *Peters.* He is the speaker in *Act.*2. at the first conversion of the three thousand souls; and he is the speaker in *Act.*3 at the second conversion of five thousand more; not that the rest of the company did not preach and speak as well as he; as we shall prove for that first Sermon on *Acts* 2. and as the Holy Ghost it self approves for that second, *Acts* 4.1. But because, at these first fruits of the Gospel among the Circumcised, the Lord more especially holdeth out the mention of the Minister of the Circumcision.

And so in this motion for the choice of a new Apostle, and in that doom again on *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, *Peter* of all other is the Man: for how fully and how fitly doth it shew his perfect recovery, when he that of all the rest, had fallen next to *Judas*, doth censure *Judas*; and he that had denied his Master with an oath, doth strike those dead for a lie?

§. *The number of names together.*

Names, is held by divers in this place, and in *Rev.* 3.4. & 11. 13. to signifie only persons without any distinction of sex: whereas it rather signifieth men distinct from women: and so it seemeth that the *Syriack* and *Arabick* understand it here; and the latter addeth that they were men of name or repute.

For, first, in Scripture account, most constantly the reckoning is of men; and women very rarely brought in in the number: nay sometime the reckoning plainly shewed to be contradistinguished to women.

Secondly, The name of a family continueth in the males, but is lost in the females; and therefore in the Hebrew, a male is called *Zacar*, from *remembrance*; and women *Nashim*, from *forgetting*; and in the New Test. Greek, men are called *Names* upon the like reason.

§. *Were about an hundred and twenty.*

This summeth the men that are spoken of in the verse preceding; the twelve Apostles, the seventy Disciples, and about thirty eight more, all of Christs own kindred, country, or converse.

Year of Christ XXXIII. These one hundred and twenty here spoken of, are not to be reputed or accompted as the whole number of believers at *Jerusalem* at this time; but only those that had followed Christ continually, *Vers.* 21. were of his own Country, stood in more near relation to him, as being of his own family and society, and appointed by him for the Ministry.

The Believers at *Jerusalem* no doubt were many hundreds, if not thousands at this time; though we read of no converts in this book, till the next Chapter. For what fruit or accompt can else be given of all Christs preaching and pains bestowed in that City? Let but *Joh.* 2. 23. & 3. 2. & 4. 1. & *Mar.* 3. 8. & *Joh.* 7. 31. & 8. 30. & 11. 28, 45. & 12. 19. 42. and divers other places be well weighed, and it will be utterly unimaginable that there should be less believers in *Jerusalem* now than many hundreds, much more unimaginable that these one hundred and twenty were all, who were all *Galileans*, and no inhabitants of *Jerusalem* at all.

This number therefore mentioned by the Evangelist of one hundred and twenty, is not to be thought all the Church in that City; but only the society and company that were of Christs own train and retinue whilst he was upon earth, that companied with him all the time that he went in and out among his Disciples, *Acts* 1. 21. And this company though it be mingled and dispersed among the Congregations in the City for preaching the Word, and administring the Sacraments, and joyning in acts of worship; yet did they keep together as a more intire and peculiar society, and standing Presbytery, *Act.* 4. 21. and of the rest durst none joyn himself unto them, *Acts* 5. 13. and thus they continued till the persecution at *Stephens* death dispersed them all but the Apostles, *Acts* 3. 1.

Vers. 16. *This Scripture must needs have been fulfilled.*

I apprehend not what the word [*have*] doth in this clause, for it had been both more proper for the sense and more facil for the reader, to have it read, *This Scripture must needs be fulfilled.* Now the application of these places so pertinently and home to *Judas*, sheweth the illumination and knowledge that the breathing and giving of the Holy Ghost, *Joh.* 20. 22. had wrought in the Disciples.

Vers. 18. *This man purchased a field with the reward of iniquity.*

Not that he himself bought this field, for *Matthew* resolves the contrary, *Matth.* 27. 7. and tells that it was bought by the Chief Priest for his damned bribe: Nor was any such thing in his intention when he bargained for his money; but *Peter* by a bitter irrision sheweth the fruit and profit of his wretched covetise; and how he that thought to inlarge his Revenues, and to settle his habitation by such horrid means, came home by it with the contrary, his revenues to purchase land for others, his habitation to be desolate, and himself to come to so sad an end.

§. And falling headlong, &c.

Universality, antiquity and consent have so determinately concluded that *Judas* hanged himself, that there is no gainsaying: yet hath the Greek word Ἀπήγξατο left it so indifferent, whether he hanged himself, or were strangled by the Devil, that if I were not tied up by the consent of all to the contrary, I should the rather take it the latter way: And if I durst so interpret it, I should render πρήνης γενόμενος, to this purpose: that *Satan* took him away bodily, strangled him in the air; and then flung him headlong and burst out his bowels. For πρήνης φέρεται, *Qui vel a seipso vel ab alio præcipitatur*, saith *Stephanus.* And to this purpose may that verse of *Matth.* 27. 5. be very well interpreted; *And he cast down the silver pieces in the Temple, and departed, and going away he was strangled:* the Devil catching him away and stifling him, and then casting him headlong, and bursting out of him with the eruption of his intrals, and this terrible occurrence would soon be noted of all the inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, *Acts* 1. 19.

Vers. 19. *Aceldama.*

חקל דמא, *a field of blood:* by a double relation; First, Because it was bought with a price of blood, *Math.* 27. 7.

And secondly, Because it was sprinkled with his blood that took that price: for so this verse intimateth.

Vers.

Year of Chriſt XXXIII.

Verſ. 21. *Wherefore of theſe men that have companied with us.*

§. *Obſervations upon the election of Matthias.*

First, That there was a neceſſity the Apoſtles be twelve. Δεῖ ἓν ἕνα τούτων, &c. and this, that the Founders of the Chriſtian Church might be parallel to the twelve Tribes, the founders of the Jewiſh; for now Jews and Chriſtians were to join together: and this is hinted in the twenty four Elders, the repreſentative body of the Church ſo often mentioned in the Revelation; and ſpoken out *Rev.* 21.12.14.

Secondly, That *Matthias* and *Joſes* being choſen to be preſented to the Apoſtles, the election was not the choice of the whole Church, as if every member of the Church, and believer in *Jeruſalem*, either did or might give his vote to the chooſing of them; but it was only the choice of the whole Presbytery, or the hundred and eight among themſelves: for ſo is it moſt plain, *verſ.* 15. & 21. being compared together. Obſerve the phraſe, *Of theſe men that have companied with us.*

Thirdly, That the Apoſtles could not ordain an Apoſtle by impoſition of hands, as they could ordain Elders; but they are forced to uſe a divine lot, which was as the immediate hand of Chriſt impoſed on him that was to be ordained: that opinion took little notice of this circumſtance, that hath placed Biſhops in the place of the Apoſtles, by a common and ſucceſſive ordination.

Verſ. 25. *Joſeph called Barſabas, who was ſirnamed Juſtus.*

This ſeemeth to be he that is called *Joſes*, *Mark* 6. 3. & 15. 40. the brother of *James* the leſs: and the rather to be ſo ſuppoſed, becauſe he is ſurnamed *Juſtus*, as *James* was. And ſo ſaith *Beza*, one old Copy readeth *Joſes* here; and the *Syriack* for *Joſes*, readeth *Joſeph*, in *Chap.* 4. 36. ſo indifferently are the names uſed one for another. And from this indifferency, have ſome concluded, that *Joſeph* here, and *Joſes* in that Chapter, are but one and the ſame perſon, the nearneſs of the ſound of *Barſabas* and *Barnabas* helping forward that ſuppoſal.

But, firſt, that *Joſes*, or *Joſeph* in *Chap.* 4.36. was born in *Cyprus*; this *Joſeph*, or *Joſes* here, was born in *Galilee*.

Secondly, Although the Apoſtles belike had named theſe two *Joſephs* to diſtinguiſh them, the one *Barſabas*, and the other *Barnabas*; two names that are not far aſunder in ſound and utterance; yet are they in ſenſe, and in the Apoſtles intention, if they named the one as they did the other: *Barnabas* is interpreted by the Evangeliſt himſelf υἱὸς παρακλήσεως, rendred generally the *Son of conſolation*; but the Greek may as well bear, *the Son of exhortation*; for ſo it is known well enough the word familiarly ſignifieth. The Syriack uſeth indeed בויאא for *conſolation*, *Luke* 6.24. *Phil.* 2.1. *Rom.* 12.8. 2 *Cor.* 1.4, 5. and in the place in hand; and נביאא in the place laſt cited before it: but whether *Barnabas* may not equally be deduced from נבא *to propheſie*, or *inſtruct*, I refer to the Reader: Be it whether it will, certain it is, the Etymology and notation doth very far recede from that of *Barſabas*. Some conceive that this ſignifieth the *ſon of an Oath*; others the *ſon of fulneſs*; but the notation to me ſeemeth to be the *ſon of wiſdom*, בר סבאא. And if we would be critical, we might obſerve the various qualifications of a Paſtor and Teacher from theſe two ſurnames, the one a *ſon of wiſdom*, and the other *of exhortation*; but our intention only is to ſhew that the two *Joſephs* in mention, differed in perſon, for they differed in name.

§. *And Matthias.*

Who, or whence this man was, we cannot determine; certain it is, the ſenſe of his name is the ſame with *Nathaneel*, though not the ſound: and I ſhould as ſoon fix upon him for the man, as any other, and ſome probabilities might be tendred for ſuch a ſurmiſal; but we will not ſpend time upon ſuch conjectures.

CHAP.

Year of Christ XXXIII.

CHAP. II.

Vers. 1. *And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all together with one accord in one place.*

§. 1. *The time, and nature of the Feast of Pentecost.*

THE expression of the Evangelist hath bred some scruple; how it can be said, Συμπληρῦσθαι ἡμέραν, the day to be *compleated*, or fulfilled, when it was now but newly begun: and the sight of this scruple it is like hath moved the Syrian Translater, and the Vulgar Latine, to read it in the plural number, When the *days* of Pentecost were fulfilled: *Calvin* saith *compleri* is taken for *advenire*, *to be fulfilled*, for *to be now come*: *Beza* accounts the fulness of it to be, for that the night, which is to be reckoned for some part of it, was now past; and some part of the day also. In which exposition he saith something toward the explanation of the scruple, but not enough.

Luke therefore, in relating a story of the feast of Pentecost, useth an expression agreeable to that of *Moses*, in relating the institution of it, *Lev.*23.13. *And ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the Sabbath; from the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave-offering; seven Sabbaths shall be compleat: Even unto the morrow after the seven Sabbath, shall ye number fifty days.*

It will not be amiss to open these words a little, for the better understanding and fixing the time of Pentecost.

First, The Sabbath that is first mentioned in the Text, in these words, *Ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the Sabbath*, is to be understood of the first day of the Passover week, or the fifteenth day of the month *Nisan*; the Passover having been slain on the day before. And so it is well interpreted by the Chaldee Paraphrast, that goeth under the name of *Jonathan*, and by *Rabbi Solomon* upon this Chapter, at the 11 verse; *And he shall wave the sheaf before the Lord after the holy day, the first day of the Passover.*

And it was called a *Sabbath*, be it on what day of the week it would. (as it was on the *Friday* at our Saviours death) because no servile work was to be done in it; but an holy convocation to be held unto the Lord, *vers.* 7. and the Passover Bullock, *Deut.* 16. 2, 7. 2 *Chron.*30.24. & 35.8 to be eaten on it, *Joh.*18 28. as the Lamb had been eaten the night before; and this Bullock was also called *a Passover*, and the day *the preparation of the Passover*, *Joh.*19 14. as well as the Lamb, and the day before had been.

This helpeth to understand that difficult phrase, *Matth.*28. 1. about which there is such difference and difficulty of expounding, Ὀψὲ τῶν σαββάτων, *In the evening of the Sabbath*, saith the *Syriack* and the Vulgar: And *o utinam!* for then would the Lords day be clearly called the Sabbath, the Sabbath of the Jews being ended before the evening or night of which he speaketh, did begin. In the end of the Sabbath, saith *Beza*, and our English, but the Sabbath was ended at Sun-setting before. It is therefore to be rendred, *after the Sabbaths*, for so signifieth * ὀψὲ, *after*, in Greek Writers, as well as *the Evening*: and the plural number of σαββάτων, is to have its due interpretation, *Sabbaths*. Now there were two Sabbaths that fell together in that Passover week in which our Saviour suffered; this Convocational or Festival Sabbath, the first day of the Passover week, and the ordinary weekly Sabbath, which was the very next day after: the former was a *Friday*, and on that our Saviour suffered, the latter a *Saturday*, or the Jewish Sabbath, and on that he rested in the grave, and ὀψὲ σαββάτων, *after these Sabbaths*; early in the morning on the first day of the week he rose again.

* ὀψὲ τῶν βασιλέως χρόνων, Plutarch. post regis tempora. ὀψὲ τῶν τρωικῶν, post tempora Trojana. ὀψὲ νυκτὸς, post noctem, &c.

Secondly, The morrow after this Sabbath of which we have spoken, or the sixteenth day of the month *Nisan*, was the solemn day of waving the sheaf of the first-fruits before the Lord, and the day from which they began to count their seven weeks to Pentecost, *Lev.*23.11. *Deut.*16.9.

This day then being the Δευτέρα, or second day in the Passover week, and being the date from whence they counted to Pentecost, all the Sabbaths from hence thither, were named in relation to this day: as the first Sabbath after it is called Δευτεροπρῶτον, *Luke* 6. 1. Not as it is rendred, *the second Sabbath after the first*, but *the first Sabbath after this second day*: the next Sabbath after was called Δευτεροδεύτερον: the third Δευτεροτρίτον, and so the rest accordingly.

Thirdly, Now in their counting from this morrow after the Sabbath, or this day of their first-fruit sheaf, to Pentecost, seven Sabbaths or Weeks were to be compleat: whereupon *R. Solomon* doth very well observe, that the count must then begin at an evening; and so this day after the Sabbath was none of the fifty; but they were begun to be counted at Even when that day was done: so that from the time of waving the first-

first-fruit sheaf, Pentecost was indeed the one and fiftieth day; but counting seven weeks compleat, when an evening must begin the account, it is but the fiftieth. *Year of Christ* XXXIII.

Fourthly, To this therefore it is that the phrase of the Evangelist speaketh, συμπληροῦσθαι ἡμέραν πεντηκοστῆς, which our English hath very well uttered, *the day of Pentecost was fully come*; thereby giving an exact notice how to fix the day that is now spoken of from our Saviours death, and to observe that he speaketh of the time of the day indeed, and not of the night which was now over, and the day fully come.

The dependence of Pentecost upon this day of waving the first-fruit sheaf, was upon this reason; because on this second day of the Passover, barley harvest began; and from thence forward they might eat parched corn, or corn in the ear; but by Pentecost their corn was inned and seasoned, and ready to make bread, and now they offered the first of their bread. This relation had this Festival in the common practise, but something more did it bear in it as a memorial; for it recorded the delivering of the Law at Mount *Sinai*, which was given at the very same time: And thus the giving of the Law at *Sinai*, for the bringing of the Jews into a Church, and the gift of the Holy Ghost at *Sion* for the like of the Gentiles, did so nearly agree in the manner of their giving, both in fire, and in the time, both at Pentecost. Only, as the Christian Sabbath was one day in the week, beyond the Jewish Sabbath; so this Pentecost when the Holy Ghost was given, was one in the month beyond the Pentecost at the giving of the Law, that being on the sixth day of the month *Sivan*, and this on the seventh.

§. 2. *The Pentecost on which the Holy Ghost was given, was the first day of the week*, namely, *Sunday, or the Lords day.*

As our Saviour by rising on the first day of the week had honoured and sealed that day for the Christian Sabbath, instead of the Jewish, which was the day before; and as is said by the Psalmist, that was *the day which the Lord had made*, when the stone refused, was become the head of the corner; so did he again augment the honour, and set home the authority and dignity of that day, in pouring out the Holy Ghost upon the Disciples, and performing the great promise of the Father on it. Which that it may be the more clearly seen, it will not be amiss to lay down the time from our Saviours passion, to this time, in manner of a Calendar, that the readers eye may be his Judge in this matter.

And let it not be tedious to take in the account of five or six days before his passion: which though it may be a little *Parergon*, or besides this purpose, yet may it not be useless or unprofitable: nay, in some respect it is almost necessary, since we cannot in reason but begin our Kalendar from the beginning of the month *Nisan*, though our Saviour suffered not till the fifteenth day of it.

I. *Nisan*, or *Abib*, the first month of the year *stilo novo*, *Exod.* 12.2.
II.
III.
IV.
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII.

Saturday, or Jews Sabbath. IX. This night our Saviour suppeth at *Bethany*, where *Mary* anointeth his feet, and *Judas* repineth at the expence of the ointment, *Joh.* 12. 1.

X. The next day he rideth into *Jerusalem*, &c, *Joh.* 12.12. *Matth.* 21.1. to vers. 17. *Mark* 11.1. to vers. 11. *Luke* 19.29. to vers. 45.

Sunday. At night he goeth again into *Bethany*, *Matth.* 21.17. *Mark* 11.11.

Munday. XI. The next day he goeth to *Jerusalem* again, and curseth the Fig-tree, *Matth.* 21. 18, 19. *Mark* 11.12,13,14. and coming to the Temple casteth out buyers and sellers, *Mark* 11.15,16,17,18. *Luke* 19. 45, 46, 47. *&c.*

At Even he goeth to *Bethany* again, *Mark* 11.19.

Tuesday. XII. He goeth to *Jerusalem* again, *Mark* 11.20. *Peter*, and the rest of the Disciples note the withred Fig-tree, *Mark* 11. 20, 21. &c. *Matth.* 21. 20. &c. They come to the Temple, and the Scribes and Pharisees question his authority, *Mark* 11.27. &c. *Matth.* 21.23. *Luke* 20. 1. which he answereth with a question about the Baptist, *Matth.* 21.24. &c. *Mar.* 11. 29. &c. *Luke* 20. 3. Propounded the Parable of the Vineyard, *Matth.* 21.28. to the end, *Mark* 12.1. &c. *Luke* 20.9. &c. And he speaketh all contained in *Matthew* 22, &c

Nisan, or *Abib*.

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23 Chapters; and *Mark* 12. from verse 13 to the end, and *Luke* 20. from verse 20. to verse 5. of Chap. 21.

At night he goeth towards *Bethany* again; and on Mount *Olivet* looketh on the Temple, and uttereth all contained in *Matth.* 24, & 25. and *Mark* 13. and *Luke* 21. from verse 5. to the end.

This night he suppeth in *Bethany* with *Simon* the Leper, *Matth.* 26. 1, 2, 6. *Mark* 14. 1, 2, 3. and hath ointment poured on his head: after Supper he riseth from the Table, and washeth his Disciples feet, and giveth *Judas* the sop, *Joh.* 13. 2, 26. &c. With the sop the Devil entreth into him; and he goeth in the dark from *Bethany* to *Jerusalem*, and bargaineth for the betraying of Jesus.

The sop given to *Judas* not at the Passover nor at *Jerusalem*, but two days before the one, and two miles from the other.

Wednesday. XIII. Christ is still at *Bethany*, *Judas* having done his hellish work with the Chief Priests, is returned to *Bethany* again.

Thursday. XIV. The Passover: Christ eateth it this day as well as the Jews, *Mark* 14.12. *Luke* 22.7. After the Passover he ordaineth the Sacrament, *Mark* 14. 22. *Judas* received the Sacrament, *Luke* 22. 14, 21. Upon our Saviours hinting of his treacherousness, a question ariseth among the Disciples about it, and that breedeth another question among them which of them should be the greatest, *Vers.* 23, 24.

That debate Christ appeaseth: telleth *Peter* again of his denyal: maketh that divine speech contained in the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth Chapters of *John*; singeth the 113 or the 114 *Psalm*, goeth into the Mount of *Olives*, is apprehended: brought to *Annas* the head, or chief Judge in the *Sanhedrin*, by him bound and sent to *Caiaphas*, *Joh.* 18. 13, 14. &c. and there is in examination, and derision all the night.

Friday. XV. The forenoon of this day was the preparation of the Passover Bullock, *Joh.* 19. 14. the afternoon is the preparation of the Sabbath, *Luke* 23.54. *Mark* 15.42. Early in the morning Christ is brought to *Pilate* the Roman Deputy, *Mark* 15.1.

At nine a clock he is delivered to the Souldiers and common Rabble, *Mark* 14. 25. and brought out to the Jews, *Joh.* 19.1. to 13.

At twelve a clock, or high noon he is condemned, and presently nailed to his Cross, *Joh.* 19. 13, 14. the time of the day that our first Parents eat and fell.

Now began the darkness, *Luke* 23. 44. and lasted three hours; the very space that *Adam* was under the darkness of sin, without the Promise.

At three a clock in the afternoon Christ yieldeth up the Ghost, *Mark* 15.34. the very time when *Adam* had received the promise of this his passion for his redemption.

At Even he is buried, *Matth.* 27.57.

This day being the first in the Passover week, was called a Sabbath, *Lev.* 23. 11. and a very solemn day it should have been, and no work done in it; but observe how far, and how vilely the Jews did violate it, and that law at this time.

Saturday the Jews Sabbath. XVI. Christ resteth in the grave this day, being the Sabbath: But the Jews rest not from their villany. For on this day they compact with *Pilate* to make sure the Sepulchre, *Matth.* 27. 62. And observe that *Matthew* doth not there call it the Sabbath, but *the day that followeth the day of the preparation:* by the very *Periphrasis*, deriding their hipocrisie, who would be so observant of the Sabbath, as to have a day of preparation for it before it came, and yet to be thus villainous on it when it was come.

This was the *Antitez*, the famous second day in the Passover week, in which the first-fruit sheaf was waved before the Lord, *Lev.* 23. 11. and from this day they began to count their seven weeks to Pentecost, *Deut.* 16.9.

Sunday, the Lords day. XVII. 1. Christ riseth from the dead, and he becometh the first fruit of those that slept, 1 *Cor.* 15. 20. He appeareth first to *Mary Magdalen*, *Joh.* 20. 15. then to *Peter* and *Cleopas*, or *Alpheus*, as they go to *Emmaus*, *Luke* 24. 13, 18, 34. 1 *Cor.* 15. 5. and at night to all the Disciples, *Luke* 24. 33, 36. this is the first of the fifty to Pentecost:

Munday.

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Nisan, or *Abib*.

Munday.	XVIII.	2	
Tuesday.	XIX.	3	
Wednesday.	XX.	4	
Thursday.	XXI.	5	
Friday.	XXII.	6	
Saturday.	XXIII.	7	The Jews Sabbath: this was σάββατον δευτεροπρῶτον. Christ
Lords day.	XXIV.	8	appeareth again. *Thomas* is present, *Joh.* 20.26.
Munday.	XXV.	9	
Tuesday.	XXVI.	10	
Wednesday.	XXVII.	11	
Thursday.	XXVIII.	12	
Friday.	XXIX.	13	
Saturday.	XXX.	14	The Jews Sabbath. δευτερόδευτον.

IIAR.

Lords day.	I.	15	The Lords day.
Munday.	II.	16	
Tuesday.	III.	17	
Wednesday.	IV.	18	
Thursday.	V.	19	
Friday.	VI.	20	
Saturday.	VII.	21	The Jews Sabbath. δευτερόπον.
Lords day.	VIII.	22	The Lords day.
Munday.	IX.	23	
Tuesday.	X.	24	
Wednesday.	XI.	25	
Thursday.	XII.	26	
Friday.	XIII.	27	
Saturday.	XIV.	28	Jews Sabbath. δευτερότριτον.
Lords day.	XV.	29	The Lords day.
Munday.	XVI.	30	
Tuesday.	XVII.	31	
Wednesday.	XVIII.	32	
Thursday.	XIX.	33	
Friday.	XX.	34	
Saturday.	XXI.	35	Jews Sabbath. δευτερόπεμπτον.
Lords day.	XXII.	36	The Lords day.
Munday.	XXIII.	37	
Tuesday.	XXIV.	38	
Wednesday.	XXV.	39	
Thursday.	XXVI.	40	Ascension day.
Friday.	XXVII.	41	
Saturday.	XXVIII.	42	Jews Sabbath. δευτερόεκτον.
Lords day.	XXIX.	43	The Lords day.

SIVAN.

Munday.	I.	44	
Tuesday.	II.	45	
Wednesday.	III.	46	
Thursday.	IV.	47	
Friday.	V.	48	
Saturday.	VI.	49	Jews Sabbath. δευτερόεβδομον.
	VII.	50	The Lords day. Pentecost day. The Holy Ghost given.

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§. 3. *That many, if not all of the 120 received the Holy Ghost, and the gift of Tongues on Pentecost day; and not the twelve only.*

For first, divers, if not all of them, were appointed by Christ to be Ministers of the Gospel, as well as the Apostles, *Luke* 10. and for this purpose had received the power of miracles, as well as they, *vers.* 17. they had received the Holy Ghost on the resurrection day, as well as they, *Joh.* 20. 22. compared with *Luke* 24. 33, 36. had conversed with Christ both before and after his resurrection as well as they; had received the promise of the Father as well as they: Nay, they were to preach to people of strange languages as well as they: and then what possible reason can be given, that they should be denied this qualification of the gift of Tongues, fitting them for that purpose, any more than the twelve?

That divers of them were Ministers, if not all, there can be no scruple, what else was become of the seventy Disciples? And that, if they must preach, they must preach to some of strange Tongues, there can be as little, since experience sheweth, *Jerusalem* it self so full of this variety; and since a few years will let all the Preachers loose to preach to the Gentiles as they met with occasion. Nay, we shall find this justified by the practise of certain of them, as we go along.

Secondly, It is true indeed, which is objected by some, that these words, *They were all together*, do come so near to the last verse of the former Chapter, which mentioneth only the twelve, that it may seem to speak of them only together at this time: yet doth both that verse and this as fully refer to the 120 in the 15 verse.

For, 1. The Evangelist doth lay that number from the very first, as the subject of his History, though his aim be more especially at the twelve Apostles: as in his history of the twelve Apostles, his History fixeth chiefly on *Peter* and *John*.

2. What should keep and separate the 108 from the company of the Apostles at this time above all others? The Text tells us they were καταμένοντες, & προσκαρτερῦντες, abiding and continuing together, in one place, and in one Society, *Chap.* 1. 13, 14. and so the progress of the story giveth us assurance they were till persecution parted them, *Chap.* 8. and it is very strange, that on this day, above all days, the high day of Pentecost, the holy day of the Christian Sabbath, the likeliest day of expecting the promise of the Father, that on this day they should be parted from their Society.

Thirdly, Look but upon the qualifications of the seven Deacons, how they were full of the Holy Ghost, *Acts* 6.3. how *Stephen* was full of power, and miracles, and wisdom, and an irresistible spirit, *vers.* 8, 10. and how *Philip* was of the like qualifications, *Acts* 8. 6. and when, and where, and how can it be supposed that these men came by these gifts, if not upon Pentecost day, and jointly with the twelve Apostles? If it shall be answered, that it may be they received them from Christ, when he sent them to preach before his passion, as *Luke* 10.17. then let it be shewed how *Barnabas* came by his variety of Languages, to be able to preach intelligibly whersoever he came, if not on this day?

It being therefore not to be denied, that there were divers others besides the twelve, if not the whole hundred and twenty (which I rather think) that received the Holy Ghost in the gift of Tongues at this time, and that they were Ministers as well as the Apostles: it argueth, first, that there were divers Congregations in *Jerusalem* from hence forward, or else how should so many Ministers there have employment in their calling? And secondly, that those that went up and down preaching upon the dispersion by persecution, *Acts* 8.4. & 11. 19. were not ordinary members of the Church, or as we have used to call them, meer lay-men, but these men of the Ministerial function, and of Christs own designation for that calling.

§. 4. *The reason of the use of the word ὁμοθυμαδὸν, so often in this Story.*

The intent of this word is the rather to be looked after, by how much the less it is used in all the New Testament beside, and by how the more frequently in this Story. It is used in reference to the twelve Apostles alone, Chap. 1. 15. it is used here in reference to the whole hundred and twenty; and to the whole number of believers, Chap. 2. 46.

Now the reason why the Evangelist doth so often harp upon this string and circumstance of ὁμοθυμαδὸν, or of their conversing together *with one accord*, may be either in respect of the twelve, and one hundred and twenty, or in respect of all the believers.

First, The Apostles had been exceedingly subject in the lifetime of Christ, to quarelsomness and contention about priority, and who should be the chiefest, as *Mark* 9. 34. *Mark* 20. 24. Yea, even at the very Table of the Lords last Passover and Supper, *Luke* 22. 24. And therefore it hath its singular weight and significancy, and sheweth a peculiar fruit of Christs breathing the Holy Ghost upon them, *Joh.* 20. 22. when it is related

related that they now so sweetly and unanimously converse together without emulation, discord, or comparisons. *Year of Christ* XXXIII.

Secondly, The 108 Disciples were in a subordinate or lower form, in regard of some particulars, to the twelve Apostles; and yet was there no heart-burning, scorning, or envying, no disdaining, defying, or controlling of any one towards another; but all their demeanor carried in the unity of the Spirit, and the bond of Peace.

Thirdly, If those two places in Chap. 2. 46. & 5.12. be to be applied to the whole multitude of believers (of the latter there may be some scruple) the word ὁμοθυμαδὸν there doth singularly set out the sweet union that the Gospel had made among them, though they were of several Countries, several conditions, and several Sects; yet in ἁπλότητι καρδίας, in singleness of heart, as they did *convenire* in the *tertio* of the Gospel, so did they *convenire* affectionately *inter se*. And this began to be the accomplishment of those prophesies that had foretold the peacemaking of the Gospel, as *Esa.*11.6. & 60.18. & 65. 25. & 66.42. *Zeph.*3.9. *&c.* and it was an eminent fruit of Christs doctrine, *Joh.* 15.12. of his prayer, *Joh.*12.17. and of his legacy, *Joh.*14.27.

Vers. 2. *Cloven Tongues like as of fire.*
Vers. 3. *They began to speak with other Tongues.*

§. *Of the gift of Tongues.*

The confusion of Tongues was the casting off of the Heathen, *Gen.*11. For when they had lost that language in which alone God was spoken of and preached, they lost the knowledge of God and Religion utterly, and fell to worship the Creature in stead of the Creator, *Rom.*1.

Two thousand two hundred and three years had now passed, since that sad and fatal curse upon the world, the confusion of Languages; and millions of souls had it plunged in Error, Idolatry, and Confusion: And now the Lord in the fulness of time is providing, by the gifts of Tongues at *Sion*, to repair the knowledge of himself among those Nations that had lost that Jewel, by the confusion of Tongues at *Babel*.

The manner of exhibiting this gift, was in Tongues of fire, that the giving of the Holy Ghost at the initiating of the Christian Church, might answer and parallel the giving of the Law at the initiating of the Jewish; and so it did both in time and manner, that being given at Pentecost, and in appearing of fire; and so likewise this, as was said before.

Vers. 5. *And there were dwelling at Jerusalem, Jews, &c.*

It was indeed the Feast of Pentecost at this time at *Jerusalem*, but it was not the Feast of Pentecost that drew those Jews from all Nations thither.

First, It was not required by the Law, that these Jews that dwelt dispersed in other Nations should appear at *Jerusalem* at these Feasts.

Secondly, It was not possible they should so do, for then must they have done nothing else but go up thither, and get home again.

Thirdly, These Jews are said *to dwell* at *Jerusalem*, and they had taken up their residence and habitation there: but those that came up to the Festivals, stayed there but a few days, and so departed to their own homes.

The occasion therefore of these mens flocking so unanimously from all the Nations of the world, was not the Feast of Pentecost, but the general knowledge and expectation of the whole Nation of the Jews, that this was the time of *Messias* his appearing and coming among them.

This they had learned so fully from the Scriptures of the Old Testament, especially from *Dan.*9. that both the Gospel, and their own writers witness, that this was the expectation of the whole Nation, that the *Messias* was now ready to appear.

In the Scripture, these passages assert this matter, *Luke* 2.26. 38. & 3. 15. & 19. 11. and *Joh.* 1. 20, 21.

In the Hebrews own writings we may find divers that speak to the same matter, as that *The Son of David shall come about the time when the Romans have reigned over Israel nine months*, *from* Mic. 5.3. *that his appearing shall be under the second Temple, that it shall be not very long before Jerusalem should be destroyed*; and many such passages; fixing the time of the *Messias* his coming, to the very time that *Jesus* of *Nazaret* did appear and approve himself to be the Christ, as may be seen in *Sanhedrin. cap. Helek. Galat. lib.* 4. *Jeronym. a Sancta Fide, Mornæus de Veritat. Christ. rel.* And this so clearly and undeniably, that when the wretched and blasphemous Jews cannot tell what to say to their own Doctors, that assert the time so punctually agreeable to the time of Christs appearing, they have found out

Year of Christ XXXIII. out this damnable and curſed way to ſuppreſs that truth, as to curſe all thoſe that ſhall be induſtrious to compute theſe times; for they have this common execration תפח רוחן של מחשבי קצין *Let their ſpirit burſt, or expire, that compute the times.*

And to theſe aſſertions of the Jews own Authors concerning this opinion of their Nation; we may add alſo the teſtimony of *Suetonius*, affirming the very ſame thing, *Percrebuerat Oriente toto*, ſaith he, *vetus & conſtans opinio, eſſe in fatis ut eo tempore* Judea *profecti rerum potirentur:* In Veſpaſ. And ſo likewiſe *Tacitus*, *Pluribus perſuaſio inerat, antiquis ſacerdotum literis contineri, eo ipſo tempore fore, ut valeſceret Oriens, profectique* Judea *rerum potirentur*, Hiſtor. lib. 5. That is, *An old and conſtant opinion had grown through the whole Eaſt, that it was foretold, that at that time ſome coming out of* Judea *ſhould obtain the rule of things:* And *many were perſwaded, that it was contained in the old records of the Prieſts, that at that very time the Eaſt ſhould prevail, and ſome coming out of* Judea *ſhould obtain the rule:* which, though the blind Authors apply to *Veſpaſian* and *Titus* their obtaining of the Empire, yet there can be no Chriſtian eye but will obſerve, that this opinion that was ſo prevalent, regarded matters of an higher nature, namely, the coming of Chriſt, and the conqueſt of the world by the Goſpel, which came forth from *Judea*, and the word of the Lord from *Jeruſalem.*

And to theſe might be added that Eclogue of *Virgil*, which is titled *Pollio*, in which he doth clearly ſpeak of a new world then beginning, of a child to come from Heaven, of a wondrous repair of the world in point of happineſs, and the like; that it cannot be doubted but this ſame opinion was got into the Weſt alſo, as well as in the Eaſt, very many of the Jews being there alſo, and raiſing this expectation, as well as in the other place.

So that this expectation and thought being ſo general among all the Nations of the Jews, yea, among other Nations alſo; that this was the time that the Kingdom of God in the coming of Chriſt ſhould appear; this was it that brought ſuch multitudes to *Jeruſalem* about this time out of all Nations under Heaven, to ſee the accompliſhing of thoſe things that they ſo earneſtly and eagerly longed and looked after: and this made them to take up their dwellings and reſidence in *Jeruſalem*, and to reſolve to ſettle there; for that though they were acquainted with the time of Chriſts coming, yet were they not acquainted with the manner of his Kingdom, but expected that it ſhould be earthly and pompous, and his Royal ſeat in *Jeruſalem*, as the Diſciples themſelves opinionated; yea, even after long converſe with Chriſt himſelf, *Matth.* 20. 20. *Acts* 1. 6. And therefore theſe men make ſure to get into *Canaan* out of other Countries, and to get houſes in *Jeruſalem*, that they might ſhare in this pomp and proſperity which they expected.

It was not therefore Pentecoſt that brought them thither, nor were they flitting Gueſts there, to be gone home as ſoon as Pentecoſt was over, but they were κατοικοῦντες *dwellers* and reſident there, and when they were converted to the Chriſtian Faith by thouſands, they had their Congregations.

Verſ 9. *Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, &c.*

The Text ſpeaketh of Jews of all Nations under Heaven now dwelling at *Jeruſalem*, and yet it reckoneth but fifteen here, which were not all the Nations in the World; no, nor all that were in the Roman Empire, by very many: but to omit the *Hyperboles* that the Scripture uſeth very commonly, as *Cities walled up to Heaven, ſhooting at an haire, and not miſs, &c.* The languages here ſpoken of, took up all the Nations where it is imaginable any Jews were ſcattered at this time through the world. [If ſo be they were not alſo all the languages that were ſpoken at *Babel:*] as to take example of one or two; the *Parthian*, *Median*, *Perſian*, and *Meſopotamian*, were the Tongues that ſerved all the Eaſtern diſperſion; and all the Jews that had been Captivated by the two firſt Monarchies, *Babylonian* and *Perſian*, whereſoever they were, in Eaſt or North, ſpake ſome of theſe Languages, throughout the vaſt ſpace of that their ſcattering. For to inſtance in the *Meſopotamian* only; how many large and mighty Countries ſpake that one Tongue? *Aſſyria*, *Chaldea*, *Meſopotamia*, *Syria*, *Cæloſyria*, to inquire no further; all theſe ſpake that Chaldee Language, ſo certainly, that there needeth not the leaſt pains to prove it. And *Judea* was faln into the ſame Tongue now alſo; but with ſo much difference from the *Meſopotamian*, *Syriack*, or *Chaldee*, that here it is nominated as a Language diſtinct: And this ſheweth the reaſon of the Phraſe, κατοικοῦντες τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν Ἰουδαίαν: that he might diſtinguiſh the Syriack of *Judea* and of *Chaldea* aſunder: that thoſe that dwelt in *Meſopotamia* heard their Syriack, and thoſe that dwelt in *Judea* heard theirs. Or if we ſhould inſtance in the *Cretan* Tongue, that is here intended: the Iſland of *Crete* was but of a ſmall compaſs, but the Language of *Crete* reacht all over *Greece*, not to ſearch how far it reacht further. And the like might be obſerved of other of the Tongues that are here mentioned.

So

So that it is hard to find, if not impossible, any Jews at this time under Heaven, where one or other of these Languages here mentioned were not spoken vulgarly in that Country where they were; and so may we very properly understand that phrase, *there were Jews of all Nations under Heaven*, now gathered to *Jerusalem*. *Year of Christ* XXXIII.

Now as it was impossible for these to understand one another in the Languages of the Countries where they were born; for it was impossible an *Arabian* should understand a *Cretan*, or a *Cretan* an *Arabian*, a *Parthian* a *Roman*, or a *Roman* a *Parthian*; and so in the most of the rest; so was it impossible they should all of them understand any one Tongue, either Hebrew or Syriack, which are the likeliest to suppose, or whatsoever else may be supposed.

For first, how easie is it to shew how the Hebrew Tongue was utterly lost among them from common use; and how the Syriack which was in common use in *Judea*, yet was unknown to them in other Countries, as appeareth by the necessity of the *Chaldee Targum*, by the most familiar use of the *Septuagint*, by the writings of *Philo* and *Josephus*, and others of the Jews themselves.

Secondly, If they could have understood any one Language, which was as the common Language of the Nation; then was the gift of Tongues most utterly needless: for why should the Apostles speak divers Languages to them that could have all of them understood one Tongue? Tongues indeed were given for a sign, 1 *Cor.* 14.22. but this was not the proper end for which they were given, but for instruction and edification; and as was said before, for acquainting those Nations with the knowledge of God, which had lost it and him, by the loss of the Hebrew Tongue. And if the Jews had understood all of them one Tongue, this gift had been needless to have been given till the Apostles were to go to preach to the Heathens.

This then being past all denial, that these Jews of several Nations, could neither understand one another in the Tongue of the Country where they were born, nor understand any one Language as common to them all; it is past all denial also, that when they were converted to Christianity, they were severed into divers Congregations; for else it was impossible for them to joyn together in Publick Worship.

Vers. 13. *Others mocking said, these men are full of new Wine.*

Malice is often sensless and reasonless in her accusations, especially, when it is bent against Religion: Yet can I not hold these men so stupid and sensless, or so shameless and impudent, as either to think that drunkenness could make men speak Languages which they never understood before: or if they thought not so, yet to go about to perswade the people so. But their words proceed from this occasion as I should suppose; these Folks that mocked were Natives of *Jerusalem* or *Judea*, and not understanding the Languages of the Nations there present, they could not tell that the Disciples spake those strange Languages when they did speak them; but conceived they had babbled some foolish gibberish, and canting, they themselves could make nothing of, as drunken men are used to do. And this caused their so wretched a construction of so Divine a Gift. For the Jews of the strange Nations and Languages, that perceived and understood that the Disciples did speak in their Languages; were amazed, and said one to another, What meaneth this? *Vers.* 12. But these other Jews, Natives of *Jerusalem* and *Judea*, that understood only their own Syriack, and did not understand that they spake strange Languages indeed, these mocked and said, *These men are full of new*, or *sweet wine:* grounding their accusation the rather, because that Pentecost was a feasting and rejoycing time, *Deut.* 16. 11.

And according to this conception it is observable, that *Peter* begins his speech, *Ye men of Judea.*

Vers. 14. *But Peter standing up with the eleven said, &c.*

Reason it self, if the Text did not, would readily resolve, that it was not *Peter* alone that converted the 3000 that are mentioned after; but that the rest of the Apostles were sharers with him in that work: For if *Peter* must be held the only Orator at this time, then must it needs be granted, that either the 3000 which were converted were all of one Language; or that the one Language that he spake, seemed to the hearers to be divers Tongues; or that he rehearsed the same speech over and over again in divers Languages; any of which to grant, is sensless and ridiculous; and yet unless we will run upon some of these absurdites, we may not deny, that the rest of the twelve preached now as well as *Peter*.

But the Text, besides this, gives us these arguments to conclude the matter to be undoubted:

First,

Year of Christ XXXIII. Firſt, It ſaith, *Peter* ſtood forth *with the eleven*, verſ. 14. Now, why ſhould the eleven be mentioned ſtanding forth, as well as *Peter*, if they ſpake not as well as he? They might as well have ſitten ſtill, and *Peters* excuſe of them would as well have ſerved the turn. It was not *Peter* alone that ſtood forth to excuſe the eleven, but *Peter* and the eleven that ſtood forth to excuſe the reſt of the hundred and twenty.

Secondly, It is ſaid, *They were pricked in their hearts, and ſaid to Peter, and to the reſt of the Apoſtles, What ſhall we do?* Why ſhould they queſtion and ask counſel of the reſt of the Apoſtles as well as *Peter*, if they had not preached as well as he?

Thirdly, And it is a confirmation that ſo they did, in that it is ſaid, *Verſ.* 42. They continued in the Doctrine of *the Apoſtles*; of the reſt, as well as *Peter*.

Fourthly, If that were the occaſion that we mentioned why they ſuſpected the Apoſtles and the reſt drunk; then will it follow, that *Peter* preached and ſpake in the Syriack Tongue, chiefly to thoſe *Jews* of *Judea* and *Jeruſalem* that would not believe, becauſe they could not underſtand that the Diſciples ſpake ſtrange Languages, but thought they canted ſome drunken gibberiſh: And to give ſome probability of this, not only his preface, *Ye men of Judea*; but alſo his laying flatly the murder of Chriſt to their charge, *Verſ.* 22. 23. do help to confirm it; and the concluſion of his Sermon, and of the ſtory in the Evangeliſt doth ſet it home, that if *Peter* preached not only to theſe Natives of *Judea*, yet that he only preached not at this time, but that the others did the like with him, in that it is ſaid, *They that gladly received his words were baptized*; and then as ſpeaking of another ſtory, he ſaith, *there were added about the ſame day* 3000 *ſouls*.

Now the reaſon why *Peters* Sermon is only recorded, and the ſtory more ſingularly fixed on him, we obſerved before.

§. *Brief obſervations upon ſome paſſages in Peters Sermon.*

Verſ. 15. [*It is but the third hour of the day*] And on theſe ſolemn Feſtival days, they uſed not to eat or drink any thing till high noon; as *Baronius* would obſerve out of *Joſephus* and *Acts* 10.

Verſ. 17. [*In the laſt days*] The days of the Goſpel: becauſe there is no way of ſalvation to be expected beyond the Goſpel: whereas there was the Goſpel beyond the law; and the law beyond the light of the ages before it. Yet is this moſt properly to be underſtood of thoſe days of the Goſpel that were before *Jeruſalem* was deſtroyed: And the phraſe *the laſt days* uſed here and in divers other places is not to be taken for the laſt days of the world, but for the laſt days of *Jeruſalem*: the deſtruction of which and the rejection of the Jews is reputed the end of that old world, and the coming in of the Gentiles under the Goſpel, is as a *new world*, and is accordingly called *a new Heaven and a new Earth*.

[*Upon all fleſh*] Upon the Heathens and Gentiles as well as upon the Jews, *Act.* 10.45. contrary to the axiome of the Jewiſh Schools: שכינה לא שורה בחוצה לארץ *The divine Majeſty dwelleth not on any out of the Land of Iſrael.*

Verſ. 20. [*Before the great and notable day of the Lord come.*] The day of *Jeruſalems* deſtruction, which was forty years after this, as was obſerved before: ſo that all theſe gifts, and all the effuſion of the Spirit that were to be henceforward, were to be within the time, betwixt this Pentecoſt and *Jeruſalem* deſtroyed. And they that from hence would preſage prophetick and miraculous gifts, and viſions, and revelations to be towards the end of the world, might do better to weigh, what the expreſſion, *The great and terrible day of the Lord*, meaneth here and elſewhere in the Prophets.

The blood of the Son of God, the fire of the Holy Ghoſts appearance, the vapour of the ſmoke in which Chriſt aſcended, the Sun darkned, and the Moon made blood at his paſſion, were all accompliſhed upon this point of time; and it were very improper to look for the accompliſhment of the reſt of the propheſie I know not how many hundreds or thouſands of years after.

Verſ. 24. [*Having looſed the pains of death*;] or rather, *Having diſſolved the pains of death*; meaning in reference to the people of God; namely, that God raiſed up Chriſt, and by his reſurrection diſſolved and deſtroyed the pangs and power of death upon his own people.

Verſ. 27. [*Thou wilt not leave my ſoul.*] οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις, i. e. *Thou wilt not give my ſoul up.* And why ſhould not the very ſame words, *My God, my God*, ἵνα τί με ἐγκατέλιπες, be tranſlated to the ſame purpoſe, *Why haſt thou left me, and given me up to ſuch hands, and ſhame and tortures*; rather than to intricate the ſenſe, with a ſurmiſe of Chriſts ſpiritual deſertion?

[*In Hell,*] Gr. *Hades*: the ſtate of ſouls departed: but their condition differenced, according to the difference of their qualities; Καὶ γὰρ εἰς ᾅδου δύο τόπους νομίζομεν· Μίαν δικαίων, ἑτέραν δ' ἀδίκων εἶναι ψυχῶν. *Diphilus apud Clem. Alex. Strom.* 5.

Verſ.

Vers. 38. [*Be baptized in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ.*] Not that their Baptism was not administred in the Name of the Father and the Holy Ghost also; but that he would specially work them up to the acknowledgment of Christ. For the Father and the Holy Ghost they acknowledged without any scrupling, but to own Christ for God, whom they had crucified, and to be initiated into Jesus of *Nazaret*; was the great work that the Apostles went about to work upon them: and therefore especially endeavour to enter them into Jesus, and to have them baptized in his Name. *Year of Christ* XXXIII.

[*Be baptized and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.*] Not that every one that was baptized, was presently indued with these extraordinary gifts of Tongues and Prophesie, for they were bestowed hence-forward by imposition of the Apostles hands; save only when they first fell from Heaven upon the company of *Cornelius*, to compleat that Prophesie which now had its beginning, *I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh*; but *Peter* inviteth them into Baptism, and then should they be capable of those gifts; and no doubt they were bestowed upon some of them by the Apostles hands.

Vers. 42. *And in breaking of Bread.*

The Syriack expresly understandeth this of partaking of the Lords Supper, for he useth the very Greek word *Eucharistia* here. And so divers take that to be the meaning of this phrase, both here, and in some places else in the New Testament: Yea, even they that suppose that it meaneth partaking of their common meals and food; yet do they think that they had the Sacrament added to it, as our Saviour added it to the Passover. And indeed the manner of speech doth signifie both the one and the other, both ordinary meals, and the receiving of the Sacrament, as in *Luke* 24. 35. *He was known of them* * *in breaking of bread*; here it meaneth a common Supper in the Inn at *Emmaus*: 1 *Cor.* 10.16. *The bread which we break is it not the communion of the body of Christ?* Here it betokeneth the receiving of the Sacrament. But it may be conceived to intend the Sacrament the rather, and chiefly, if not only.

* ב importeth the time here, and so the *Syriack* reads it, כד קצא *As he was breaking bread.*

First, Because the phrase of *breaking of bread* for common eating, is very rare both in the Old Testament and Jewish Authors; but *eating of bread* is the expression that speaketh that.

And secondly, because breaking of the bread in the Sacrament, is a concomitant that cannot be parted from it, for Ἀνακλάσας ἔκλασε, he blessed and *brake*, and said, this is my body which is *broken*, 1 *Cor.* 11.24.

Vers. 44. *And all that believed were together.*

This Greek word ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ is of frequent and of various use in the Septuagint. It sometimes betokeneth the meeting of persons in the same company, as *Josh.* 11.5. *Judg.* 6.33. & 19. 6, &c. so of Beasts, *Deut.* 22. 10. Sometimes their concurring in the same action, though not in the same company or place, as *Psal.* 2.2. & 34. 3. & 49.2. & 74. 6. & 83.3. &c. Sometimes their concurring in the same condition, as *Psal.* 46. 10. & 62. 9. *Esa.* 66. 17. *Jer.* 6. 12. And sometimes their knitting together though in several companies, as *Joabs* and *Abners* men, though they sat at distance, and the pool of *Gibeon* between them, yet are they said συναντᾶν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, 2 *Sam.* 2. 13. And in this sense is the word to be understood in this story: For it is past all imagination or conceiving, that all those thousands of believers that were now in *Jerusalem*, should keep all of one company and knot, and not part asunder, for what house would hold them? But they kept in several Companies or Congregations, according as their Languages, Nations, or other references did knit them together. And this joyning together, because it was apart from those that believed not, and because it was in the same profession and practise of the duties of Religion; therefore it is said to be ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, though it were in several companies and Congregations. And to such a sense doth *Rabbi Solomon* understand the ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ in *Deut.* 25. 5. as indeed it must of necessity be understood, not of brethren dwelling in the very same place, but of brethren מיוחדים בנחלה that are united in inheritance; as these believers were now in the Gospel. And so is the building of the Jews to be understood, *Ezra* 4. 5. ἡμᾶς αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ οἰκοδομήσομεν, in separation from the Samaritans, and in joyning in the action, though they were of several companies in the building, and those companies far distant one from another, *Neh.* 3. *per totum.* & 4. 19.

Vers. 46. *Continuing daily with one accord in the Temple.*

This is not to express, that the Temple was their meeting place, either for hearing of their Sermons, or administring the Sacraments, for neither of these would have been indured there, as appeareth, *Chap.* 4.1. but this is to shew that they had not yet shaken off all

Year of Christ XXXIII. all the Worship of the Temple, nor the observance of *Moses*, but resorted thither to the duties of Religion, at the hours of prayer, as they had done before. For many years after this, the believing Jews were still tenacious of the Law, and reverential of the Temple, *Acts* 21.20. which they might lawfully be while the Temple stood, if their observance of *Moses* did not destroy in them the doctrine and application of their justification by faith in Christ. And hence was it that the Apostles did so far comply with them both in that place in *Acts* 21. and also in *Acts* 15. because *Moses* was to stand till the Temple fell, those Rites not nullifying the death of Christ, if rightly used.

ACTS. CHAP. III.

Vers. 1. *Peter and John went up together into the Temple.*

IT may be this was likewise on Pentecost day; and ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ doth signifie identity of time: as it doth, 2 *Sam.* 21.9. and in the *Chaldee* of *Jonathan* on *Deut.*25.5. And the *ninth hour* mentioned here in reference to the *third hour* in preceding story, *Chap.* 2.15. at nine a clock in the morning was that conversion of 3000, and at three a clock in the afternoon this of 5000. Howsoever, whether it were on that day, or no; certainly it was on some solemn day, either a Sabbath or Festival, as appeareth by the number that were then present in the Temple, when so many of them were converted. For ordinarily on the common days of the week, the company that was in the Temple was very few, besides the Priests and the Stationary men (אנשי מעמד as they are called by the Rabbins) which were a number of men chosen to be constantly there, to represent the whole Congregation, in laying their hands on the heads of the Sacrifices in their behalf. This concourse of people on such a solemn day, was a fit subject and opportunity for these Apostles to work upon; and that in all probability was the main induction that brought them into the Temple at this time. That they should go thither to institute the Canonical hours by their own example, as *Baronius* dreameth, is a fancy that far better deserveth laughter, than any answer.

Vers. 2. *The gate of the Temple which was called Beautiful.*

This was the Gate that entred into the second Court, or out of the Court of the Gentiles, into the Court of the Jews: And there this Creeple lay, begging of the Jews that came into the Temple, but disdaining, as it seemeth, to beg of the Gentiles. This seemeth to be that gate that *Josephus* calleth the *Corinthiack Gate*, and which he describeth to be of so much gorgiousness and bravery, *de Bello Jud. lib.*5.14. and which we shall have occasion to describe in another work, fully and on set purpose.

Vers. 11. *The porch called Solomons.*

Not that the very porch built by *Solomon* was now standing, for that was burnt and destroyed by the Babylonians, as well as the rest of the Temple, but because this was built on the very same pile that his was built upon. For the Temple standing upon an high and steep hill, with a deep and sharp precipice about it; *Solomon* to make room for the floor of the mount, which was too strait, filled up the ditch on the East side with huge stones strongly joynted together, and he built his porch upon that pile; and because this of *Herods* was erected also upon that very same foundation, it therefore is called *Solomons porch.* It was the first gate or entrance into the mountain of the House; and not only the very building of the porch, but the Court within bare the same name, *Josephus ubi supra.*

Vers. 12. *And when Peter saw it, he answered, &c.*

Here *Peters* Sermon is registred again, but *Chap.* 4. 1. it is said, As *they* spake, which resolveth that *John* preached as well as he.

Vers. 16. *Through faith in his name, &c.*

Faith is twice named in this verse, because of the Apostles faith in doing, and the Creeples faith in receiving the miracle; the former was πίστις διὰ χριστοῦ: the latter πίστις τῷ χριστῷ or τῷ ὀνόματι.

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Vers. 17. *Through ignorance ye did it.*

So Christ said himself, *Luke* 23.34. *Father forgive them, for they know not what they do.* This their ignorance proceeded mainly from mistaking the place of Christs birth, for they supposed it had been *Nazaret*; and from mistaking the Kingdom of the *Messias*, for they expected it would have been pompous, and full of worldly glory; the title on the Cross, *Jesus of Nazaret King of the Jews*, spake out both the ignorances that carried them on to so wretched an act.

Vers. 19. *When the times of refreshing shall come.*

Ὅπως ἂν ἔλθωσι: The *Syriack* readeth it, *That your sins may be blotted out, and the times of refreshing may come:* and so the *Arabick* and *Ireneus*, or at least his interpreter cited by *Beza*; the *Vulgar*, *ut cum venerint*, but concludeth not the clause to make it sense. *Beza*, *postquam venerint*, but what sense he would make of it, I do not well understand. He pleadeth much to prove that ὅπως ἂν doth signifie *postquam*, and it is not denied him, but he cannot deny withal that it signifieth *ut* likewise: and so may it best, and most properly be understood, That your sins may be blotted out, *so that* the times of refreshing may come. The Apostle *Peter* taketh his speech from *Esa.*28.12. where the Prophet at once propheseth of the gift of Tongues, *vers.* 11. of the preaching of the Gospel, *vers.*12: and the infidelity and obduration of the Jews, *vers.*13. and speaketh of these very times and occasions that are now in hand: And accordingly is the Apostle to be understood that speaketh from him, concerning the present refreshing by the Gospel, and Gods present sending Christ among them in the power and Ministery of that, and not of a refreshing at the calling of the Jews which is yet to come; and Gods sending Christ personally to come and reign among them, as some have dreamed, and it is but a dream: For let but this Text be seriously weighed in that sense that opinion would make of it; *Repent therefore and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out when the times of refreshing shall come:* As meaning this, Repent you now, that your sins may be blotted out, 2000, or I know not how many hundred years hence, when the calling of the Jews shall come: If this be not the sense that they make of this Text, that produce it to assert Christs personal reign on earth for a thousand years; I know not why they should then produce it; and if this be the sense, I must confess I see no sense in it. The words are facil and clear, and have no intricacy at all in them, if the Scripture may be suffered to go upon its own wheels; and they may be taken up in this plain and undeniable Paraphrase; Repent ye therefore and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out; so that the times of refreshing by the Gospel may come upon you from the presence of the Lord; and he may send Jesus Christ in the preaching of the Gospel to you, to bless you in turning away every one of you from his iniquities.

Vers. 20. *And he send Jesus Christ.*

As Vers. 26. *God having raised his Son Jesus, sent him to bless you:* Now this cannot possibly be understood of Christs personally and visibly coming among them; for who of this audience ever saw him after his Resurrection? But of his coming among them now in this means and offer of Salvation: and in the same sense is this clause in hand to be understood: and so the 22 verse interpreteth it of the sending of Christ as the great Prophet, to whom whosoever will not hearken must be cut off: Not at the end of the world when he shall come as a Judge; but in the Gospel which is his voice, and which to refuse to hearken to, is condemnation. *Peters* exhortation therefore is to repentance, that their sins might be blotted out, so that refreshing times might come upon them, and Christ in the Gospel might be sent among them, according as *Moses* had foretold, that he should be the great instructer of the people.

5. Which before was preached unto you.

The very sense of the place confirmeth this reading: for though *Beza* saith, that all the old Greek Copies that ever he saw, as also the *Syrian*, *Arabick*, and *Tertullian* read it προκαταισεσμένον, *fore-ordained*; yet the very scope and intention of *Peters* speech in this place doth clearly shew that it is to be read, προκεκηρυγμένον, *which before was preached to you*, namely by *Moses*, or the Law, *vers.*22. and by all the Prophets, *vers.*24.

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Verſ. 21. *Until the reſtitution of all things.*

Or *the accompliſhment of all things*, and to that ſenſe the Syriack tranſlates it, *until the fulneſs of the time of all things, &c.* And the Arabick did not much different, *until the time in which all things ſhall be perfected*, or finiſhed, &c. The Greek word ἀποκατάστασις indeed ſignifieth a *reſtitution to a former eſtate*, *a repairing*, or *an amending*, as might be frequently ſhewed in Greek Writers, but in Scripture doth not ſo properly ſignifie this, as what the Rabbins would expreſs by קיומות or התקיומות a *fulfilling* or *accompliſhing:* and the Prepoſition ἀπὸ doth not ſo much ſtand in the force of *Re*, or *again*, but it ſtands in oppoſition to ἀ privative in ἀνάπαυσις, which ſignifieth unſetled or unconfirmed, and ſo ἀποκατάστασις πόλεως is oppoſed to κίνημα, *Polyb. Hiſt. lib.* 4. *Settlement of a City to tumult.* And to take up theſe two places where this word is uſed in the New Teſtament, *Matth.* 17. 11. and here. *Elias indeed ſhall firſt come*, ἀποκαθιστάνει πάντα: *and ſhall reſtore all things:* What? To their former eſtate? Nay, that the Baptiſt did not, for he brought them into a clean different eſtate to their former: or *he ſhall amend all things?* That is true indeed, ſo the Baptiſt did, but how will this place in hand bear that ſenſe, which ſpeaketh not of the mending of all things, but of their ending? And how improper would either of theſe ſenſes run in this verſe, *Till the reſtoring of all things to their former eſtate, which God hath ſpoken by the mouth of his Prophets? Or till the amending of all things which God hath ſpoken by his Prophets:* But clear and facil is that ſenſe that is given, *Till the accompliſhment of all things that God hath ſpoken by the mouth of his Prophets?* The things which God had ſpoken by the mouth of his Prophets from the beginning of the world were, Chriſts victory over *Satan* in the Salvation of all his people; his conqueſt of the laſt enemy, Death; the calling of the Jews, the fulneſs of the Gentiles, &c. and how can theſe things be ſaid to be reſtored, or amended? They may moſt fitly be ſaid to be accompliſhed, perfected, or performed: and ſo muſt the ſame words be rendred of the Baptiſt, *Elias truly cometh and accompliſheth all things*, that are written of him, and ſo muſt the Son of man do all things that are written of him; as *Mark* follows the ſenſe, *Mark* 9. 12.

Verſ. 24. *All the Prophets from* Samuel.

He is reckoned the firſt of the Prophets after *Moſes*.

Firſt, Becauſe Propheſie from the death of *Moſes* to the riſing of *Samuel* was very rare, 1 *Sam.* 3. 1, 2.

Secondly, Becauſe he was the firſt Prophet after *Moſes* that wrote his Propheſie. From the beginning of *Samuels* rule, to the beginning of the captivity in *Babel*, was 490 years, and from the end of that captivity to the death of Chriſt, 490 years more, and the 70 years captivity, *the midſt of years* between, as I have ſhewed elſewhere: But I muſt advertiſe the Reader here, that the beginning of *Samuels* Propheticknes in this reckoning, is not from the death of *Eli*, but from one and twenty years after. And here let me take up a verſe of as much difficulty, and of as little obſerving of it, as almoſt any in the Old Teſtament: as that is 1 *Sam.* 7. 2. *And it came to paſs while the Ark abode at* Kiriath-jearim, *that the time was long; for it was twenty years: and all the houſe of Iſrael lamented after the Lord.* Now the Ark was undeniably above forty years in *Kiriath-jearim*; namely, all the time from *Elies* death, till *David* fetcht it to *Jeruſalem*, which was ſeven and forty years, and ſomewhat above, only that firſt excepted, in which it was ſeven months in the Land of the Philiſtims, 1 *Sam.* 6. 1. and a little time in *Bethſhemeſh*; what then ſhould be the reaſon that it is ſaid to be in *Kiriath-jearim* only twenty years? Why, the meaning is not that that was all the time that it was there, but that it was there ſo long a time, before the people ever hearkned after it. Their idolatry and corruption of Religion had ſo tranſported them, that they thought not of, nor took regard to the Ark of God for twenty years together: *Then all the houſe of Iſrael lamented after the Lord:* for ſo muſt it be rendred; and not, *And all the houſe of Iſrael, &c.*

And ſo have we one and twenty years taken up from the Death of *Eli* till this time of *Iſraels* repentance, which yet are counted to *Samuels* forty, but are not reckoned in the account of *Habakkuk*, of the extent of the race of the Prophets.

Upon this place therefore we may take up theſe pertinent obſervations.

Firſt, That God did now on a ſuddain pour a ſpirit of Reformation generally upon all the people of *Iſrael* after a long time of prophaneneſs and Idolatry. They had been exceedingly prophane in the time of *Elies* ſons: And therefore the Lord in juſtice forſook his Tabernacle in *Shiloh*, the Tent which he had pitched beſides *Adam*, when *Iſrael* paſſed through *Jordan*, *Joſh.* 3. 16. *Pſal.* 78. 60. and he gave the Ark into the Enemies hand; yet was not *Iſrael* humbled for it, The Ark was reſtored to them, and was among them

them twenty years together, and they continued in their Idolatry still, and never sought after it, nor took it to heart. At last, upon a suddain, and with a general conversion, *Israel* begins to turn to the Lord, and lament after him, and forsake their Idols. *Year of Christ* XXXIII.

Secondly, Here was a strange and wondrous spirit of conversion poured upon the people at the beginning of the race of the Prophets, as there was at the end of it, in these Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles.

Thirdly, As the practise here in the Acts, was to repent and to be baptized; so was it then with *Israel*; as that expression may most properly be interpreted, vers.6. *They drew water and poured it out before the Lord*, as washing or baptizing themselves from their Idolatry.

Vers. 25. *Ye are the children of the Prophets.*

That is, the Scholars or Disciples of them, as the phrase, *The children of the Prophets*, is ordinarily used in the Old Testament, 2 *King.* 2. *&c.* and *Amos* 7. 14. *I was neither Prophet, no Prophets son*; that is, nor Prophets Scholar. And *Matth.* 11.19. *Wisdom is justified of her children*; that is, of her Disciples.

ACTS. CHAP. IV.

Vers. 1. *The Captain of the Temple.*

THIS was the Captain of that Guard, or Garison which was placed in the Tower of *Antonia*, for the guard of the Temple. This Tower stood in the North-east corner of the wall that parted the mountain of the House from the City. It was built by *Hyrcanus* the *Asmonean*, the High Priest, and there he himself dwelt, and there he used to lay up the holy Garments of the Priest-hood, whensoever he put them off, having done the Service of the Temple, *Joseph. Antiq. lib.* 18. *cap.* 6. *Herod* repaired this Tower, and bestowed much cost upon it, and in honour of *Antony*, named it *Antonia*; and fortified it, that it might be a guard for the Temple; and as in former times, so still were the holy Robes laid up there all his time, and all the time of *Archelaus* his Son: after the removal of *Archelaus*, from his Kingdom, and the confiscation of his estate, this Tower came into the *Romans* hands, and was kept as a Guard or Garison by them; and the High Priests garments laid up there under their power, till *Vitellius*, as we shall see hereafter, did restore them to the Jews own keeping. *Antiq. lib.* 15. *cap.* 15. So that the Captain here meant, is the Captain that was over the Company that kept this Castle: a *Roman* Commander, and he joyning with the Priests and Sadduces to hinder the Gospel, and imprison the Disciples; the *Jews* and *Romans* do again conspire, as they had done against Christ, so now against his Apostles, *Psal.*2.1,2.

There was a chief Captain that was Governour of the whole Garison at *Hierusalem*, as Chap.21.33. & 24.7. and his several Companies lay placed in several Courts of Guard about the City; among the rest this was one, within the virge of the Temple, the greatest badge and sign of all other of the Jews present servitude and subjection, when their very Temple and service had a heathen bridle put upon it. And thus did *the abomination of desolation* begin to creep in, and to stand in the place where it ought not.

Vers. 2. *Being grieved that they taught the people.*

This grievance of the Priests, Sadduces, and Captain of the Temple, proceeded from several principles and causes. The Captains distaste was for fear the business should tend to innovation or tumult: the Sadduces, because they preached the Resurrection of the dead, which they denied, Chap.23.8. the Priests, because they being private men, went about to teach the people; and chiefly, because they preached the Resurrection through Jesus.

Through Jesus the Resurrection from the dead.

Though the whole Nation did so generally assert and hold the Resurrection of the dead (the Sadduces only excepted) that they made the deniers of this point, one of the three Parties that should never have part in the world to come: as they speak in the *Talmud, in the Tractate of Sanhed. Perek. Helek. These are they that have no portion in the world to come, he that saith, The Resurrection of the dead is not taught from the Law, and he that saith, That the Law is not from Heaven, and Epicures:* Yet was this no less than heresie in their esteem; to teach that the Resurrection of the dead was either ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, *proved and experienced in Jesus*; or ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, *by the power* and efficacy *of Jesus*; that either *Jesus* was risen, or that he should be the Author of the Resurrection.

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Vers. 4. *And the number of the men was about five thousand.*

The 5000 mentioned here, were the number of Converts, and not of Auditors; and they were a single number by themselves, and not an addition to the 3000 mentioned before, to make them five thousand.

For, first, the Holy Ghost intendeth in this Book to shew the power of the Gospel, rather than the bare preaching of it, and how many it converted, rather than how many heard it.

Secondly, The juncture of the verse is so close and facil that none can understand it any otherwise than of the number of believers, unless it be for very captiousness; for the Text saith, that *many of them that heard the word believed.* And how many was that many? Namely, 5000 men.

For, thirdly, how ridiculous were it to interpret that the Holy Ghost should tell us, that there was an audience in the Temple of 5000 men? Why, *Josephus* saith, that generally, every course of the Priests contained so many: And it would be utterly strange, if the Holy Ghost, which in all the Bible never numbred an audience at the Temple, no, not when he was intentionally writing of the service and assembly there, should do it now when he is purposely upon a story of men converted to the Gospel.

Again, That this is an intire sum different from the 3000 in the second Chapter, is plain by the very story in hand.

For, first, it is a discourse concerning a miracle done by *Peter* and *John*; and all the Chapter to the three and twentieth verse, keeps close to that relation: and what reason possibly can be given, that this clause only should start from it?

Secondly, It were an uncouth manner of reckoning, and such as the Scripture is utterly unacquainted with, to number 5000, and to mean but 2000; and never to give any notice that it so meaneth.

Thirdly, *The number of the men were* 5000. Of what men? *Of those which heard the word.* What word? The word preached by *Peter* and *John*, vers. 1. and not the word preached on Pentecost day by all the Apostles. Thus is the Church become 8000 numerous by two Sermons; besides the multitudes that were believers before, and those whose conversion is not summed.

Vers. 5. *Their Elders, Rulers, and Scribes, &c.*

In this Councel and Consistory that was now gathered, the Evangelist exhibiteth variety of members:

First, *Their Rulers:* or the Chief Priests, the heads of the twenty four courses.

Secondly, *Scribes:* or other Doctors of the Tribe of *Levi.*

Thirdly, *Elders:* or the Seniors and Senators of the other Tribes.

Fourthly, *Annas*, the *Nasi*; or President of the *Sanhedrin.*

Fifthly, *Caiaphas* the High Priest, the *Ab beth din, the father of the Court.*

Sixthly, *John*, as it seemeth, the son of *Annas:* the Governour of *Gophins* and *Acrabatena* in the time of *Nero*, *Joseph. de bello, lib.* 2. *cap.* 25.

Seventhly, *Alexander*, called also *Lysimachus* and *Alabarcha*, of whom we shall have occasion to discourse afterward.

Eighthly, As many as were of the High Priests kindred, Brethren or Cosens of that family: so that by this concourse of all these at this time, divers of whose employment and residence was at distance, it may be the rather supposed that this was at some solemn Festival that had brought them all to *Jerusalem.*

Vers. 7. *And when they had set them in the midst.*

The Sanhedrin sate in half the floor in a circle, Rambam. Sanhedrin, Per. 1. Those who had any thing to do in the Court, stood or sate in the midst of them, *Luke* 2.46.

§. *By what name have you done this.*

So did they very foolishly conceit that the very naming some names might do wonders, as *Acts* 19.13. and the *Talmud. in Shab.* forgeth that *Ben Satda* (they have a blasphemous meaning in this expression) *wrought miracles, by putting the mutterable name within the skin of his foot, and there sewing it up.*

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Vers. 11. *This is the stone which was set at nought.*

In *Psal.* 118.22. which is the place from which this speech is taken, is λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν, *the stone refused*, and so is it, *Matth.* 21.42. and that according to the Hebrew Text: but here the Apostle heightens the expression, that he may set home their abuse of Christ nearer to their hearts, and may shew the humiliation of Christ the more. The Syriack mindeth not this, but translates this place, and *Matth.* 21. 42. by the same word *refused.*

The Chaldee interpretation of the Psalm from whence the phrase is taken, is exceedingly conceited, it runneth thus. *The youth which the builders refused among the sons of Jesse, obtained to be set for King and Governour. This was from the Lord, said the builders, and it is wondrous before us, said the sons of Jesse. This is the day which the Lord hath made, said the builders. Let us be glad and rejoyce in it, said the sons of Jesse. Save us now, said the builders. Prosper us now, said Jesse and his wife. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, said the builders. Let them bless you from the house of the Lord, saith* David.

The Lord give us light, said the Tribes of the house of Judah.

Tie the youth for a Festival sacrifice with cords, until ye offer him up, and pour his blood at the horns of the altar, said Samuel the Prophet, &c.

At which Psalm and place, how far the Chaldee in *Bibliis Regiis*, and the Chaldee in *Bibliis Buxtorfianis*, and *Venetis* do differ, it is worth the Learneds observation.

Vers. 13. *And ignorant men.*

Gr. ἰδιῶται a word exceedingly much taken into use by Jewish writers, and both in them and in Greeks, it signifieth, *Private men, or men in no publick employment*, and *men of inferiour rank*, and *men ignorant or unskilful.* Examples of all these significations might be alledged. *Lucian,* ὁ μὲν πολὺς ὄμιλος ἃς ἰδιώτας οἱ σοφοὶ καλοῦσι. *The common multitude, whom wise men call Idiotæ.* Galen. ἰατρικῆς ἰδιῶται, *unskilful in Physick.* Aben. Ezr. on Levit. 13. vers. 2. *Aaron*, that is, *the Priest anointed in his stead*, or *one of his sons*, that is, הכוהנים הריוטים *Sacerdotes Idiotæ, the inferiour Priests.* Rab. Sol. on Levit. 1. 1. *To what purpose served the pausings? To give Moses space to understand between division and division, sense and sense* קו להדיוט הלומר מן ההדיוט *much more to a private man that learneth from a private man.* זוקנפה.

In all these senses may it very well be applied here; and it is more than probable, all these senses were in the thoughts of the Councel concerning *Peter* and *John* at this time; they saw they were unlearned, private, inferiour, ignorant men, and thereupon they could not but wonder at the miracle and cure that they had wrought.

Vers. 23. *They went to their own company.*

That is, to the Society of the one hundred and twenty mentioned, *Acts* 1.15.

Vers. 25. *Who by the mouth of thy Servant David, hath said,* &c.

The second Psalm which owns not its Author in the Title, the Holy Ghost ascribeth here to *David:* and seemeth by this very passage to give us close intimation, that every Psalm that telleth not in its title who was the Author and Penman of it, is to be ascribed to *David* as the Penman. The rule of the Jews (*that every Psalm that bears not the author of it in the title, is to be reputed of his making who was last named in a title before*) is at a *nonplus* at these two first Psalms, and helps us nothing at all to understand who made them: and thereupon *Aben Ezra* conceiveth not that this second Psalm was made by *David*, but by some of the Singers. But this passage of the Apostles in their prayer, doth not only own *David* for the Compiler of this Psalm, but also teacheth us to own him so of every Psalm, whose Author is not mentioned in the title of it; as might be further confirmed if it were *ad hic & nunc*, from *Psalm* 96. & 105. & 107. & 132. compared with 1 *Chron.* 16. 7. The ancient Rabbins, and Doctors of the Jews, interpreted this Psalm concerning Christ, even as the Apostles do here, as it is confessed by *Solomon Jarchi* at his entrance into it, though himself, and some other latter Jews apply it to *David*, and it may be in spite to Christ.

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Vers. 32, & 33. *Community of goods.*

This community of goods, howsoever it sorted and suited with the present state of the Church at *Jerusalem* at that time; yet can it not be taken up for an example or president for the time to come.

For, first, the thing was not done by command, but at the free disposal of whosoever was minded so to do, *Acts* 5.4.

Secondly, The Lands that were sold, were many of them out of the Land of *Canaan*; for the converts were Jews from all Nations, and one instance is given in the Land of *Barnabas* in *Cyprus*; now when these men were resolved to cleave to the Apostles, and not to return to their own Country; what good would their Lands in those forain Countries do them?

Thirdly, If these Lands and Houses were in *Judea*, as it is undoubted many of them were, it may be supposed that the faithful owners thereof took notice of the threatned destruction of *Jerusalem*, spoken of by our Saviour, and so would part with their estates for the benefit of the Church, before they should be surprized by the enemy.

And fourthly, Thus did God provide against persecution to come; that neither the poor of the Church should fall off through penury, nor the rich start back through worldly mindedness; but by a competent distribution among them, the one might have enough, and the other not too much.

And lastly, Such was the state of the Church at this time, as never was the like to be again. It was but newly born, it was all in one City, the most of the people far resident from their own houses, all in a possibility to be scattered by persecution, they could not tell how soon: and therefore that present administration of the Church in such a case, cannot be any copy for times to come either to follow as a command, or to imitate as a perfection.

This very year was a Jubilee among the Jews in the very proper sense, it being the eight and twentieth that the Land had had since their setling in it: and these people now converted to the Gospel, are so far from returning to their possessions, if they had sold or mortgaged them, as the Jubilee priviledged them, that they part with their possessions that they had in their hands; having by this time learned that the earthly *Canaan* and inheritance, was not that possession that was to be looked after, and that the Kingdom of the *Messias* should not be earthly.

Vers. 36. *Barnabas a Levite, and of the Country of Cyprus, &c.*

As *Saul* a *Benjamite* of the Country of *Tarsus*, yet educated and lived at *Jerusalem*: so did *Barnabas* in *Canaan*, though a *Cypriot* born. He had land to sell though he were a Levite, for the Levites might purchase Lands of their own, even in the Land of *Canaan*: much more might they in forain Countries. *Samuel* a Levite, was born upon his Fathers own Land which had been purchased by his great Grandfather *Zuph*, 1 *Sam.* 1.1. & 9.5. Now *Barnabas* had one motive more to sell his Land, than other of the common believers had; namely, those words of our Saviour to those Disciples that were to be Preachers, *Provide neither silver nor gold, &c. Matth.* 10. 9,10. and this was the ground of *Peters* answer, *Silver and gold have I none*, Chap. 3. 6.

ACTS. CHAP. V.

Vers. 1. *But a certain man named Ananias.*

AMong the offerings of others that sold their Lands, there creepeth in the hypocrisie of *Ananias* and *Saphira*, a couple that at once would have served God and *Mammon*; Vain-glory, or Policy, or both, did here strive with covetousness and distrust, or rather to speak truly indeed, did conspire. They had the formality to sell their Lands as others did, but they had not the sincerity to part with the money as others had. Their double dealing both in word and deed, is fearfully punished with suddain death at this beginning of the Christian Church (as *Nadab*, *Abihu*, and the Sabbath-breaker were at the beginning of the Jewish) that future times might learn from this to beware dissembling with God, and not to dishonour and shame the gifts of the Holy Ghost.

Vers.

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Vers. 3. *To lye to the Holy Ghost*, or rather, *to belie the Holy Ghost.*

It was not the sin only, barely, and simply considered, that provoked and procured so fearful a Judgment upon him, but the sin, as it was circumstantiated and aggravated by some respects. For it seemeth that *Ananias* was not a common or ordinary believer, but one of the Ministerial rank, and one that had received the gift of the Holy Ghost, as well as the rest of the 120. And considerable to this purpose are these two things.

First, That as soon as the Evangelist hath mentioned the pious and upright dealing of *Barnabas* (which was a Preacher) in the sale of his Lands, he cometh to the story of *Ananias*, as a man of the same function, and relateth his wretchedness in the sale of his.

Secondly, That though it be said in vers. 4. ἐψεύσω θεῷ, that he *lied to God*, yet is he said in the third verse ψεύσασθαι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, *To belie the Holy Ghost.* By which Phrase it seemeth that he had received the Holy Ghost among the rest that did receive it; and yet for all that excellent gift in himself, and the excellent gift that he knew in the Apostles; he durst by this base dissembling *belie and shame* the gifts that were in himself, and tempt the power of the Holy Ghost that was in *Peter.*

And thus was *Ananias* much like *Judas*, exceedingly qualified and eminently gifted with the gifts of the Spirit, but like him undone with covetousness, and for it perished by an exemplary end. There was none among all the twelve so fit to give sentence upon this fact as *Peter:* as who might hereby shew his own repentance for his lying and perjury in denying his Master, and that he was intirely repaired and recovered from it, when he durst pass so heavy a doom and judgment upon a lie.

Vers. 13. *And of the rest none durst joyn himself unto them.*

It is some difficulty to resolve, who *these rest* were that durst not knit themselves to the Apostles: the matter may be construed so many ways that it is hard to fix which is the right.

First, It is understood by *Beza* of such as were as yet out of the Church, and yet not strangers to the Kingdom of God, but such as for fear durst not shew themselves, either because of the Jews, or because of the judgment afflicted on *Ananias.*

Secondly, It may be understood of those that were within the Church, yet durst not joyn themselves in Consistory or Presbyterial society with the 120 Disciples, but kept their distance in regard of judging, though they knit with them in communion.

Or thirdly, It may be understood of the 108 Disciples, that were appointed by Christ to be Ministers, and kept in continual society and consistorial association with the Apostles, yet durst not joyn themselves to them in the form or dignity of Apostleship, nor durst offer to parallel themselves to that rank, *yet the people magnified them also:* And this I take to be the very meaning of the place, and that upon these grounds.

First, Because the word λοιπῶν seemeth to import a residue or the rest of their own company, and not the people that were out of the Church, for of them it had been more proper to have said ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων than ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν, as the skilful in the Greek language will readily judge.

Secondly, The joyning here spoken of in regard of the object to whom, is to the Apostles, and not to the Church, as is apparent by the very Grammatical construction.

Especially, thirdly, The word Ἅπαντες in vers. 12. being understood not of the Congregation or whole company of believers, but of the Apostles, as the words immediately before might argue, or rather of the whole number of the 120 as it is taken, *Chap.* 2. 1. And so the sense of all redounds to this; that besides that terrible and dreadful work that was done by *Peter* upon *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, all the other eleven Apostles did great and wondrous miracles among the people, and the whole College and Presbytery of the 120 were unanimously in *Solomons* Porch joyning together in association and advancing the Gospel, but the rest of the 120 durst not one of them joyn themselves to the twelve in the peculiar office and dignity of Apostleship properly so called, having seen so lately the dreadful judgment that one of the twelve had brought upon *Ananias* one of their own number, and seeing the continual wonders that they did in an extraordinary manner among the people, howbeit the people magnified them also, they also having the admirable and wondrous gifts of the Spirit upon them.

Vers.

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Verſ. 15. §. *Peters ſhadow.*

Many miracles were wrought by the Apoſtles hands, and many as it ſeemeth by *Peters* ſhadow: but the Text hath left it ſo indifferent, that it is hard to determine whether it is to be taken in a good ſenſe or a bad, and indeed ſome that have taken it the better way have made it the worſt of all. *Luke* ſaith only thus, *They brought forth the ſick into the ſtreets, and laid them on beds and couches, that at the leaſt the ſhadow of Peter paſſing by might overſhadow ſome of them.* But it neither telleth who they were that laid them, nor a word at all that thoſe were healed that were laid. And it may be thought they were unbelieving Jews that laid them as well as otherwiſe: for believers might have brought them to the Apoſtles, or brought the Apoſtles to them: And it may poſſibly be thought that they laid them there either out of a ſuperſtitious blindneſs, thinking his ſhadow to be miraculous as well as his perſon, or out of a cheating perverſneſs, thinking to gain by his power though they would none of his doctrine: and that none of their ſick were healed becauſe there is no mention of any ſuch healing at all. If we ſhould thus underſtand the ſtory, ſurely we ſhould do leſs wrong to the Text, and to our own underſtandings than ſome have done that have taken it in a better ſenſe. For be it, that God intending to magnifie *Peter* the Miniſter of the circumciſion in the eyes of the circumciſed, did give him a more extraordinary power of miracles, for their ſakes that ſtood upon miracles ſo much, ſo that not only himſelf, but his ſhadow alſo could heal diſeaſes, yet how ridiculous and ſenſleſs is that which *Baronius* would infer hereupon, namely, That *Peter* therefore was Prince of all the Apoſtles: and that therefore the ſhadows or images of holy men are of holy uſe and Religious Worſhip, and that the Pope who is *Peters* ſhadow and repreſentation hath *Peters* power and qualification?

Verſ. 20. *All the words of this life.*

It hath *ſcrupled* divers Expoſitors why the word πάντης ſhould be added here to ζωῆς as ſeeming to bend the meaning and ſenſe to this preſent and temporal life: and thereupon they have concluded that there is an *hypallage* or change of conſtruction, and that τὰ ῥήματα τῆς ζωῆς ταύτης, *the words of this life*, is inſtead of τὰ ῥήματα τῆς ζωῆς ταύτα, *theſe words of life*, and to this ſenſe is it tranſlated by the Syriack: But the conſtruction is eaſie, and the compoſure of the words will appear moſt proper, if the ſeventeenth Verſe be a little ſeriouſly conſidered, it is ſaid there that it was the Sect of the Sadduces that impriſoned the Apoſtles, a generation that denied the Reſurrection, and the life to come; and to this it is that this divine revelation referreth, when it chargeth the Apoſtles, that they ſhould go again into the Temple where they had been apprehended the day before, and impriſoned for preaching the Reſurrection, and that they ſhould not ſpare to ſpeak and utter the doctrine of this life which the Sadduces ſo much denied.

Verſ. 21. *And they called the Councel together, and all the Senate of the children of Iſrael.*

The Syriack reads, *they called their companions and the Elders of Iſrael:* taking Συνέδριον here to mean either their fellows and companions in the ſame Sadducean Opinion and Hereſie, or their fellow Prieſts and Scribes which were not of the *Sanhedrin:* But ſince Συνέδριον will very harſhly bear either of theſe ſenſes, and conſtantly is uſed in another for the *Sanhedrin* or bench of Judges of the LXX Elders: I ſhould take it ſo alſo in this place; and by Πᾶσαν τὴν γερουσίαν *all the Senate*, underſtand the Judges or Elders of the two other Judicatories which were erected, one in the outer Court gate, or in *Solomons* Porch, and the other in the inner or the beautiful gate of the Temple, conſiſting of three and twenty men a piece. *Maymonid. in Sanhed. Per.* 1. And ſo did this buſie High Prieſt call together all the three Courts or Benches of Judges in *Jeruſalem*, an hundred and ſeventeen Elders in all if there were a full appearance, the Lord ſo diſpoſing it, that all his Apoſtles and all his chief enemies might deal it together: And now as that was fulfilled which Chriſt had ſpoken of them; *They ſhall bring you before Councels for my name ſake*, ſo was alſo that which he had promiſed unto them, *that it ſhould be given them what they ſhould ſpeak, that their enemies ſhould not be able to gainſay.* But the Judges of the earth would not be wiſe nor inſtructed to ſerve the Lord and to kiſs *the ſon*, therefore his anger ſhortly kindled, and *Jeruſalem* periſhed in her unbelief.

Verſ.

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Vers. 24. *Now when the High Priest.*

So is it to be understood though in the Greek it be only Ἱερεὺς *the Priest:* and the reason is because, first, *Annas* in this meeting was not the President of the Councel, for which he is called the *High Priest* elsewhere, for this was not a *Sanhedrin*, or the usual Court, but an extraordinary and unusual Convocation: Secondly, Mention is made of Ἀρχιερεῖς immediately after: and Ἀρχιερεὺς & ἀρχιερεῖς would scarcely have sounded well so near together.

Vers. 34. *A Pharisee named Gamaliel, a Doctor of the Law, had in reputation among all the People.*

This was *Pauls* Tutor, *Acts* 22.3. the son of *Simeon*, that took Christ into his arms, *Luke* 2. and the Grandchild of famous *Hillel*. He is called *Gamaliel the Elder*, for there were two others of the same name, one his Grandchild, the other his great Grandchild in the fifth descent; and he is always called *Rabban Gamaliel*, and so likewise were those two his Grandchildren intitled. These being three of the seven, that only carried this title *Rabban*. A title which was of the highest eminency and note, of any title among their Doctors, and that very title sheweth the great reputation he had among the people. In the Talmudick Writers there is very frequent mention of *Rabban Gamaliel*, but scarcely distinguishing which of the three they mean; yet so much to be collected out of them, as to confute that forgery of *Lucians* Epistle (which yet *Baronius* hath graced with this Testimonial: *Narrat* Lucianus *in ea quam totus Christianus orbis recepit Epistola*) that *Gamaliel* became a most zealous Christian, and professor of the Gospel; that he received *Nicodemus* when the Jews had cast him out; and that he buried the body of *Stephen*, and held a solemn mourning for him seventy days.

In *Pirke Abhoth. Perek.* 1. this saying is ascribed to this *Gamaliel*, among the several Adagies of those Doctors עשה לך רב והסתלק מן הספק ואל תרבה לעשר אמרות *Procure thy self a tutor, and get thee out of doubting, and do not multiply to pay thy tithes by conjecture.*

He is held to have died 18 years before the destruction of the City, or about 22 years after this, and *Onkelos* the Targumist of the Law is reported to have burnt threescore and ten pound of Frankincense for him being dead: And by this it is more than a conjecture, that he died not a Christian, but lived and died in his Pharisaical opinions, and profession.

Vers. 36. *For before these days rose up Theudas.*

There is mention of one *Theudas* in the Talmud in *Sanhedr. Perek. Helek.* and he is called a Physitian, *Theudas the Physitian saith, that neither Cow nor Sow cometh from Alexandria:* And there is mention of one *Theudas* a Sorcerer in *Josephus Ant. lib.* 20. *cap.*2. *When Fadus was Governor of Judea, saith he, a wizard named Theudas perswaded a great company to take their goods and to follow him to the river Jordan, for he said he was a Prophet, and that dividing the river by a command he would procure them an easie passage: and thus saying he deceived many. But Fadus suffered them not thus to enjoy their folly, but sent against them a troop of Horse, which falling upon them unexpectedly, slew many, took others alive, and catching Theudas himself, cut off his head and brought it to Jerusalem.*

This were a very ready and easie interpretation of these words of *Gamaliel*, if this great scruple did not lie in the way: namely, that this *Theudas* mentioned by *Josephus*, was about the fourth or fifth year of *Claudius*: but this *Theudas* mentioned by *Gamaliel* was before *Judas* the *Galilean*, which was in the days of *Augustus*: There is a great deal of ado among Expositors what to make of these two stories, so like in substance, but so different in time. Some conceive that *Josephus* hath missed his Chronology, and hath set *Theudas* his story many years later than it fell out: Others refuse *Josephus* his story as not applicable to this *Theudas* of *Gamaliel* [though they hold that he hath spoken true in it] because the time is so different, but they think *Gamaliels Theudas* was some of those villains that so much infested *Judea* in the times of *Sabinus* and *Varus*. *Joseph. Ant. lib.* 17. *c.* 12. though *Josephus* hath not there mentioned him by name.

A third sort conceive that *Gamaliels Theudas* was not before *Judas* the *Galilean*, who rose about the birth of Christ, but a long while after, namely a little before *Gamaliel* speaketh these words: And they render μετὰ τούτων in the strict propriety, namely that it was but a few days before: and μετὰ τοῦτον, not *post eum, after him*, but *præter eum, besides him.*

In

Year of Christ XXXIII. In these varieties of opinions and difficulties, it is hard to resolve which way to take, and it is well that it is a matter of that nature that men may freely use their conjectures in it, and be excusable.

I cannot but observe and conceive these things upon the stories of *Gamaliel* and *Josephus* laid and compared together.

First, That *Gamaliel* meeteth with the double misprision that the present Councel had concerning the Apostles, with a double story. First, They suspected and censured them for false and erroneous Teachers; to this he applies the story of *Theudas*. Secondly, They suspected them of innovation, and of what might tend to mutiny and insurrection, and to this he applieth the story of *Judas*.

Secondly, That the miscariages of these two men that he instanceth in, proceeded from two different and dangerous principles; pretence of new lights and revelations; and pretence of liberty of conscience and of persons. *Theudas* was for the former, *Judas* for the latter.

Thirdly, That *Gamaliels* counsel was not of any Christianity that was in him, but of policy, not that he favoured the Apostles, but that he feared if any thing were done to them by violence or injustice, it might incur a *Premunire* or prejudice; and that is apparent, in that all the Councel consent and entertain his counsel.

Fourthly, That *Gamaliel's Theudas* and *Josephus* his is not all one: their descriptions indeed are very agreeable, for as *Gamaliel* saith that *Theudas* took on him *τινὰ εἶναι to be some body*, of note and eminency, so doth the relation about the *Theudas* in *Josephus*. *Simon Magus* boasted himself *τινὰ μέγαν εἶναι* to be some special person, *Act.* 8. 9. and how did he carry on this arrogation? Why, by magick and doing some strange things among the people: and just in the same kind hath *Josephus* described his *Theudas*, but yet these two *Theudases* seem not to be the same.

Fifthly, For *Josephus* setting the story of his *Theudas* so late as in the time of *Claudius*, a dozen years or thereabouts after this speech of *Gamaliel*, [although it might be said it is no strange thing with *Josephus* to misplace stories, and to faulter in point of exact Chronology, as *Baronius* supposeth he hath done in this] yet seemeth it rather to be upon the very native propriety of the time of the story: And the matter to be conceived thus, that as Sects and Heresies, though buried, yet do oft revive, and though dispersed, yet do recollect: and being once begun are not suddenly extinguished, but like quenched fire are ever breaking out in one place or other, that so it was with this business of *Theudas*. And so also it may be instanced in the very Sect and Opinion of him that *Gamaliel* speaketh of immediately after, namely *Judas* of *Galilee*: He rose up in the days of the tax in the time of *Augustus*, as *Luke* 2. He pleaded against the Jews being subject to the *Romans*, and disswaded them from paying taxes and tribute to them: and maintained they ought to have no ruler over them but God: and so became the original of a fourth Sect among the Jews, besides the Pharisees, Sadducees and Essens, as *Josephus* reports of him. *Antiq. lib.* 18. *cap.* 1. and *de Bell. lib.* 2. *cap.* 12. Now though *Judas* himself perished in his error, and as many as obeyed him were scattered abroad, as *Gamaliel* relateth, yet was not his error extinguished with him, but revived and grew again: So that at the least 40 years after his first appeariug, his two sons *James* and *Simon* are crucified for it by *Tiberius Alexander*, the successor of *Fadus*. *Jos. Antiq. lib.* 20. *cap.* 3. And many years after that, *Eleazer* a branch of the same *Judas* appeareth in the same opinion with a desperate company with him, *De Bel. lib.* 7. *cap.* 30.

Even so may it be conceived of the Sect of *Theudas*: that it began before that of *Judas*, and that the first Author of it took upon him great things, as to be a Prophet, and to work miracles, and the like, but he was soon slain and all that obeyed him were scattered abroad and came to nought. But his folly and fancy perished not with him, but [however at other times] in the time of *Fadus* one of the same foolery and name, and probably his son, would be a Prophet again and divide *Jordan* and do I know not what, whom *Fadus* destroyed and brought his company to ruine. So that *Gamaliels* and *Josephus* his *Theudas*, are very probably two men, but very likely Father and Son, or Tutor and Scholar, agreeing so jump in the same folly and madness that they agreed in the same name: and that name either given to the latter at such an accidency as Parents name their children, or assumed by him in imitation of the former *Theudas*, whom as he delighted to imitate in his Enthusiastick folly, so delighted he to follow him in denomination. And I am the rather confirmed in this opinion about these two men, because that as soon as ever *Josephus* hath told the story of the destruction of *Theudas* by *Fadus*, he telleth of the destruction of the sons of *Judas*, by *Tiberius Alexander*, and I cannot but interpret both the stories in one sense, that as in the latter he speaketh of the off-spring of *Judas*, whose Sect had begun many years before, so in the former he speaketh of the off-spring of *Theudas*, whose Sect had begun before that of *Judas*.

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Verſ. 41. *That they were counted worthy.*

Or, *That they had obtained:* κατηξιώθησαν ſeeming to interpret the word זכו ſo common among the Rabbins which ſoundeth to that ſenſe: and ſo is it not only moſt eaſily, but ſo it muſt be moſt commonly rendred in them: And of the very ſame ſenſe is the Latine word *Mereri* [when it is applied to man with reference to good] generally in the Fathers: As when it is ſaid that the Virgin *Mary*, *meruit eſſe mater redemptoris*, ſhe *obtained* to be the mother of the redeemer, not *ſhe deſerved: Mary Magdalen*, *Audire meruit, Fides tua te ſalvam fecit: ſhe obtained* to hear it ſaid, *Thy faith hath ſaved thee*; and a thouſand ſuch examples might be given, which too many thouſands interpreting by the word *merit*, wreſt an harmleſs word to their own deſtruction.

R. Solomon ſpeaketh of זכות העופות *Meritum volucrium, the priviledge of birds:* and ſome fathers ſpeaking of our obtaining Gods favour and ſalvation and the like, expreſs it, *ſine merito noſtro meruimus, we have obtained it without our merit.*

PART II.

The ROMAN Story.

§. 1. *The ſtate of the City hitherto.*

THE City *Rome* was built by *Romulus* in the year of the World 3175. in the fifteenth year of *Amaziah* King of *Judah*, and in the firſt year of *Jeroboam* the ſecond, the King of *Iſrael*. It had ſtood from the time of its firſt foundation, to this year in which it put the Lord of life to death, ſeven hundred fourſcore and five years; And had undergone and paſſed thorough two different and diverſe kinds of government, and was now but lately entred upon a third.

The firſt was under Kings, for 243 years, and the foundation of this government as of the City it ſelf was laid in the blood of *Remus*, ſhed by his brother *Romulus*, who was the founder of the City.

The ſecond was under Conſuls, 467 years from the expulſion of *Tarquin* the laſt King, to the Conſulſhip of *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, which was the year that *Auguſtus* began to rule, with *Antony* and *Lepidus*. This change of the government, was likewiſe founded in blood as the former had been, namely of *Lucrece*, *Aruns*, and *Brutus*, and in the extirpation of *Tarquins* houſe.

A third manner of government, had the City and Empire now begun upon, and had been under it threeſcore and two years; namely, a monarchy again, but the name only changed from a King to an Emperor. And the foundation of this change was alſo laid in blood as the other had been, namely in the death of *Julius Cæſar*, *Antony* and *Cleopatra*.

The carriage of *Tarquin* the laſt of the Kings had brought the City into an opinion *that Monarchy was an enemy to Liberty:* And the growth and flouriſhing of that State under another manner of government had ſo confirmed this opinion, that they were ſooner put out of their Liberty, than out of belief of that Poſition. *Brutus* and *Collatinus*, who were the expellers of *Tarquin* and of Monarchy with him, had found out a government likely enough in all humane judgment to heal all theſe miſchiefs and miſcarriages, that Monarchical Tyranny did bring upon them, when they appointed two ſupreme Governors in ſtead of one, and their Power and Rule to be but annual in ſtead of, for life. The ſucceſs was agreeable to the policy, and ſo happily and proſperouſly did the State grow under theſe rulers, [and ſome others mixt as occaſion urged], that to offer to reduce it to Monarchy again, was infallibly held to be, to reduce it to ſlavery; and *Julius Cæſar* found how deeply grounded this opinion was in the heart of a *Roman*, by the loſs of his life: they ſuppoſing his affecting the Empire ſingle, aimed at the loſs of their Liberties.

Year of Chriſt XXXIII. *Auguſtus* his Nephew and adopted ſon, though he had before his eyes in *Julius* his death a clear and convincing Lecture, how dangerous and deſperate an attempt it was, to affect the monarchy, yet did he dare it; but managing his deſires and deſigns with ſo much diſcretion and noiſleſneſs, that the government was gotten into his hands alone, and the Empire ſlipt into a monarchical ſubjection even before it was aware.

Tacitus hath deſcribed this ſtrange tranſition to this purpoſe,

"After that *Brutus* and *Caſſius* being ſlain, there was now no publick hoſtility; *Pom-*
"*pey* was cruſhed at *Sicily*, and *Lepidus* being ſtripped of his power, and *Antony* ſlain,
"there remained now no commander on *Julius* his party, but only *Cæſar*, he laying down
"the name of *Triumvir*, and bearing himſelf as Conſul, and as content with the Tribu-
"nate, for the defenſe of the Commons: when he had won the Souldiers with gifts, the
"people with proviſion, and all men with the ſweetneſs of peace, he began to get up by
"degrees, and to draw to himſelf the power of the Senate, Magiſtrates and Law, no
"man gainſaying him: For the fierceſt perſons were either diſpatcht in the armies or by
"baniſhment, the reſt of the Nobles, by how much the more they were the readier for
"vaſſallage, by ſo much the more they were preferred with wealth and honours: and be-
"ing thus inriched by theſe innovations, they deſired rather the ſafe and preſent conditi-
"on, than the ancient and dangerous. Nor did the Provinces refuſe this ſtate of things,
"they having the rule of the Senate and people in ſuſpition, becauſe of the quarrellings
"of the great ones, and the avarice of the Magiſtrates, the Laws affording no relief, but
"themſelves deſtroyed, by power, prowling or money.

Thus did the very poſture of things as it were conſpire with the deſires of *Auguſtus*, to bring the Roman ſtate into a Monarchy, and himſelf to be the Monarch; the decrees and determination of Heaven having ſo ordered, that here ſhould begin a fifth Monarchy after the deſtruction of the four, *Dan.* 2. & 7. which ſhould equal all the four in power, pomp and cruelty, and ſhould be the continual perſecutor of the Church of the Chriſtians, as they had been of the Church of the Jews: And thus doth the Goſpel and the State that ſhould perſecute it in a manner ariſe at once, and Chriſt and Antichriſt after a ſort are born together.

§. 2. *The qualities of Tiberius the preſent Emperor: his damnable diſſimulation.*

Auguſtus as he had got the ſole government into his hands, by a great deal of wiſdom, and daring, ſo did he keep it with the ſame wiſdom, and as much moderation: He ſat Emperor for the ſpace of four and forty years, honoured and beloved, and died deſired and lamented, though he had thus impropriated, as it was conceived, the whole liberty of the Empire into his own hand: Now whether it were the native gentleneſs and goodneſs of the Emperor, that kept him in ſuch a ſweetneſs and moderation; or whether it were ſome policy mingled with it, as knowing it not to be ſafe to be too buſie and rigid ſo near the change, he ſo demeaned himſelf for the benefit of the City, and love of the people, that as he was the firſt of all the Emperors, ſo in a manner was he the laſt that ſhewed ſuch mildneſs, goodneſs, and nobleneſs, either to people or City.

Tyberius ſucceeded him, his Wives ſon by nature, and his by adoption; a man as incomparably evil, unworthy, and cruel, as *Auguſtus* had been glorious, noble, and humane. And if that were true which ſome ſuppoſed and believed, That *Auguſtus* had nominated *Tiberius* for his Succeſſor, that his own worth might be the better ſet off by the others wickedneſs; and that he might be the better ſpoken of, becauſe the other was ſo odious; this his laſt action was more to his diſhonour than all his former; and howſoever *Tiberius* might do him honour by his miſcarriage, yet did he do himſelf diſhonour in *Tyberius*.

This wretch, whoſe Story we are now to follow, was, as his own Tutor uſed to define him, πηλὸς αἱματι πεφυρμένος *A lump of clay mingled with blood*; and that clay and blood mingled with as much miſchievouſneſs, as it was almoſt poſſible for humane nature to contain.

"A diſſembler he was, beyond all parallels and compariſons, φύσει ἰδιωτάτῃ ἐκέχρητο, ſaith
"*Dion*, He had a diſpoſition moſt ſingle to himſelf: For he never made ſhew to what he
"deſired; and he never ſpake as he thought; what he deſired he denied; what he ha-
"ted he pretended to: he ſhewed anger where he loved beſt; he pretended love where
"he hated moſt: he looked ſullenly on his friends, chearfully on his enemies: was fair
"ſpoken to thoſe he meant to puniſh, was moſt ſevere towards thoſe he thought to par-
"don; And it was his *Maxim*, That a Princes mind muſt be known to no man; for
"that by its being known, many evils and inconveniences do follow; but many con-
"veniences by its being diſſembled: Hence did every man that medled with him, come
"into danger; and to underſtand, or not underſtand his mind, was alike perillous. And

"ſome

" ſome have been undone for agreeing to his words, becauſe they agreed not to his *Year of Chriſt*
" mind: and ſome have been undone for agreeing to his mind, becauſe he perceived they XXXIII.
" had found his mind out. And it was a thing of extreme difficulty, either to conſent to
" his words or to gainſay them: when it was his cuſtom to command one thing and to
" will another.

This diſſimulation he began withal at his very firſt entrance to the Empire, pretending great unwillingneſs to take it upon him, and when it was urged on him paſt denial, then pretending to take two partners with him, as to ſhare in the burden and honour: but when *Aſinius Gallus* took him at his word, and bad him chooſe his part, he took it ſo ill, that he dogd him for it to the death. The ſame diſſimulation he took along with him, when he had taken the Empire on him, carrying it with all mildneſs and moderation, as if he had been a ſecond *Auguſtus*, whereas indeed the reaſon was, becauſe *Germanicus* was alive, and moſt dear in the peoples affection, and he feared him leſt he ſhould have been preferred before him.

Yet did his beſt demeanour bewray what he was within, for all his skill in diſſembling, and at the very beſt he gave juſt ſuſpition that he would prove but evil.

He began his reign with the murder of *Agrippa*, a man once in as high favour with *Auguſtus* as himſelf. He went on with the murder of a poor man for a piece of wit: For as a corps was carried to its interring, this man came to it and whiſpered in the dead mans ear: and being asked by the ſtanders by what he meant, he anſwered, that he deſired that dead man when he came into the other world, to tell *Auguſtus* that his Legacies to the people were not yet paid. This coſt the poor man his life, for *Tiberius* ſaid he ſhould go on that meſſage himſelf, and ſo he ſlew him, but this got the people their Legacies.

It would be infinite to reckon up the murders, oppreſſions, and miſcreancy committed by him in the firſt ſeventeen years of his reign, or before this year that we have in hand: The moſt remarkable were that he raiſed *Sejanus* purpoſely that he might help to ruine *Germanicus* and *Druſus*, though they were his own adopted ſons, and when that was done by *Sejanus* he ruined *Sejanus* and all his friends with him. We ſhall have miſchief enough from him in thoſe years that we are to follow him in, namely from his eighteenth and forward, and therefore let the ſtory haſten thither.

§. 3. *The year of Tiberius his reign at our Saviours death.*

This year is determined by common conſent of Hiſtorians to be his eighteenth: and the matter is paſt all doubt, if it were as certain that Chriſt was Baptized in the fifteenth year of *Tiberius*, as it is certain that *John* began to baptize. For whereas *John* began to baptize about the vernal Equinox, and Chriſt was not baptized till the Autumnal, beginning juſt then to enter upon his thirtieth year, and whereas *Tiberius* began to reign about the 18 day of *Auguſt*, as appeareth by the Roman Hiſtorians, the fifteenth year of *Tiberius* in exact accounting was expired ſome weeks before Chriſt was baptized. And therefore though *Luke* ſay that in the fifteenth year of *Tiberius John* came baptizing, *Luke* 3. 1. yet was it in the ſixteenth year of *Tiberius* (as it ſeemeth) before Chriſt came to his baptiſm: and ſo ſhould the death of our Saviour fall into *Tiberius* his nineteenth year. But it is not ſafe to hang the Chronology of all ſucceeding times upon ſo ſmall a pin as this: therefore according to the univerſal conſent and determination of all Chriſtian writers, we will take the eighteenth year of *Tiberius* to have been the year of Chriſts death, reſurrection, and aſcenſion, and accordingly compute and reckon the times of the ſucceeding Emperors that we have to go through proportionate or agreeable to this beginning.

The Roman Conſuls for this year that we have in hand were *Cn. Domitius* and *Camillus Scribonianus*, as is obvious to any eye that counteth, the years and Conſuls in the time of *Tiberius*.

§. 4. *His*

Year of Chriſt XXXIII.

§. 4. *His luſts and beaſtiality.*

HE had certain years before this departed out of *Rome*, reſolving never to return to it again, which indeed he never did, though often taking on him to come, and drawing very near unto the City. The pretence of his departure, * was the grief that he took on him to take for the death of his two ſons, *Germanicus* aud *Druſus*, and the dedication of a Capitol at *Capua* and a Temple at *Nola*: but the reaſons indeed were, partly in diſdain of the authority of his mother *Livia*, partly to avoid the dangers of the City, * partly to outrun the ſhame of his evil actions, and partly that in the retiredneſs of the Country he might be the more freely wicked as not reſtrained by the publick ſhame. This laſt he made good by his badneſs, if ſuch a thing may be ſaid to be made good. For having gotten the liberty of retiredneſs, ſaith * *Suetonius*, and being removed from the eyes of the City, he now let go looſe all the vices that he had ſo long diſſembled. Uncleanneſs both with Boys and Girls, raviſhing both of wives and maids, new invented arts of lechery, and trades of luſt, obſcene bathings and filthy feaſts, and ſuch horribleneſs of beaſtiality that the mention thereof is not fit for a Chriſtians hearing, nay *Rome* her ſelf had not heard of none ſuch till this very time.

* *Sutton in Tibr. cap. 39. 40.*

* *Tacit. Annal. lib. 6.*

* *cap. 42, 43, 44*

§. *His cruelty, and how forwarded.*

Nor, which is wonderful, did he in all this delicacy and effeminateneſs, remit or ungive any thing of his bloodineſs and cruelty, but as in his perſon he plaid the Swine in *Capreæ*, ſo by his letters did he the Lion at *Rome*. The cowardize, and fawning of the Senate from which he was run, and which he ſought to deſtroy, did forward his inhumane diſpoſition exceeding much: for as this inhumanity provoked him to do what miſchief he could, ſo did their compliance ſhew him that he might do what his liſt, *when things were come to that paſs* (ſaith * *Dion*) *that there was no man that could deny, but that he could heartily eat the Emperors fleſh, yet when* Cn. Domitius *and* Camillus Scribonianus *were Conſuls* (*which was the year we have in hand*) *a thing moſt ridiculous came to paſs. For whereas it had been decreed long before, that the Senate ſhould not ſwear to the acts of the Emperor on the firſt day of January, man by man, but that one ſhould take the oath, and the reſt ſhould give their conſent: this year they did not ſo, but of their own offer, and no one conſtraining, they were ſworn every man in particular.*

* *Lib. 58.*

And there befel alſo a thing yet more ridiculous than this. For they decreed that Tiberius ſhould chooſe out of their order as many as he would: and twenty of thoſe choſen by lot and weaponed he ſhould have for his guard whenſoever he ſhould come into the Senate. Now ſeeing that without the Senate houſe all was well guarded with a band of Souldiers, and that no private man came within, for whom elſe would they or could they have this guard added but for themſelves? Tiberius commended their forwardneſs and gave them thanks for their good will, but the thing it ſelf he declined as a thing unuſual: for he was not ſo ſimple, as to put ſwords into their hands whom he ſo much hated, and of whom he was hated ſo much.

Thus *Dion:* and thus the Senate, taken in their own net which they had laid too plain; arming *Tiberius* with ſuſpition, hatred, and power, while they thought to have weaponed themſelves. A far milder nature than his, would hardly have miſſed to have made a domineering uſe of ſuch an opportunity, when their viſible hatred had ſhewed him his own danger, and their cowardly flattery had ſhewed him his power, and how he made advantage of theſe his notions, did appear by the ſequel.

§. 5. *Divers cruelties.*

Sejanus his high exalted favorite, had been found, or at leaſt ſuſpected by him to go about to undermine him as he had done *Druſus* by his ſetting on, and he had the laſt year been put to death upon that certainty, or ſuſpition; and now muſt all his friends, creatures, kindred and adherents, which had been exceeding many to ſo great a favorite, come to the ſame reckoning and ruine with him. And this advantage had the old Politician by his kennelling in the ſolitarineſs of the Country, that both he might be as impudent as he would in putting forward his deſigns, for his letters could not bluſh, and reſolute enough in following them to their accompliſhing, for he was far enough from the danger of the diſcontented City.

He

He began with the confiſcation of *Sejanus* his goods, and went on with the baniſhment of *Junius Gallio* one of his friends. This *Gallio* or *Gallenus* (as *Dion* calleth him) in a baſe flattery to *Tiberius* made the motion that the Souldiers of his guard ſhould at the ſhews ſit in the Knights form: A propoſal more full of ſimplicity and fawning than of any danger or ſuſpition: and yet is he ſharply taken up for it by the Emperors letters, as for an overture of ſedition made by a friend of *Sejanus* as thinking to corrupt the minds of the Souldiers by hope of honours: And for no other fault but this is *Gallio* baniſhed to *Lesbos*, but recalled again ere long, becauſe it was thought by the Emperor that he took delight in the pleaſentneſs of the Iſland, and then he was committed to cuſtody in the Magiſtrates houſes. The ſame letters thunderbolt *Seſtius Paconius*, and either they or the next, do as much for *Latiaris* the betrayer of *Sabinus*, and ſhortly are the like come for *Cæcilianus* a Senator, *Quintus Scrvæus* once Pretor, and *Minutius Thermus* a Knight: and if they came not into the ſame black bill, yet did *Julius Africanus* and *Seius Quadratus* come into the ſame danger.

Tacit. lib. 6. Annal. Dion ubi ſupra.

§. 6. *Strange accuſing.*

Thus came his packets very frequent to the Senate, and ſeldom or never but written in ſome mans blood or other: he being cankered and crafty enough to accuſe and pretend, and the Senate ſo officious and ſerviceable to him, as to condemn and execute. And happy had the condition of the City been, had he reſted there, to have been accuſer only himſelf, but his ſubtle policy had found out a way, and practiſed it, and he thought himſelf happy in it, to ſet ſuch diviſion and ſow ſuch ſeeds of accuſations among the people, that now they do nothing, nor affect nothing more, than to accuſe, impeach and charge one another, and to contrive and compaſs each others death. Cruel and inhumane that he was thus to divide and imbroile his own people and Subjects to deſtroy each other, that the clearer way might be made to his tyranny through their deſtruction; and that he cannot think himſelf an abſolute Prince, nor truly happy, unleſs his people die at his pleaſure or live in miſery. Yet can I not but think of an inviſible hand of juſtice in this deplorate condition of the City and State wrought and brought upon her by her own Prince, that ſhe now periſheth daily and ſadly by her falſe accuſing, and condemning, and deſtroying one another; for at this very time, by falſe accuſation and unjuſt condemning, ſhe had deſtroyed and murdered the Lord of life.

Tiberius inciting the chiefeſt men to miſchief.

Now, ſaith *Tacitus*, *did Tiberius, inciting the chiefeſt men to miſchief, admoniſh C. Cæſtius the father, to tell the Senate what he had written to him: and Cæſtius took upon him to accuſe: A bane which thoſe times brought forth, when the chief men of the Senate would practiſe moſt baſe accuſations, ſome openly, many ſecretly; nor could you then diſcern ſtrangers from kinſmen, friends from men unknown, nor what was new, nor what was obſcure with age: So ſurely were men accuſed of whatſoever they had ſpoken in the open ſtreets or at feaſts, as others could make haſt to prevent, and accuſe them for guilty: ſome for their own refuge, more as infected with contagion and a ſickneſs.* So *Tacitus*.

De benef. lib. 3. cap. 26.

Seneca alſo utters his complaint of theſe doleful times, and alledgeth one example of theſe accuſations, which at once ſheweth the baſeneſs of them and the frequency.

In the times of Tiberius Cæſar, ſaith he, *there was a frequent and almoſt common madneſs of accuſing, which more tormented the gowned City, than all their civil wars had done before. Now the words of drunkards were catched at, and the harmleſneſs of jeſters. Nothing was ſafe, every occaſion of being cruel gave content: Nor was there any expecting of what would be the event of thoſe that were accuſed, for they had all one and the ſame. Paulus the Prætorian was at a certain ſupper or feaſt, having the picture of Tiberius graven in the ſtone of his Ring, which ſomething ſtood forth; I ſhould do but very fooliſhly, if I ſhould pump for words to tell, that he took the Chamberpot, which thing Maro one of the ſpies of thoſe times took ſpeedy notice of. But a ſervant of his for whom the trap was prepared took off his Ring when he was drunk. And when Maro took witneſs of the gueſts that Cæſars Image was laid to a filthy baſe thing, and was ready to ſubſcribe the charge, the ſervant ſhewed the Ring upon his own finger.*

Exceeding many do the Roman Hiſtories mention and nominate, that came to fatal ends, or heavy dooms under the bloodineſs of this inquiſition, but *many and many omitted*, ſaith *Tacitus*, *and not named by the Roman writers, either becauſe they were cloyed with multitude of examples, or leſt, as what they ſuffered was much and grievous to themſelves, ſo likewiſe might it be unto the Reader.*

§. 7. *De-*

§. 7. *Desperate boldness, and discreet.*

In these so dangerous times of the City, and raging humors of the Emperor, it cannot be omitted for the strangeness of it, how two men came off, *Marcus Terentius* by a resolute bravery before the Senate, and *Lucius Sejanus* by a desperate scoff and mocking of the Emperor.

Dion lib. 58. In the sports and feasts of *Flora*, this *Sejanus* being Pretor, had caused all things to be performed by baldheaded men, and by no other, and this he did because *Tiberius* was baldheaded himself. And to make up the scorn to the full, at night, when the company was to depart, he caused five thousand boys with their heads shaven bare, to carry Links and Torches to light them away. And yet *Tiberius* would take no notice of all this though he knew it well enough, either because he would not second his own derision, by taking it to heart, or because he intended to revenge this scorn at some other time, under some other title, or because by this toleration he would animate more to be saucy with him to their own confusion.

A venerable antiquity for shaven crowns.

But far more brave, because far more necessary and discreet, was the courage of *Terentius*, who had the sober and well guided valour, not to thrust himself into danger, but to bring him out. He was accused of dependence upon *Sejanus*, and of complying with him, and he denied not the accusation, but strengthned it, and came off better by extremity of confession than others could do with the utmost of excusing. *I loved*, said he, *and honoured Sejanus, because Tiberius loved him and did him honour: So that if he did well I did not amiss, and if the Emperor that knoweth all things exactly, were deceived, it is no wonder if I were deceived with him. It is not for us to regard or search, for what cause the Emperor promoteth such a man: to him belongeth the property of that judgment, to us the glory of obsequiousness. His treasons against the Commonwealth, and plots against the Emperors life, let them bear the punishment they have deserved, but as for friendship and observance, the same end will acquit Tiberius and us, &c.*

And in this strain and boldness proceeded he on, still driving on his affections to *Sejanus* thorow *Sejanus* to the Emperor, that he led the accusation the same way to light upon him also, insomuch that in an instant his accusers had changed place with him, for they were accused and he discharged.

§. 8. *Other Occurrences of this year.*

But *Tiberius* his humour was too strong to be stopped with such Rhetorick, in behalf of any more, though this prevailed for *Terentius* himself. For presently come accusatory letters against *Sex. Vestilius*, as a libeller against *C. Cæsar*, who to avoid death, by the hand of some other man, would prevent it with his own, and so cut his veins: but tying them up again and repenting his fact he sent a supplicatory petition to the Emperor that he might live: of which receiving but a comfortless answer, he let them open to bleed again. Afterward followed the accusation of *Annius Pollio*, *Apius Silanus*, *Scaurus Mamercus*, *Sabinus Calvisius*: *Vitia* the mother of *Fusius Geminius* late Consul, put to death for nothing but for bewailing the death of her own son; *Vescularius* and *Marinus* executed in *Capreæ*. And *Geminius* and *Celsus* came to such fatal ends towards the end of the year. In this year there was a book of the Sibyls offered to the Senate, but he that offered it was sharply checked by the Emperor for his pains. Some scarsity of provision oppressed the City, and plenty of mocks upon the stage jerked the Emperor, but course was taken ere long for the remedy of both, and for the latter sooner than the former. *Scribonianus* his place of Consulship was often changed according to *Tiberius* his wavering pleasure, the politician craftily shaking and unsetling that ancient government, that his new one of Monarchy might sit the faster. *Flaccus Avilius* was made Governor of *Egypt*, an *Iberian* by birth as may be collected from *Dion*, and a future scourge of the Jews, as will appear hereafter. *Rubrius Fabatus* when he saw the City in so desperate an estate, betook himself to fall to the *Parthians*, but was apprehended by the way, and yet escaped punishment, being forgotten rather than forgiven.

§. 9. *Tiberius perplexed.*

Among all the troubles of that City (that hath been ever the troubler of the world) that befel her this year, when she slew the Prince of quietness and peace, it may not be amiss to look a little upon the disquietness of him himself within himself that caused this disquiet to her, and imbrewed her so oft in her own blood: And this we may do by the Anatomy that *Tacitus* hath read upon his intrals, spying the thoughts of his heart, through the words of a letter, that he wrote in behalf of *Cotta Messalinus* an old favorite of his, the letter bearing the date of this year, as appeareth by the same *Tacitus*, and the words this tenour, as is attested both by him and *Suetonius*. *Quid scribam vobis P. C. aut quomodo scribam, aut quid omnino non scribam hoc tempore, Dii me, Deæque pejus perdant, quem perire quotidie sentio, si scio. What I shall write to you O fathers conscript, or how I shall write, or what I shall not write at all at this time, the gods and goddesses confound me worse than I feel my self to perish daily, if I can tell.* Whereupon *Suetonius* saith, *that being weary of himself, he almost confesseth the sum of his miseries:* But my other author thus largely. *Thus did even his villanies and flagitiousness turn to punishment to himself. Nor was it in vain that the wisest of men was wont to affirm, that if the minds of Tyrants were but opened, tortures and stripes might be spied there: seeing that the mind is butchered with cruelty, lust and evil projects, as the body is with blows. For, not solitariness, not fortune, could protect Tiberius, but that he confesseth the torments of his breast, and his own punishment.* *Sueton in Tiber. c. 67.*

PART III.

The affairs of the *JEWS.*

§. 1. *A commotion of them.*

IF the Method of *Josephus* were Chronical, and the order of his ranking of Stories to be presumed for the order of their falling out, at this time or hereabout should be taken in that * *famosum ludibrium* as *Egesippus* calleth it, or villanous abuse of *Paulina* a noble, chaste and vertuous wife and Lady of *Rome*, by *Mundus* a Knight, under pretext of the god *Anubis* in the Temple of *Isis:* for this hath * he mentioned the very next thing after the mention of our Saviours death, and with this link of connexion. *About the very same time another grievance troubled the Jews, and shameful things happened about the Temple of Isis at Rome, &c.* But since the story concerning the troubles of the Jews, that he relateth after, seemeth to have some near dependence and consequence to this of the Lady, and that * *Tacitus* hath laid that occurrence of the Jews expulsion out of *Rome* thirteen years before this, under the consulship of *Junius Silanus* and *Norbanus Flaccus*, we will omit to meddle with them, and will take in another story of the Jews which though *Josephus* hath placed a little before Christs death, yet *Eusebius* hath set it after, and upon his word shall it be commended to the reader for its time, and upon the others and *Philoes* for its truth.

* *Egesip. de excid. Jerus. l. 2. cap 4.*

* *Joseph. Antiqu. lib. 18. c. 4.*

* *Annal. lib. 2.*

Pilate (as * saith *Josephus*) having secretly brought into *Jerusalem* by night certain Images of *Cæsar* and set them up, the people when the matter was known, repaired to him to *Cæsarea*, begging that they might be taken down: which when he denied as a thing prejudicial to *Cæsar*; they fell flat upon the ground, and there lay five days and five nights and stirred not thence. On the sixth day he pretending to give them an answer from the judgment seat, doth suddenly environ them with armed men, threatning their death if they cease not their importunity. But they falling upon the ground again and laying their necks bare, return him this answer. *That they would gladly imbrace death rather than transgress the wisdom of their Laws.* Whose resolution when *Pilate* saw, he caused the Images to be fetched away from *Jerusalem* to *Cæsarea*. To this purpose *Josephus*; but *Philo* far differently thus. * *Pilate*, saith he, dedicated golden shields in the Palace of *Herod* in the holy City, not so much for the honour of *Tiberius*, as to vex the people of the Jews; upon them there was neither picture, nor any thing that was forbidden, but only the inscription shewed who had dedicated them, and to whom. Yet when the multitude had understanding of the thing, and the matter was divulged, they chose

* *Antiq lib. 18. cap 4. & de bello Jud. c. 12.*

* *Philo in legat. ad Caium.*

choſe certain of the higheſt rank among them for their advocates, who beſought him, that the innovation might be taken away, and that their Laws might not. When he roughly denied, for he was naturally inflexible and ſelf-wilfully ſturdy, they make fair before him as if they would petition to *Tiberius*. Now that fretted him worſt of all, for he was afraid leſt they ſhould do ſo indeed, and accuſe him for his other crimes, his bribery, wrongs, rapines, injuries, oppreſſions, murders and horrid cruelties, and yet durſt he not take down again what he had dedicated, nor had he any mind to pleaſure the people. Which when they perceived they ſent a moſt humble petition to *Tiberius*: who underſtanding what *Pilate* had done and what he had threatned, rebuked and checked him for his innovating boldneſs, and commanded him ſpeedily to take the ſhields away; and ſo they were removed from *Jeruſalem* to *Cæſarea*. Thus *Philo*, and thus differently theſe two Country men, and that in a matter which ſo nearly concerned their own Country: and which alſo befel ſo near unto their own times. For *Philo* was now alive and in his prime, and ſo was *Joſephus* leſs than thirty years after. Be it referred to the readers choice which of theſe relations he will take, and when he hath made his choice, another difference falleth under his arbitration concerning the time, betwixt *Euſebius* which placeth this occurrence after our Saviours paſſion, and *Baronius* that hath ſet it three years before his baptiſm. The Cardinal certainly too forward in bringing it in in the firſt year of *Pilate*, for it appeareth by *Philo* that he had done a great multitude of villanies among the Jews before he did this: and the Father if any whit too backward in ranking it after our Saviours death, yet excuſable for a thing of ſo pregnant application, as to ſhew how ſoon the Jews that had choſen *Cæſar* before Chriſt, have now their belly full of their *Cæſar* in his Images.

§. 2. *Of James his being Biſhop of Jeruſalem.*

The two laſt cited Authors though they differ about the time of the ſtory forenamed, yet have they agreed unanimouſly, and many others with them about this in hand, namely, that *James* was made this year the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. For thus *Euſebius*, *Eccleſiæ Hieroſolymorum primus Epiſcopus ab Apoſtolis ordinatur Jacobus frater Domini*. But *Baronius* far larger, *that he was ordained Biſhop by Peter, that his chair was preſerved and reverenced to poſterity, that he wore a plate of gold upon his head like the High Prieſt in the Law*, from whence he would derive the Miter: *that he alone might go into the Sanctum Sanctorum, that he refrained from wine and fleſh, that he was a Nazarite, that his knees were hardned with continual praying till they were unſenſible*, and ſuch like ſtuff for which he citeth his ſeveral Authors, that if common ſenſe were not a better informer than common fame, we ſhould be made to believe any thing whatſoever. The queſtion indeed whether *James* were ever Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* at all or no, is very well worth taking into ſome conſideration, but that will be moſt proper to handle when we come to thoſe places in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, where a ſingular mention of *James* hath given occaſion of this opinion; But as for his prototype of Miters, the peoples woodden devotion to his chair, and the reſt of that legendary invention, he is little acquainted with the officiouſneſs of ſuperſtition, that knoweth not out of what mint that cometh, and he hath little to do that ſhould go about to examine the truth of it, but he hath the leaſt of all to do that ſhould believe it.

THE

CHRISTIAN, JEWISH, AND ROMAN HISTORY OF The Year of CHRIST XXXIV.

And of the Emperor TIBERIUS, XIX.

Being the Year of the WORLD 3961.

Consuls { *Sergius Sulpitius Galba.*
L. Cornelius Sulla.

By *JOHN LIGHTFOOT* D.D.

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MDCLXXXII.

Sect. *An account of the Chronologie.*

ALthough the proper reckoning of every year of our Saviour, be from *September* to *September*, (for at that time of the year he was born) and so his three and thirtieth year should have been ended by us, within 4 months or little more after the giving of the Holy Ghost, yet because it will not be possible to date the times of things in any of the three stories that we have in hand, from such a beginning, and because both the Roman Historians do reckon the years of their City, as also the Christian Histories, the years of Christ from *January* to *January*, I have chosen to follow that computation and manner of accounting, or rather (to speak properly indeed) I have been inforced to follow it, there being not only various and pregnant helps both from Romans and Christians to forward us in that manner of reckoning, but there being also an utter impossibility to reckon or compute from any other beginning or calculation: now as for those stories that we are to follow in the *Acts of the Apostles*, the holy Ghost hath not been so punctual and exact, to give us the times of the things, as to give us things themselves; The Chronicle chain of the times indeed is drawn up by the Scripture from the Creation, to the death of our Saviour (which was the fulness of time) with all care and accurateness: but from thence forward not so strictly or observantly exhibited and held forth, nor indeed was it requisite that it should so be. To annalize therefore the story of this book of the *Acts*, as it cannot but prove a matter of great difficulty, so will it prove but a matter of conjecture when we have done what we can, and both these proceed from this ground and reason, because the holy Ghost hath been very sparing, if not utterly silent, in giving account of the times in the new Testament from the death of Christ forward, that great business in his death being accomplished and fulfilled, for which alone the succession of times was reckoned and recorded: we shall therefore in the casting of passages and occurences into several years, as we go along, present them under their proper notion of conjecture, yet shewing some ground work and reason of what we do: and though it may be we may not always hit aright, in fixing every thing to its proper year, yet hope we to find here and there some such main pins as whereon to hang a sum of divers years joyned together, and to settle them fast, although we cannot so perfectly find a general nail whereby to fasten the occurrences of every several year by it self.

We may take an instance in the story at which we now are, the choosing of the seven Deacons: It is not possible, positively to determine at what time this was done, it may be it was before the three and thirtieth year of our Saviour was expired, namely, before *September* next after his Ascension, it may be again it was not before *September*, but betwixt it and *January* next following, or it may be it was not before *January* but after it, in this year that we are entring upon; there is alike uncertainty in all these things, if we should come to try the times of this particular thing by it self, but when we shall come to examine and take up the time of *Pauls* conversion, then will some steadiness of the time of this appear, and the nail that fastneth that, will so clench up all the stories betwixt that and the descension of the Holy Ghost, or all the stories from the end of the second Chapter to the beginning of the ninth, that they will not hang altogether loose, but have some fixedness to their proper time.

Acts VI.

Vers. 1. *There was a murmuring of the Grecians.*

IN the Greek it is, *Of the Helenists:* which word is also used, Chap. 9. 29. and 11. 20. and is of no small controversie for the sense, whether it mean Greeks that lived among the Jews, or Jews that lived among the Greeks. Whether Greeks that were converted to the Jewish Religion, or Jews that used the Greek tongue; but the latter seemeth to be the proper meaning of it upon these grounds.

1. Because proselyted Greeks (which some think *Hellenistæ* means) are expresly called Ἕλληνες, *John* 12. 20. and τὸς Ἕλληνὰς, *Joseph. Ant. lib.* 18 *cap.* 4. And not *Hellenistæ.*

2. Because the very form of the word *Hellinista* doth more properly import a Jew ingrafted into the Greeks, than a Greek ingrafted into the Jews.

3. Because whereas *Judæus* and *Hellen* distinguish the two nations *Jew* and *Greek* all along in the Scripture, *Hebræus* and *Hellenista* must needs signifie something else here.

5. Because

4. Because if by *Hellenistæ* had been meant the converted Greeks, it had been most proper in contradiction to them to have said πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους and not πρὸς τοὺς Ἑβραίους.

5. Because the story from the beginning of this book hither maketh the Church to consist most especially of Jews, as Chap. 2. 5, 22. and 3. 12. and though it mention proselytes among them, yet seemeth it most improbable that their number shall be so great as to have seven Deacons chosen for them.

6. Because *Nicolas* one of the seven, is expressly called *a Proselyte of Antioch*, which had been somewhat improper if all the business had only concerned Proselytes.

By these and some other reasons that might be produced, it is most proper to apprehend and conceive that these Hellenists were Jews of the Grecian dispersion and plantations, that lived among the Greeks, and used their language: and which may be called *the western dispersion*, not only in regard of the situation of their dwellings; but chiefly in difference from the Eastern captivities carried away by the Assyrians and Persians: and also because they used Western tongues. And to this sense it soundeth when it is said *the Hellenists murmured against the Hebrews:* namely that both they that murmured and they that were murmured against were Jews, but the one party called Hebrews and the other Hellenists in reference to their language and residence. The Hebrews in *Judea* or in the Countries of the Eastern dispersion, and the other in the Countries and Colonies of the Western. And in this sense is that easily understood which is spoken of *Paul*, Chap. 9. 29. that *he spake and questioned with the Hellenists*, namely, because he spake their language, the Greek tongue, he being born in *Tarsus*, where they had Greek Schools. And that in Chap. 11. 19, 20. *They that were scattered spake the word to none but to the Jews only*, and yet some spake to the Hellenists at *Antioch*, they that spake being themselves Hellenists by birth, or Jews born in *Cyprus* and *Cyrene*, in Greek Colonies, and so dealt with them of *Antioch* that were of the same native reference that they were.

Sect. *Were neglected in the dayly ministration.*

That is, in the daily distribution of Alms, or the stock of the Church, as the Text and reason it self maketh it plain enough, though some have conceived that it is to be taken passively, as if these widdows had been hindred from ministring to the Apostles as women had ministred to our Saviour.

Vers. 2. *Then the twelve called the multitude of the Disciples unto them.*

Not the whole multitude of believers, which at this time were grown to very many thousands: but the whole number of the Presbytery or the 108 of whom mention hath been made before. For 1. how needless was it that eight or ten thousand people should meet togther about this business to choose six or seven men? And 2. how impossible was it there should be a joynt choice, where the distance and diversities of Countries and Languages had made them so great strangers one to another; and when some discontents had driven them into murmurings already? 3. They that chose the seven are bidden to look out *among themselves*, *men full of the Holy Ghost*, which among the number of common believers was very hard, if at all possible to find: for we cannot ever find, that the Holy Ghost had come down upon any but the 120. And whereas they are required to be *of honest report and wisdom*, it doth not infer that any of the 108. were otherwise, but because there was difference of eminencies and excellencies among them.

Vers. 3. *Seven men.*

This number may seem to refer to the seven Nations of the Western Jews who had made the complaint, *Cappadocians*, *Ponticks*, *Asians*, *Phrygians*, *Pamphilians*, *Romans*, *and Cretans.*

Sect. *The Office of Deacons.*

1. It was not ministerial or for the preaching of the word, but for providing for the poor; for as the occasion of their election was complaint of the poor, so the end of their choice was to provide for their relief. It is true indeed that these seven men, at the least two of them, *Stephen* and *Philip*, were Preachers of the word as well as overseers of the poor: but this their ministerial function they had before their Deaconry, not with it. For

it

it is not only the opinion of *Epiphanius*, but even ſenſe and reaſon do give their vote with him, that theſe men were of the number of the Seventy, or at the leaſt of the 108. that had been Chriſts conſtant followers and diſciples: and ſo had received their miniſterial function from Chriſt and not from the Apoſtles, and it was not an addition to their Deaconry, but their Deacon to it: For the Text telleth plainly that *they were full of the Holy Ghoſt* before they received the impoſition of hands, and ſo had in all probability, yea indeed paſt denial, received the Holy Ghoſt when the 120. did, they being ſome of that number.

2. Thoſe tables for which the office of Deaconry was ordained, were not holy Tables but common. For 1. The twelve ſet an inconſiſtenc between ſerving theſe Tables, and preaching the Word, *Verſ.* 2. which they would never have done, if ſerving of Tables had been the attending upon the Sacrament of the Lords Supper. 2. The ſerving of Tables that they mean, they put over from themſelves to the Deacons, but none can think that they would ever reſign or give over the adminiſtring the Sacrament. 3. There were Miniſters enough already for the adminiſtration and attending upon the Sacrament, and there needed no new ordination or office for it.

3. The office of the Deacons was to take care of the poor according to their ſeveral wants; to gather and receive collections for them, to diſtribute to them, to overſee them, and to miniſter to them in their neceſſities, and therefore it is no wonder if the Apoſtles were ſo circumſpect in their election, and ſo obſervant in their ordination. For theſe ſeven were to take this work of the Apoſtles out of their hands, and to diſpoſe of the ſtock the Church, and upon whoſe care the ſupport of the poor was to depend, and their welfare upon their incorruption, and then it is no marvel if they were choſen men of good report: and they were to converſe with variety of languages and nations, and therefore it was needful they ſhould be *full of the Holy Ghoſt*, inabling them to converſe with them in their divers tongues.

Verſ. 5. *Prochorus.*

Sect. *The book of the life of John the Evangeliſt under his name forged.*

Of *Prochorus*, *Nicanor*, *Timon* and *Parmenas* there is no mention in Scripture. The book that beareth the name of *Prochorus*, *concerning the life, miracles and aſſumption of John the Evangeliſt*, doth juſtly bear this brand in its forehead as it ſtands in *Bilioth. Patr. Tom.* 7. *Hiſtoria hæc Apocrypha eſt, fabuloſa, & indigna proſus quæ legatur.* The Author bewrayeth himſelf to be a Romaniſt, by the ſign of the croſs and the local deſcent *cap.* 3. by *Linus* and *Domitian* diſputing about the coming of Chriſt, and by *John Port-Latin*, *cap.* 10. and by other viſible ſignes, although he had thought he had put on a vizor ſufficient to have hidden that, when he bringeth in *Peter* calling *John the prime Apoſtle*, even in the beginning of firſt Chapter. But that none may loſe ſo much time as to read him over, let him take a patern of the reſt of his pedlary ware out of the twentieth Chapter, where he bringeth in *John* writing a letter to the Devil that poſſeſſed a man, and by that letter caſting him out.

Sect. *Nicolas a Proſelite of Antioch.*

He is held to have been the author and occaſion of the Sect of the *Nicolaitans*, *Rev.* 2. 6, 15. *Iren. lib.* 1. *cap.* 27. *Euſeb. hiſt. lib.* 3. *cap.* 29. A ſect that miſconſtrued the doctrine of Chriſtian communitie and Chriſtian liberty, to all uncleaneſs and licentiouſneſs: but whether it began to be ſo miſconſtrued by *Nicolas* himſelf, or by ſome of his followers, as the *Sadduces* abuſed a good doctrine of *Sadoc* to a damnable Hereſie, it is difficult to determine, and this is not the proper place to examine it.

Verſ. 7. *A great company of the Prieſts were obedient to the Faith.*

I cannot but wonder at the boldneſs of *Beza* in this place, and indeed in hundreds of other places: for he doth rather ſuſpect the truth and purity of this Text, than believe the ſtory that ſo many Prieſts ſhould believe: And yet it ſeemeth, among all his Greek Copies there was not one that read otherwiſe. Truly it is a daring that deſerves caſtigation in him, that when he either underſtandeth not the perfect meaning of a place, or findeth difficulty in it, or hath fancied a ſenſe contrary to it, that he ſhould throw dirt into the face of the Scripture, and deny the purity of the Greek text, before he will ungive

ungive any thing of his own groundleſs opinion: Honorable is the memory of that man in the Church of God, and his name as a ſweet perfume among us, but I would this his boldneſs which he took to himſelf continually, had not given ſo great occaſion to Jews and Papiſts to bark againſt the purity of the Text and the truth of the Goſpel as it hath done.

Verſ. 9. *The Synagouge of the Libertines.*

That is, of Jews that were freeborn, (as *Paul Act.* 22. 28.) *viz.* the ſons of thoſe Jews that had obtained the Roman freedom: He that from a ſlave or ſervant obtained manumiſſion and liberty, was called *libertus*, and his child, born to him in this freedom, was *libertinus.*

Verſ. 15. *His face as the face of an Angel.*

Stephen is accuſed by the ſtudents of this *Libertine Colledge*, of blaſphemy againſt *Moſes* and the Temple, for preaching of the deſtruction of his ceremonies and of that place, whereas he ſpake but what *Moſes* and an Angel had foretold before, *Deut.* 28. and 32. *Dan.* 9. and accordingly his face hath the ſplendor of an Angel, and ſhineth like the face of *Moſes.*

Acts VII.

Verſ. 2. *Men, Brethren.*

THAT is, *Brethren:* for the word *men* is added only by an Hebrew Elegancy and cuſtom, as *Gen.* 13. 8. *we are Men, Brethren*, which our Engliſh hath well rendred, *we are Brethren*, ſo verſ. 26. of this Chapter.

§. *When he was in Meſopotamia.*

For *Chaldea* was alſo reckoned to *Meſopotamia*: and ſo *Pliny* accounteth it, *Lib.6. Nat. Hiſt. cap.* 26. *Babylon Chaldaicarum gentium caput diu ſummam claritatem obtinuit in toto orbe, propter quam reliqua pars Meſopotamiæ Aſſyriæque Babylonia appellata eſt.* And afterwards, *Sunt etiamnum in Meſopotamia Hipparenum, Chaldæorum & hoc, ſicut Babylon:* And preſently after, *Orchein quoque tertia Chaldæorum doctrina, in eodem ſitu locantur.*

Verſ. 3. *And ſaid unto him, Get thee out of thy Country.*

Divers expoſitors have intricated themſelves into a perplexitie, they cannot well tell how to get out of, by ſuppoſing theſe words, and the words of *Moſes*, *Gen.* 12. 1. to be the ſame, and to ſpeak of the ſame time and thing: whereas they are viſibly and vaſtly diſtant and different, and they mean two ſeveral calls of God to *Abraham*, the one in *Chaldea*, the other in *Charran:* In *Chaldea* God appears to him, and bids him *Get thee out of thy Country and from thy kindred*, but maketh no mention of leaving his fathers houſe, for that he took along with him, *Gen.* 11. 31. The Holy Ghoſt indeed hath aſcribed the conduct of this journy to *Terah* as if he had received the call, and had been the chief mover in the buſineſs, but it is only to ſhew his converſion and forſaking of his native Country and Idolatry, and his readineſs to go with *Abram* when God calleth *Abram*: but that the call was to *Abram*, it is not only aſſerted by *Stephen* here, and *Joſhuah* Chap, 24. 2. but alſo confeſſed by ſome of the Jews themſelves, as *Aben Ezra* on *Gen.* 12. 1. *The Lord commanded Abram whilſt he was yet in Ur of the Chaldees that he ſhould leave his Country.* But when God calls him from *Haran* or *Charran*, he then bids him depart *from his fathers houſe* as well as he had done from his country and kindred before, for now he left his brother *Nahor* and all his fathers houſe behind him. Had this been obſerved, there could never ſo many ſcruples have riſen about *Terahs* age at *Abrahams* birth, nor about *Abrahams* journey, as there have done; nor would there be ſuch ambiguity about tranſlating the word ויאמר *Gen.* 12. 1. as there hath been: The ſtory in *Geneſis* runs current and in a continuation: and may be illuſtrated in this *Paraphraſe*: God in *Ur* of the Chaldees appeared to *Abraham* and ſaid unto him, Get thee out of thy Country and from thy kindred, but take thy fathers houſe with thee and go to a land which I ſhall ſhew thee: And when *Abram* told *Terah* of this command, *Terah* condeſcended and conſented; And

Terah

Terah took *Abram*, and *Lot* and *Sarai*, and *they* (*Terah* and *Abram*) went with them from *Ur* to *Haran* and dwelt there: And *Terah* died in *Haran*; And then God ſaith to *Abram*, Get thee out of thy Country and from thy kindred, and *from thy fathers houſe alſo now*, and go into *Canaan*, &c. And to take away all cavils that might be made againſt the matter in this reſpect, in that both *Ur* and *Haran*, are called *Abrams country and kindred*, *Stephen* hath laid them both in *Meſopotamia*, as is noted before.

Verſ. 5. *Not ſo much as to ſet his foot on.*

As *Deut.* 2. 5. *Abram* was forced to buy a place of burial, though all the land was given him by promiſe.

Verſ. 6. *And intreat them evil four hundred years.*

There is a double ſum of years mentioned concerning the ſeed of *Abraham*, namely four hundred, and four hundred and thirty, *Gen.* 15. 13. *Exod.* 12. 40. The four hundred and thirty was from *Abrams* receiving of the promiſe, to the delivery out of *Egypt*. And the four hundred was from the fifth year of *Iſaac* to that delivery: Then did *Iſmael* mock and then began affliction to *Abrahams* ſeed, and from thence they were in affliction and ſojourning, in a ſtrange land *Canaan* and *Egypt*, four hundred years: See the LXX at *Exod.* 12. 40.

Verſ. 7. *And ſerve me in this place.*

This clauſe is here alledged by *Steven* as if it had been ſpoken to *Abraham*, whereas it was ſpoken to *Moſes* four hundred years after, but the holy Ghoſt uſeth to ſpeak ſhort in known ſtories, as *Matth.* 1. 12. 1 *Chron.* 1. 36. *Mark* 1. 2, 3. &c.

Verſ. 14. *Threeſcore and fifteen ſouls.*

Whereas *Moſes* ſaith that all the ſouls of the family of *Jacob* that went down into *Egypt* were but threeſcore and ten, *Gen.* 46. 27. *Exod.* 1. 5. *Deut.* 10. 22. *Stephen* inlargeth the number, and ſaith *threeſcore and fifteen*: and herein he followeth the *septuagint* who in the two firſt cited places have that ſum: and they make up the account in *Gen.* 46. by fetching the names of five children of *Joſeph* out of the book of *Chronicles*, which *Moſes* mentioned not, and which indeed were not born at their going into *Egypt* but after, and theſe are *Machir*, *Giliad*, *Shutelah*, *Tahen*, and *Eden*: and the reaſon of this their reckoning I have ſhewed elſwhere, *viz.* *In Harm. of Evang. at Luke* 3. 36.

Verſ. 16. *And were carried over into Sichem, &c.*

The ſhortneſs of the Language in this verſe hath bred ſome difficulty, and as *Stephens* ſpeaking more than *Moſes* in the Verſe foregoing, was the cauſe of ſome obſcurity there, ſo is it a cauſe of more in this verſe, for that he hath not ſpoken ſo much. *Moſes* hath told that *Jacob* was buried in *Hebron*, *Stephen* here ſpeaks as if he had been buried in *Sichem*. *Moſes* maketh *Jacob* the buyer of the land of *Emor the father of Sichem*, *Steven* ſeemeth to make *Abraham* the buyer of it: And in concluſion to make *Jacob* and his twelve ſons to lie in one Sepulcher, and *Abrahams* and *Jacobs* purchaſe to be but one and the ſame. Now *Stephen* and *Moſes* ſpeak but the ſame thing, and intend the ſame meaning, only *Stephen* uſeth ſhortneſs of ſpeech in relating a ſtory which was ſo well known that a word was enough for a ſentence: and he ſpake in a language which had its propriеties and Idioms, which thoſe that heard him, eaſily underſtood.

[*And were carried over into Sichem.*] The Syriack and Arabick apply this only to *Jacob*, for they read it in the ſingular number, *He was tranſlated*, directly croſs and contrary to *Moſes* who telleth plainly that *Jacobs* burial was in *Hebron*, *Gen.* 50. 13. And in *Hebron* *Joſephus* would have all the ſons of *Jacob* buried likewiſe, *Antiq. lib.* 2. *cap.* 4. and by his report they were buried there before *Joſeph*, for that they were brought thither as they died, but *Joſephs* burial was put over, till all the Nation came out of *Egypt*: Now it is not to be imagined that *Stephen*, a man ſo full of the Holy Ghoſt, would ever have ſpoken a thing in which every ordinary man, woman or child that heard him, could ſo eaſily have confuted him, as they might have done if the twelve Patriarks had been buried in *Hebron*, much leſs when he ſpake to the Councel and to men of learning and

underſtanding, that would readily have tript him, if he had faltered in ſo plain and common a ſtory: therefore it is paſt all doubting, that *Sichem* was knownly and generally reputed the place of the Patriarks burial: For as, although there be mention only of *Moſes* bringing up the bones of *Joſeph*, *Exod.* 13. 19. yet *R. Solomon* well obſerveth that *we may learn from that very place that the bones of all the Patriarks were brought up with him:* ſo though there be mention of the burial of *Joſeph* only in *Sichem*, *Joſh.* 24. 32. and no record of the burial of the reſt of the twelve there: yet might it very well be ſuppoſed, had not *Stephen* aſſerted in that they were alſo buried there with him. For we may prove the bringing of their bones out of *Egypt*, yea though *Stephen* had not told it;

For, 1. The ſame cauſe that moved *Joſeph* to deſire burial in the land of *Canaan* could not but move the other of the twelve to deſire the like: were it in faith in the promiſe, or becauſe of the intereſt in the Land, or in hope of the reſurrection, all the reſt had the very ſame principles to move them to it that *Joſeph* had.

2. The reſt of the Tribes bare the ſame honour to their Patriarks, that the Tribe of *Joſeph* did to him, and therefore if they, in honour to *Joſeph* would preſerve his bones (that at their removal, they might be taken out of *Egypt*) the children of thereſt of the Tribes would do ſo by their Patriarks alſo.

3. To which might be added the kind of neceſſity which there was that the twelve Fathers of the Church of *Iſrael*, and heirs of the Land of *Canaan* ſhould have their interment in that Land, and not be left in the land of bondage.

So likewiſe may there be arguments ſufficient to prove that they were buried with his bones in *Sichem*. As 1. There was no reaſon they ſhould be ſevered in the burial who had been united in their removal. 2. *Joſephs* bones were moſt regardable, and the ſame Sepulcher that ſerved him, would have beſt befit them. 3. The convocation of all *Iſrael* by *Joſhua* was to *Sichem*, and there, upon their poſſeſſing of the land he makes a covenant betwixt them and God, and it is incomparably more probable that they ſhould bury the bones of all the Patriarks there, than in *Hebron*, where we do not read that *Joſhua* ever came but to deſtroy the City.

Now the reaſon why *Stephen* ſpeaking of the burials of *Jacob* and his ſons which were in diſtant and different places, doth yet couch their ſtory ſo cloſe together, as if they were all laid together in the ſame place, is,

1. Becauſe treating of two numbers ſo unequal, as twelve and one, he firſt followeth the ſtory of the greater number.

2. He uſeth the ſingular number for the plural, *Sepulcher* for *Sepulchers*, which is a thing ſo common, as that nothing is more common in the Scripture Language.

3. He uſeth an *Ellipſis* or cutting off of the conjunction *Van* or *And*, which alſo is exceeding common in the ſame Language, as 1 *Sam.* 6. 19. *Pſalm.* 133. 3. 2 *Kings* 23. 8. and divers other places.

So that though he ſpake ſo very curt and ſhort as he did, yet to them that were well enough acquainted, both with the ſtory it ſelf, and with ſuch Hebraiſms, his ſhortneſs would breed no obſcurity, but would they readily take him in this ſenſe: *And* Jacob *and our Fathers died, and were removed to Sichem, and were laid in Sepulchers, in that which Abraham bought for mony, and in that that was bought from the ſons of Emmor, the Father of Sichem.*

Verſ. 20. *And was exceeding fair.*

Gr. [*Fair to God*] He was a goodly child, ſupernaturally born, when his mother was paſt the natural courſe of childbearing.

Verſ. 22. *And Moſes was learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians.*

This *Steven* ſpeaketh by neceſſary conſequence from his Princely education.

Verſ. 23. *And when he was full forty years old.*

There are that ſay that Moſes was forty years in Pharaohs Palace, forty years in Midian, and forty years in the wilderneſs. Tauchuna in Exod. 2.

Verſ. 43. *Ye took up the Tabernacle of Moloch, &c.*

I. In *Amos* the words lie thus, Chap. 5.26. ונשאתם את סכות מלככם ואת כיון צלמיכם which the Rabbins *Kimchi* and *Iarchi* conſtrue in the future Tenſe, and take it for a threatning of their puniſhment as much as an upbraiding of their ſin: as if he ſhould have ſaid unto them, *ye would not take up the Commandments of the Lord to bear them, but you ſhall bear your Idols into captivity with you, and your enemies ſhall lay them upon your ſhoulders:* And this might have been a very plauſible and fair ſenſe, but that *Steven* hath taught us to conſtrue the Verb in the time paſt, and not in the time to come, and to read it thus, *ye have born* or *taken up, &c.*

II. Now the fixing of this time when *Iſrael* took up this Idolatry is ſomewhat difficult: It is ſome facilitating of the matter if we can be ſure it was not in the forty years in the Wilderneſs: And that appears to be ſo, by the very ſcope of *Stevens* ſpeech: for 1. he telleth that they made a golden calf in the verſe before: and that God for this Idolatry gave them up to worſhip all the hoſt of heaven: whereupon it is evident, that this Idolatry with the calf, was neither of theſe mentioned in this verſe, neither with *Moloch* nor *Remphan*: but as it were a cauſe of theſe, for, for it the Lord gave them up to theſe. 2. He ſeemeth to handle this juſtice of God upon them in giving them up to Idolatry under theſe two heads: 1. In neglect of Gods own ſervice in the Wilderneſs, *ye offered me no ſacrifice for forty years.* And 2. in their chooſing of Idols to worſhip afterward. So that the two verſes ſeem to run in this ſenſe, *O houſe of Iſrael ye were not content to offer me ſacrifices for forty years together in the wilderneſs, but ye were well content to ſacrifice to Idols and to worſhip all the hoſt of heaven afterward.*

III. *The Tabernacle of Moloch:* In the Hebrew in *Amos* it is *Siccuth Malkekem:* which is rendred by ſome, *Siccuth your King*, by others, *the Tabernacle of your King:* by a third ſort, *the obſervance of your King:* as if it were derived from the word הסכת *Deut.* 27. 9. *Vid. Ab. Ezr. in loc. & Kimchi in Michlol*; The Seventie in the unprickt Bible read it *Succoth* a *Tabernacle*, which *Steven* followeth, and they both do not croſs but illuſtrate the ſenſe of the Hebrew.

Now *Molech* or *Moloch*, was the Idol of the children of *Ammon*, 1 *King.* 11. 17. prohibited to *Iſrael* in a ſingular manner, *Lev.* 18. 21. and 20. 2. yet did they worſhip him moſt familiarly, 2 *Chron.* 28. 3. *Jer.* 7.31. And *Solomon* built an high place for him, on mount *Olivet* before *Jeruſalem*, 1 *King.* 11.7. The Valley between was called *Tophe* and *the Valley of the Sons of Hinnom*, 2 *King.* 23. 10, &c. This Idol and Idolatry is thus deſcribed by the Rabbins: *Our Rabbins of happy memory ſay: Although all houſes of Idolatry were in Jeruſalem, Moloch was without Jeruſalem, and the Image was made hollow, ſet within ſeven Chappels: Now whoſoever offered flower, they opened to him the firſt of them: who ſo offered Turtles or Pigeons, they opened to him the ſecond: whoſoever offered a Lamb, they opened to him the third: whoſoever offered a Ram, they opened to him the fourth: whoſoever offered a Calf, they opened to him the fifth: whoſoever offered an Ox, they opened to him the ſixth: but whoſoever offered his Son, they opened to him the ſeventh. Now his face was like a Calf, and his hands were ſtretched out, as a mans that reacheth out to receive ſomething from his neighbour: And they ſet him over a fire, and the Prieſts took the child, and put him between the arms of the Idol, and there the child gave up the Ghoſt*, D. Kimch. on 2 King. 23. 10. *He was made of braſs and was heat with fire under till he was glowing hot, and then the Prieſts put the child into his arms, and there he was burnt, and the Prieſts made a noyſe in the mean while with Drums, that the Father might not hear the childs cry: And therefore it was called Tophet from Toph, a Drum or Taber*, Vid. R. Sol. on Jer. 7. 31.

Theſe ſeven Chappels (if there be truth in the thing) help us to underſtand, what is meant by *Molechs Tabernacle*, and ſeem to give ſome reaſon why in the Prophet he is called *Siccuth*, or the *Covert God*, becauſe he was retired within ſo many *Cancelli*, (for that word *Kimchi* uſeth) before one could come at him. And ſo the tranſlation of the Seventy, is but a gloſs or expoſition of that phraſe in the Prophet, ye took up *Siccuth* or the *Covert God your King*, which they render, according as the Nation readily underſtood the thing, the *Tabernacle of Moloch*, that Idol you ſo highly prize as your chiefeſt King. Now *Molech* or *Moloch*, or *Milchom* or *Malcham* (for all theſe names are but one and the ſame) was alſo called *Baal* in a ſpecial and diſtinctive ſenſe, as is apparent by *Jer.* 7.31. and 19. 5. compared together: and this conſideration helpeth to underſtand divers places where the word *Baal* is ſingly uſed, as 1 *King.* 16. 31, 32. and 18. 19, &c. And according to this ſenſe ſhould I underſtand the matter of *Baal-peor* in which

Israel was joyned to him, to have been sacrificing their children to *Molech*. And answerably should I interpret that speech of the Psalmist, *They ate the sacrifices of the dead*, *Psal.* 106. 28. that is, sacrifices offered up when they offered up their children to be burnt: And this was the first time, they committed this horrid Idolatry in the very close of the forty years in the Wilderness, in which forty years they had not cared to offer any sacrifices to God: And this abomination with *Molech* they committed also presently after they were come into the Land, *Psal.* 106. 35, 36, 37. *Judg.* 2. 13.

IV. [*And the Star of your God Remphan.*] Here is the main difficulty of this Verse, and that not only in regard of the difference of these words of *Stephen* from those of *Amos*, but also in regard of the obscurity of the matter it self: *Amos* readeth thus: *Chijun your Images, the Star of your God.* Now the question in the first place is, what is meant by *Chijun*, and it may be scrupled whethere it be the proper name of an Idol, as some think, or a word appellative, to another sense: I should rather take it the latter way [although I know generally it is construed for an Idols name, either for *Hercules*, who among the Egyptians was called *Chon:* or for *Saturn*, who among the Arabians was called *Chevan*, as see *Aben Ezra* on *Amos*, and *Beza* on this place.]

For there are two things in this passage of *Stephen* and *Amos* very considerable toward the understanding of this place.

1. That *Stephen* saith, God gave them up to worship *all the host* of heaven: now if *Chijun* betoken but one Idol, or one Planet, this cometh very short of the intent that he aimeth at their worshipping of all.

2. That *Amos* saith *Chijun Tsalmekem*, the latter word in the plural number, and as it seemeth by the very posture of it, the latter of two Substantives, and not in appositi-on: For if *Chijun* were but one Idol, it is somewhat improper to say *Chijun* your *images*, as speaking of more.

I should therefore construe *Chijun* appellatively for *the ordering* or *disposing of their Images*, as that it meaneth thus, that they had their Τύπους, or *representations* as *Stephen* calls them, of the whole heaven and host of it in one *Series*, or in one body (as see *Ezek.* 8. 10.) beset with variety of Stars and Figures, representing this or that Planet, and this or that constellation: And that *Amos* meaneth thus, you took up *Siccuth your King*, and the frame or disposal of your Images in one compact piece, the stars of your Gods which you have made to your selves: shewing that when they would worship all the host of heaven in Images and representations, that they made a fabrick and compacture in one bulk or in one room, representing in several fashions and forms in it, the several planets and constellations of Heaven: and this he calleth *Chijun Tsalmekem*, *the ordering or disposing of your Images.* See 2 *King.* 23. 4, 5.

V. Now for the word *Remphan*, in which lieth the most obscurity of all, many conjectures are given upon it. The Seventie hath rendred *Chijun* Ῥαιφάν: mistaking one piece of a letter, as it is conceived by *Buxtorfius*, and reading ר for כ and רִיּוּן for כִּיּוּן *Beza* conceiveth it was purposely done, for that by רפא Ῥεφά which signifieth a *Giant* is to be understood *Hercules:* and yet he scrupleth whether it should not be rather read Ῥεμμάν than Ῥεμφάν, as aiming at the God of the *Syrians*, 2 *King.* 5. 18. But not to insist upon producing such variety of conjectures upon this matter, which are to be seen in several authors: it seemeth to me, 1. that *Stephen* doth something follow the Seventy in this word, as well as he doth in the rest of the Text: and for the new Testament to follow them, differently from the Hebrew Text is no wonder, and needeth nothing to be said upon it. 2. That *Stephen* doth add a letter to the word, or doth a little change it from those very Syllables that the Septuagint use, that he might give the sense of the Prophet the more clearly, and speak out the matter he hath in hand the more plainly. And the word *Remphan* seemeth to be compounded either of an Hebrew and a Greek word, or of two Hebrew words together, and to mean either *the high shiner*, of רם and φαίνω, or *the high representation* of רם and פנים and the latter the more probable: For as the Prophet in the word *Chijun* expressed the Fabrick of the host of heaven, which the Idolatrous people had wrought and represented in one piece, so would *Stephen* speak to the very same sense, and therefore forsaketh the word Ῥαιφάν which he found in the Septuagint, and taketh up, or formeth it into Ῥεμφάν, which signifieth *the high face* or high *representation*, or that whole piece that represented the whole heaven, which he calleth their God, because in that they adored all the Stars and hosts of Heaven at once, and so, τὸ ἄστρον is but one number put for another, one star for many.

VI. [*I*

VI. [*I will carry you away beyond Babylon*] Both in the Hebrew of *Amos*, and in the Greek of the Septuagint, it is, *Beyond Damascus:* which *Stephen* seemeth purposely to have changed into *beyond Babylon:* because that as he had treated in the beginning of the Chapter of *Abrahams* coming out of those parts into that land, he would now shew *e contra*, how they for their Idolatry should be carried out of that land into those parts again.

Acts VIII.

Vers. 1. *And there was a great persecution, &c.*

§. 1. *Persecution.*

THE spite and cruelty of the adversary was not quenched by the blood of *Stephen*, but rather inflamed. *Stephens* confuting and confounding the great Scholars of the Synagogue of the Libertines, Cyrenians, Alexandrians and Cilicians, had bred in them so hateful a disdain of being put to a *nonplus*; and his cutting words at his death to all the people, *Acts* 7. 51, 52, 53. had galled them so sore; And especially his denouncing of ruine to *Moses* ceremonies, and to the Temple as they charged him with it, had so exasperated their blind zeal, that it is not sufficient as they think to have *Stephen* put to death only, but it is not fit that others should live who were of the same heresie and blasphemy with him, for so they construed it: Hence ariseth a bitter persecution to destroy the Church at *Jerusalem*, because it held an opinion that *Jerusalem* and the rites there should be destroyed.

In this Tragedy was *Saul* a chief actor, sparing neither place from search, Sex from apprehension, nor the apprehended from torture or imprisonment. Such a Testimony doth *Luke* give of him, *Acts* 8.3. and such a confession doth he make of himself, *Act.* 22. 4. and 26. 11. By which the *Epistle* of *Lucianus* concerning the finding out of the body of *Stephen* may again be challenged for forgery, when it maketh *Gamaliel* a most zealous convert and professor of the Gospel, and that at this time, insomuch that he took care for the burial of *Stephen*, and received *Nicodemus* when the Jews had cast him out, which will prove incredible, in regard of his scholar *Saul*.

For who can believe either that the scholar should be so great a persecutor when the master was so great a professor, or that if it were so, *Gamaliel* of all other should scape with his life, when his scholar of all other could not but know where to find him out and how to follow him close? or who can imagine that *Paul* when he was answering for his life for being a Christian, should plead his education under *Gamaliel*, if he were as notorious a Christian as he? This had been to bring his master into danger and not himself out, and to mar another mans cause not mending his own.

Vers. 1. *And they were all scattered abroad except the Apostles.*

§. 2. *Dispersion upon the persecution.*

Out of the darkness of persecution, the Lord bringeth forth the light and the propagation of the Gospel: Providing at once for the safety of some by their flight, and for the calling home of many more by their dispersion. *At that time*, saith *Luke*, *there was a great persecution against the Church that was at Jerusalem, and they were all scattered abroad throughout the Regions of Judea and Samaria except the Apostles.* Where, as the preservation of the Apostles in the very centre of the Tyrant is admirable, so the scattering of the other into their several places is considerable. For that they travailed into *Judea* and *Samaria*, *Damascus*, *Phœnicia*, *Cyprus* and *Syria*, the Text is plain in this and in other places, but since it mentioneth none of their journeys any further, what is said of them more, is but groundless conjectures, or rather ridiculous Fables. For though it were granted that they scattered through other Countries of the Heathen, yet to bring them as far as *France* and *England* as some do, is almost as far from reason as these places are distant from *Jerusalem*, unless some other cause can be alledged of this their flight than to avoid the danger. Yes, it may be said they took so long a journey to preach the Gospel; but 1. the Text saith that the dispersed preached to the Jews only, of which I believe these Countries afforded a very small number. And 2. the legend saith, that *Mary Magdalen*, *Martha* and *Joseph* of *Arimathea* and others were the travailers, who where they had a calling to the ministery is yet to seek.

These

These persons and others with them are driven by the blast of a common report, to *Marseils* in *France*, *Aix* in *Provence*, *Glastenbury* in *England*, and I know not whither. It would be sufficient to give the reader but some particulars of the Legend, and then would he easily judge of the whole, but it is not worth the labour. It is more pertinent to consider who they are that the Evangelist meaneth, and whose story he followeth, when he saith here *they were all scattered*, and in Chap. 11. 19. that *they travailed as far as Phenice, &c.* Certainly it cannot be meant of the whole Church of *Jerusalem*, or of all the members of it, which were now many thousands, but of the 108. that were of the Presbtery or society with the Apostles.

For 1. The Evangelist setteth himself to follow the story of the hundred and twenty from the very beginning of the book, and he keeps to it still.

2. By instancing so suddenly in *Philip* he sheweth what kind of men he meaneth when he saith *they were all scattered.*

3. He saith they went *every where preaching*, εὐαγγελιζόμενοι which word is never used but of Preachers by function.

4. Persecution would far sooner look after the Preachers than the common members.

5. There were common members at *Jerusalem*, while *Paul* stayed there, *vers.* 3. and yet the *all* that the Evangelist meaneth were scattered before.

Vers. 5. *To the City of Samaria.*

Samaria here and in otherplaces in the new Testament, is not the name of a City but of the Country. And so is *Luke* to be understood here, *Philip came down to the City of Samaria:* that is, to the *Metropolis* of that Country, which indeed was *Sychem:* and so saith *Josephus*, *Antiq. lib.* 11. *cap.* 8. Σαμαρεῖται μητρόπολιν τότε τὴν Σίκιμα ἔχοντες, *The Samaritans had then Sichem for their Metropolis.* And in the same Chapter he saith again Ἑβραίοι μὲν εἶναι χρηματίζειν δὲ οἱ ἐν Σικίμοις Σιδώνιοι; which his Latine interpreter hath rendred thus, *Illis* [*Samaritis*] *dicentibus Hebræos quidem se esse: sed Sichimitas vocari a Sidoniis*; which translation how true it is, and whether *Josephus* mean not, *that the Samaritans said that they were indeed Hebrews, but were called Sidonians that dwelt at Sichem*, and whether in that story they call not themselves so for advantage, let the learned censure: This City *John* the Evangelist calleth *Sychar* instead of *Sychem*, *Joh.* 4. 5. not that the text is there corrupted as some have held, but that the Jews seem to have pronounced the word so corruptly in derision of the Samaritans to whom they were bitter enemies. For by this name they reviled them for *drunkards*, for so the word signifieth, and this taunt seemeth to have been taken up from *Esay* 28. 1. *woe to the drunkards of Ephraim*, of which *Sichem* was the chief City.

Vers. 6. *And the people gave heed &c.*

§. 3. *Samaria converted.*

Our Saviour gave it in lesson to his disciples both by precept and his own example, that they should preach, first in *Jerusalem*, then in *Judæa*, and then in *Samaria:* For so did he himself, *Joh.* 1. and 2. and 4. So commanded he them to do *Acts* 1. 8. and so do they now: *Act.* 8. *Philip* one of the seven, travailing in the common affliction, and in preaching the Gospel as the rest of the 108. did, being backed with this warrant of his master, goeth down to *Samaria* and preacheth there though they were enemies to the Jews. It was but three years or little more, since Christ had been there among them himself, *Joh.* 4. and whether it were the good remembrance of what he had taught them then, or the extraordinary hand of God with what was delivered now, or both together, such effect have *Philips* doctrine and miracles that the City for the general doth believe and is baptized.

Vers. 13. *Simon himself believed.*

§. 4. *Simon Magus.*

He who had long caused the people to wonder at his miraculous delusion is now himself amazed at *Philips* real miracles. But conceiving that he had wrought them by a Magical faculty above his own, and desiring to fish and get the trick out of him, he insinuateth himself the more nearly into his company by taking on him to believe, so that he is baptized: for any other belief of *Simon Magus* is not imaginable.

For

For when he saw that *Peter* and *John* exceeded *Philip*, as he thought *Philip* did exceed himself, (for to Apostles only belonged to bestow the Holy Ghost) the whole venome and mischief of his heart brake forth at once; first, by offering mony for the same Apostolical power, and then in a scornful intreaty of the Apostles to pray for him, when they advised him to repent and pray, for so should I understand his words, Vers. 24. *Pray ye to the Lord for me*, for an Ironical taunt, and finally by open Heresie and opposal of the Gospel.

He had a whore which he led about with him, was called *Helena*, or as some will have it, *Selene*, of *Tyrus*: Of whom if we understand, *Rev.* 2. 20. which speaketh of *Jezabel, that called her self a Propheteſs*, it would not be unconsonant, for as *Simon* like *Ahab* was of *Samaria*, so *Helena* like *Jezable* was of *Tyre*: Nor were there doctrines much different, for the one seduced men *to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed to Idols*, and the other taught them to do what they would, and not to fear the threats of the Law, for that they should be saved by the grace of *Simon*: Many such monsters of Doctrine and Hydra's of opinion, did this *Lerna* of Heresie breed, and this firstborn of *Satan* vomit forth. As these, *that in Judea, he was the Son of God, in Samaria, the Father, and in other Nations, the Holy Ghost. That Helena bred Angels, and Angels made the world: That he himself came down from Heaven for his Helena, and that she was the lost sheep mentioned in the Gospel, and that she was that Helena that occasioned the destruction of Troy*: And a great deal more of such hideous and blasphemous matter, recorded by *Irenius*, *Epiphanius*, *Augustine*, *Philastrius* and others.

Histories have traced this Magical wretch, from *Samaria* to *Rome*, and there have brought *Simon Peter* and him contending before *Nero* in working of miracles, and *Peter* bringing him to harm and shame, which shall be tried in its proper place.

§ 5. *The Holy Ghost given*, vers. 17.

The Apostles at *Jerusalem* hearing the glad tydings of the conversion of *Samaria*, send down unto them *Peter* and *John*. And why these two rather than any other of the twelve, is not so easie to resolve, as it is ready to observe that if in this imployment there was any sign of Primacy, *John* was sharer of it as well as *Peter*. Being come, they pray, and lay their hands upon them, and they receive the Holy Ghost. Here Episcopacy thinketh it hath an undeniable Argument for proof of its Hierarchy, and of the strange rite of confirmation. For thus pleadeth *Baronius* for the former. *From hence*, saith he, *it may be seen that the Hierarchical order was instituted in the Church of God even in this time; for Philip doth so baptize those that believe, that yet he usurpeth not the Apostolical priviledge, namely the imposition of hands granted to the Apostles.* And thus the Rhemists both for it and for the latter in their notes on Act. 8. 17. *If this Philip had been an Apostle, saith S. Bede, he might have imposed his hands that they might have received the Holy Ghost, but this none can do saving Bishops. For though Priests may baptize and anoint the baptized also with Chrisme consecrated by a Bishop, yet can he not sign his forehead with the same holy oyl, because that belongeth only to Bishops, when they give the Holy Ghost to be baptized. And after this testimony of Bede they subjoyn their inference. This imposition therefore of hands, together with the prayers here specified (which no doubt was the very same that the Church useth to that purpose) was the ministration of the Sacrament of Confirmation.*

Now let the Reader with indifferency and seriousness but ruminate upon these two Queries, and then judge of those two inferences;

First, whether Apostleship were not an Order for ever, unimitable in the Church: for besides the Reason given to prove that it was, upon the choosing of *Matthias*, others may be added to make it the more clear: As 1. the end of their Election was peculiar, the like to which was not to be in the Church again; for they were chosen to be with Christ, *Mark* 3. 14. to be eye-witnesses of his resurrection, *Acts* 1. 22. & 2. 32. & 10. 41. as they had been of his actions and passion, *Luke* 1. 2. And therefore *Paul* pleading for his Apostleship, That *he had seen the Lord*, 1 *Cor.* 9. 1. and in the relation or story of his calling, this particular is singulary added, That *he saw that just one, and heard the voice of his mouth*, *Acts* 22. 14.

Secondly, the name of *Apostles* keepeth it self unmixed or confounded, with any other Order. It is true indeed that the significancy of the word would agree to other Ministers that are to preach, but there is a peculiar propriety in the sense that hath confined the title to the twelve and *Paul*, as any indifferent eye will judge and censure upon the weighing of it in the New Testament.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, when *Paul* reckoneth the several kinds of Ministry that Christ Jesus left in the Church at his ascension, *Ephes.* 4. 11. and 1 *Cor.* 12. 28. there is none that can think them all to be perpetuated, or that they should continue successively in the like order from time to time: For within an hundred years after our Saviours birth, where were either Prophets or Evangelists, miracles or healings? And if these extraordinary kinds of Ministration were ordained but for a time and for special occasion, and were not to be imitated in the Church unto succeeding times; much more, or at the least as much were the Apostles, and Order much more, at least, as much extraordinary as they.

Fourthly, the constant and undeniable Parallel which is made betwixt the twelve Patriarchs the Fathers of the twelve Tribes, and the twelve Apostles, not only by the number it self, but also by the New Testament in the four and twenty Elders, *Rev.* 4. 4. and in the gates and foundations of the new *Jerusalem*, *Rev.* 21. 12, 14. doth argue and prove the latter order, as unimitable as the first. These things well considered, if there were no more, it will shew how improbable and unconsonant the first inference is, that is alledged, that because there was a subordination betwixt the Apostles and *Philip*; that therefore the like is to be reputed betwixt Bishops and other Ministers, and that Bishops in the Church, are in the place of the Apostles.

A second *Quære*, and very material to the matter in agitation is, whether imposition of hands were ever used by the Apostles, but for ordination to some Office in the Church: For whereas their giving of the Holy Ghost to *Samaritans* in this story, and to others elsewhere, is adduced as an example and argument for that which is now called *confirmation*, and which hath been indifferently given to all (for it is good cheap) that this act of the Apostles aimed not, nor intended to any such thing, may be reasonably conjectured and guessed at by these considerations:

First, that the Holy Ghost thus given, meaneth not his ordinary work of Sanctification and confirming in Grace, but his extraordinary gifts, of Tongues, Prophecying, and the like. And this is evident by the meaning of that Phrase *the Holy Ghost* in the Scriptures, (when it denoteth not exactly the Person of the Holy Ghost, or the third person in the Trinity) For as it is a Rabbinick expression, very common in the writings of the Jews, and in the use of the Nation; and evermore in their use and sense meaneth only the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit mentioned: so doth it constantly signifie in the Scripture; and it is very hard, if not utterly impossible to find it signifying any other sense.

Secondly, it is yet more evident by the very historical relation of *Luke* concerning the matter in hand; for in *Acts* 19. 6. telling how *Paul* laid his hands upon certain men at *Ephesus*, and they received the Holy Ghost, he instantly explaineth what were the gifts of the Holy Ghost that they received, for *they spake with tongues*, saith he, *and prophecyed*. And it is not possible to think but that *Simon Magus* (when he offered money for this fruit of the imposition of his hands; that he might give the Holy Ghost) saw some visible apparent sign of the gift by the hands of the Apostles, which if it were only sanctifying or confirming grace, how could he have seen it? So did they of the Circumcision perceive when the gifts of Holy Ghost fell upon the Gentiles, *Acts* 10. 45. For they saw it by their speaking with tongues, and magnifying God, *vers.* 46.

Fourthly, it being then thus undeniable that the gifts conferred by the imposition of hands, were the extraordinary ones of the Holy Ghost; it can as little also be denyed that they were imparted only to some singular and particular persons, and not to all whatsoever without distinction. For otherwise, 1. It must be granted that *Simon Magus* received them as well as others, which I know not who will grant; for by his familiarity with *Philip* and the Apostles (he having also been baptized with the rest, and his wickedness and his villany not yet broken forth) he might have gotten a precedency in this gift before others, if it had been general.

2. It would bring women under imposition of hands, which can hardly be dreamed of, or ever was any one. It is true indeed that women might, and did receive some of these extraordinary gifts, but it was by immediate influence from Heaven and not by any imposition of hands.

So that now if we look upon this Story, and upon others of the like nature, through these spectacles, it will appear that this Imposition of the Apostles hands was not upon all the Samaritans, but upon some selected number, nor upon those selected ones for their confirmation in grace, but for their ordination to the Ministery, and with the imposition of hands they received the Holy Ghost to inable them for that work.

Vers. 26. *Which is desart.*

This is to be applyed to the way to *Gaza*, and not to *Gaza* it self, and so the Syriack and Arabick apply it expressly and warrantably, seeing the way was through the wilderness of *Judah*, and there was but one *Gaza*.

Vers. 27. *A man of Æthiopia.*

There is mention of a double *Cush* or *Æthiopia* in Scripture, for so is it rendred, the one in *Arabia*, and the other in *Africk*; and *Homer* even in his time speaketh of a twofold *Æthiopia*, *Odyss.* 1. but it is questionable whether he mean the same with the Scripture, or no, since he calleth them *Eastern* and *Western*; whereas these were East and South. Now this man is held, and that upon good ground, to be of *Æthiopia* in *Africk*, where the name of *Candace* is renowned even in Heathen Authors.

Vers. 33. *Who shall declare his generation.*

This Prophecy of *Esay* which the Eunuch was reading, is exceedingly much mistaken by the Jews, and this clause of the Prophecy is exceedingly controverted among Christians. The Jews understand it, some of them concerning *Josiah*, others concerning the whole people of *Israel*, but the Holy Ghost hath in this place put us out of all doubt of whom it speaketh. But as for the sense of this clause, some Christians understand it concerning the ineffablity of Chirsts Eternal generation: others concerning the ineffability of his incarnation, or the generation of his humane Nature united to the Godhead: others concerning the wondrous generation of the Church and faithful; for it followeth, *For he was cut off from the Land of the Living*, and yet the generation of his faithful ones increased. But it seemeth to me that the word דורו & דור is to be understood of the age and generation in which Christ lived, rather than of his own generation or descent: and so is it used by the Holy Ghost in other places, as *Gen.* 6.9. *Acts* 13.36. &c. and so is it intepreted here by the Chaldee and other Jewish glossaries: Now the meaning of the verse and of this clause is to this purpose, He was taken away and hurryed from Prison, and from Judgment to Execution, and as the LXX hath enlarged the sense by change of Phrase, In his poor and dejected estate, his Judgment was utterly taken away, and no right done him; and who can sufficiently speak of the looseness and wickedness of that generation, (called in the Gospel the viperous, adulterous, wicked, untoward generation) which dealt so unjustly and wretchedly with him, as to take and cut him off from the Land of the Living?

Vers. 39. *And the Eunuch went on his way rejoycing.*

Dorotheus in Synopsi, if he might be believed, will tell you what became of this Eunuch afterward; as that he preached the Gospel in *Arabia*, in the Isle of *Taprobane*, and all about the red Sea; and that he is reported to have suffered matyrdom gloriously, and to have been buried there, *Biblioth. patr. tom.* 7. But believe it that list; for this I observe to be the constant and common officiousness of Superstition, to make any man that is mentioned in the New Testament with a good report, to become a Preacher, and commonly a Bishop, and constantly a Matyr.

Acts IX.

§ 1. *Paul converted.*

IN this year must be placed the conversion of *Paul*, and the reasons to prove time, shall be given anon. A man, *a wonder* (for so will * some have his name to signifie) in whom was shewed as much as can be seen in man, both for want of grace, and for abundance. Inferior to none in wickedness, but only in this, that it was not final; and inferiour to none in holiness, no not to the greatest Apostles. A scene on which at one time corrupt Nature shewed her cursed vigor; and at another time sanctifying Grace her sacred power; and both to such an extent, as not many parallels. He was born in *Tarsus* of *Cilicia* a free City of the *Romans*, and himself a Freeman of that City.

* *Hieron.*

2 Cor. 11. 21. Phil. 3. 5. Rom. 11. 1. City. His Parents were both Jews; and therefore he calleth himself *an Hebrew of the Hebrews*, or an Hebrew both by Father and Mother. His discent was of *Benjamin*, which from the general division under *Jeroboam* the first, had adhered constant to the Tribe of *Juda*, and so kept Registers of their Genealogies, as that Tribe did. According to his double Nation, he also bare a double name, *Saul*, as he was an Hebrew by birth, and *Paul* as he was a Roman by freedom: His education was in the Schools of *Tarsus*, where as *Strabo* recordeth were Scholars no whit inferiour to the Students in *Athens*. Here he attained the Greek Language and Learning, and grew expert in their Philosophy and Poems, his skill wherein he sheweth, in alledging *Epimenides*, *Aratus*, and *Menander*. From thence he was sent to the University at *Jerusalem*, for the study of Divinity and of the Jewish Law. His Tutor was *Gamaliel* a Pharisee, a man of special note and reverence among the people. His proficiency was above many of his equals of his own Nation, he being more exceedingly zealous of the traditions of the Fathers. From his youth he also learned a handy trade of making Tents, and joyned the working in that by some vicissitudes with his studies: which thing was common with the Scholars of the Jews, partly for the earning of their maintenance, and partly for the avoiding of idleness and sin. So *Rabbi Juda* the great Cabalist, bare the name and trade of *Hhajat* a Shoomaker or Taylor.

Tit. 1. 12. Acts 17. 28. 1 Cor. 15. 33. Act. 22. 3. Gal. 1. 14. Acts 18. 3.

Yet was the learning of this great Scholar but gorgeous ignorance, and his forward zeal, but the more excellent impiety. When he thought he followed holiness, he persecuted it, and when his studies should have overtaken the truth, then had he lost both them and it and himself and all.

Acts 8. 3. and 22. 4. Acts 26. 11. *As for Saul*, saith Luke, *he made havock of the Church, entring into every house, and haling men and women committed them to prison.* He began now to write his positions in blood, and it must be no less than death or abjuration not to be of his opinion. Neither was this his fury confined within the walls of *Jerusalem*, or the compass of *Judea*, but overflowed also unto forreign Cities: where the Jewish Synagogues acknowledging subjection to the metropolitan See, submit to her letters, and are too ready to perform her will. Among the rest he obtaineth commission for *Damascus*, whither a poor Church having but lately overrun persecution, is ready now to be overrun by it again: But by the way, he is met with by Christ, and from a Lion made a Lamb, and he that went to lead captivity is himself captived.

In the story of this great wonder, the Text and the matter it self calleth upon us to consider these things.

1. That the most notorious persecutor that the Gospel had yet found, is chosen of all others to be the Doctor of the Gentiles: that even his own example, or rather the glorious example of Gods mercy in his conversion, might be a comfortable Doctrine to those notorious sinners of the Gentiles as well as his preaching.

2. That the like divine violence was never used for the converting of a sinner either before or since: but 1. it was necessary that he should see Christ, as Vers. 17. because it was a necessary ingredient toward the making of an Apostle, *to have seen the Lord*, 1 *Cor.* 9. 1. And 2. it was needful, that the Lord should appear to him in such daunting power, not only for his own quelling, but also for the terrour of all persecutors for the time to come.

3. This appearance of the Lord unto him, was not so much in his person as in his glory, nor what he saw of him, besides the light that stroke him blind, was with the eyes of his body but of his spirit.

4. The place was near *Damascus* from whence had sprung one of the sharpest persecutors that *Israel* had groaned under, 2 *Kings* 11. 32. *Amos* 1 3. compare *Gen.* 14. 15.

5. The manner is so plainly set down in the Text, that it is needless to insist upon it: only these two or three things may not unfitly be touched upon and taken to thought. 1. That more was spoken from heaven, than *Luke* hath here related, as appears by *Pauls* own relation of it, *Acts* 26. 16, 17, 18. but the Holy Ghost frequently useth to speak out stories to the full, some parts in one place, some in another, challenging the readers pains and study, to pick them up. 2. That whereas in Chap. 6. 7. it is said that *those that travailed with Paul heard the voice*, but in Chap. 22. 9. that *they heard not the voice*, it is to be understood, that they heard the voyce of *Paul* speaking to Christ, but not Christs voice to him: or if they heard the voice from heaven, yet they understood not what it said. 3. Whereas in Chap. 9. 7. it is said these men *stood speechless*, but in Chap. 26. 14. that they *fell all to the ground:* the word ἱστήκεισαν in Chap. 9. 7. standeth in opposition to their going forward and not to their falling to the earth, and meaneth, that their amazedness fixed them that they could not flee nor stir.

§ 2. *The*

§ 2. *The year of his conversion.*

Some have conceived that he was rapt into the third heaven, and learned the Gospel by revelation, as 2 *Cor.* 12. in those three days that he was blind after the sight of this glorious light, and whilst he fasted and prayed, *Act.* 9. 9. And from this conceit hath another grown, as a supporter of that that bred it, namely that he was not converted till seven years after our Saviours Ascension. This latter opinion was first invented, that his writing of the second Epistle to the *Corinthians* might be brought within the compass of about fourteen years after his conversion; for so long a time and no more he setteth betwixt his rapture and that Epistle, 2 *Cor.* 12. 2. and it was also originially grounded upon this supposition, that his rapture was in the time of that his blindness. Two surmises probable and plausible enough to behold at distance, but approaching nearer to them they will lose of their beauty, and upon serious weighing they will prove but a shadow. The question how he came to the knowledge of the Gospel so soon, in so much that he so soon preached it, very likely gave the first occasion of the first opinion, namely of his rapture in his three days blindness.

A question to which an answer may be easily given, and yet no such consequence concluded upon it. 1. It is true indeed, that *he received not the knowledge of the Gospel of man, nor was he taught it but by the revelation of Jesus Christ*, as himself saith, *Gal.* 1. 12. yet might he have such a revelation, without any such rapture: For there were three other special ways whereby God used to reveal himself and his will to his Prophets and Servants, and those were by dreams, by visions and by a suddain and immediate suggestion or revelation, which is called *telling in the ear*, as 1 *Sam.* 9. 15,17. 2 *King.* 20. 4. And as for raptures they were the most extraordinary and the least familiar of all other: And how easily might *Paul* be taught the mistery of the Gospel by some of the other means, especially since the Text hath expresly told that he had his visions? *Acts* 9. 12. 2. *Paul* himself telleth of an extasie or rapture that he was in, as he was praying in the Temple at *Jerusalem*, *Acts* 22. 17. Now that that was in the second year of *Claudius* (as shall be shewed by and by) when he went to carry the almes of the Disciples to *Jerusalem*, *Acts* 11. 30. it may be confidently concluded upon, because that God in that his rapture telleth him that he must thence forward go far away to preach unto the Gentiles, *Acts* 22. 21. and when he returneth from *Jerusalem* to *Antioch*, he is sent by the Church upon that imployment, by a special charge of the Holy Ghost, *Acts* 13. 2. And that from that time to the time of his writing the second Epistle to the *Corinthians*, were about fourteen years as himself summeth it, we shall evidence by some particulars, before we part from this Subject. Thus then in the first place we see that neither his rapture was at the time of his conversion, nor that his conversion is to be cast six or seven years forward that it may be within fourteen of that Epistle in regard of his rapture. But not to intricate our selves any more in the variety of opinions, that have fixed some one time, some another to the conversion of this Apostle, the next, readiest and surest way that I have found to resolve upon this doubtful question and to determine this scruple, is to go by these collections and degrees.

1. That the famine prophecied of by *Agabus*, and which is said to have fallen out in the time of *Claudius* the Emperour, *Acts* 11. 28. fell out and came to pass in his second year: And for this we have the testimony of a Roman Historian, even *Dion Cassius* who under the Consulship of *Claudius* II. and *Caius Largus* which was in the second year of *Claudius* his reign speaketh of λιμῷ ἰσχυρῷ, which his translater hath rendred *fames ingens*, *Dion. lib.* 60. Now although it might seem that that famine only referred to the City of *Rome*, and was caused there through the unnavigableness of the River *Tiber*, which should have brought in Provisions; because he saith, Λιμοῦ τε ἰσχυροῦ γενομένου ὁ μόνον τῆς ἐν τῷ ἄστει παρούσης ἀφθονίας τῶν τροφῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς εἰς πάντα τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα αἰῶνα ὠφελείας ἐπεμήσατο, &c. *that Claudius provided not only for the present famine, but also for future times, by mending the Haven and clearing the River:* yet *Suetonius* writing the very same story, ascribeth the cause of the famine, not to the fault of the River or Haven, but to a constant sterility or barrenness, and so inlargeth the extent of it further than *Rome*: *Arctiore autem annona ob assiduas sterilitates, &c. In Claud. cap.* 18. *Josephus*, *Antiq. lib.* 20. *ca.* 2. speaketh of this great famine in *Judea*, and relateth how *Helena* the Queen dowager of the *Adiabeni*, and *Izates* her son then reigning, she being at *Jerusalem* in her own person and he in his own kingdom, did bring in provisions in an exceeding plenty to the Jews at *Jerusalem* for their sustenance in the famine, for they were both converted to the Jews Religion and *Izates* circumcised. *Eusebius* hereupon hath set this famine in *Claudius*

Claudius his fourth year, and after the death of *Herod Agrippa*, becauſe that he found that *Joſephus* had placed it after *Agrippa's* death, which was in *Claudius* his third. But we find not in *Joſephus* any thing that may fix it to that year, more than the ſubſequence of one ſtory to another, which is an argument of no validity: only this he relateth as concerning the time of *Izates*, *that when he firſt came to the Crown, and found his elder Brethren impriſoned that he might come to the Throne the more quietly, he was grieved at the matter, and on the one hand accounting it impiety to kill them or to keep them priſoners, and on the other hand knowing it unſafe to keep them with him and not impriſoned, he choſe a mean between both, and ſent them for hoſtages to Rome to Claudius Cæſar:* And after this he relateth, how he haſted upon his coming to the Crown to be circumciſed; and after his Circumciſion, how his Mother *Helena* went to *Jeruſalem* and relieved it, being much affamiſhed. Now in what year of *Claudius* any of theſe thingswere done, he hath not mentioned, but hath left it at large; and therefore we may as well ſuppoſe, that *Izates* was made King in the firſt year of *Claudius*, and *Helena* his Mother went to *Jeruſalem* in his ſecond, as *Euſebius* may, that ſhe went thither in his fourth.

II. That *Paul* going at that time of the famine to *Jeruſalem*, to bring the almes and collection to the poor Brethren of *Judea*, had his trance in the Temple, *Acts* 22. 17. and in that trance he was rapt into the third Heaven, 2 *Cor.* 12. 2. It may be thought indeed by the juncture of Story that *Luke* hath made, that this his trance, was at his firſt journey which he took to *Jeruſalem* after his converſion, which journey is mentioned, *Acts.* 9. 28. and *Gal.* 1. 18. for having from the ſixth verſe of *Acts* 22. and forward, related the Story of his converſion, and of *Ananias* coming to him and baptizing him, he preſently ſubjoyneth this, when *I was come again to* Jeruſalem, *and was praying in the Temple, I was in a trance*; as if that had been the very firſt time, that ever he came there after he was converted. But beſides, that it is very common with Scripture to make ſuch juncture for times and Stories, as if they were cloſe together, when often times there is very much ſpace of time betwixt them, as *Mat.* 19. 1. *Luke* 4. 13, 14. *Acts* 9. 20, 21, 26, 27. the proper intent of the Apoſtle in that Oration of his, *Acts* 22. is to vindicate himſelf from the accuſation laid againſt him for polluting the Temple; and chiefly to plead his authority and commiſſion, and why he had to deal among the Gentiles, and therefore he inſiſts upon two particular Commiſſions, one to preach, and the other to preach to the Gentiles; and this is the reaſon why he joyns his converſion, and his rapture in the Temple ſo cloſe together, and not becauſe they were ſo in time. Now this ſcruple being thus removed, and that conſidered which was ſaid before, that in this trance in the Temple, God ſaid he was to ſend him to the Gentiles; and that accordingly he was diſpatched to that work as ſoon as he came to *Antioch*; it cannot but be concluded that his trance in the Temple was in the ſecond of *Claudius*, and that this was his rapture into the third Heaven, ſince we read not of any rapture or trance that he had, but this.

III. That this trance or rapture was ſomewhat above fourteen years before he wrote his ſecond Epiſtle to *Corinth*, 2 *Cor.* 12. 2. Now in that he ſaith it was πρὸ ἐτῶν *before*, or *above* fourteen years ago, he ſpeaketh not of an indefinite time, for then for ought any reaſon can be given to the contrary, he might as well have let the mention of the time alone, but that it was but a little above that ſpace, though it were ſomewhat above exact fourteen years.

IV. When he wrote that ſecond Epiſtle to *Corinth* he was in *Macedonia*, as is apparent by very many paſſages in that Epiſtle, *chap.* 1. 14. and 2. 13. & 7. 5. & 9. 2, 4. And thither he went upon the hubbub at *Epheſus* raiſed againſt him, *Acts* 20. 1. where he had even the ſentence of death in himſelf, 2 *Cor.* 1. 9.

V. Now to count fourteen years compleat from the ſecond of *Claudius*, in which was *Pauls* rapture, it will bring us to the ſecond year of *Nero*. And let us but caſt and compute thoſe ſhreds of time that we can find hinted in the Acts of the Apoſtles, and we ſhall find them agreeing with this account, and giving ſome light unto it. As firſt, it is ſaid by *Paul*, that after he had been at *Jeruſalem*, *he muſt alſo ſee Rom*, *Acts* 19. 21. Now this doth argue the death of *Claudius*: for if he had expelled all the Jews out of *Rome*, as it is averred both by the Scripture, *Acts* 18. 2. and by *Suetonius* in *Claud. chap.* 25. and never revoked his Edict for ought we can read in any Story; it is very unlikely, and unreaſonable to think, that *Paul* ſhould think of going thither if *Claudius* were alive: for thither could he neither go without evident and inevitable danger of his own life, nor could he find ſo much as one perſon, of his own Nation in the City when he came there. By this therefore may be concluded that *Claudius* was now dead, and *Nero* was going on his firſt year, when *Paul* publiſheth his reſolution to go for *Rome*.

And

And the times from hence to his apprehension at *Jerusalem* may be cast by these Counters. After this his declaring his intention for *Rome*, he stayeth in *Asia* for a season, *Acts* 19.22. Now that this season was not long, both the preceding and following Verses do help to confirm; for in the Verse before *Paul* is in a manner upon his motion toward *Macedonia*, and so to *Jerusalem* already. And it is very likely that the feast of Tabernacles which was in *September* induced him thither; but the danger that he was in at *Ephesus* before his parting, *Acts* 19. 23, 24. &c. disappointed him of his journey thither, he being now put off from providing accommendation for his voyage, and put to shift for life and liberty. About the middle of *October*, *Nero's* first year was out: and *Paul* by that time it is like is got to *Macedonia*, and while he continues there he writes this Epistle; as the subscription of it in the Greek, Syriack, Arabick, and divers other Translations do reasonably well aim it here; howsoever they do it in other places: Or if we should yeild to *Baronius*, that it was written from *Nicopolis*, *Tit.* 2. 12. it maketh no difference, as to the thing in hand, or at least very little, since we are upon the time, and not upon the place; and the time of difference will not be above a month or two. *Paul* wintering so little at *Nicopolis*, as that he was in motion again about the beginning of *January*, if not before, for his three months travail of *Greece*, brings it up to the Passover time, or near upon, *Acts* 20. 3. 6. And after the Pasover week *Paul* sets for *Jerusalem*, as the Story plainly leads him thither; and thence is he shipt for *Rome*, toward the latter end of our *September*, or about the Fast and solemn day of humiliation, *Acts* 27. 9. And this was in the second year of *Nero*, now almost expiring, or very near unto its end: And to this sense seemeth that account in *Acts* 24. 27. to be understood, *After two years Portius Festus came into Felix room.* Not after two years of *Pauls* imprisonment, for that is utterly without any ground or warrant in the world, nor after two years of *Felix* Government, for he had been Governour in *Judea* many years, *Acts* 24. 10. but after two years of *Nero's* Empire, or when he had now sitten Emperour about two years; for that the Scripture sometime reckoneth from such unnamed dates, might be shewed, from *Ezek.* 1. 1. 2 *Sam.* 15. 7. 2 *Chron.* 22. 2. And that it is so to be understood, may be confirmed out of *Josephus Antiq. lib.* 20. *cap.* 7. &c.

So that this time being fixed of *Pauls* apprehension at *Jerusalem*, to be in *Nero's* second; as *Eusebius* and others have well held, and his writing the second Epistle to *Corinth* proving to be about the beginning of that year; and so the fourteen years mentioned 2 *Cor.* 12. 2. measured out.

VI. We must now count backward from this time to the Councel at *Jerusalem*, and as near as we can, cast up what time might be taken up, betwixt those two periods, in the motions and stations of the Apostle, that the Text hath expressed betwixt the fifteenth Chapter of the *Acts* and the twentieth: Or rather let us count forward for the more facil and methodical proceeding, and take up what may be guessed to be every years work and passage as it cometh to hand.

Paul cometh from *Jerusalem* to *Antioch* with *Judas*, *Silas* and *Barnabas*, Acts 15. 20.
Judas and *Silas* stay there a space, *vers.* 33.
Judas stayeth after they be gone away, *vers.* 35.
Some days after he departeth, *vers.* 36, 40.
He goeth through *Syria* and *Cilicia* confirming the Churches, *vers.* 41.
To *Derbe* and *Listra*, *chap.* 16. 1.
Through the Cities, and delivereth the Apostles decrees, *vers.* 4.
Throughout *Phrygia*, *vers.* 6.
Throughout the Region of *Galatia*, *vers.* 16. To all these journeys we may allow one year; and certainly if the movings and stayings of the Apostle, and the distance of the places, and the work he did be considered, there can no less than a whole year be allowed for all this progress.

After his passage through *Galatia*, *Paul* goeth to *Mysia*, *Acts* 16. 7. To *Troas*, *vers.* 6.
To *Samothrace*, *Neapolis* and *Philippi*, *vers.* 11, 12.
At *Philippi* he continueth many days, *vers.* 13, 16, 18.
Thence he passeth through *Amphipolis* and *Appollonia*, *chap.* 17. 1.
Cometh to *Thessalonia*, and is there three Sabbath days in quiet, *vers.* 2.
Afterward is persecuted, *vers.* 5.
Goeth to *Berœa* and converteth very many, *vers.* 10. 12.
Goeth from thence to *Athens*, *vers.* 15.
There waiteth for *Silas* and *Timothy*, *vers.* 16.
From thence goeth to *Corinth*, *Acts.* 18. 1. For all these journeys and actions we will allow him half an year, and I cannot see how they could take so little.

At

At *Corinth* he continueth a year and an half, *Acts* 18. *verſ.* 11. And this makes up three years ſince the Councel at *Jeruſalem.*

After this long ſtay at *Corinth* he is perſecuted, yet tarryeth a good while after, *Acts* 18. 18.

From thence he ſaileth to *Epheſus*, but ſtayeth little, *verſ.* 19.

Goeth thence to *Cæſarea.*

To *Jeruſalem.*

To *Antioch*, and ſpendeth ſome time there, *Acts* 18. 22, 23.

Goeth over all the Country of *Gallatia*,

And *Phrygia* in order, *Acts* 18. 23. To theſe paſſages I ſuppoſe there is hardly any that can allow him leſs than a whole year; that ſhall but ſeriouſly conſider of the things that are mentioned, and the length of the journeys.

After his paſſing through *Phrygia* he cometh to *Epheſus*, *Acts* 19. 1.

And there continueth three years, *Acts* 19. 8, 10, 21, 22, & 20. 31.

After this he goeth into *Macedonia*, *Acts* 20. 1. from whence he writeth that ſecond Epiſtle to *Corinth* in the beginning of the ſecond year of *Nero.* So that yeelding theſe ſeven years for the travails of this Apoſtle, betwixt that time and the Counſel of *Jeruſalem*, *Acts* 15. (and leſs than ſeven, it is not poſſible to allow, ſeeing that four years and an half of that ſpace was taken up in the two Cities of *Corinth* and *Epheſus*) and it will reſult that the Councel at *Jeruſalem* was in the ninth year of *Claudius*: Now *Paul* himſelf reckoneth ſeventeen years from his converſion to this Councel, *Gal.* 1. 18. & 2. 1. which ſeventeen counted backward from the ninth of *Claudius* it falleth out almoſt paſt all controverſie that *Pauls* converſion was in the next year after our Saviours aſcenſion; as may be ſeen by this enſuing Table.

Chriſt	*Tiberius.*	
33	18	Chriſt aſcendeth.
34	19	*Paul* converted.
35	20	Goeth into *Arabia.*
36	21	Cometh up to *Jeruſalem.*
37	22	
38	1	*Caius.*
39	2	
40	3	
41	4	
42	1	*Claudius.*
43	2	The famine, *Act.* 11. 28. *Paul* rapt into the third Heaven.
44	3	
45	4	
46	5	
47	6	
48	7	
49	8	
50	9	The Councel at *Jeruſalem.* *Paul* goeth to *Antioch*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, *&c.*
51	10	*Paul* the latter half this year at *Corinth*, the former half in *Athens*, *Berœa*, *Theſſalonia*, *&c.*
52	11	*Paul* all this year at *Corinth.*
53	12	*Paul* in *Phrygia*, *Galatia*, *Antioch*, *Jeruſalem*, *Cæſarea*, *Epheſus*, *Corinth.*
54	13	*Paul* at *Epheſus.*
55	14	*Paul* at *Epheſus.*
56	1	*Nero.* *Paul* at *Epheſus.*
57	2	*Paul* writeth the ſecond Epiſtle to *Corinth.*

And now may we in ſome ſcantling fix thoſe Stories to their times which hung looſely before, namely, the chooſing of the Deacons, the death of *Stephen*, converſion of *Samaria*, and the Eunuch, and conclude that they were about the beginning of the next year after Chriſts aſcenſion.

PART II.

The Roman Story.

§ 1. *Velleius Paterculus.*

TIBERIUS keepeth himſelf ſtill in the Countrey, but not ſtil at *Capreæ*: *for this year he draweth near unto *Rome*, and haunteth in ſome places about four miles off, but cometh not at all unto the City. This ſeemeth to be his firſt journey towards it, that *Suetonius* ſpeaketh of *when he came by water to the Gardens beſide the *Naumachy*, or the Pool in *Tiber* where they uſed their ſporting ſea-fights, and returned again, but the cauſe not known. The firſt thing mentioned of him under theſe Conſuls, both by *Tacitus* and *Dion*, is his marrying forth the Daughter of *Druſus*, which they name not; and *Julia* and *Druſilla* the Daughters of *Germanicus*; *Druſilla* to *L. Caſſius*, *Julia*, to *M. Vinicius*. This was a Son of that *M. Vinicius* to whom *Paterculus* dedicated his ſhort and ſweet Roman Hiſtory. And the nearneſs of the time would very nearly perſwade that this was that very *Vinicius* himſelf, but that *Paterculus* ſheweth that his *Vinicius* was Conſul when he wrote his book to him; and that (as himſelf, and *Dion* agreeing with him ſheweth) *An. V. C.* 783. or the next year after our Saviours Baptiſm; but this *Vinicius*, *Tiberius* his Son in Law, (as *Tacitus* intimateth) was only a Knight, but a Conſuls Son. Howſoever, in theſe times ſhone forth and flouriſhed the excellent wit, and matchleſs pen of that Hiſtorian, an Author known to all learned men, and admired by all that know him: His Original was from the *Campanians*, as himſelf witneſſeth not very far from the beginning of his ſecond book, when he cometh to ſpeak of the *Italian* war in the time of *Sylla* and *Marius*. No pen is ſo fit to draw his pedegree and Character as his own, and therefore take only his own words; *Neque ego verecundia, domeſtici ſanguinis gloriæ dum verum refero ſubtraham, &c. Nor will I for modeſty derogate any thing from the honour of mine own blood, ſo that I ſpeak no more than truth; for much is to be attributed to the memory of* Minatius Magius *my great-Grandfathers Father, a man of* Aſculum; *who being* *Nephew *to* Decius Magius, *a renowned Prince of the* Campanians, *and a moſt faithfull man, was ſo truſty to the* Romans *in this war, that with a Legion which he had banded,* Pompey *took* Herculaneum, *together with* T. Didius; *when* L. Sulla *beſieged, and took in* Conſa. *Of whoſe vertues both others, but eſpecially and moſt plainly* Q. Hortenſius *hath made relation in his Annals. Whoſe Loyalty the people of* Rome *did fully requite, by enfranchiſing both him and his, and making two of his Sons Pretors.* His Grandfather was *C. Velleius*, Maſter of the Engeneers *to Cn. Pompey, M. Brutus and Tyro*; *a man*, ſaith he, *ſecond to none in* Campany, *whom I will not defraud of that Teſtimony which I would give to a ſtranger: He at the departure of* Nero (Tiberius *his Father*) *out of* Naples, *whoſe part he had taken for his ſingular friendſhip with him, being now unweldy with age and bulk of body, when he could not accompany him any longer, he ſlew himſelf.* Of his Fathers, and of his own rank and profeſſion, thus ſpeaketh he joyntly: *At this time* (namely, about the time that *Auguſtus* adopted *Tiberius*) *after I had been Field-Marſhal, I became a Souldier of* Tiberius, *and being ſent with him General of the Horſe into* Germany, *which Office my Father had born before; for nine whole years together, I was either a ſpectator, or to my poor ability a forwarder of his moſt celeſtial deſigns; being either a Commander, or an Ambaſſadour.* And a little after: *In this war,* (againſt the *Hungarians* and *Dalmatians*, and other Nations revolted) *my meaneſs had the place of an eminent Officer. For having ended my ſervice with the Horſe, I was made Queſtor; and being not yet a Senator, I was equalled with the Senators. And the Tribunes of the people being now deſigned, I led a part of the Army delivered to me by* Auguſtus, *from the City to his Son. And in my Queſtorſhip, the lot of my Province being remitted, I was ſent Ambaſſidour from him to him again.* Partner in the like employments and honours, he had a brother named *Magius Celer Velleianus*, that likewiſe attended *Tiberius* in the *Dalmatian* war, and was honoured by him in his Triumph, and afterward were his Brother and he made Pretors. When he wrote that abridgement of the Roman Hiſtory which

*Dion ſub his coſſ.
*In Tiber cap. 17.
*Orgrandchild

which we now have extant, he had a larger work of the ſame ſubject in hand, of which he maketh mention in divers places; which he calleth *juſtum opus*, and *juſta volumina*, but ſo far hath time and fortune denyed us ſo promiſing and ſo promiſed a piece; that this his abſtract is come ſhort home and miſerably curtailed to our hands. So do Epitomes too commonly devour the Original, and pretending to eaſe the toil of reading larger Volumes, they bring them into neglect and loſs. In the unhappineſs of the loſs of the other, it was ſomewhat happy that ſo much of this is preſerved as is; a fragment of as excellent compacture, as any is in the Roman tongue; wherein ſweetneſs and gravity, eloquence and truth, ſhortneſs and variety, are ſo compacted and compounded together, that it findeth few parallels either Roman or other.

§ 2. *Troubles in Rome about Uſury.*

This year there was a great diſturbance in the City about Uſury, the too common, and the too neceſſary evil of a Common-wealth. This breed-bate had ſeveral times heretofore diſturbed that State, though ſtrict and rigorous courſes ſtill were taken about it. At the firſt, the intereſt of mony lent, was proportioned and limited only at the diſpſal of the lender, a meaſure always inconſtant, and often unconſcionable. Whereupon it was fixed at the laſt by the twelve Tables to an ounce in the pound, which is proportionable in our Engliſh coin, to a penny in the ſhilling. Afterward by a Tribune Statute it was reduced to half an ounce, and at laſt the trade was quite forbidden. But ſuch weeds are ever growing again, though weeded out as clean as poſſible; and ſo did this: Partly, through the covetouſnes of the rich, making way for their own poſit; and partly through the neceſſities of the poor, giving way to it for their own ſupply.

Gracchus now Pretor, and he to whom the complaint was made at this time, being much perplexed with the matter, referreth it to the Senate as perplexed as himſelf. He perplexed becauſe of the multitude that were in danger, by breach of the Law; and they, becauſe they were in danger themſelves. Here was a prize for the greedy appetite of *Tiberius*, when ſo many of the beſt rank and purſes, were fallen into his lurch, and their moneys lent fallen into forfeiture, becauſe of their unlawfull lending. The guilty Senate obtain the Emperours pardon, and eighteen moneths are allowed for bringing in of all mens accompts: In which time the ſcarcity of mony did pinch the more, when every ones debts did come to rifling: and in the nick of that there followed a great diſturbance about buying Lands, which before was invented for a remedy againſt the former complaints. But the Emperour was glad to ſalve up the matter by lending great ſums of mony to the people *gratis* for three years.

§ 3. *Tiberius ſtill cruel.*

With this one dram of humanity, he mingled many ounces of cruelty and blood-ſhed. For *Conſidius Proculus* as he was celebrating his birth day without fear and with Feſtivity, is haled out of his own houſe, brought to the bar and condemned: and his Siſter *Sancia* interdicted fire and water. *Pompeia Macrina* baniſhed; and her Father and Brother condemned and ſlew themſelves. But this year there is no reckoning of the ſlaughtered by name, for now their number grew numberleſs. All that were impriſoned and accuſed for conſpiracy with *Sejanus*, he cauſeth to be ſlain every mothers ſon. *Now*, ſaith mine Author, *there lay an infinite maſſacre of all ſexes, ages, conditions, noble and ignoble, either diſperſed, or together on heaps. Nor was it permitted to friends or kindred to comfort, bewail, or behold them any more: but a Guard ſet, which for the greater grief abuſed the putrified bodies till they were haled into* Tiber, *and there left to ſink or ſwim, for none was ſuffered to touch or bury them.* So far was common humanity baniſhed, and pity denyed even after death, revenge being unſatisfied when it had revenged, and cruelty extended beyond it ſelf. Nor did the accuſers ſpeed better than the accuſed, for he alſo cauſed them to be put to death as well as the other, under that colour of juſtice and retaliation, ſatisfying his cruelty both ways to the greater extent. It were to be admired, and with admiration never to be ſatisfied (were it not that the avenging hand of God upon the bloody City is to be acknowledged in it) that ever a people ſhould be

be ſo univerſally bent one againſt another, ſeeking the ruine and deſtruction one of another, and furthering their own miſery, when they were moſt miſerable already, in him that ſought the ruin of them all. A fitter inſtrument could not the Tyrant have deſired for ſuch a purpoſe than themſelves; nor when he had them ſo pliable to their own miſchief, did he neglect the opportunity, or let them be idle: For as he ſaw accuſations encreaſe, ſo did he encreaſe his Laws to breed more: inſomuch that at the laſt it grew to be capital, for a ſervant to have fallen before, or near the image of *Auguſtus*, or for any man to carry either coin or ring into the Stews, or houſe of Office, if it bare upon it the image of *Tiberius*.

§. 3. *A wicked accuſation.*

Who can reſolve whether it were more vexation to ſuffer upon ſuch fooliſh accuſations, or upon others more ſolid; but as falſe as theſe were fooliſh? That was the fortune of *Sextus Marius* an intimate friend of the Emperours; but as it proved, not the Emperour ſo of his: This was a man of great riches and honour, and in this one action of a ſtrange vain-glory and revenge. Having taken a diſpleaſure at one of his Neighbours, he inviteth him to his houſe, and there detained him feaſting two days together. And on the firſt day he pulleth his houſe down to the ground, and on the next he buildeth it up far fairer and larger than before. The honeſt man when he returned home found what was done, admired at the ſpeed of the work, rejoyced at the change of his houſe, but could not learn who had done the deed. At the laſt *Marius* confeſſed that he was the agent, and that he had done it with this intent, to ſhew him that he had power to do him a diſpleaſure, or a pleaſure, as he ſhould deſerve it. Ah blinded *Marius*, and too indulgent to thine own humours! ſeeſt thou not the ſame power of *Tiberius* over thee, and thy fortunes pinned upon his pleaſure, as thy neighbours upon thine? And ſo it came to paſs that fortune read him the ſame lecture, that his fancy had done another. For having a young beautiful Daughter, and ſuch a one, as on whom the Emperour had caſt an eye, and ſo plainly, that the Father ſpyed it, he removed her to another place, and kept her there cloſe and at diſtance, leſt ſhe ſhould have been violated by him, who muſt have no denyal. *Tiberius* imagined as the thing was indeed, and when he ſeeth that he cannot enjoy his love, and ſatisfie his luſt, he turneth it to hate and revenge. And cauſeth *Marius* to be accuſed of inceſt with his daughter whom he kept ſo cloſe, and both Father and Daughter are condemned, and ſuffer for it both together.

§ 5. *A miſerable life and death.*

In theſe ſo feareful and horrid times, when nothing was ſafe, nothing ſecure, when ſilence and innocency were no protection, nor to accuſe, no more ſafeguard than to be accuſed, but when all things went at the Emperours will, and that will always cruel, what courſe could any man take not to be intangled, and what way being intangled to extricate himſelf? The Emperours frowns were death, and his favours little better; to be accuſed was condemnation, and to accuſe was often as much; that now very many found no way to eſcape death but by dying, nor to avoid the cruelty of others, but by being cruel to themſelves. For though ſelf-murder was always held for a Roman valour, yet now was it become a meer neceſſity; men chooſing that miſerable exigent to avoid a worſe, as they ſuppoſed, and a preſent end, to eſcape future evils. So did *Aſinius Gallus* at this time for the one, and *Nerva* the other. This *Gallus* about three years ago, coming to *Tiberius* upon an Ambaſſy, was fairly entertained and rovally feaſted by him, but in the very *interim* he writeth letters to the Senate in his accuſation. Such was the Tyrants friendſhip; and ſo ſour ſawce had poor *Aſinius* to his dainty fare. A thing both inhumane and unuſual, that a man the ſame day ſhould eat, drink and be merry with the Emperour, and the ſame day be condemned in the Senate upon the Emperours accuſation. An Officer is ſent to fetch him away a Priſoner; from whence he had but lately gone Ambaſſadour. The poor man being thus betrayed, thought it vain to beg for life; for that he was ſure would be denyed him, but he begged that he might preſently be put to death, and that was denyed alſo. For the bloody Emperour delighted not in blood and death only, but in any thing that would cauſe other mens miſery, though it were their life. So having once committed one of his friends to a moſt miſerable and intolerable impriſonment; and being ſolicited and earneſtly ſued unto, that he might be ſpeedily executed and put out of his miſery, he flatly denyed it, ſaying, That *he was not grown friend with him yet*. Such was the penance that he put poor *Gallus* to: a life far worſe than a preſent death;

for he ought him more ſpite and torture than a ſuddain execution. The miſerable man being impriſoned and ſtraitly looked to, not ſo much for fear of his eſcape by flight, as of his eſcape by death, was denyed the ſight and conference of any one whoſoever, but him only that brought him his pitiful dyet, which ſerved only to prolong his wretched life, and not to comfort it; and he was forced to take it, for he muſt by no means be ſuffered to dy. Thus lived (if it may be called a life) a man that had been of the honourableſt rank and office in the City; lingring and wiſhing for death, or rather dying for three years together; and now at laſt he findeth the means to famiſh himſelf, and to finiſh his miſerable bondage with as miſerable an end; to the ſore diſpleaſure of the Emperour, for that he had eſcaped him, and not come to publick execution.

Such an end alſo choſe *Nerva* one of his near friends and familiars, but not like the other, becauſe of miſeries paſt or preſent; but becauſe of fear and foreſight of ſuch to come. His way that he took to diſpatch himſelf of his life, was by total abſtinence and refuſal of food; which when *Tiberius* perceived was his intent, he ſits down by him, deſires to know his reaſon, and begs with all earneſtneſs of him, that he would deſiſt from ſuch a deſign: *For what ſcandal*, ſaith he, *will it be to me, to have one of my neareſt friends to end his own life, and no cauſe given why he ſhould ſo die?* But *Nerva* ſatisfied him not either in anſwer or in act, but perſiſted in his pining of himſelf, and ſo dyed.

§ 6. *The miſerable ends of* Agrippina *and* Druſus.

To ſuch like ends came alſo *Agrippina* and *Druſus*, the Wife and Son of *Germanicus*, and Mother and Brother of *Caius*, the next Emperour that ſhould ſucceed. Theſe two, the Daughter in law, and Grandchild of *Tiberius* himſelf, had about four years ago been brought into queſtion by his unkind and inhuman accuſation, and into hold and cuſtody, until this time. It was the common opinion that the curſed inſtigation of *Sejanus*, whom the Emperour had raiſed purpoſely for the ruine of *Germanicus* his houſe had ſet ſuch an accuſation on foot; and made the man to be ſo cruel towards his own family; but when the two accurſed ones had miſerably ſurvived the wicked *Sejanus*, and yet nothing was remitted of their proſecution, then opinion learned to lay the fault where it deſerved, even on the cruelty and ſpite of *Tiberius* himſelf. *Druſus* is adjudged by him to die by famine, and miſerable and woeful wretch that he was, he ſuſtaineth his life for nine days together, by eating the flocks out of his bed, being brought to that lamentable and unheard of dyet, through extremity of hunger. Here at laſt was an end of *Druſus* his miſery, but ſo was there not of *Tiberius* his cruelty towards him; for he denyed the dead body burial in a fitting place; he reviled and diſgraced the memory of him with hideous and feigned ſcandals and criminations, and ſhamed not to publiſh in the open Senate, what words had paſſed from the pining man againſt *Tiberius* himſelf; when in agony through hunger he craved meat, and was denyed it. Oh what a ſight and hearing was this to the eyes and ears of the Roman people, to behold him that was a child of their darling and delight *Germanicus*, to be thus barbarouſly and inhumanely brought to his end, and to hear his own Grandfather confeſs the action and and not diſſemble it!

Agrippina the woeful Mother, might dolefully conjecture what would become of her ſelf, by this fatal and terrible end of the poor Prince her Son. And it was not long, but ſhe taſted of the very ſame cup, both of the ſame kind of death, and of the ſame kind of diſgracing after. For being pined after the ſame manner, that it might be coloured that ſhe did it of her ſelf (a death very unfitting the greateſt Princeſs then alive,) ſhe was afterward ſlandered by *Tiberius* for adultery with *Gallus* that died ſo lately, and that ſhe cauſed her own death for grief of his. She and her Son were denyed burial befitting their degree, but hid in ſome obſcure place where no one knew, which was no little diſtaſt and diſcontentment to the people. The Tyrant thought it a ſpecial cauſe of boaſting and extolling his own goodneſs, that ſhe had not been ſtrangled, nor dyed the death of common baſe offenders: And ſince it was her fortune to die on the very ſame day that *Sejanus* had done two years before, *viz. Octob.* 17. it muſt be recorded as of ſpecial obſervation, and great thanks given for the matter, and an annual ſacrifice inſtituted to *Jupiter* on that day.

Caius her Son, and Brother to poor *Druſus* took all this very well, or at leaſt ſeemed ſo to do, partly glad to be ſhut of any one that was likely to have any colour or likelyhood of corrivality with him in his future reign; and partly being brought up in ſuch a School of diſſimulation, and grown ſo perfect a Scholar there, that he wanted little

little of *Tiberius*. This year he married *Claudia* the daughter of *M. Silanus*, a man that would have adviſed him to good, if he would have hearkned; but afterward he matched with a mate and ſtock, more fitting his evil nature, *Ennia* the Wife of *Macro*, but for advantage reſigned by her Huſband *Macro*, to the adulterating of *Caius*, and then to his marriage.

§ 7. *Other Maſſacres.*

The death of *Agrippina* drew on *Plancina's*, a Woman that never accorded with her in any thing, but in *Tiberius* his diſpleaſure, and in a fatal and miſerable end. This *Plancina*, in the univerſal mourning of the ſtate for the loſs of *Germanicus*, rejoyced at it, and made that her ſport, which was the common ſorrow of all the State: How poor *Agrippina* reliſhed this, being deprived of ſo rare a Huſband, can hardly be thought of without joyning with her in her juſt and mournfull indignation. *Tiberius* having a ſpleen at the woman for ſome other reſpect, had now a fair colour to hide his revenge under, to call her to account, and that with ſome applauſe. But here his revenge is got into a ſtrait: for if he ſhould put her to death, it may be it would be ſome content to *Agrippina*: and therefore not to pleaſure her ſo much, he will not pleaſure the other ſo much neither as with preſent death, but keepeth her in lingring cuſtody till *Agrippina* be gone, and then muſt ſhe follow; but her reſoluteneſs preventeth the Executioner, and to eſcape anothers, ſhe dieth by her own hand.

Let us make up the heap of the ſlaughtered this year, in the words of *Dion*, *Such a number of Senators, to omit others, periſhed under Tiberius, that the Governours of Provinces were choſen by lot, and ruled, ſome three years, ſome ſix, becauſe there were not enough to come in their room.*

THE CHRISTIAN HISTORY, THE Jewiſh and the Roman.

For the Year of *CHRIST* XXXV. And of *TIBERIUS* XX. Being the Year of the WORLD 3962. And of the City of *ROME* 787.

Conſuls { *Lucius Vitellius.* / *P. Fabius Priſcus*, or *Perſicus.*

PART I.

Affairs of *ROME.*

§. 1. *Thankleſs officiouſneſs.*

OF the ſtate and occurrences of the Church this inſtant year, there is neither any particular given by S. *Luke*, nor any elſe where to be found in Scripture, ſave only what may be collected from the words of *Paul* concerning himſelf, namely that he is this year either in *Arabia* or *Damaſcus* or both, ſpending one part of it in the one place, and the other in the other. The Church (now this great perſecutor is turned Preacher) injoyed no doubt a great deal of eaſe in the ceaſing of the perſecution, and benefit by the earneſtneſs of his Miniſtry. And ſo let us leave her to her peace and comfortable times now growing on, and turn our ſtory to the Romans.

Tiberius his reign being now come to the twentieth year, the preſent Conſuls *L. Vitellius*, and *Fabius Priſcus*, do prorogate or proclaim his rule for ten years longer. A ceremony uſed by *Auguſtus*, whenſoever he came to a tenth year of his reign, but by *Tiberius* there was not the like cauſe. One would have thought the twenty years paſt of his inhumane and barbarous reign ſhould have given the City more than enough of ſuch an Emperor: and have cauſed her to have longed rather for his end then to have prolonged his dominion. But ſhe will make a virtue now or complement rather of neceſſity, and will get thanks of him for continuing of that which ſhe cannot ſhake off, and is willing that he ſhall reign ſtill, becauſe ſhe knew he would do ſo whether ſhe will or no. It is the forlorn way of currying favour, to pleaſe a man in his own humour, when we dare not croſs it. The flattering Conſuls received a reward befitting ſuch unneceſſary officiouſneſs, for they kept the feaſt, ſaith *Dion*, that was uſed upon ſuch occaſions, and were puniſhed. Not with death, for the next year you ſhall have *Vitellius* in *Judea*, but with ſome other infliction which it may be was pretended for ſome other reaſon, but intended and impoſed upon a profound policy.

policy. For while they thus took on them to confirm his rule they did but ſhake his title as he conceived, and told him a riddle that he reigned by their courteſie and not by his own intereſt: but when he puniſhed them that would take on them to confirm this ſuperiority he proved it independent, and not pinned upon their will.

§. 2. *Cruelties.*

The vein of the City that was opened ſo long ago, doth bleed ſtill and ſtill as freſh as ever. For *Slaughter* ſaith *Tacitus* was continual, and *Dion* addeth that none of them that were accuſed were acquitted, but all condemned: ſome upon the letters of *Tiberius*, others upon the impeachment of *Macro* (of whom hereafter,) and the reſt only upon ſuſpition. Some were ended by the executioner, others ended themſelves by their own hands, the Emperor all this while keeping out of the City, and that, as was thought, leſt he ſhould be aſhamed of ſuch doings there. Among thoſe that periſhed by their own hands was *Pomponius Labeo*, and his wife *Paxæa*, who being accuſed for corruption in his government of *Mæſia*, cut his own veins and bled to death, and his wife accompanied him in the ſame fatal end. To the like end, but upon different occaſions and accuſations came *Mamercus Scaurus* and his wife *Sextia*. He ſome years before having eſcaped narrowly with life upon a charge of treaſon, is now involved again in other accuſations, as of Adultery with *Livilla*, magical practices, and (not at the leaſt) for libelling againſt *Tiberius*. For having made a Tragedy which he titled *Atreus*, and in the ſame, bringing him in, adviſing one of his ſubjects in the words of *Euripides*, *That he ſhould bear with the folly of the Prince*: *Tiberius* not ſo guilty indeed of ſuch a taxation of being a fool, as ready to take on to be guilty, that he might have the better vie againſt the Author, perſonated the matter to himſelf, crying out *that Scaurus had made him a bloody Atreus, but that he would make an Ajax of him again*: which accordingly came to paſs: for the Tragedian to prevent the executioner, acted his own Tragedy, and died by his own hand, his wife being both incourager and companion with him in the ſame death. But among theſe lamentable ſpectacles ſo fearful and ſo frequent, it was ſome contentment to ſee the accuſers ſtill involved in the like miſeries with thoſe whom they had accuſed: for that malady of accuſing was grown Epidemical and infectious, ſparing none, and as it were catching one of another. The tokens hereof appeared in the baniſhment of *Servilius* and *Cornelius* the accuſers of *Scaurus*, and of *Abudius Rufo* that had done the like by *Lentulus Getulicus*. This *Getulicus* was then commander of the Legions in *Germany*, and being charged with ſo much intimacy with *Sejanus*, as that he intended to have married his daughter to *Sejanus* his ſon, he quitted himſelf by a confident letter to *Tiberius*. In which he pleadeth that his familiarity and alliance to *Sejanus* had begun by the Emperors own advice and privacy: and he was ſo far from crouching, that he profereth terms of partition to *Tiberius*, namely that he ſhould enjoy the Empire, and himſelf would enjoy the Province where he was: This it was to have Arms and Armies at his diſpoſal, for, for all this affront, the Emperor is neceſſarily calm, conſidering partly his own age, partly the hatred of the people, but chiefly, that he ſtood in that height and ſway and power that he was in rather by the timorous opinion of others than by any ſtrength or firmneſs of his own.

This year there aroſe a feigned *Druſus* in *Greece*: a man as it ſeemed, neither led by common policy that might have told him, that ſo great a Prince of *Rome* could not poſſibly have been ſo long obſcured, nor by common opinion which greatly ſuſpected, that *Druſus* was made away by the Emperors own conſent: He found a party as inconſiderate as himſelf, for he was intertained by the Cities of *Greece* and *Ionia*, and furniſhed with aid, and had like to have come into *Syria* and ſurprized the forces there, had he not been deſcried, taken and ſent to *Tiberius*.

To conclude with ſome other rarity, beſides theſe of cruelty, there was ſeen a *Phœnix* in *Egypt* this year, as *Tacitus* hath laid it, (but as *Dion* two years after) which then exerciſed the wits of the Philoſophical Greeks interpreting the preſage either to the State or to the Emperor as their fancy led them: and in after times it exerciſed the pens of Chriſtians, applying it as an Embleme of the reſurrection of Chriſt.

PART II.

The Affairs of the JEWS.

§. *A commotion of the Jews cauſed by Pilate.*

BEſides the tumult mentioned before, cauſed by *Pilate* among the Jews about ſome images of *Cæſar*, *Joſephus* hath alſo named another raiſed by the ſame Spleen and rancor of his, againſt that people, which becauſe *Euſebius* hath placed it at this year, be it recommended to the reader upon his Chronology. *Pilate* a conſtant enemy to the Nation of which he was Governor, ſought and dogged all occaſions whereby to provoke them to diſpleaſure, that the diſpleaſure might provoke them to do ſomething that would redound to their own diſadvantage. At this time he took in hand a great work of an *Aquæduct*, or watercourſe, to *Jeruſalem*, to bring the water thither from a place two hundred furlongs or five and twenty miles off, (as *Joſephus* reckoneth it in one place, but in another he croſſeth himſelf, and doubleth the meaſure to four hundred) and for this purpoſe he took the money out of their *Corban* or holy treaſure to expend upon this his fancy. The people diſpleaſed with what was done, come together by multitudes, ſome crying out againſt the work, and others plainly againſt *Pilate*. For they of old did know his conditions, that his affection was not ſo much to the people or to do them good by his *Aquæduct*, as it was to tyrannize over their conſciences which were nailed to their ancient rights and rites. But he ſuborning ſome of his Souldiers in the common garb and garments, and they hiding clubs under their coats diſpoſed themſelves ſo about the multitude that they had them within them. And then, when the people continued ſtill in their outrage and railing, upon a ſignal given, they fall upon them, and beat without diſtinction all before them, both thoſe that were ſeditious and thoſe that were not: ſo that many died in the place and the reſt departed away ſore wounded. This is the tenour of the ſtory in *Joſephus in Antiq. lib.* 18. *cap.* 4. *& Bell. Judaic. lib.* 2. *cap.* 14. In the allegation of which Hiſtory by *Baronius*, to omit his placing of it in the firſt year of *Pilate* about which he ſheweth himſelf indifferent, I cannot paſs theſe two things without obſerving. 1. That he ſaith that *Pilate* took the head of his watercourſe three hundred furlongs off, whereas in the Greek there is no ſuch ſum in either of the places where the ſtory is related, but in the one, two hundred and in the other four. 2. That whereas the Greek readeth the tranſition to the next ſtory, *de Bell. Jud. l.* 2. *cap.* 15. κὰν τούτῳ κατήγορος Ἡρώδου, &c. *At that time Agrippa the accuſer of Herod went to Tiberius, &c.* His Latin readeth it, *Atque ab hoc accuſator Herodis Agrippa, &c.* loſing both ſcantling of the time which the Author hath given and *Euſebius* followed, and ſeeming to bring *Agrippa* to *Rome* about this matter of *Pilate*.

In the twentieth year of *Tiberius* hath the ſame *Joſephus* placed the death of *Philip* the *Tetrarch*, although he hath named it after the entrance of *Vitellius* upon the Government of *Syria*, which was in the next year; but ſuch tranſpoſitions are no ſtrange things with him. This *Philip* was Tetrarch of *Trachonitis*, *Gaulonitis*, and *Batanæa*, he died in the City *Julias* and was interred with a great deal of funeral pomp. His tetrarchy was added to *Syria*, but the tributes of it were reſerved within it ſelf.

THE

THE CHRISTIAN HISTORY, THE JEWISH, AND THE ROMAN, OF The Year of CHRIST XXXIII. And of TIBERIUS XVIII.

Being the Year of the WORLD 3960:

And of the City of *ROME*, 785.

Conſuls { *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.*
Furius Camillus Scribonianus.

By *JOHN LIGHTFOOT* D.D.

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THE CHRISTIAN HISTORY: THE Jewiſh and the Roman.

For the Year of *CHRIST* XXXVI.

And of *TIBERIUS* XXI.

Being the Year of the WORLD 3963.

And of the City of *ROME* 788.

Conſuls { *C. Ceſtius Gallus.* / *M. Servilius Rufus.*

PART I.

§. *Affairs of the Jews, Vitellius their Friend.*

Vitellius the laſt years Conſul at *Rome* is ſent this year Proconſul into *Syria*, to govern that and *Judea* which was incorporated into that Province. A man more Honorable abroad than at his own doors, renowned in his youth, but ignominious in his old age, brave in ruling in forain parts, but baſe in officiouſneſs and flattery at *Rome*. At the time of the Paſsover, he cometh up to *Jeruſalem*, whether induced by curioſity to ſee the Feſtival, or by the opportunity of the concourſe, to behold the whole body of his Dominion collected in ſo ſmall a compaſs, and to diſperſe among them his commands, or for what other cauſe let him keep it to himſelf: But ſo well did he like his intertainment, and the people that had given it him, that he remitted to all the inhabitants, the Toll or Impoſt of all the fruits bought and ſold: and he permitted to the Prieſts the keeping of the High-Prieſts garments, which of late had been in the cuſtody of the Romans. For *Hircanus* the firſt of that name, having built a Tower near unto the Temple, and living in it himſelf, and after him, ſome of his ſucceſſors, he laid up there thoſe holy garments, which they only might wear as in a place moſt convenient, both where to put them on when they came into the Temple, and to put them off when they went into the City. But *Herod* in after times ſeiſing upon that Tower and repairing it, and naming it *Antonia* in honour of the great *Antony*, he ſeiſed alſo upon the cuſtody of thoſe robes, when he found them there, and ſo alſo did *Archelaus* his ſon. But the *Romans* depoſing of *Archelaus* and uſurping his whole Dominion (if reaſſuming of that which they had beſtowed before, may be called uſurpation) they alſo as he had done, kept theſe ſacred garments under their hands: Laying them up in a room under the ſeals of the Prieſts, and the keepers of the Treaſury: and the keeper of the Tower ſet up a Candle there every day. Seven days before any of the Feaſts, they were delivered out by the ſame Keeper, and purified becauſe they came out of heathen hands, and uſed the firſt day of the Feaſt, and reſtored the ſecond, and laid up as before. *Vitellius* graciouſly reſtored the cuſtody of them

to the Prieſts as had been uſed of old. But *Joſeph* who was alſo called *Caiaphas* who ſhould have firſt worn them after, was removed by him from the High Prieſt-hood, and *Jonathan* the ſon of *Ananus* placed in his ſtead. And thus is one of the unjuſt Judges of our Saviour judged himſelf, and the next year, and by this ſame *Vitellius* we ſhall have the other judged alſo.

PART II.

§. 1. *Affairs in the Empire. A rebellion in Parthia, &c.*

AT this year hath *Euſebius* in his Chronicle, placed the Spleen of *Sejanus* againſt the Jews, which was ſome years before: and the ſpleen of *Herod* againſt *James* and *Peter*, which was ſome years after: and * *Maſſæus* in his Chronicle, hath placed the aſſumption of the Virgin *Mary*, which was no body knows when. A ſtory firſt publiſhed to the world by revelation, as the common cry went of it, but invented indeed by ſuperſtition, backed by eaſe and love of Holy-days, and grown into credit and intertainment by credulity and cuſtom. As unconſtant to it ſelf for time, as her Sex is of whom it is divulged, for there is ſo great difference about the time when this great wonder was done, that it is no wonder if it be ſuſpected to have been done at no time at all. We will leave to rake into it, till we come to find it in its place, and rubrick in *Euſebius*, who is the moſt likely man to follow: and for the preſent we will divert the Readers eyes to a matter of far more truth and likelihood; *Phraates* a King of *Parthia* of old, had given *Vonones* his eldeſt ſon for an Hoſtage to *Auguſtus*: and *Auguſtus* upon the requeſt of the *Parthians* afterward, had given him again unto them for their King. At the firſt he was well accepted and well affected by them and among them, as he had been deſired by them, but afterward he was diſliked and diſplaced by *Artabanus* whom they had called in for their King in his ſtead. This *Artabanus* having been kept in awe by *Germanicus* whileſt he lived, and having been a good while ago quitted and delivered of that awe by *Germanicus* his death, and having at this preſent, a fit opportunity for the ſeiſure of the Kingdom of *Armenia*, by the death of *Artaxias* their King, he taketh upon him to place *Arſaces* his own eldeſt ſon in that Throne, demanding withal ſome Treaſures that *Vonones* had left in *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and challenging the Royalty of *Perſia* and *Macedon*, and the old poſſeſſions of *Cyrus* and *Alexander*: This was a proud ſcorn and defiance to the Romans, and ſuch as was not poſſible for their victorioufneſs to digeſt, nor ſafe for him to offer, but that he was imboldned to it by conſidering the Emperors old age. But *Sinnaces* and *Abdus* and other Nobles of *Parthia*, not truſting their lives and liberties to the raſhneſs of *Artabanus*, come ſecretly to *Rome* and commit the matter to *Tiberius*: He upon their requeſt and glad of opportunity to correct the inſolencies of *Artabanus* giveth them *Phraates*, another ſon of *Phraates* their old King, who alſo lay for an Hoſtage at *Rome*, and diſpatcheth him away for his fathers Throne and the Nobles with him. And thus is *Artabanus* in a fair way of an equal retaliation, to loſe his own Kingdom as he had uſurped another mans. As they were thus travailing homeward with this deſign and plot in their minds and hands, *Artabanus* having intelligence of the matter counterplotteth again: and fairly inviting *Abdus* under pretence of great amity to a banquet, preventeth his future deſigns by poiſon, and ſtops the haſte of *Sinnaces* by diſſimulation and gifts. *Phraates* the new elected King, the more to ingratiate himſelf to his Countrymen by complying with them in their manners, forſaketh the Roman garb, cuſtoms, and diet, to which he had been ſo long inured, and betaketh himſelf to the Parthian, which being too uncouth and hard for him, eſpecially upon a change ſo ſuddain, it coſt him his life as he was in *Syria*.

* *In Chron. Mundi l. 8.*

But this unexpected accident, cauſed not *Tiberius* to forelet or neglect the opportunity ſo fairly begun, but to follow it the more earneſtly. For chooſing *Tiridates* a man of the ſame blood, and an enemy to *Artabanus*, he inveſteth him in the ſame right and challenge to the *Parthian* Crown, and ſendeth him away for it. Writing letters withal to *Mithradates* the King of *Iberia* to invade *Armenia*, that the diſtreſs and ſtrait of *Arſaces* there might draw *Artabanus* thither to his relief and give *Tiridates* the more eaſie acceſs to his Country. For the better ſecuring of *Mithradates* to this imployment, he maketh him and his brother *Pharaſmenes* friends, between whom there had been ſome feud before, and inciteth them both to the ſame ſervice. This they accordingly perform, and breaking in-

to

to *Armenia*, they ſhortly make the King away by bribing of his ſervants, and take the City *Artaxata* with their Army. *Artabanus* upon theſe tidings ſendeth away *Orodes* his other ſon, to relieve and to revenge: But *Pharaſmanes* having joyned the *Albanes* and *Sarmatians* to his party, and he and the *Iberians* by this union being maſters of the paſſages, they pour in *Sarmatians* into *Armenia* by multitudes through the ſtraits of the *Caſpian* mountains, and deny paſſage to any that would aid the *Parthian*. So that *Orodes* cometh up to *Pharaſmanes*, but can go no further, and they both lie in the field ſo cloſe together that *Pharaſmanes* biddeth him battel at his own trenches: which being ſtoutly and ſtrangely fought between ſo many Nations and ſo differently barbarous, it fortuned that the two Princes met in the heat of the fight, and *Pharaſmanes* wounded *Orodes* through the Helmet, but could not ſecond his blow himſelf being born away by his horſe beyond his reach, and the other was ſuddainly ſuccoured and ſheltered by his guard. The rumor of this wound of the King by diſperſion grew to a certain report of his death, and that, by as certain an apprehenſion, grew to the loſs of the *Parthians* day. Nor was the rumor altogether miſtaken, for the wound though it were not ſo ſodainly, yet was it ſo ſurely deadly, that it brought him to his end. Now it is time for *Artabanus* to look and ſtir about him when he hath loſt his two ſons, and when his two Kingdoms are near upon loſing. He muſtereth and picketh up all the Forces his Dominions could afford, and thoſe no more neither (if they were enough) than the preſent neceſſity and forlorn eſtate of himſelf and Kingdoms did require. What would have been the iſſue, and where the ſtorm of this cloud, and ſhower of theſe preparations would have lighted, *Vitellius* gave not leave and time to be determined, for raiſing all the Legions of *Syria* and thereabout, (for *Tiberius* upon theſe troubles had made him ruler of all the Eaſt) he pretended an invaſion of *Meſopotamia*. But *Artabanus* ſuſpecting whither that war might bend indeed, and his diſcontented ſubjects, upon this conceit of the aſſiſtance of the Romans daring to ſhew their revolt againſt him, which they durſt not before, he was forced to flee with ſome forlorn company into *Scythia*, hoping that his abſence might remove the hatred of the *Parthians*, which we ſhall ſee hereafter came accordingly to paſs, and *Vitellius* without any blow ſtruck, maketh *Tiridates* King in his ſtead.

§. 2. *Tiberius ſtill cruel and ſhameleſs.*

He was now got to *Antium*, ſo near the City, that in a day or nights ſpace he could have, or give a return to any letters: For all his age which the *Parthian* King had deſpiſed, and for all the troubles that he had cauſed, yet remitted he nothing of his wonted rigour and ſavageneſs. The *Seianians* were as eagerly hunted after as ever, and it was no eſcape nor help to the accuſed, though the crimes objected were either obſolete or feigned. This cauſed *Fulcinius Trio* for that he would not ſtay for the formal accuſations which he perceived were coming againſt him, to end himſelf with his own hand, having left moſt bitter and invective taunts and taxations in his laſt Will and Teſtament, againſt *Tiberius* and his darling *Macro*. The Executors durſt not publiſh nor prove the Will for fear of the executioner, but the Emperor, when he heard of the contents of it, cauſed it to be openly read and divulged, and prided himſelf in thoſe juſt reproaches. Nor wanted he more of thoſe reproaches from others alſo, but he repaid the Authors in cruel diſcontent, though he ſeemed to hear his own diſgrace with delight. For *Sextius Paconianus* was ſtrangled in priſon for making Verſes againſt him. It may be they were thoſe in *Sueton.* *Aſper & Immitis, breviter his omnia dicam? Diſpeream ſi te mater amare poteſt, &c.*

Granius Martianus, *Trebellienus Rufus*, and *Poppæus Sabinus*, were accuſed for ſome other offences, and died by their own hands, and *Tattus Gratianus* that had once been Prætor was condemned by a Prætorian Law, and eſcaped his own hands indeed, but he did not eſcape the executioners.

THE CHRISTIAN HISTORY, THE Jewiſh and the Roman.

For the Year of *CHRIST* XXXVII.

And of *TIBERIUS* XXII.

Being the Year of the WORLD 3964.

And of the City of *ROME* 789.

Conſuls { *Q. Plautius.* / *Sextus Papinius* or *Papirius.*

ACTS IX.

Verſ. 23. *And after that many days were fulfilled, &c.*

§. *Account of the Chronology.*

THE converſion of *Paul* we obſerved ere while, and proved to be in the year next after our Saviours aſcenſion or *Anno Chriſti* 34. Now *Paul* himſelf teſtifieth that three years after his converſion he went up to *Jeruſalem*, *Gal.* 1. 18. That ſpace of time he ſpent in *Damaſcus*, in *Arabia* and in *Damaſcus* again. For ſo himſelf teſtifieth in the verſe before. But how long time he took up in theſe ſeveral abodes in theſe places, it is not determinable nor indeed is it material to inquire, ſince we have the whole time of all his abodes ſummed up in that account of three years: Now whereas there is no mention in *Lukes* relation of his journey into *Arabia*, but he maketh him (as one would think) to come up to *Jeruſalem*, at his firſt departure from *Damaſcus*, we have ſhewed elſewhere that it is no uncouth thing with this and the other Evangeliſts, to make ſuch brief tranſitions, ſometimes in ſtories of a large diſtance: and *Paul* himſelf plainly ſheweth us in the place alledged, how to make the brief ſtory of *Luke* full and compleat, and to ſpeak it out: Namely that *Paul* upon his coming after his converſion into *Damaſcus*, began there to preach, and *increaſed more and more in ſtrength, and confounded the Jews that dwelt at Damaſcus, proving that Jeſus was the very Chriſt:* And having preached a while in *Damaſcus*, he goeth into *Arabia*, which Country was now under the ſame Government with *Damaſcus*, (namely under King *Aretas*) and after a while he returned into *Damaſcus* again. And then do the Jews there ſeek to kill him, and they incenſe the Governour of the City under *Aretas* againſt him, ſo that he ſetteth a watch to take him, but he eſcapeth over the wall by night in a Basket, *Acts* 9.25. 2 *Cor.* 11.33. We ſhall ſee by and by, that there were preparations for war this year, betwixt *Aretas* the King of *Arabia*, and *Herod* the Tetrarch, and it is not improbable that the Jews in thoſe times of commotion did accuſe *Paul* to the Governor of *Damaſcus* under *Aretas* for a ſpie or for a man that was an enemy to the Kings cauſe, and ſo they intereſt the Governor in a quarrel againſt him: And this very thing being conſidered may help

help ſomewhat to confirm this for the year of *Pauls* coming from *Damaſcus* for fear of his life to *Jeruſalem*, if his own accounting the years did not make it plain enough.

Verſ. 26. *And when Saul was come to Jeruſalem, &c.*

His errand to *Jeruſalem*, as himſelf teſtifieth, was *to ſee Peter*, *Gal.* 1. 18. ἱστορῆσαι Πέτρον: not for any homage to his primacy (as is ſtrongly pleaded by the Popiſh crew) for he maketh no diſtinction betwixt him and *James* and *John* in point of dignity, *Gal.* 2. 9. nay is ſo far from homaging him that he rebuketh and reproveth him, *Gal.* 2. 11. But his journey to *Peter* at this time was, that he might have acquaintance with him and ſome knowledge of him, for ſo the word ἱστορῆσαι more properly ſignifieth, and that he deſired the rather, becauſe then *Peter* was the miniſter of the Circumciſion, as he himſelf was to be of the uncircumciſion, *Gal.* 2. 8. and becauſe there had been ſome kind of remarkable parallel betwixt them in their recovery, the one from denying and forſwearing Chriſt himſelf, and the other from perſecuting of Chriſt in his members.

§. *But they were all affraid of him, and believed not that he was a Diſciple.*

This very thing hath cauſed ſome to conceive that *Paul* had a journey to *Jeruſalem* a little after his converſion, and before ever he went into *Arabia:* becauſe they cannot conceive how it ſhould be poſſible, that he ſhould have been a convert and a Preacher of the Goſpel three years together, and yet his converſion and his preſent qualities ſhould be unknown to the Church at *Jeruſalem:* and the rather becauſe he himſelf ſaith that the wonder of *his converſion was not done in a corner*, Acts 26. 26.

Anſw. But theſe two or three conſiderations may help to reſolve the ſcruple. 1. The diſtance betwixt *Damaſcus* and *Jeruſalem*, which was exceeding great. 2. The quarrels betwixt *Herod* and *Aretas*, which were a means to hinder intercourſe betwixt thoſe two places. 3. The perſecution that continued ſtill upon the Church of *Judea*, which would keep Diſciples of *Damaſcus* from going thither. And 4. the juſt fear that might poſſeſs the Diſciples at *Jeruſalem*, in the very time of perſecution: For though it was ſaid before, the Church at *Jeruſalem* and of *Judæa* injoyed a great deal of reſt and tranquility after the converſion of *Paul* their great perſecutor, in compariſon of what they had done before, yet was not the perſecution of the Church utterly extinct to the very time of *Pauls* coming up to *Jeruſalem*, but continued ſtill, and therefore it is the leſs wonder if the Diſciples there, be the more fearful and cautelous.

Verſ. 27. *But Barnabas took him, &c.*

How *Barnabas* came acquainted with the certainty of *Pauls* converſion, better than the other Diſciples, is not eaſie to reſolve: It is like that he being abroad for fear of the perſecution, as the other of the Preachers were, (all but the Apoſtles) went in his travails towards *Damaſcus* or *Arabia*, and ſo had heard and learned the certainty of the matter: However it is pregnant to our obſervation, that he that was afterwards to be fellow traveller and labourer with *Paul* in the Goſpel to the Gentiles is now made the inſtrument and means of his firſt admiſſion to the ſociety of the Apoſtles. It is poſſible that there had been ſome acquaintance betwixt theſe two men in former times, they being both Grecizing Jews, the one of *Cyprus*, the other of *Cilicia*, and both in all probability brought up and educated at *Jeruſalem*; but whether it were ſo or no the hand of God is to be looked after in this paſſage, when *Pauls* future partner in the miniſtry to the Gentiles, is now his firſt intertainer into the ſociety of the Church at *Jeruſalem*.

§. *And brought him to the Apoſtles.*

That is, to *Peter* and *James the leſs:* for other of the Apoſtles, he himſelf relateth that he ſaw none, *Gal.* 1. 18. What was become of the reſt of the twelve, is not determinable: it is more than probable they were not now at *Jeruſalem*, otherwiſe it is hardly poſſible for *Paul* not to have ſeen them in fifteen days abode there: It is likely they were preaching and ſetling Churches up and down the Country, and *Peter* and *James* the two moſt peculiar Miniſters of the Circumciſion, abode at *Jeruſalem*, to take care

care of the Church there: For that theſe were ſo, and in what particular, the diſpenſation of their Miniſtry differed, we ſhall take occaſion to ſhew afterward; only here we cannot omit to take notice of that temper as I may ſo call it, which the Text holdeth out againſt the Primacy and Prelacy that is held by ſome to have been among the Apoſtles: For whereas ſome conceive *James* to have been Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, this Text ſets *Peter* in the ſame form and equality with him in that place: and whereas it is conceived again, that *Peter* was Prince of the Apoſtles, this Text hath equalled *James* with him.

1. And thus that perſecution that began about *Stephen* had laſted till this very ſame time of *Pauls* coming to *Jeruſalem*, for ſo it is apparent, both by the fear and ſuſpitiouſneſs of the Diſciples at *Jeruſalem*, as alſo by the very clauſure of the Text, Verſ. 31. *Then had the Churches reſt.*

2. The length of this perſecution by computation of the times as they have been caſt up before, ſeemeth to have been about three years and an half, the renowned number, and time ſo oft mentioned and hinted in Scripture.

3. The company of Diſciples or believers continued ſtill at *Jeruſalem*, for all the perſecution, as to the generality of them; as was ſaid before: only the Miniſters or Preachers were ſcattered abroad, all of them except the twelve Apoſtles.

4. Some of thoſe Preachers were by this time returned back again, the heat of the perſecution abating, as it is apparent by *Barnabas* now being at *Jeruſalem:* and of ſome ſuch men, is it propereſt to underſtand the word *Diſciples*, Verſ. 26. *Saul aſſaied to join himſelf to the Diſciples.*

5. Therefore the abſence of the ten Apoſtles from *Jeruſalem* was not for fear of the perſecution, but for the diſperſion of the Goſpel and ſetling of the Churches.

§. *And declared unto them how he had ſeen the Lord in the way.*

This is moſt properly to be underſtood of *Barnabas*, that he declared theſe things to the Apoſtles, though there be, that think it is meant of *Pauls* declaring them: and they read it thus, And *Barnabas brought him to the Apoſtles, and he*, that is, *Paul, declared unto them.*

Verſ. 28. *And he was with them coming in and going out.*

That is, *converſing with them*, as *Beza* hath well rendred it: A phraſe uſual among the Hebrews, as 1 *Sam.* 18. 13. *Act.* 1. 21. &c. And the time of this his converſe, *Paul* himſelf hath told us to have been fifteen days, *Gal.* 1. 18. where alſo he hath interpreted this Phraſe of *coming in and going out*, by the term of *abiding with, I abode with him fifteen days.*

Verſ. 29. *And he diſputed againſt the Grecians.*

Gr. *Againſt the Helleniſts:* which very place helpeth again to confirm the interpretation and gloſs we ſet upon this word before, namely, that it meaneth not, Greeks converted to the Jews Religion, but Jews converſing and cohabiting among the Greek Nation. For, 1. There can be none or ſmall reaſon given, why converted Greeks ſhould be ſo furiouſly Jewiſh as to go about to kill *Paul* for preaching againſt Judaiſm, and we hear not the Jews ſtirring againſt him for it. 2. What reaſon can be given why *Paul* ſhould bend his diſputations againſt converted Greeks more than againſt Jews? Certainly the Jews had more need of confutation in their Judaiſm than the other had. And 3. It is very queſtionable, how converted Greeks, which were ſtrangers and ſojourners at *Jeruſalem* and among the Jews, durſt go about to kill a Jew in the midſt of the Jews, and there being not a Jew that had any thing to ſay againſt him. It is therefore more than probable, that theſe Helleniſts were Jews that had lived among the Greeks, or of the Grecian diſperſion, and that they uſed the Greek Tongue: and that *Paul* choſe to diſpute with them, partly for that they living among the Gentiles, were by a kind of an *Antiperiſtaſis* more zealouſly Jewiſh, and partly, becauſe of their language, the Greek Tongue, which was the very language *Paul* had learned from a child.

The times of the ſtories next ſucceeding when the Text hath done with the ſtory of *Paul*, are ſomewhat unfixed, and uncertain, in what year they came to paſs: namely of *Peters* raiſing of *Æneas* from ſickneſs, *Dorcas* from death, and bringing in *Cornelius* to the Goſpel: But the beſt conjecture that can be given of the times of theſe ſtories, is by caſting and computing the hiſtory backward: And ſo we find, 1. That the famine prophecied

pheſied of by *Agabus*, was in the ſecond of *Claudius*, as was ſhewed before. 2. We may then conceive that this prophecy of *Agabus* was in *Claudius* his firſt, and that was the year or ſome part of the year that *Paul* and *Barnabas* ſpent at *Antioch*, *Act.* 11.26. 3. The laſt year of *Caius* we may hold to be the year of *Antiochs* firſt receiving the Goſpel, of *Barnabas* his coming thither, and of his journey to *Tarſus* to ſeek *Saul*, Act. 11.20,21,22, 23 24,25. And 4. the third year of *Caius* which was his laſt year but one, we may ſuppoſe accordingly to have been the year of *Peters* actions with *Æneas*, *Dorcas* and *Cornelius*, and to that year ſhall we refer the handling of the Texts that concern thoſe actions, and we will carry on the *Roman* and *Jewiſh* Story, as they fall in time, till we come thither.

PART II.

The ROMAN Story.

§. 1. *The Parthian war not yet compoſed.*

Tiridates ſeated in his Throne, as was related before, but as it proved, neither ſure in it, nor in the hearts of all his people, (the firſt of theſe being cauſed by the latter) he taketh in, certain *Parthian* Towns, and that by the *Parthians* own conſent and aid. For his *Roman* education compared with the *Scythian* carriage of *Artabanus* made the people to hope accordingly of his demeanour, and to entertain him with preſent applauſe and future expectation. The day of his Coronation being appointed, letters from *Phraates* and *Hiero*, two of the chiefeſt commanders in the State, deſire that it might be deferred for a certain ſpace, which accordingly was done in regard of the greatneſs of the men. The King in the mean time goeth up to *Cteſiphon* the Imperial City, attending the coming of theſe two Nobles, who when they put it off from day to day, *Surena*, in the preſence and by the approval of very many, Crowneth him on their Country manner. Theſe two Nobles and many others that were abſent from this ſolemnity, ſome for fear of the Kings diſpleaſure, ſome for hatred of *Abdageſes*, his favorite, and ſome no doubt upon a plot premeditated, betake themſelves to *Artabanus* their old King again. Him they find in *Hyrcania* hunting in the woods with his bow for his food, ruſty and dirty in habit and attire, and overgrown with filth and neglect of himſelf. At his firſt ſight of them it is no wonder if he were ſtricken with amazement, but their errand being related, it converted that paſſion into equal joy. For they complain of *Tridates* his youth, and effeminacy, of the Diadems tranſlation out of the blood, of the potency of *Abdageſes*, and the loſs of their old King, whom they now are come to deſire again. *Artabanus* believeth them and conſenteth, and raiſing ſpeedily what *Scythians* he could, marcheth away towards his Kingdom again. But his Royal apparel he wore not with him, but the poor and rugged garb of his miſery and exile, thereby to move the more to pity: and uſed all his wits and policy to make himſelf a party ſtrong on his ſide all the way as he went. But he needed not all this cauteloufneſs and preparation, for *Tiridates* but hearing of his approaching towards *Seleucia*, under colour of going to raiſe up forces, departed into *Syria*, and parted with his new Kingdom with as much facility as he had obtained it.

§. 2. *Artabanus giveth hoſtages to Rome.*

When the power and policy of *Tiberius*, and his agent *Vitellius* that had ſerved to get *Artabanus* out of his Kingdom, would not ſerve the turn to keep him thence; they ſend to treat of friendſhip with him, ſuſpecting what trouble ſuch a ſpirit might procure, ſhould it bend it ſelf againſt the Roman Empire. The King wearied with the toils of War, and knowing without a prompter, what it was to defie the Romans, condeſcendeth readily to the motion, and *Vitellius* and he meeting upon a bridge made over *Euphrates* for that purpoſe, each, with a guard about him; conclude upon Articles of agreement, and *Herod* the Tetrarch entertaineth them both, in a pavillion curiouſly ſeated in the midſt of the ſtream. Not long after this *Artabanus* ſendeth *Darius* his ſon for an hoſtage

to

to *Tiberius*; and withal he sendeth *Eleazar* a Jew, of seven cubits high, for a present; and many other gifts.

§. 3. *A Commotion in Cappadocia.*

Whilst matters went thus unquietly in *Parthia*, the *Calitæ* a Nation of *Cappadocia*, grew discontented about paying tribute to the Romans, and so departed into the mountain *Taurus*, and there fortifie, resolving as they never had used to pay such taxations, so never to learn, nor to use to do so. *Archelaus* was now King, but not now King of them; for the strength of the mountains, and the desperateness of their resolution, do animate them to withstand him and to rebel against the Romans. When tydings of this was brought to *Vitellius* into *Syria*, he dispatcheth away *M. Trebellius* with four thousand legionary Souldiers, and some other Forces raised otherways, to bring the Rebels to obedience or to ruine. *Trebellius* invironeth with Works and Men, two hills, *Cadra* and *Davara*, where they were the most strongly trenched, and those that were so hardy as to come forth, he subdueth with the sword, and the rest with famishing.

§. 4. *Bloodshed at Rome.*

These diseases of the *Roman* body were far from the heart, and yet was the heart, the City it self but little the better; for though some veins were opened in these wars which one would have thought should have turned the blood another way, yet did the City through the cruelty of the Emperor bleed inwardly still. For *L. Aurelius* and some others died by the hand of the Executioner, and *C. Galba*, two of the *Blesii*, and the Lady *Æmylia Lepida* by their own hands. But the example of the greatest terror was *Vibulenus Agrippa* a Knight, who being at the bar, when he had heard what his accusers could say against him, and despairing to escape, he took poyson out of his bosom in the face of the Court (*Dion* saith he sucked it out of his Ring) and swallowed it and sank down and was ready to die, yet was he haled away to prison and there strangled.

§. 5. *Mishaps.*

Besides this deluge of blood, which overflowed the City continually, there was also this year a deluge of water. For *Tiber* rose so high and violently into the Town, that many Streets became navigable, and where men had walked lately on their feet, they might have passed now up and down in ships. And a greater misfortune happened this year likewise by the contrary element: for a terrible fire consumed the buildings of the mount *Aventine* and that part of the *Circus* that lay betwixt that and the Palace; For the repair of all which again, *Tiberius* out of his own Treasure gave a great sum of money: *Tacitus* saith *Millies Sestertium*, which according to the value and reckoning of our English coin amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds, within nineteen thousand. A sum not strange in an Emperors coffer at *Rome*, where the vastness of the Empire brought in vast revenues, but somewhat strange out of the purse of *Tiberius* for so good a purpose, whose covetousness was larger than those whole revenues. And therefore as I cannot but observe the difference of *Dion* about this liberality of the Emperor from *Tacitus*, and the difference of his translator from his Text; so can I not but conceive his computation and account to be the more probable in regard of the niggardise of the Emperor. For whereas the sum of *Tacitus* is eight hundred thousand within nineteen, he hath so far come short of such a reckoning, that he maketh nineteen thousand pounds to be the whole account. For *Tiberius*, saith he, *gave* Διοχιλίας καὶ πεντεκοσίας μυριάδας, *two thousand and five hundred thousand*, meaning 2500 *sestertia*, and each *sestertium* containing a thousand Sestertios, this accreweth to about the sum last named, of 19000 l. and yet hath his translator forsaken his Greek, and followed *Tacitus* Latine, to so vast a difference.

PART III.

The JEWISH Story.

§. 1. *A commotion in Samaria. Pilate out of office.*

A Great ſpace of time is paſt ſince we heard any news of *Pontius Pilate*, and news it is indeed that his malicious and ſtirring ſpirit hath not entertained us with ſome bloody Tragedy or other, of all this while. His Government draweth now near its expiration, for he is going upon the tenth year of it, and it is a kind of miracle if ſo miſchievous an agent, ſhould part without acting ſome miſchief before his *exit*, and this at laſt he did which put him out of office. There was a certain Impoſtor among the Samaritans (*Simon Magus* as like as any) that would perſwade the people, that in mount *Gerizim* he could ſhew them, holy veſſels which *Moſes* had hid and laid up there with his own hand. The credulous vulgar meet by multitudes at a certain Village called *Tirathaba* intending when their company was full, to go ſee theſe ſacred reliques. But *Pilate* before-hand takes the paſſages with his Horſe and Foot, and falling upon thoſe that were thus aſſembled, ſome he ſlew, others he took captive and the reſt fled. Of thoſe that he captived, he cauſed the nobleſt and moſt principal to be put to death. For this fact the chief men of *Samaria*, accuſe him to *Vitellius*, who commands him to *Rome*, there to anſwer before the Emperor what ſhould be objected againſt him; and in his ſtead he made *Marcellus* a friend of his own, the Governor of *Judea*: but before *Pilate* came to *Rome*, *Tiberius* was dead. Yet hath *Euſebius* put off the teſtimony that *Pilate* is ſaid to have given to *Tiberius* concerning the death and reſurrection of Chriſt, and concerning the wonders wrought by him, till the next year following. A relation doubtful in it ſelf, but more than doubtful in the iſſue. For firſt, though it be granted that *Pilate* bare witneſs to the works and wonders done by Chriſt, and gave teſtimony to his Reſurrection, which yet to believe requireth a better evidence than I can find any: Yet ſecondly, the Epiſtle that is pretended for this his certificate by * *Hegeſippus*, cannot be that original one that *Tertullian*, and out of him *Euſebius* do mention, becauſe it is indorſed to *Claudius*, and not to *Tiberius*. Thirdly, though both theſe were confeſſed and agreed unto, that *Pilate* wrote a Letter to *Tiberius* to ſuch a purpoſe, and that this was the Letter, or ſome other that *Tertullian* had ſeen; yet can I never find the Emperor of ſo good a nature, and reſpective a diſpoſition, as to give the deſert of goodneſs its due, be it never ſo eminent and conſpicuous, or be it in what kind ſoever. Fourthly, and laſtly, that which maketh all the reſt of the ſtory to be doubted of, and which may juſtly hinder the entertainment of it, is, what is added in the common relation of the ſtory. That *Tiberius* referring this matter to the Senate, with his vote, that *Chriſt* ſhould be numbred among the Gods, and *Chriſtianity* among their holy things; the Senate croſſed him in it with flat contrariety, becauſe *Pilate* had written of it to him, and not to them. Now in the Stories that have been related before concerning the ſtate and affairs of *Rome*, and by other ſtories that might be produced in other years, it is but too miſerably evident, that the Senate was in too great a fear and ſlavery to the Tyrant, than to dare to affront him ſo palpably and plainly. *Pilate* after this, as * *Euſebius* alledgeth out of the Roman Hiſtorians, falling into many miſeries, ended himſelf with his own hand, the common and deſperate *Roman* remedy againſt diſtreſs. * *Caſſiodorus* hath placed his death under the Conſulſhip of *Publicola* and *Nerva*: And the common report hath given it in, that the place was *Vienna*.

Joſeph. Ant. l. 18 c. 5. See how *Egeſippus* relateth this ſtory, *De excid. Hieroſ. l. 1. c. 5.*

* *In Anacephal. in Biblioth. Patr. Tom. 7.*

* *Chron. ad annum. Chr. 41.*

* *In Chron.*

§. 2. *Agrippa his journey to Rome.*

This *Agrippa* was the ſon of *Ariſtobulus* (who died by the cruelty of his father *Herod*) and he was a man that had ſufficiently tried the viciſſitudes of fortune heretofore, but never ſo much as he is about to do now. A good while ago he had lived in *Rome*, and in the familiarity of *Druſus* the ſon of *Tiberius*: That great acquaintance cauſed great expences; partly in his own port and pomp, and partly in gifts and benificence beſtowed upon

upon others. When *Druſus* died, then *Agrippa's* eſtate is not only dead, but his hopes alſo: ſo that he is forced to flee from *Rome* into *Judea* for debt and poverty; and thence into a certain Tower in *Idumea* for ſhame and diſcontent. His wife *Cyprus* by ſollicitation and ſuing to *Herodias*, obtaineth *Herods* favour ſo far, that he was removed to *Tiberius*, made a chief Governor or Officer of the City, and allowance given him for his Diet. But this laſted not long ere *Herod* and he fell out; whereupon he removed away, and betook himſelf to *Flaccus* the then Governor of *Syria*, who had been his old acquaintance at *Rome*: Long he had not continu'd there neither, but *Ariſtobulus* his brother wrought him out of his favour and abode there. From thence he went to *Ptolomais*, intending to have ſet from thence for *Italy*, but was forced to ſtay till he had borrowed ſome monies before: Being now furniſhed and ſhipped, he was again ſtopped by *Herennius Capito*, the Governor of *Jamnia*, for ſome money that he ought to the Treaſury of *Tiberius*. And what muſt he do now? He muſt not go till he have paid the ſum, and when he hath paid it, then he cannot go for want of more. He taketh on him to obey the arreſt while it was day, but at night he cut cables, and ſet away for *Alexandria*: There he reneweth his borrowing again of *Alexander Alabarcha* and obtaineth of him five talents for his *viaticum*: and now this year (namely as *Joſephus* noteth it, the year before *Tiberius* his death) he ſetteth away for *Italy* again. This *Alabarcha* is not the proper Name of any man, but the title of men that bare Rule over the Jews in *Alexandria*. For I obſerve that as *Joſephus* in one place, calleth it *Alabarcha*, and *Alabarchus*, ſo in another he calleth it Ἀλαβαρχῶν & Ἀλαβαρχήσας, fixing it thereby as a title rather to any man that bare ſuch an Office, than as a proper name to any man at all. And if conjecture may read its denotation and Etymology, it ſeemeth to be compounded of the Arabick Article *Al*, which they fix before all their Nouns, and the Egyptian word *Abrech* which in that language importeth dignity and honour (as we have obſerved elſewhere) as may be collected from the proclamation before *Joſeph*, *Gen.* 41.43.

Agrippa being arrived at *Puteoli*, ſendeth to the Emperor to *Capreæ* to certifie him of his coming, and of his deſire to wait upon him there. *Tiberius* giveth him admiſſion and entertainment according to his mind: till Letters from *Herennius Capito* ſpoiled that chear: For the Emperor underſtanding by them how he had ſlipped the collar at *Jamnia*, from his Officer, and from his own debt, he doth flatly forbid him any more acceſs unto him till the money be paid. Now is *Agrippa* in a worſe caſe than ever: for there is no paltering with *Tiberius*, though there were with *Capito*; and no ſhifting from *Capreæ*, though he had found ſuch an opportunity at *Jamnia*. Nor is there any ſuch thought to be entertained. For now his life and fortunes, and all lay in the hand of *Tiberius*; and when he findeth him inclinable to uſe him kindly, there is no loſing that favour, for want of paying ſuch a ſum: Of *Antonia* the mother of *Germanicus*, and the old friend and favourer of *Bernice* the mother of *Agrippa*, he borroweth the money, and getting out of the Emperors debt, he getteth into his favour again. Inſomuch that he commendeth him to the converſe, acquaintance, and attendance of *Caius* his Grandchild that was to ſucceed him.

§. 3. *His Impriſonment.*

Happy might now *Agrippa* think himſelf, if he can but hold ſo: For he hath obtained the inward friendſhip of *Caius*, and with it retained the outward favour of *Tiberius*. *Antonia* and *Claudius* a future Emperor and all favour him, but he becomes an enemy to himſelf. Whether it were in love or flattery to *Caius*, or to himſelf and his own hopes, he caſteth himſelf into a preſent danger upon a future expectation. For *Caius* and he being very intimate and private together, whether more affectionately, or undiſcreetly, he himſelf beſt felt; he brake out into this dangerous wiſh, That *Tiberius might ſoon die, and Caius as ſoon come to rule in his ſtead.* Theſe words were heard by *Eutychus* his ſervant, and a while concealed; but when *Agrippa* proſecuted him for ſtealing ſome of his cloaths, which he had ſtoln indeed, he then brake forth and revealed all: for fleeing for his theft, and caught and brought before *Piſo* the Sheriff of the City, and demanded the reaſon of his flight, he anſwered that he had a great ſecret to impart to *Cæſar*, which concerned his life. *Piſo* therefore ſent him bound to *Tiberius*, who alſo kept him bound and unexamined a certain ſeaſon: Now began *Agrippa* to haſten and ſpur on his own miſery and vexation: Whether having forgotten the words that he had ſpoken, or not remembring the preſence of his ſervant, at the ſpeech; or not ſuſpecting that his tale to *Cæſar* would be againſt himſelf; or which was likelieſt, thinking to make his cauſe the better by his confidence, he ſolliciteth his old friend *Antonia*, to urge the Em-

peror for a tryal of his ſervant. *Tiberius* declineth it, though he ſuſpected the matter; not ſo much belike for *Agrippa's* ſake, as for *Caius* ſake, whom the familiarity that was betwixt them made him ſuſpect to be acceſſary, if any thing ſhould prove otherwiſe than well. But being ſtill importuned by *Antonia*, at laſt when he had uttered theſe words, *Let the gods witneſs O Antonia, that what I ſhall do, I do not of my own mind, but by thy ſolicitation:* He commanded *Eutychus* to be brought forth, who being examined, confeſſed readily that ſuch words were ſpoken by *Agrippa* to *Caius*, himſelf being preſent, adding others no leſs dangerous, that were ſpoken about young *Tiberius*. The Emperor as readily believed the matter; and preſently called out to *Macro* to bind him. *Macro* not underſtanding that he meant *Agrippa*, prepared to bind *Eutychus* more ſtrictly for examination: but *Tiberius* having walked about the place, and coming to *Agrippa*, it is this man ſaith he, that I commanded to be bound. And when *Macro* asked him again who? *Why*, ſaith he, *Agrippa*. Then did *Agrippa* begin to find how he had forwarded his own miſhap, but it was too late. And then did he begin to pray him now, whom he lately prayed againſt, but that was too late alſo. For *Tiberius* was not half ſo averſe to have tried his ſervant, as he is now to forgive the Maſter: and he cannot be much blamed, for he had wiſhed his miſchief, and procured his own. Well, *Agrippa* is tied in bands, and led away to priſon as he was, in his purple robes, a garment very incompatible with chains, unleſs of Gold. Being exceeding thirſty with heat and ſorrow, as he went towards the priſon, he ſpied one *Thaumaſtus* a ſervant of *Caius*, carrying a Tankard of water, and he deſired ſome to drink; which when the ſervant freely and readily gave him, *If ever*, ſaith he, *I eſcape and get out of theſe bonds, I will not fail to obtain thy freedom, who haſt not refuſed to miniſter to me in my miſery and chains, as well as thou didſt in my proſperity and pomp.* And this his promiſe he afterward performed.

§. 4. *The death of Thraſyllus the Mathematician.*

This man *Thraſyllus* had indeared himſelf to *Tiberius*, by his skill in Aſtrology long ago, even while he lived in *Rhodes*, before the death of *Auguſtus*, but with the imminent hazard and peril of his own life. For *Tiberius* being very much given to thoſe Chaldean and curious arts, and having got leaſure and retiredneſs in *Rhodes* for the learning and practiſe of them, he partly called, and partly had offered to him, thoſe that profeſſed to be skilful in that trade and myſtery. His way to try their skill was deſperate and terrible, but ſuch an one as beſt befitted ſuch as would take upon them to foreſee things to come, and it was this: when he conſulted of any buſineſs, ſaith *Tacitus*, he uſed the top of his houſe, and the privacy of one only ſervant, a man utterly unlearned, and of a ſtrong bulk of body: when he had a mind to try any mans skill, this Lubber was to go before him over craggy, ſteep and dangerous Rocks that hung over the Sea, and over which his houſe ſtood: and as they returned again, if there were any ſuſpition that the Prognoſticator had given an anſwer fraudulent or lying, he flung him into the Sea, leſt he ſhould reveal the ſecret that he had been queſtioned upon. *Thraſyllus* at his firſt coming, being brought to this dangerous trial, and having preſaged *Tiberius* ſhould be Emperor, and having foretold other things to come, he was asked by him whether he could calculate his own nativity; which when he went about to do, and had ſet a figure, upon the ſight and ſtudy upon it, he was firſt in a muſe and then in a fear, and the more he viewed it, the more he feared: and at laſt cryed out that ſome ſtrange and ſuddain danger was near and ready to ſeize upon him. Then *Tiberius* imbracing him commended his skill, ſecured him againſt the danger, and retained him ever after for his intimate familiar. This year (as *Dion* doth place it) befel this great Wizzards death, and as it proved, a forerunner of the Emperors: With whom he did more good with one lie, near his latter end, than he had done with all his Aſtrological truths (if he ever told any) all his life long. For aſſuring him by his skill, that he ſhould yet live ten years longer, though in his heart he thought no ſuch thing, he cauſed him to be ſlack and remiſs in putting divers men to death, whoſe end he had haſtned, had he known the haſte of his own, and ſo they eſcaped.

§. 5. *War*

§. 5. *War betwixt Aretas and Herod.*

There had been a long grudge betwixt *Aretas* the King of *Arabia Petræa*, and *Herod* the *Tetrarch*, and a field had been fought between them before this. For *Herod* having put away his wife which was *Aretas* daughter, and having taken *Herodias* (the wife of his own brother *Philip* and he yet living) in her ſtead, it is no wonder if *Aretas* dogged him for revenge for this indignity to his Daughter and himſelf. Wherefore he beginneth to quarrel with him and to ſeek occaſion of war, by challenge of a territory controvertible, and they come to a pitched battel, in which *Herods* Army is utterly overthrown, by means of ſome treachery wrought by ſome fugitives from his brother *Philips* Tetrarchy which had taken up Arms to fight under his colours: And here, as *Joſephus* hath obſerved, *It was the obſervation of divers that this his Army utterly periſhed through Gods juſt puniſhment upon him for the murder of John the Baptiſt.* And it is worth the marking, that this overthrow took beginning from men of that Country whence *Herodias* the cauſer of that murder, and of the preſent diſquietneſs had come. *Herod* upon this defeat, doubtful of better ſucceſs at another time, for it may be his conſcience told him this was but deſerved, betaketh himſelf by letters to *Tiberius*, certifying him of the accident, and it is likely, not without much aggravation. The Emperor either diſpleaſed at the fortune of *Aretas* in his victory, or at his audaciouſneſs in ſtirring ſo within the Empire, or at both together, ſendeth angry letters to *Vitellius* the Governor of *Syria*, charging him to undertake the war, and either to bring the rebellious King priſoner alive, or to ſend his head to *Rome*. But before the deſign came to maturity, *Tiberius* that had thus threatned another mans life had loſt his own, as will appear hereafter: when this firſt battel was that was ſo fatal to *Herod*, it ſhall not be inſiſted on to queſtion, but that this brewing towards a new war, befel in this year, is apparent ſufficiently by the ſequel.

THE

THE ROMAN, AND JEWISH Story,

For the Year of *CHRIST* XXXVIII.

And of *TIBERIUS* XXIII.

The first Year also of *CAJUS CALIGULA.*

Being the Year of the WORLD 3965.

And of the City of *ROME* 790.

Consuls { *Cn. Proculus Acerronius.* / *C. Pontius Nigrinus.*

PART I.

The ROMAN Story.

§. 1. *Macro, all base.*

THIS man had been mischievous ever since he had power to be so, but now was he so most of all, that he might keep that power of his afoot, or might raise it more and more. He was used by *Tiberius* as an instrument to bring down *Sejanus*, the one bad, and the other worse; and after he had done that, none must stand by his good will, that was likely to stand in his way: He was made Master of the *Prætorian* Souldiers in *Sejanus* his stead, and as he possessed his place, so did he his favour with the Emperor, and the crookedness of his conditions: as if all the honours, fortune, and wickedness of *Sejanus* had been intailed upon *Macro.* An agent as fit for *Tiberius* as could be required, and a successor as fit for *Sejanus.* A man as bloody as the Tyrant could desire him, and sometimes more than he set him on work. He was the continual *Alguazil* and *Inquisitor* for the friends and complices of the late ruined Favorite, and under colour of that pursuit, he took out of the way, whosoever would not friend and comply with him. Of that number were *Cn. Domitius*, and *Vibius Marsus*, accused with *Albucilla* the wife of *Satrius Secundus*, for Adultery, but all three together for conspiracy against the Emperor, yet was there no hand of the Emperors shewed for the prosecution of the matter, which shewed the only spleen and machination of the

Blood-

Blood-hound *Macro*. *Albucilla*, whether guilty indeed or knowing that his malice and power would make her ſo, ſtabbed her ſelf, thinking to have died by her own hand, but the wound not being deadly, ſhe was taken away to priſon. *Graſidius* and *Fregellanus* the pretended Pandars of her adulteries were puniſhed the one with baniſhment, and the other with degradation, and the ſame penalty was inflicted upon *Lælius Balbus*: A man, but juſtly, paid in his own coin, to the rejoycing and content of divers, for he had been a ſtrong and violent accuſer of many innocents. *Domitius* and *Marſus* (it may be) as guilty as the woman, but more diſcreet, traverſed the indictment, and ſaved their own lives, partly by the ſhortneſs of the Emperors life, and partly by the feigned prediction of *Thraſyllus*, that promiſed that it ſhould be long. But too ſullen was the indignation of *L. Arruntius* againſt *Macro*, and too deſperate his ill conceit of *Caius* who was to ſucceed in the Empire, for when he was inwrapt in the ſame accuſation with the two laſt named, and might have eſcaped the ſame eſcape that they did, yet deſpiſed he ſo to outlive the cruelty of *Tiberius* and *Macro*, as to come under the greater cruelty of *Macro* and *Caius*. No, ſaith he, *I have lived long enough, and (to my ſorrow) too long. Nor doth any thing repent me more, than that thus I have endured an old age under the ſcorns, dangers and hate, firſt of* Sejanus, *now of* Macro, *and always of one great one or another, and that for no other fault than for deteſting their flagitiouſneſs. It is true indeed that I may ſurvive the old age and weakneſs of Tiberius, but what hopes to do ſo by the youth of* Caius, *and wickedneſs of* Macro ? *Can* Caius *a youth do well being led by* Macro, *who ſo corrupted* Tiberius *in his age? No, I ſee more tyranny like to come than hath been yet: And therefore will I deliver my ſelf from the preſent miſery, and that to come:* And with theſe words and reſolution, he cut his own veins, and ſo bled to death: and ſpent a blood and a ſpirit, what pity it was that they ſhould have been ſo loſt? As *Macro* thus divided his pains in cruelty, betwixt the ſatisfying of *Tiberius* his mind and his own malice, ſo alſo did he, his affections ſhall I ſay? or flattery rather, and own-end obſervances betwixt *Tiberius* and *Caius*. For as he ſought to pleaſe the one that now ruled, for his own preſent ſecurity, ſo did he, to indear the other that was to ſucceed, for his future ſafety: Hereupon he omitted not any opportunity nor occaſion, that he might skrew *Caius* further and further into *Tiberius* his favour, and to keep him there, that he might do as much for himſelf into the favour of *Caius*. One rarity and non-parallel of obſequiouſneſs he ſhewed to the young Prince, worth recording to his ſhame, for he cauſed his own wife *Ennia Thraſylla* to intangle the youthfulneſs of *Caius* into her love and adultery, and then parted he with her and gave her to him in marriage. The old Emperor could not but obſerve this monſter of pretended friendſhip, nor were his old eyes ſo blind, but he perceived his flattery plain in other carriages, in ſo much that he brake out to him in theſe plain words: *Well, thou forſakeſt the ſetting Sun, and only lookeſt upon the riſing.*

§. 2. *A wicked woman.*

With the wife of *Macro*, that made her own proſtitution to become her husbands promotion, may not unfitly be yoaked, the mother of *Sex. Papinius* that made her own luſt her ſons overthrow: Whether this were the *Papinius* that was the laſt years Conſul, or his ſon, or ſome other of the ſame name and family, it is no great matter worth inquiring, but whoſoever he was, infortunate he was in his mother: for ſhe cauſed his end, as ſhe had given him his beginning. She being lately divorced from her husband, betook herſelf unto her ſon, whom with flattery and looſneſs ſhe brought to perpetrate ſuch a thing, that he could find no remedy for it, when it was done but his own death. The conſequent argueth that the fault was inceſt, for when he had caſt himſelf from an high place, and ſo ended his life, his mother being accuſed for the occaſion, was baniſhed the City for ten years, till the danger of the ſlipperineſs of her other ſons youth was paſt and over.

PART

PART II.

The JEWISH Story.

§. 1. *Preparations of war againſt Aretas.*

THE terrible and bitter meſſage of the Emperor to *Vitellius* againſt King *Aretas*, muſt be obeyed, though more of neceſſity than of any zeal of *Vitellius* in *Herods* quarrel. He therefore raiſing what forces he accounted fitting for his own ſafety in the Emperors favour, and for his ſafety with the enemy, marcheth toward the ſeat of the war, intending to lead his Army through *Judea*: But he was diverted from this intention, by the humble ſupplication of the Jews to the contrary, who took on how contrary it was to their ancient Laws and cuſtoms to have any Images and pictures brought into their Country, whereof there was great ſtore in the Romans Arms and Banners. The gentleneſs of the General was eaſily overtreated, and commanding his Army another way, he himſelf with *Herod* and his friends went up to *Jeruſalem*, where he offered ſacrifice, and removed *Jonathan* from the High-prieſthood, and placed *Theophilus* his brother in his ſtead. This was, ſaith *Joſephus*, at a feaſt of the Jews, but he named not which; and *Vitellius* having ſtayed there three days, on the fourth receiveth letters concerning *Tiberius* his death. I leave it to be weighed by the Reader whether this feſtival were the Paſsover or Pentecoſt. For on the one hand ſince *Tiberius* died about the middle of *March* as the Roman Hiſtorians do generally agree, it is ſcarce poſſible that the Governor of *Syria* and the Nations of the Eaſt ſhould be unacquainted with it, till Pentecoſt which was eight or nine weeks after: For all the Empire muſt as ſoon as poſſible be ſworn unto the new Prince, as *Vitellius* upon the tidings did ſwear *Judea*, and ſo long a time might have bred ſome unconvenience. And yet on the contrary it is very ſtrange, that the intelligence of his death ſhould be ſo quick as to get from *Rome* to *Jeruſalem* between the middle of *March* and the middle of the Paſsover week.

Vitellius upon the tidings recalleth his Army again, and diſpoſeth and billeteth them in the ſeveral places where they had wintered, for he knew not whether *Caius* would be of the ſame mind with *Tiberius* about the matter of *Aretas* and *Herod*: you may gueſs how this news was brooked by the *Arabian* King, and yet was it no other than what he looked for, if he believed what he himſelf ſpake. For hearing of the preparations of *Vitellius* againſt him, and conſulting with Wizards and Augury; *This Army*, ſaith he, *ſhall not come into Arabia, for ſome of the Commanders ſhall die; Either he that commandeth the war, or he that undertaketh it, or he for whom it is undertaken: meaning either* Tiberius, Vitellius, *or* Herod.

§. 2. *An Omen to Agrippa in chains.*

Such another wizardly preſage of the Emperors death, had *Agrippa* at *Rome* as *Joſephus* alſo relateth, who relateth the former. For as he ſtood bound before the Palace, leaning dejectedly upon a tree, among many others that were priſoners with him, an Owl came and ſate in that tree, to which he leaned, which a *Germane* ſeeing, being one of thoſe that ſtood there bound, he asked who he was that was in the purple, and leaned there: and underſtanding who he was: he told him of his inlargement, promotion to honour, and proſperity, and that when he ſhould ſee that bird again, he ſhould die within five days after. And thus will the credulity of ſuperſtition have the very birds to foretel *Tiberius* his end, from the *Phenix* to the *Owl*.

The Roman Story again.

§. 1. *Tiberius near his end.*

TWice only did *Tiberius* proffer to return to the City after his departure from it, but returned never. The later time was not very long before his end: For being come within the ſight of the City upon the *Appian* rode, this prodigy (as he took it) affrighted him back. He had a tame Serpent, which coming to feed as he uſed to do with his own hand, he found him eaten up by Piſmires: upon which ominous accident being adviſed not to truſt himſelf among the multitude, he ſuddenly retired back to *Campany*, and at *Aſtura* he fell ſick. From thence he removed to *Circeii*, and thence to *Miſenum*, carrying out his infirmity ſo well, that he abated not a whit of his former ſports, banquets and voluptuouſneſs: whether for diſſimulation, or for habitual intemperance, or upon *Thraſyllus* his prediction, let who will determine. He uſed to mock at Phyſick, and to ſcoff at thoſe, that being thirty years of age, yet would ask other mens counſel, what was good or hurtful for their own bodies.

§. 2. *His choiſe of a ſucceſſor.*

But weakneſs at the laſt gave him warning of his end, and put him in mind to think of his ſucceſſor: and when he did ſo, perplexity met with ſuch a thought. For whom ſhould he chooſe? The ſon of *Druſus* was too young, the ſon of *Germanicus* was too well beloved, and *Claudius* was too ſoft; ſhould he chooſe the firſt or the laſt, it might help to diſgrace his judgment, ſhould he chooſe the middle, he might chance to diſgrace his own memory among the people, and for him to look elſewhere was to diſgrace the family of the *Cæſars*. Thus did he pretend a great deal of care and ſerioufneſs for the good of the Commonwealth, whereas his main aim and reſpect was, at his own credit and families honour. Well: ſomething he muſt pretend to give countenance and credit to his care of the common good. In fine his great deliberation concluded in this eaſie iſſue, namely in a prayer to the Gods to deſign his ſucceſſor, and in an *auſpicium* of his own hatching, that he ſhould be his ſucceſſor that ſhould come firſt in to him upon the next morning, which proved to be *Caius*. It ſhewed no great reality nor earneſtneſs for the common good in him at all, when ſo ſmall a thing as this muſt ſway his judgment, and ſuch a trifle be the caſting voice in a matter of ſo great a moment. His affection was more to young *Tiberius*, his nephew, but his policy reflected more upon *Caius*: he had rather *Tiberius* might have had the rule alone, and yet he was unwilling that *Caius* ſhould go without it, ſeeming to divide his affections betwixt the two, whereas his chief thoughts and reſpects were to his own ſelf. But *Caius* whom the Gods had caſt upon it (as his fooliſh *auſpicium* perſwaded him) muſt be the man, though he read in his nature the very bane of the Empire: and yet for affection ſake too muſt young *Tiberius* be joynt heir with him, though he foreſaw and foretold that *Caius* ſhould murder him. A monſtrous policy: to lay his own grandchild for a bait, for thoſe jaws that he knew would devour him: and this was, that by that preſent cruelty of *Caius* his own cruelties that were paſt might be forgotten, and the talk of that might not give room to talk of old *Tiberius*. This was that pretended care that he had of the Commonwealth, to be ſure to leave one behind him that ſhould be worſe than himſelf, that by his greater wickedneſs his own might be leſſened, and that himſelf might ſeem to be leſs vitious, by the others vitiouſneſs above him. Yet giveth he counſel to *Caius*, inciting him to goodneſs which he himſelf could never follow, and exhorting him to tenderneſs towards young *Tiberius*, which in his heart he was reaſonably indifferent whether he followed or no.

§. 3. *His death.*

Charicles the Doctor gave notice of his death approaching, to *Caius* and *Macro*, though he ſtole this judgment and conjecture but by a ſleight. For ſitting with the Emperor at a Banquet, and taking on him ſome earneſt and ſpeedy occaſion to be gone to ſome other place, he roſe from the Table, and pretending to take the Emperors hand to kiſs, he cloſely and ſtealingly tried his Pulſe, which *Tiberius* perceiving, but not expreſſing ſo much, cauſed him to take his place again, and the Banquet to be renewed, and him

him to ſet out the meal. But when the Doctor was got looſe from the Table, and was come to *Caius* and *Macro*, and the reſt of the adorers of that imperial Sun that was now waiting when he ſhould riſe, he reſolved them that his end drew on apace, and was not many days off: And then was all preparation for the new Emperor when the laſt gaſpe ſhould remove the old. But he that had uſed ſo much diſſimulation all his life, diſſembled even in his dying. For fainting and ſwooning ſo very ſore, that all conceived he was departed, and *Caius* and all his favorites were gone forth to take poſſeſſion of his new Empire: ſuddenly the tune is turned, and news comes forth that *Tiberius* is revived and calleth for meat: *Macro* that had often been his inſtrument of cruelty upon others, turns the faculty now upon himſelf, and in ſtead of meat ſtopt his mouth with a pillow, or with heaping cloaths upon his face and ſo he died. There are indeed diverſities of opinion about the manner of his death, ſome ſaying it was thus as is mentioned, others that it was by poyſon, others that it was by being denied meat in the intermiſſion of his fits, others that he roſe out of his bed and fell on the floor, no body being near him: all which are mentioned by *Suetonius*. It is not much material what his end was, that that is firſt named is moſt intertained, and certainly it ſuiteth very well with his deſervings, and it is ſome wonder that he came to ſuch an end no ſooner. He died the ſeventeenth of the Calends of *April* or the ſixteenth of *March*, or if *Dion* may have his will the ſeventh, and ſo the reſt of that year is accounted the firſt of *Caius*.

SECT. 4.

C A I U S.

AN evil Emperor is gone, but a worſe is to ſucceed him. *Caius* the ſon of *Germanicus*, a bad child of a good father, inheriting the love and favour of the people for his fathers ſake, till he forfeited it, by his reſerving the qualities of *Tiberius*. He was ſurnamed *Caligula*, from a garb that he wore in the Camp, in which he was bred and educated: from whence he had the love of the Souldiers, till his barbarous nature loſt it. It may ſeem incredible, that a worſe diſpoſition ſhould ever be found than that of *Tiberius*, but the old Politician ſaw that this was ſo much beyond it, that it would do him credit: ſome impute the fault to his bloody Nurſe one *Preſſilla* a *Campanian*, the cuſtom of which Country it was, that the women when they were to give their children ſuck, they firſt anointed the Nipple with the blood of an Hedg-hog, to the end their children might be the more fierce and cruel. This woman was as ſavage above the reſt of the Nation, as they were above other women, for her breaſts were all hairy over, like the beards of men, and her activity and ſtrength in martial exerciſes inferiour to few of the Infantry of *Rome*. One day as ſhe was giving *Caligula* the Pap, being angry at a young child that ſtood by her, ſhe took it and tore it in pieces, and with the blood thereof anointed her breaſts and ſo ſet her nurſling *Caius* to ſuck both blood and milk. But had not his infancy been educated in ſuch a Butchery, the ſchool of his youth had been enough to have habituated him to miſchief. For being brought up in the ſight, and at the elbow of *Tiberius*, it would have ſerved to have corrupted the beſt nature that could be; but this of his was either never good, or at leaſt was ſpoiled long before. Yet had he reaſonably well learned his Tutors art of diſſimulation, ſo that he hid thoſe Serpentine conditions, not only before *Tiberius* his death, but alſo a while after he had obtained the Empire. Only he that had taught him to weave this mantle of diſſembling could ſpie through it, inſomuch that he would profeſs, That *Caius lived for the deſtruction of him and all others. And that he hatched up a ſnake for the Roman Empire, and a Phaeton for all the world.* And it proved ſo both to him and them. For when *Tiberius* lay a gaſping ſtifled with a pillow preſt upon him, he alſo throtled him with his hand, and crucified one of his ſervants that cried out upon the hideouſneſs of the fact. And as for his demeanor toward the State, a little time will give too lamentable witneſs.

§. 5. *Tiberius in a manner cruel being dead.*

How welcom news, the tydings of *Tiberius* death were at *Rome*, may be eaſily conjectured, by any that hath obſerved his cruelties before. Some cried out, *Tiberius into Tiber*, ſome *to the hurdle and Tyburne*, ſome to one thing, ſome to another, uſing the more liberty

liberty of their Tongues againſt the Tyrant now, by how much they had been tied up the ſtraiter whilſt he lived. Nor did the remembrance of his former cruelties only cauſe them to rejoyce for his death, but a preſent cruelty, (as if he were bloody being dead) made him the more odious to them, than alive. For certain men that were but lately condemned, and their execution day falling upon the very day when tydings of his death came to the City (for the Senate did ever allow ten days for the condemned perſons after their ſentence, before their end) the poor men emplored the aid and comfort of every one they met, becauſe *Caius* to whom they ſhould have ſued was not in the City, but they were haled away by the Executioners and ſtrangled.

§. 6. *Agrippa in a perplexity, and inlarged.*

Agrippa was partaker of the common joy, but withal of ſome mixture of miſery, for ſuch variety of fortune had he taſted ever, and now muſt he have a farewel to ſuch viciſſitudes. *Marſyas* his freeman hearing the rumour in the City, runneth with all ſpeed to certifie his Maſter; and finding him with ſome company in the ways toward the Bath, he beckneth to him with this ſpeech in the Hebrew Tongue, *The Lion is dead.* With which tydings *Agrippa* was ſo tranſported with joy, that the Centurion his Keeper perceived it, and inquiring the reaſon, and being told it by *Agrippa*, he rejoyced with him for the news, and looſeth him from his Bonds. But as they were at Supper, there cometh a contrary report that *Tiberius* was alive, and would ere long be in the City. What now think you is become of the heart and mettle of *Agrippa* and his Centurion? Both had done enough by this their preſent joy, to procure their endleſs ſorrow, and his Keeper the worſe of the two; but *Agrippa* muſt ſmart for all for the preſent. He therefore caſts him into irons again, and committeth him to a ſurer Guard than before: And thus, as his too much eagerneſs of *Tiberius* his death had impriſoned him before, even ſo doth it now: but the next morning puts him into life again, for the rumor of the old Emperours death, is confirmed by Letters from the new; and a ſpecial Warrant cometh from him for the inlarging of *Agrippa* out of Priſon, to the houſe where he had uſed to live before.

§. 7. *Caius cometh to Rome.*

The Corps of the dead Tyrant is carried by the Souldiers into the City, *Caius* himſelf in mourning apparel following the Hearſe; and there he maketh his Funeral Oration, and performeth his Obſequies with great pomp and ſolemnity. And on the very day of his comming to Town he had enlarged *Agrippa*, but that the advice of *Antonia* perſwaded him to hold a while, leſt the people ſhould ſuſpect that he was glad of the death of *Tiberius*, if he ſhould ſo ſodainly ſet free one that he had committed for an enemy. But within a few days he is inlarged and ſent for home unto him. And there is he trimmed, his garments changed, and he crowned *King of the Tetrarchies of Philip and Lyſanias*, and his chain of iron, and of his bondage, changed for a chain of Gold of the ſame weight. This is that King *Agrippa* that ſlew *James*, and impriſoned *Peter*, and is called *Herod*, *Acts* 12.

§. 8. *Caius his diſſembling.*

Caius his beginnings were plauſible and popular, diſſembling his curſed diſpoſitions under ſuch crafty colours, that the people were tranſported with ſo happy a change (as they ſuppoſed) and 160000 Sacrifices were ſlain for gratulation in his three firſt months. His tears for *Tiberius*, his piety to his dead Mother and Brother, his reſpect to his living Siſters, his fair words to the Senate, and as fair carriage to the people, his paying of Legacies, his inlarging of Priſoners, his remitting of offences, his reviving of good Laws, &c. made the people to forget either in what School of diſſimulation he had been brought up, or how ſoon ſo great advancement corrupteth men of little education; and it made them vainly to hope that they had a *Germanicus*, becauſe they had his ſon; and that a good Prince could be bequeathed to them by *Tiberius*.

Yet could he not hide the ilneſs of his diſpoſition under all theſe cloaks and coverts of diſſembling; for preſently upon his coming to the City, he diſanulled the will of *Tiberius* that he might nullifie the authority of his partner of the ſame name in the rule and Empire: And yet did he pay all the Legacies of old *Tiberius* with bountiful additions of his own, which ſhewed that he diſliked the will, only becauſe of partnerſhip of *Tiberius* the younger.

younger. Having thus the whole sway and dominion devolved upon himself, by the outing of his poor Cousin (for the Senate was made and packed by *Macro* for such a purpose) he was received with as much joy and applause, as was possible to express, upon the old memory of his Father, and the present expectation of himself. Nor was this jocundness confined in the narrow bonds of *Rome* and *Italy*, but dilated it self through all the Empire, in every corner where the hoped benefit, and happy fruit of so great an expectation would have come, had it proved right. Every Country, City and Town was poured forth into exultation and festivity, with a common joy in this common hope. Now could you have seen nothing but Altars, Offerings, Sacrifices, Feasts, Revels, Banquets, Plays, Dancings, merry Faces, crowned Heads, singing Tongues and joyful Hearts, that the World seemed to be ravished besides it self, and all misery to be banished out of it, and all the thoughts of a changing fortune utterly forgot. Had *Tiberius* but spied this work out of his Coffin, how would he have laughed for company, to behold this deludedness of the people, and dissimulation of the Prince? And thus lasted this musick and masking for his first seven months, in which the new Emperor behaved himself with that moderation and bravery, as if vertue it self had been come among them.

In the eighth month a grievous sickness seized upon him, and then was all this mirth and melody turned to mourning and lamentation: each man sorrowful, and women bemoaning, as if all the world had been sick as well as he. Now was their songs turned into Tears, their revelling into Prayers, and their festivals to Vows for his recovery. Nay, so far did some strain the expression of their affections, that they vowed their heads and lives for his restoring. Nor could the people be so much blamed for this their sorrow, as pitied for being thus deceived, nor could it so much be wondred at that they were deceived, as it was wonderful that he could so deceive. For who could have chosen but have erred their error, that had seen what they beheld; and who could have brought them into such an error, but such a one as he, who was both a *Caius* and a scholar of *Tiberius*? When he paid the Legacies of *Tiberius*, he also discharged those of *Julia* which *Tiberius* had stopped, and added a considerable sum of his own bounty: He gathered the ashes of his Mother and Brother, and committed them to their Urne with his own hands, choosing a tempestuous season purposely when he travailed about that business, that his piety might be blown about the more; and he instituted annual Festivals for them. Nor must his Father *Germanicus* be forgotten, nor indeed could he, nor did he deserve it, for his memory therefore would he have the month *September* to be called by his name, placing him in the Calendar next *Augustus*. His Grandmother *Antonia* he also dignified and deified equally with *Livia*; and that by the consent and decree of the Senate. His Uncle *Claudius* he honoured with partnership with him in the Consulship; and his Brother and partner *Tiberius*, with adoption to put him in future hopes now he had lost his present ones; and he titled him *The Prince of the Youth*, to stop his mouth belike, when he had put him beside his being the Prince of Men. But as for his Sisters, the sequel shewed that it was more doting and lust than pure brotherly affection, that caused him to shew these expressions: that in all oaths that were administred to any, this must be one clause to which they must swear, *That they neither accounted themselves nor their children, dearer than* Caius *and his Sisters:* and this in all the Records of the Consuls, *Which he for the happiness of* Caius *and his Sisters, &c.* The like popularity used he likewise to the people, releasing the condemned, and recalling the banished; condemning on the contrary all enormities in Judicature, and banishing all incentives to evil manners. Forgiving his own private grievances, and satisfying for injuries done by his Predecessors; that it was no marvail if the whole State were sick in the sickness of such a Prince.

§. 9. *Caius beginning to shew himself in his own colours.*

Not to insist longer upon the vizor of this dissembler, but to take him as he was, and not as he seemed, his nature began more evidently to shew it self after his recovery of his sickness, mentioned, and then the State began by degrees to be sick indeed. His beginnings were in lightness, sports, and lavishing of money; but his proceedings were in bestiality, cruelty and effusion of blood. His Banquets, Plays, Sword-fights, Fighting of Beasts (as 400 Bears, and as many other African wild Beasts at one time) his Musick, Shews, strictness that none should be absent from them, and expensiveness in all (insomuch that he spent above twenty millions in such vanities in less than three years) may be thought as vertues in him, in comparison of that that followed, and of the mischiefs that he mingled between.

§. 10. *Caius*

§. 10. *Caius cruel.*

The recovery of the Emperor *Caius*, from that diſeaſe under which we left him ere while, proved the ſickneſs of the whole State, and the death of divers. For now he began to ſhew himſelf in his own colours, and to lay open the inſide of his barbarous nature, which hitherto he had hid under ſtrange diſſimulation. *P. Afranius Petitus* a Plebeian, and *Atanius Secundus* a Knight, had bound themſelves by oath, in the Emperors ſickneſs, partly in flattery, partly in hope of reward, the one that he would die on condition the Prince might recover; and the other that he would venture his life in combate on the ſame condition. *Caius* underſtanding of this obligation, and pretending that he would have neither of them perjured, ſeeing he was now well again, conſtrained them both to perform their vows, and brought them to repent their flattery with repentance too late and vain, and to a reward clean contrary to their expectation. Nor was his cruelty any whit leſs, though for very ſhame it muſt be better diſſembled, to his Father in Law the noble *Silanus*. A man hated of him for the two main things that in humane ſociety are the tyes of love, vertue, and alliance, and ſo indignly uſed him, that he found no way to regain his love, nor any better to avoid his hate than to murder himſelf with his own hands. *Claudia* the daughter of *Silanus* was his wife, but he divorced her from him, and took *Cornelia Oreſtilla*, from her huſband *Calpurnius Piſo*, on their very wedding day, where he was preſent at the ſolemnization, and he kept her not two months, but ſent her to her *Piſo* again.

§. 11. *Young Tiberius brought to a miſerable end.*

Theſe entries being made for the fleſhing as it were the Tyrant in bloodineſs and cruelty, he is now made ready and fit to execute a more horrible deſign upon his poor Brother, partner and ſon by adoption, the young and innocent *Tiberius*. He poor Prince having been thruſt by him out of his right and patrimony, by the nullifying of old *Tiberius* his will, muſt now alſo be deprived of life. This was it that the old Teſtator did preſage, and yet would leave him for a prey to his inhumanity. The pretences againſt this young Prince were, that either he had been a means to cauſe his ſickneſs, or at leaſt had rejoyced in it, and deſired his death. A ſleight accuſation to bring ſuch a Perſon to death; yet might he only have died, it might have ſeemed more tolerable, but the manner of it made the cruelty double. He is commanded to die by his own hand, though Tribunes, Centurions, and men of war fitter far to have done ſuch an execution ſtood by and would have done it. He deſired but this mercy, that he might have been ſlain by ſome of them, but that was denied him upon a point of Honor and Juſtice forſooth, becauſe it was not fit that ſuch a Prince ſhould die by inferior hands. The poor Prince offered his neck to every one that ſtood near, but they durſt not ſtrike for fear of their own: The only favour that he could obtain was this, that they might teach him where to wound himſelf for his ſooneſt diſpatch, and ſo he did. And thus is the Tyrant delivered as he thinketh from all fear and danger of compartnerſhip and corrivality in the Empire: next will he take a courſe with thoſe that any way may croſs him in, or adviſe him againſt his headlong humors, and of them we ſhall hear in their courſe. The laſt ſix months of this year he had taken the Conſulſhip upon himſelf, and had choſen his Uncle *Claudius* for his colleague, but we have reſerved the names of the old till now, to avoid confuſion.

THE ROMAN, AND JEWISH Story,

For the Year of *CHRIST* XXXIX.

The ſecond Year alſo of *CAIUS CALIGULA.*

Being the Year of the WORLD 3966.

And of the City of *ROME* 791.

Conſuls { *M. Aquila Julianus.* / *P. Nonius Aſprenas.*

PART I.

The ROMAN Story.

§. 1. *Cruelties at Rome.*

THIS year began at *Rome* with a fatal *Omen.* For on the firſt of *January*, *Machaon* a Servant went up to the ſhrine of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and there having preſaged and prophecied many fearful and terrible things, firſt he ſlew a whelp that he had with him, and then he ſlew himſelf.

Theſe beginnings had anſwerable ſequels, for *Caius* addicted himſelf wholly to bloodineſs, ſometimes for his ſports, ſometimes in cruel earneſt: He commanded ſword-plays to be made, in which he ſet not man to man, but multitudes to multitudes to ſlaughter each other: He ſlew in the ſame manner ſix and twenty Roman Knights, with great contentment taken by him in the effuſion of their blood: He ſet alſo another Knight to the ſame terrible ſports, and when he came off victorious, he cauſed him, and his father to be ſlain, and divers others with them incloſing them in a ſtrong Cheſt or Preſs: When once there were not enough of poor condemned wretches to caſt to the wild beaſts, he cauſed divers that ſtood upon the Scaffolds for ſpectators to be caſt unto them, cauſing their tongues firſt to be cut out, that they might not cry or complain: yet did he with theſe cruelties mingle ſome plauſible actions tending to popularity, as creating of Knights, priviledging the commons, and laviſhing in gifts, that ſtrengthing himſelf with theſe curteſies in the hearts of ſome men, he might with the more confidence be cruel to other.

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§ 2 *An end of Macro.*

It cannot be expected that he ſhould come to a good end himſelf, that had brought ſo many to a bad. His courſe is now come to taſt of the ſame ſauce that he had provided for ſo many others, and it would half move the ſpectator to ſome kind of pity to ſee him ſlaughtered for ſuch a cauſe as he was ſlaughtered for. How he had been a means to curry *Caius* favour with *Tiberius*, and to skrew him into the Empire and himſelf into his good opinion, even by the proſtitution of his own wife, we have heard before, and this his extraordinary officiouſneſs, he did not forelet or ſlacken, when he had brought him where he deſired to have him, to the Empire. But now he turned his obſervance a better way, and what he had done before by baſeneſs, flattery, and ſenſeleſs obſequiouſneſs to bring him to the rule, he changeth into good counſel to keep him well in it. For when he ſaw him fall aſleep at Banquets amongſt his cups, he would freely check him for it, as being neither for his credit, nor for his ſafety. The like would he do when he ſaw him misbehave himſelf by lightneſs, profuſe laughter, and ridiculous geſtures in the Theater, and in beholding of plaies: In brief, ſo round and plain was he with him when he ſaw juſt cauſe, that in fine the uncounſelable humoriſt became his enemy, and at laſt his death. His end is reported to have been the ſame with young *Tiberius*, forced to ſlay himſelf, and *Ennia* his wife, or the wife of *Caius*, whether you will, to have been conſtrained to the ſame extremity and end with him. An end well befitting and well deſerved of them both, but from all men living leaſt deſerved from *Caius*. *Philo* after the death of *Macro* placeth the death of *M. Silanus*, which upon the warrant of *Dion* we have ſet before, and in things ſo indifferent will not ſpend labour to examine.

PART II.

The JEWISH Story.

§ 1. *Troubles of the Jews in Alexandria.*

FLACCUS *Avilius* was now Governour of *Ægypt*, and had been ſo for ſome years before: A man that ruled well while *Tiberius* lived, but after his death, could not govern himſelf. For when he heard of the death of the old Emperour and the ſucceſſion of the new, ſorrow for the one, and fear of the other did ſo tranſport him beſides himſelf, that forgetting the bravery and glory wherewith he had governed hitherto, he let looſe the reins of himſelf to theſe two paſſions, and the reins of the government to deſperate careleſneſs and neglect. He did nothing but weep for the loſs of old *Tiberius*, to whom he had been very intimate and dear, and he might well weep the more, becauſe he could meet hardly with any that would bear any part and ſhare in that ſorrow with him. This his grief was augmented by the fear that he had of *Caius* and of his diſpleaſure, and that by the intelligence that his conſcience gave him that he had deſerved it: partly for his propenſity to young *Tiberius* and ſiding with him, but chiefly becauſe he had had ſome hand or at leaſt ſome conſent and inclination to the death of *Agrippina*, *Caius* his Mother. Both theſe his miſerable paſſions were brought to their height when he heard of the death of young *Tiberius* and of his old friend *Macro*. The thought of theſe two was the only comfort he had againſt his dejectedneſs and diſcontent, for all his hope was, that theſe two might make his peace with *Caius*, whoſe diſpleaſure he ſo much doubted: But what muſt he do now, when they cannot make their own peace? He yeeldeth himſelf therefore wholly to his diſcontented mood, and neglecteth utterly both himſelf and the State. His old friends he groweth jealous of and rejecteth: his profeſſed enemies he receiveth to his favour and to his counſels: Theſe rule him that ſhould have ruled *Egypt*, and he had done it worthily, but now is drawn any whither, that ill adviſe, ſulienneſs and melancholy doth direct him. Theſe his wicked Counſellors invent a courſe to procure his peace and the Emperours favour, a courſe indeed bloody, barbarous, and inhumane, but ſuch as ſuited with their own malice, and (as it proved) took place with the Governors deſperateneſs and cowardize,

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if ſo be he may be called a Governor ſtill. *Caius the Emperour*, ſay they, *is an enemy to the Jews, and a friend to the Alexandrians: Let this be the opportunity whereby to work thy reconciliation, to ſuffer the City to riſe againſt the Jews and to commit outrage upon them, and thou canſt not perform an act more acceptable to the Prince, nor more profitable for thy ſelf.* The wretched *Flaccus* that took to heart no mans miſery but his own, and cared not who ſuffered, ſo he might eſcape, gave ear to this damnable and deviliſh counſel, and put it in practice, firſt plotting miſchief againſt the Jews in ſecret, then oppreſſing them in judgment and in their ſuites openly, and at the laſt profeſſing and publiſhing himſelf their reſolved enemy.

§ 2. *Agrippa at Alexandria an unexpected and unwilling occaſion of further troubles.*

Thoſe incendiaries that had kindled this fire will be ſure to loſe no blaſt that may make it flame and keep it burning: *Agrippa* that had not long ago departed from *Alexandria* a poor private man, returneth now thither in proſperity and a King. *Caius* that had promoted him to his kingdom, did lovingly direct him by *Alexandria*, as the ſafeſt way to it. Thither he came with as great privacy as ſuch a perſonage could do, and yet was he eſpied by the jealous eyes of theſe rare counſellours, and his coming miſconſtrued, through their malice to the Jews. They perſwade *Flaccus* that his coming thither was an affront to him in his own Province, that his Pomp and Train was more ſumptuous than his, that the eyes of all men were upon the new King *Agrippa*, and in ſhort that his preſence there, was his preſent diſgrace and would prove his future diſadvantage. The ill governed Governour was ready enough to hearken to ſuch buzzings as theſe, and to yeeld them impreſſion in his mind, yet durſt he not put any thing in execution againſt the King for fear of him that ſent him. He therefore thought it beſt to carry a fair outſide to *Agrippa*, and to his face he ſpeaketh fair and pretendeth friendſhip, but behind his back, he did not only deſcry his hate and revile him in ſecret, but alſo connived at thoſe that did ſo openly: ſo that within a little while, the King that neither thought nor came for any hurt is made the publick ſcoff and ſcorn throughout the City, and on their ſtages, in their plays, ballads, ſpeeches, houſes, ſtreets, there is no language ſo common nor ſo currant, as the abuſive of *Agrippa*.

§ 3. *A Pageant of one and more madmen.*

This connivence of the Governour ſhall I call it, or his toleration, or his ſetting on, or his folly, or what you will, you may well preſume that it added boldneſs and impudency enough to the outragious multitude, which commonly in ſuch miſchievouſneſs need ſmall incouragement: Their madneſs among other things ſhewed it ſelf in this Pageant, whether more ſenſeleſs or ſpleenatick, if not both alike, let the Reader judge. There was a poor mad man or diſtracted wretch in the City whoſe name was *Charabas*, that uſed to walk up and down ſtark naked night and day, heat and cold, the common fool as it were of boys and young men, with whom they uſed to make ſport. The riotous rout (now ſet on miſchief) bring this ſilly wretch to one of their publick meeting places, and there ſetting him on high in a ſeat above all the people that he might be ſeen of all, they put a Diadem of Paper about his head, and mat of ſedge about his body in ſtead of his robes, and a piece of Reed for a Scepter in his hand: and thus have they ſolemnly and ſuddainly made him a King, and one indeed that had been fit enough for themſelves; and one that was indeed but a fit Emblem of their Governour *Flaccus*, that ſuffered ſuch a thing. Their mimical King being thus accoutred with his robes and royalty, they bring him forth in a ſolemn ſtate: Before and about him went youths with poles upon their ſhoulders for his guard, by the way as he went ſome come to do him homage, others to petition for juſtice, others to adviſe him concerning affairs of State, and at laſt they all of them *All hail* him with the title of *Mare*, which in the Syrian tongue, the Language of the Country of *Agrippa*, (whom by this very word they ſhewed that they mocked) betokeneth *Lord* and *Maſter*. And now let the Reader but look upon this rout of *Alexandrians*, and let him judge who was the madder, the poor Lunatick that was ſo uſed, or they that ſo uſed him. For was it not mere madneſs in them thus to taunt and revile ſo great a King, ſo greatly reſpected by the Roman Senate, and ſo great a favorite of their Lord and Emperour? But *Flaccus* the maddeſt of all that beheld all this, and yet did permit it. And on the other hand let him look upon the Jews to whom this ſportful mummery is the preface to miſery in good earneſt, and if this mockage of their firſt King with a Crown, Robes, and Scepter of deriſion, put not the Reader in the mind of

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their ſcorning and uſage of their true King and Saviour in the very ſame manner, he cannot but remember *Barabbas* upon the naming of *Charabas* by the very ſame ſound and rime.

§ 4. *More outrage.*

The *Alexandrians* thus countenanced by *Flaccus* in the deriſion of the new King of the Jews, grow to a boundleſs outrage againſt their God. For now they begin to aſſail their Synagogues, and there they deſire to ſet up Images: a thing as odious to that Nation, as beloved among the *Alexandrians*. For in them is fulfilled that propheſie of *Hoſea* Chap. 3. 4. where they neither are as yet to God, nor as yet to any other, but on the one hand deteſting falſe Gods, and yet on the other hand not imbracing the true: hating the Images of any creature for adoration, but withall hating him that is the very Image and Character of the living God, the Creator.

This enterpriſe of prophaning and defiling the Synagogues and houſes of prayer of the Jews was not a fearful and terrible vexation to thoſe of that City only, but what hurt may ſuch an example do, think you, both through *Egypt*, and indeed through all the other Cities of the Empire? What fruits theſe beginnings brought forth in the ſame City, and elſewhere, we ſhall ſee ere long.

§ 5. Caius *will be a God.*

A ſpecial incouragement to this inſolency at *Alexandria* was *Caius* the Emperours demeanour at *Rome:* A man not fit to be ranked in the rank of men, and yet no way with him now but he will be a God. The ſenſeleſs groundwork of this his impious fancy, he took from this damnable Logick and deviliſh argumentation. That ſeeing Sheepherds and Herds-men that are maſters of Sheep and Cattle, are in a degree far above their beaſts and cattle: So he that was the Lord of all men, was not to be ranked in the degree of men, but of the Gods: This his opinion founded upon impiety, backed with flattery, and ſtrengthned by his uncontrouled power, he followed with ſuch vehemency and vigour, that now no Deity muſt be thought on but the God *Caius*, and all the Gods as he pleaſed were ingroſſed into himſelf. He changed his Godſhip when he thought good, and that with no more ado than with change of his garb. To day he would wear a Lions skin and a golden Club, and then he was *Hercules*, to morrow a Kids skin, and an Alepole, and then he was *Bacchus*; when he laid that by, it may be he would put on his curious Bonnet, and then he was *Caſtor* or *Pollux:* He would but lay that by and put on a beamy golden crown, and take bow and arrows in his hands, and he was *Apollo*, a *Caduceus* made him *Mercury*, and ſword, helmet and gantlet made him *Mars*: But the terrour that attended him when he would be this God laſt named, walking in his armour, with his drawn ſword in his hand, and a band of cut-throats about him, ſhewed to the people but little of any divine qualities, or celeſtial intentions, but terrified them with expectation of deviliſh cruelty and murders: Sometimes would he ſit betwixt the two ſtatues of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* and indure to be ſaluted by the name of *the Italian Jupiter*; Sometimes would he ſit by *Jupiter* himſelf and whiſper with him, and threaten to baniſh him out of *Italy* into *Greece:* And indeed it had been but an equal change had he done ſo, for he got the moſt curious peeces of the Gods of that Country, and ſtruck off their heads, and on the trunck he ſet the repreſentation of his own. He had a ſtanding ſtatue of Gold erected for him, to repreſent his walking Diety, which was clothed with the ſame garb that he wore himſelf every day, and to this were offered daily ſacrifices as rare and new found out as was his Deity it ſelf, Peacocks, Pheaſants, and other birds of the greateſt rarity and value. So vain a thing is man deſerted and left unto himſelf, that he will be a God when he is in the next form to a Devil. The plain and ruſtick *Gaule* hit him right, and ſpake but the truth, when ſeeing him in theſe his poſtures of his fooliſh Diety, and laughing, and being asked by *Caius* what he thought of him that he laughed, he anſwered boldly and eſcaped with it, *That he ſeemed to him to be a great folly.*

§ 6. *The miſeries of the Alexandrian Jews.*

How theſe manners of the Prince might redound to the calamity of the Jews who would worſhip no God but their own, it is eaſie to gueſs by the common advantages that are always taken in the like caſes, by men that are armed with power and weaponed with

with malice. As this humour of the Emperour was blown up with flattery and blaſphemous clawing at home, ſo was it ſoon blazoned and divulged abroad, and they that delighted in many Gods, it was good contentment, to have them all met in the Center of the new God, *all-God*, their Prince. But what will become of the Jews, the only oppoſers of ſuch impiety, and what eſpecially of the *Alexandrian* Jews, whoſe tragedy was begun already? This opportunity ſuited with the ſpiteful deſires of their adverſaries, as their adverſaries themſelves could have deſired. For now thinks *Flaccus*, he may ingratiate himſelf to *Cæſar* indeed by being ungratious to the Jews, and now have the *Alexandrians* a double forwarding beſide their own malice, their Governour and their Prince.

Firſt *Flaccus* deprived the Jews of their Synagogues, Oratories and houſes of prayer, and therewith as much as in him lay of their Religion, then of the benefit of the City and Country Laws, proclaiming them ſtrangers and forreigners, and at laſt gave free and open liberty to the *Alexandrians* to uſe their wills upon them, in what manner and meaſure their malice thought meet. And now their Tragedy begins.

The Jews in the City were above two parts of five; the *Alexandrians* driving them out of their own houſes, and ranſacking the houſes as they went, they force them into a ſtrait place of the City, where they had not room to ſtir one for another, much leſs to make any orderly *battalia* for defence of themſelves, or for reſiſtance. In this ſtrait both of place and fortune, it is no wonder if they ſpeedily ſuffered famine who had nothing of their ſuſtenance left them, unleſs they would have devoured one another. Here are many mouths and no meat, and great complaining but no relief. Plenty enough there was in the City, but none for them, and abundance of every thing neceſſary, but pity. The poor crowded, ſtarved, and diſtreſſed people, thoſe that had any hope or courage to ſhift for themſelves, ſtreak abroad and ſteal forth of their incloſure, for food and freſh air; ſome to the ſhore, ſome into the City, ſome one way, ſome another, but the miſery of them alſo was no leſs than theirs that ſtaid impounded, but that it was not ſo lingring. For whereſoever they were caught, as no where could they go but deſcried, they were either ſtoned, clubbed, or burned to death, yea, often man, wife, children and whole families ſo murdred all of a heap. Some they ſmoaked and choaked to death in a fire where they wanted fewel to burn them out, ſome they haled with ropes tied about their ankles, up and down the ſtreets till they were dead, and then neither ſpared they the dead bodies, but mangled them in pieces. Their Synagogues they all burnt down, with the loſs alſo of ſome of the *Alexandrians* houſes adjoyning, their houſes they defaced, and their lives they took away, when and whereſoever they could catch them. *Flaccus* in this bloodineſs, had done enough by connivance and toleration, but he is not content with this paſſive tyranny unleſs he be an actor himſelf in the Scene, and be not behind other in this miſchief, as he was before them in authority. Eight and thirty of their Judges and Counſellors (for a Senate of their own was tolerated by *Auguſtus* and allowed them) he ſendeth for by his officers, and binding their hands behind them, cauſeth them thus to be led along the ſtreets for a deriſion, and then cauſed them to be publickly ſcourged, ſome to death, ſome to the lingring out of a miſerable life. He cauſed alſo a pretended ſearch to be made throughout all the Jews houſes for armour, pretending a ſuſpicion of their inſurrection, but intending thereby to give the Souldiers the more advantage for their pillaging and oppreſſion. He ſpared neither age nor ſex againſt whom he could take an occaſion or find cavil, nor reverenced he any feſtival for their execution, nor omitted any kind of cruelty for their torture. Here is the firſt ſmarting blow to count of that this nation felt, ſince they called for *the blood of the juſt one upon themſelves and upon their children*, and ſome of this City were nimble agents for the comapſſing of the death of his firſt Matyr *Steven*, *Act.* 6. 9.

§ 7. *Agrippa in his own Kingdom.*

You may well preſume that the ſtay of *Agrippa* would not be long at *Alexandria*, where his intertainment was ſo foul, and his invitation to his own home was ſo fair and good. His welcome thither was not ſo full of ſcorn and diſgrace, as in the other place, but as full of unkindneſs, becauſe the unkindneſs was from his own ſiſter. *Herodias*, the inceſtuous wife of *Herod* the Tetrarch, and once ſome comfort to this her brother whileſt he was in diſtreſs, growes now, the bitter envier of his proſperity. A woman ever active to the miſchief of others, but now beginning to twine a whip for her own back. It griveth her to ſee the unlooked for pomp of the new King *Agrippa*: A man that had ſo lately been under the hatches of fortune, and in her *bilboes*, debt

and danger, that had but the other day fled from his wife, country, and friends for poverty and ſhame, unable to pay the monies that he ought, and which was worſe, as unable to borrow more, and now he is returned again with a Kingdom, a Crown, and with pomp and train agreeable to both: Oh how this grated her haughty and emulative ſpirit, though he were her brother! Well, whether it were in ſpite to his promotion, or in diſdain to her degree that was now below him, which is the more like, the ſhower and ſtorms of her diſcontents do ſhower upon her husband. She lays in his diſh the preſent ſpectacle of *Agrippa's* glory, and his own inferioritie. Taxeth him with dulneſs and ſleepineſs, that would not ſeek for a higher dignity, which might be had for a journey to *Rome*; twitteth him for being an underling when he might prevent it, perſwadeth him to ſpare no coſt nor travail for that prevention, and in fine worketh ſo with him by unceſſant clamours, that though he could well have been contented to have ſitten quiet at home, yet he is induced or driven to travail, and ſhe with him to *Rome* to *Caius*. *Agrippa* was not unacquainted with her diſcontents and with both their deſigns, and will not be far behind in reciprocal requital of ſuch intentions, but their meeting, pleading and ſucceſs at *Rome* muſt be reſerved to another year.

PART III.

The Roman Story again.

§ Caius *the new God, little better than a Devil.*

AFTER the ſight of the goodly Godſhip of the Emperour ſhewed in little a little before, let us take him now as he is indeed, little better than a Devil. A man, the ſhame and confuſion of men, if he may be called a man, and ſo far beyond the vices of any that had gone before, that he ſeemed to live to no other purpoſe than to ſhew, what the utmoſt extent of vitiouſneſs could do in the utmoſt height of power and liberty. You would wonder, but that his defiance of the Gods doth leſſen that wonder, how ſcornfully and deſpitefully he uſed the memory and perſons of his anceſtors, ſiſters, kindred and beſt friends: He charged *Auguſtus* with inceſt, *Livia* with baſe birth, *Tiberius* but with what he deſerved, his own mother with baſtardize, and whoſoever was moſt near and moſt honour to him, with ſome ignominy and reproach or other. But ſuch words were curteſies in compariſon of his actions. All his ſiſters he firſt deflowred, and then proſtituted them to others being ſo deflowred. But his darling ſiſter *Druſilla*, ſped ſomewhat better, if that better were not as bad. To her he continued his affection, of love or luſt whether you will, while ſhe continued in life, and when ſhe was dead, he made her the means of his profit as he had done before of his pleaſure; ſhe was the wife of *M. Lepidus*, but ſtill the whore of her brother *Caius*, and after her death he made her a Goddeſs, whom all her life long he had made his harlot. Altars, Statues, Vowes, Feſtivals were ordained for her, and *Livius Geminius* played the knight o'th poſt, and ſwore devoutly that he ſaw her aſcend to heaven, and converſing with the Gods. Such a Deity had the Romans never known before, but only her brother, and ſhe troubled them as much in her heaven, as he did on the earth. For now was it impoſſible for any man ſo to behave himſelf, but he was intrapped on the one hand or the other, about this new found Goddeſs. To mourn for her death, it was criminal, becauſe ſhe was a Deity; and to rejoyce for her Deity was capital, becauſe ſhe was dead, ſo that betwixt this *Dilemma*, of piety, tears and devotion, that man was very wary indeed that ſuffered not inhumanity and violence. For to laugh, feaſt, bath, ſing or dance was mortal, becauſe the Emperours ſiſter and darling was dead, and yet to mourn, or ſorrow for her death was as deadly, becauſe ſhe was immortal. This laſt ſtale did he make of this his deceaſed ſiſter, when ſhe would now ſerve him for no other uſe, that both ſorrow for her mortality, and joy for her being immortal did alike bring in mony to his treaſures, (which were now almoſt drained of his many millions) either by bribes for the ſaving of the life of ſome, or by confiſcation upon the death of others.

But how muſt he do now for another Paramor after his dear *Druſilla?* Why, that needeth not to breed any great difficulty, when his unbridled luſt is not very curious of his

his choice, and his as unbridled power might chooſe as it liſt. He firſt married *Lollia Paullina* the wife of *C. Memmius*, ſending for her from another country where her huſband was General of the Army, and all the reaſon of this his choice was, becauſe he was told that her grandmother was an exceeding great beauty; but he ſoon put her away again, and forbad that any ſhould touch her for ever after him. Next came *Cæſonia* into his affections, and there contined; a mother of three children, and of more age than beauty, but of a laſciviouſneſs and beaſtiality ſo well befitting his, that now he had met with his match, and it was pity they ſhould have miſſed meeting: He would ſometimes ſhew her to the Souldiers, in armour, and ſometimes to his friends ſtark naked, transforming her by theſe viciſſitudes into two extreams equally unbefitting her ſex, to a man and to a beaſt. By her he had a Daughter whom he named *Julia Druſilla*, and whom he brought to the ſhrines of all the Goddeſſes in *Rome*, and at laſt committed to the lap of *Minerva* for her tutorage and education. But this his behaviour is nothing in compariſon of that which followed. He ſlew divers of the Senate, and yet afterward cited them to appear as if they had been alive, and in the end pretended that they had died by their own hands, others came off with a ſcourging, and ſo they eſcaped with life, but he cauſed the Souldiers to tread on them as they lay, and as they whipped them that they might have them at the more command: And thus he uſed ſome of all ranks and degrees. Being diſturbed at midnight one night by the noiſe of ſome that were getting places in the *Circus* againſt the next day, he fell upon them with Clubs and ſlew twenty Knights, as many matrons, and an infinite company of the common people. He threw a great multitude of old men and decrepit houſholders to the wild beaſts, that he might rid ſuch unſerviceable men, as he thought them, out of the way, and he cauſed the granaries to be often ſhut up, that they that had eſcaped the wild beaſts, might periſh with famine: He uſed to fatten the beaſts that he deſired to have fed with the inhumane diet of humane bodies yet alive, that thereby he might ſave other charges: Many men he firſt mangled and maimed, and then condemned to the mines, or to the wild beaſts, or to little-eaſe-priſons, and ſome he cauſed to be ſawed in ſunder. He forced parents to be preſent at the execution of their children: and for one that could not come to ſuch a miſerable ſpectacle he ſent a letter; and another he invited to a feaſt, after he had cauſed him to be a ſpectator of the execution of his own Son. One of the maſters of his games that had offended him, he kept in chains, and cauſed him to be beaten every day before his face, till the offenſiveneſs and ſtench of his wounded brain obtained his death: A Roman Knight being caſt by him to the wild beaſts, and crying out of the injuſtice done to him, he cauſed to be taken out again, and his tongue to be cut out, and then he caſt him to them again. He cauſed all the baniſhed men that were in the Iſlands about *Italy* to be ſlain at once, becauſe having asked one that was baniſhed in the time of *Tiberius*, what he did all the time of his exile, and he anſwered, *that he prayed continually for the death of Tiberius and the ſucceſſion of Caius*, he thought that all the preſent exiles prayed for his death likewiſe. Every tenth day he cauſed an execution to be had of thoſe that were condemned, boaſting and vanting that he ſcoured the priſons: And ever as any one came to ſuffer, he commanded the executioners to end him with ſuch deliberate tortures, as that he ſhould be ſure to feel himſelf to die: involving many deaths in one, and cauſing men that were to die, to live even in death, that they might die with more pain.

THE CHRISTIAN HISTORY, THE Jewiſh and the Roman.

For the Year of *CHRIST* XL.

The third Year alſo of *CAJUS CALIGULA.*

Being the Year of the WORLD 3967.

And of the City of *ROME* 792.

Conſuls { *Caius Cæſar* II. / *L. Apronius, Celianus* or *Ceſtianus.*

ACTS IX.

Verſ. 32. *And it came to paſs as Peter paſſed through all quarters.*

THE occaſion of *Peters* travail at this time, may be well apprehended to be for the ſetling and confirming of thoſe Churches that were now begun by the Miniſtery of the diſperſed Preachers: One thing was moſt neceſſary for theſe new founded Churches, which the Preachers themſelves could not provide for them, and that was Miniſters or Paſtors, unleſs they would have ſtayed there themſelves, which in all places they could not do, and in many places they did not, if in any place at all they did longer than for a little ſpace, the neceſſity of diſperſing the Goſpel calling them from place to place: Therefore it was needful that the Apoſtles themſelves ſhould go after them to ordain Miniſters by the impoſition of their hands, with which they did not only inſtal or inſtitute into the office of the miniſtery, but alſo beſtowed the Holy Ghoſt, for the inabling of thoſe that they did ordain, for the performance of that office, which gift the other Diſciples could not beſtow; and this may be conceived one reaſon why ten of the twelve Apoſtles were abſent from *Jeruſalem* at *Pauls* coming there, as was obſerved before, namely becauſe they were diſperſed abroad over the new planted Churches for this purpoſe: And this was one cauſe why *Peter* travails thus at this time, the plantations of the Churches ſtill increaſing: and his comforting, confirming and ſetling the Churches was another.

Through all quarters.

This referreth to thoſe places mentioned in the verſe preceding, *Judea*, *Galilee*, and *Samaria:* only whereas that verſe ſpeaketh of the places themſelves: this Verſe in the word πάντων, a word of the maſculine gender, referreth to the people of the places, and this is all the difference: And therefore *Baronius* is beſides the Cuſhion, who upon this very place and out of this very word would conclude that *Peter* in this his peregrination did found the Epiſcopacy at *Antioch.* His words are theſe.

Luke

Luke, saith he, *being intent (as it appeareth) to commend to memory the more remarkable miracles wrought by Peter, hath omitted in silence the rest of his actions performed in this visitation of the province, and among other things, the institution of the Church of Antioch: which that it was erected by him in this very year, we shall easily shew by the testimony of the ancients.* *Eusebius* may be alledged as one of these ancients, and one for all, who speaketh much to the same purpose, and somewhat further, but only with this difference that he hath set down this matter a little before the death of *Tiberius*. *Peter the Apostle*, saith he, *founded the Church of Antioch, and having there gotten his chair he sate five and twenty years.* Thus *Eusebius ad annum Christ.* 38. *Parisiis*, 1511. Now to take up this position and story in its several particulars, almost every parcel will prove a stumbling block, and before belief can be given to it, it must pass thorow, and overcome these difficulties.

1. Whereas his journey to *Antioch* is laid in this visitation: it is strained beyond the Letter, and beyond the Spirit and meaning of the Text. For that speaketh only of the Churches of *Judea*, *Galilee*, and *Samaria*, and then how came in *Antioch* in another Country? And those words *through all quarters* run at a very uncertain randome if they be uncircumscibed by the Verse before.

2. It is past all peradventure that as yet there was no Church at *Antioch* at all, much more that there was no Episcopal Chair and See there. For it is a year yet to come before there be any mention of a Church there, *Act.* 11. and that that story of the first beginning of that Church lieth in its proper place and without any transposition or *Hysteron-proteron* is so plain to him that will but view it that it needeth no proof.

3. How is it consistent with *Peters* imprisonment at *Jerusalem*, Chap. 12. to sit Bishop in another Country? Much more is it inconsistent, or rather to speak plainly, impossible that he should sit five and twenty years at *Antioch* and as many at *Rome*, and yet go thither in the second of *Claudius* as he is held to have done. Now *Baronius* hath espied these two stumbling blocks, and laboureth to remove them: but in his striving about the one, he throweth dirt into *Eusebius* his best Authors face, for he saith he is corrupted; and indeed he doth little less about the other: For whereas *Eusebius* saith in plain terms, *ibi sedit*, *Peter there sate*, this his Paraphrast glosseth, that it sufficed though he never came there; For with him *Peter* was as a Creator of Churches and Bishopricks; for if *dixit factum est*, if he but spake the word, be he where he would, there was a *Metropolis* or an Episcopacy created in any place whatsoever. But not to spend much labour where we are sure but of little profit, let it suffice the reader to have but a Catalogue and particular of his arguments, and let him censure them according to his own judgment.

Argum. 1. *It was Peters office to oversee and take care of the whole flock, and for this he visited all the Churches that lay round about Jerusalem*, pag. 306. But that draweth on another question, which will be harder to prove than this, and it maketh *Paul* but an intruder, that took upon him such a care.

Argum. 2. *Peter taking opportunity of the Churches tranquility, pag.* 306. *visited all (the Christians which were in Syria) pag.* 309. But here he is besides his warrant of the Text, and maketh a History of his own head.

Argum. 3. *Peter whersoever he was might raise an Episcopal or Metropolitical See at any place distant where he pleased, by the Authority wherewith he was indowed, pag.* 309. When this is proved, we may believe the other that he would prove.

Argum. 4. *The number of Eusebius, of his sitting* 25. *years at Antioch, is an error crept into the Text, but the number of his* 25. *years at Rome, in him is right, pag.* 306. But if he be at liberty to suspect the one, sure we may have the like liberty to suspect the other.

Argum. 5. *The Hierachical order seemeth not to indure, that the prime Church that had been as yet instituted, should be governed by any but the prime Apostle, pag.* 309, 330. It will be some work to prove any Hierarchical order at all, or *Peter* Prime Apostle, or *Antioh*, a chief Church above others more than by humane preferring, or *Antioch* yet a Church; and were all these proved, which never will be, yet is the inference or argumentation thereupon but of small value and validity.

6. His last Argument is from Authorities, which at last he gathereth into the Center of a Councel at *Rome*, *pag.* 332. But *Amicus Plato, amicus Aristoteles, magis amica veritas.*

As for his answers to *Eusebius* that calleth *Evodius* the first Bishop of *Antioch*, his answer to *Ignatius* that saith he was placed there by the Apostels, more than one, and to *Onuphrius*, that maketh *Peter* Bishop of *Rome* before he was Bishop of *Antioch*, be they referred to the perusal of his own Text, for the matter is not worth the labour of examining them.

Vers.

Vers. 32. *Lydda.*

This seemeth to be the same with *Lod*, 1 *Chron.* 8. 12. A City in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, mentioned, *Ezra* 2. 33.

Vers. 35. *Saron.*

Heb. *Sharon:* A fertile valley famous in Scriptures as 1 *Chron.* 27. 29. *Esa.* 33. 9. *Cant.* 2. 1, &c. where the *Targum* renders it, *the garden of Eden*, and the LXX πέδιον *a field or plain*, the masculine Article sheweth, it is not named of a City: And so do the LXX article it, *Esa.* 33. 9. There is mention of a *Sharon* beyond *Jordan*, 1 *Chron.* 5. 16. inhabited about by *Gileadites*: by which it seemeth it was a common name for plain champion grounds wheresoever.

Vers. 36. *Tabitha, which by interpretation is called Dorcas.*

Tabitha the Syriack, and *Dorcas* the Greek, do both signifie a *Hind*, or *Doe*, *Capream*, as *Beza* renders it. Now the reason why *Luke* doth thus render the one into the other, seemeth to be because *Tabitha* was a Grecizing Jewesse, and so was commonly called by these two names, by the Syrian among the Hebrews, and by the Greek among the Greeks.

Vers. 37. *Whom when they had washed.*

Whether it were a common custom among the Jews to wash all their dead bodies before they buried them, as is concluded by many upon this place, we will not insist to question; nor whether it were in token of the resurrection, or no, as some apply it; only the other application that they make hereupon, I cannot pass over untoucht: which is, that *Paul* spake in reference to this custom, and to that intention is this custom, when he saith, τί ποιοῦσιν οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν, &c. 1 *Cor.* 15. 29. *Else what shall they do, which are baptised for the dead*, &c. as our English reads it: as if the Apostle produced this custom as an argument for the resurrection, as meaning to what purpose should dead bodies be washed, if not to betoken this: thus he is conceived to argue: whereas, by the juncture of the thirtieth verse to this, it seemeth that he intended a clean contrary or different thing, by *being baptized* ὑπὲρ νεκρῶν, namely, being *baptized so as baptism signifieth death by matyrdom*, or suffering for the truth, as *Matth.* 20. 22, 23. *Luke* 12. 50. And his arguing is to this sense, if the dead rise not again, what will become of *those that are baptized with a martyrial baptism*, or that do suffer death for the profession of the truth? why are *they* then baptized for the dead? yea and why stand *we* in jeopardy every hour of such a baptism and matyrdom also? Why do *they* suffer, and why are *we* daily in danger to suffer for the truth, if there be no resurrection? And so the word ὑπὲρ to signifie, not *vice*, or *supra*, but *pro*, that is, *in such a sense*; and ὑπὲρ νεκρῶν to mean, *In such a sense as baptized, meaneth, dead or martyred:* As ὑπὲρ is taken in this clause, Παρέδωκεν ὁ Φάβιος τῷ Μινυκίῳ, τὴν δύναμιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ μάχεσθαι. *Fabius delivered the power, or Army to Minucius*, under this intent and meaning, or condition, *that he should not fight*, *Plut. in Fab.*

§ *They laid her in an upper chamber.*

This probably was the publick meeting room for the believers of that Town; *Dorcas* being a woman of some good rank, as may be conjectured by her plenteousnes of good works and alms-deeds. Now they purposely disposing of the dead corps, that *Peter* if he would come, might exercise a miracle upon it, they lay it in that publick room, that the company might be spectators of the wonder; but *Peter* would not suffer them so to be for some singular reason, *vers.* 40.

Acts X.

§ *Some things remarkable about the calling in of Cornelius.*

First, the Gospel had now dilated it self to the very utmost bounds of the Jews territories in *Canaan*, *Judæa*, *Samaria*, and *Galilee*, had been preached to, and through, and now is it got to the very walls of their dominions round about: And there wanteth nothing but laying the partition wall flat, that the Gospel may get out unto the Gentiles: and that is done in this Chapter; where the great partition and distance that was betwixt Jew and Gentile is utterly removed and taken away by God himself, who had first pitched and set it betwixt them.

Secondly, the two first and maineſt stones of interposition that were laid in this wall, were *circumcision* and *diet*: the one in the time of *Abraham*, *Gen.* 17. the other in the time of *Jacob*, *Gen.* 32. 32. And in reference to these two it is, that they of the Circumcision contend with *Peter*, upon his return to *Jerusalem*, for they are grieved that *he went in to men uncircumcised, and ate with them*, *Chap.* 11. 3. These were the proper distinguishers betwixt *Israel* and other Nations; for all their other Ceremonies were not so much to distinguish them from other people, as to compose them among themselves and towards God, they being first distinguished from others by these.

Of these two, singularity of Dyet, or Prohibition of certain meats, was the more proper difference, and the more strict distinctive: For all the seed of *Abraham* was circumcised, and so in regard of that Ceremony, there was no difference betwixt an *Ismaelite* and a *Jew*: But abstaining from such and such meats, was a *proprium quarto modo*, a singularity that differenced an *Israelite* from all the world besides.

Thirdly, therefore it was most proper, and of most divine reason, that the liberty of eating any meats, did denote and shew a liberty of conversing with any nation, and that the inlarging of the one, is the inlarging of the other.

Fourthly, the first-fruits of this inlargement, and entertainment beyond the partition wall is *Cornelius*, a Convert, but not a Proselyte: a man that was already come in to God, but not come in to the Church of *Israel*: a man as far contrarily qualified for such a business, in all humane appearance, as what could be most contrary, as being a Roman, a Souldier, a Centurion; and yet he of all men chosen to be the first-fruits of the Gentiles, that God herein might be the more plainly shewed to be no respecter of persons.

Fifthly, it had been now 2210 years since the Heathen were cast of at the confusion of *Babel*, and had lain so long in darkness, sin, superstition and Idolatry, strangers to God, and aliens from the congregation of *Israel*; bondslaves of *Satan*, and under his dominion, and even all the world (*Israel* only execepted) become the Kingdom of Hell and the Devil.

Sixthly, *Satan* had by this very time brought his Kingdom among these Heathens to the very *Apex* and perfection, when he had gotten one into the throne of the Roman Empire, (which was now over all the world) who by the very sword and power will force the people to adore him for a God, and had the sword and power in his own hand to force them to adore him: as we saw by *Caius* even now. And here I cannot but look back from *Caius* as he sate in his throne as an ungodly Deity when the Gentiles began to be called in, to the first Idol that they proposed and set up for themselves to adore at *Babel*, as he is described by the *Jerusalem Targum* at their first casting off: For thus doth it Paraphrase those Rebels plot and conspiracy, for the building of that Idolatrous City, *Gen.* 11. 3. *And they said, Come let us build a City and a Tower, whose top may reach to heaven, and in the midst of it, let us build a Chappel, and an Idol in the head of it with a sword in his hand to fight for us that we be not scattered.*

Nor can I but look forward also from the same *Caius* Deifying himself, and that in the Temple of God as we shall see ere long, to the succeeding times of the Gentile Church, which is now beginning: wherein a man of sin, the successor of *Caius Caligula* a thousand fold more likely, than the successor of *Simon Peter*, hath set up himself to be adored, and exalts himself above every thing that is called God.

Seventhly, the instrument of the first introducing of the Gentiles, by the bringing in of *Cornelius*, was *Peter*: not for any Primacy or universal Bishopship that he was invested withall, but rather because he was the most singular minister of the Circumcision: for his bringing in of the Gentiles would stop the mouth of the Judaizing believers the more.

Eighthly,

Eightly, and for this thing he had a special ingagement and deputation from our Saviour a good while ago as he himself speaketh, *Acts* 15.7. And that was when Christ giveth him *the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*, *Matth.* 16. 19. that is putteth into his hand, the peculiar priviledge to open the door of Faith and the Gospel to the Gentiles, and giveth him power withall to bind and to loose, the use of *Moses* Law among the Heathens when he brought the Gospel among them, some of it to fall and some to stand, according as the Spirit should direct him, and accordingly it should be ratified in Heaven. And that this is the genuine, proper and only meaning of that so much disputed place, will be undeniable to him that shall consider what is the proper meaning of *the Kingdom of Heaven* in Scripture, and *of binding and loosing* in Jewish authors from whom that Phrase is taken.

Vers. 1. *In Cæsarea.*

Called of old *Turris Stratonis*, *Stratons Tower*; but new built by *Herod* the great, and named *Cæsarea* in honour of *Augustus*. It lay upon the Sea shore betwixt *Joppa* * and *Doræ* * *Dor.* saith *Josephus*, *Antiq. lib.* 15. *cap.* 13. where he describeth at large.

§ *The Italian Band.*

Not to spend time in inquiring what Italian band this was, whether *Ferrata*, or *Dives*, or *Voluntariorum*, or the like, it seemeth to me that the consideration of the place it self where *Cornelius* was, will help to understand what *Luke* intendeth by it. For *Cæsarea* was the place where the Roman Governour or Proconsul resided: as appeareth, *Acts* 23. 23, 24. and 24. 6. and that partly for the bravery of the City, and chiefly for the commodiousness of the haven: Now this *Italian band* may very properly be understood of that band that attended the Governors person, or were his life-guard, and which had come out of *Italy* for this purpose to be his defence and the defence of the City where he lay.

Vers. 2. *A devout man, &c.*

Gr. Ευσεβής, A man that worshipped the true God, and followed not Idolatry: And a man that feared God indeed, as well as he worshipped him in profession.

§ *Which gave much alms to the people.*

To the Jews, to whom alms was not unclean though given by a heathen; to which thing our Saviour seemeth to allude in that speech, *Luke* 11. 41. *But rather give alms of such things as ye have, and behold all things are clean unto you.* And upon this respect it is like that *alms* are called צדקה *Righteousness*, so commonly among the Jewish authors, and used by the Syriack and Arabick here, because they lost not their nature or quality of cleaness or purity and righteousness, though they came even from an unclean, yea a heathen person.

§ *And prayed to God alway.*

Beza hath made this clause the beginning of the next verse, and that, as he saith, with the warrant of one copy. The Arabick doth the like: They think they mend the sense with it, in which they mistake because they mind not the scope: For it is the intent of the Holy Ghost to shew the constant carriage of *Cornelius* in his devoutness, as *vers.* 4. and not his devoutness as occasion of his vision.

Vers. 3. *He saw in a vision evidently.*

The word evidently, or φανερῶς, is added to shew that he saw it waking, and with his bodily eyes, for there were visions in dreams, as *Gen.* 20. 3. and 28. 12. *Job* 4. 13.

§ *About the ninth hour.*

The hour of the evening sacrifice, three a clock after noon: compare *Dan.* 5. 21. *Cornelius* though he were not yet proselyted by circumcision to the Jewish Church, yet followed he their manner and form of worship.

Vers. 9. *To pray, about the sixth hour.*

About twelve a clock or high noon, and this was the time of the *Minchah gedolah* as the Jews called it, or the very beginning of it: And so do they expound, *Dan.* 6. 10. and *Psal.* 55. 17. accordingly. *Daniel prayed three times a day*, that is, say *R. Saadias* and *R. Solomon*, *Morning, Evening, and at the Minchah.* And *Evening and Morning, and at noon will I pray, R. Sol. Evening, Morning and at Minchah, the three times of prayer:* Now this *Minchah* time is described by their Doctors thus, *Minchah gedolah, is the beginning of the time of the dayly sacrifice between the two Evenings, when the Sun begins to decline: which is from the sixth hour and forward until night*, some say, *from the sixth hour and an half*, which was according to our Phrase in hand *about the sixth hour*: Now this their accounting was not for that they always began to fall about their evening sacrifice at twelve a clock, or half an hour after, but because that it was lawful then to begin to fall about it; for when there were additional sacrifices besides the dayly, as the Passover, or the like, then it was necessary for them to begin to prepare the sacrifices from that time, that it was lawful to begin about them; which from that time of the day it was, all the time from thence forward till night being בין הערבים *between the Evenings*, according to the letter of the Law, *Exod.* 12. 6. *Numb.* 28. 4. And to this sense speaketh the Text, 1 *King* 18 19. *When noontide was passed, and they had now prophecied till the offering of the Minchah:* not till the very time of the very firing of the sacrifice, for that the verses following deny: but to the time of the *Minchah* in that sense that we have in hand: and to this purpose the difference of the words לעלות here and בעלות Vers. 36. is very remarkable.

So that *Peter* in this practise of praying about the sixth hour intimated the custom of the Jews, and though he had so long been a Convert to the Gospel, yet doth he not forsake their manner of worship: no more did the other Disciples, as hath been shewed elsewhere.

Ἐπέπεσεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔκστασις. *An extasie fell upon him*, and so Chap. 22. 17. γενέσθαι μέ ἐν ἐκστάσει, *I was in an extasie:* This was the higheſt and excellenteſt way of all other, of revelations; when a man was rapt even from himself into heaven: for so *Paul* calls it, 2 *Cor.* 12. 2. and was wholly in the spirit, for so *John* calls it, *Rev*, 1. 10. being for the time as it were out of the body, and in the very next degree to souls departed, enjoying God. Seven manner of extraordinary ways did God use to reveal himself and his will to his people in ancient times. 1. By Dreams. 2. By Apparitions when they were awake. 3. By Visions when they were asleep. 4. By Voyce from heaven. 5. By *Urim.* 6. By Inspiration, or Revealing of the ear. 7. By Rapture or Extasie: and this last the excellenteſt, as to him that did injoy it. And of this should I understand that deep sleep that fell upon *Adam*, *Gen.* 2. 21.

Vers. 12. *Fourfooted Beasts and wild Beasts.*

בהמה and חיה Beasts tame and wild, for so doth the Scripture most frequently distinguish them.

Vers. 15. *That call not thou common.*

Gr. Μὴ κοίνου: *Do not thou pollute*, that is, do not thou *call* or account *polluted*, Vers. 28. For so is the use of Scripture very frequently, to speak as in an effective or active sense, and to intend only a declarative, as *Gen.* 41. 13. *Me he restored* to my office, but *him he hanged*, Ezek. 43. 3. *When I came to destroy the City:* The Priest did *make clean*, or *make unclean* the Leper, *Lev.* 13. 6. 8. *&c.* which was only *pronouncing clean* or unclean, as our English hath well rendred it: or *teaching* what was clean and what unclean, as Chap. 14. 57. And in the very same sense is the *binding and looſing* to be understood, *Matth.* 16. 19. and 18 18. for teaching what is bound and what looſe, what אסור and what מותר as the Jews speak, or what lawful, what unlawful.

Vers. 28. *Ye know how that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew to keep company, &c.*

Κολλᾶσθαι ἢ προσέρχεσθαι ἀλλοφύλῳ. By which words is not to be understood as if a Jew might have no dealing at all with a Gentile, for they might walk, and talk, and traffick with them,

them, and it was within a little of impossible to do otherwise, they living exceeding many of them in heathen Cities: And Gentiles came continually in way of trade to *Jerusalem*, *Neh.*13.16. But the unlawfulness of their conversing with the Gentiles, was conversing in near and more close society, as the word κολλᾶσθαι signifieth, and that especially in these two things, *not to eat with them*, and *not to go into their houses:* And this is that for which they of the Circumcision excepted at *Peter* upon his return. Thou *wentest in* to men uncircumcised, and *didst eat with them*, Chap. 11. 3.

§ *But God hath shewed me, that I should not call any man common, or unclean.*

This vision that *Peter* had, when this satisfaction was given him, to learn to call nothing common, was only of beasts and fowles and creeping things, yet might he learn that the lesson was also to be understood of men, because the distinction betwen men and men in regard of common and unclean was first made and most strictly made by the difference betwixt meats and meats. For the very first distinguisher that ever began to inclose *Israel* for a peculiar from other people, was the not eating of the sinew that shrank, *Gen.*32. Circumcision distinguished the seed of *Abraham* from other people, but this began to distinguish *Israel* from the other seed of *Abraham*. And it is observable, that that ceremony or distinctive rite was first taken up, when *Jacob* first received the name of *Israel*.

Now it is true indeed that their forbearing to eat the sinew that shrank, was not as if they accounted it common or unclean, but it was in regard of the honorable memorial that they read upon it, yet was that ceremony the first and proper distinguisher of an Israelite from all other people under heaven some hundreds of years, till more distinctive rites came in, and more things were prohibited to be eaten, for the surer distinction.

There was distinction of clean and unclean beasts before the flood, as appeareth, *Gen.* 7.8. but this was in reference to sacrifice only, and not in reference to diet at all: for till the flood they ate nothing but the fruits of the ground, till God gave *Noah* liberty to eat flesh, and to eat any thing that was wholesome for diet. And in this liberty did the world continue till the Law given at *Sinai*, save only an Israelites not eating the sinew that shrank: And this liberty some Jews themselves confess shall be in the days of *Messias*, which now first taketh place at this vision of *Peter* and forward. And here doth *Peter* begin to put in use and ure that power of *binding and loosing* which Christ had put into his hands, when he put into his hands the *keys of the Kingdom of Heaven:* And this very place doth so clearly expound and interpet that speech of our Saviour to him, that it is a wonder that ever there should be such scruple and controversie about it.

For, 1. Here beginneth *the Kingdom of Heaven:* when the Gentiles are received to favour and to the Gospel, who had been so long cast off, and layn in ignorance and idolatry, and when no difference is made betwixt them and the Jews any longer, but of every nation, they that fear God and work righteousness are accepted of him as well as *Israel*. This is the very first beginning or dawning to the Kingdom of Heaven; and so it grew on more and more, till *Jerusalem* was destroyed, and then was the perfect day, when the Gentiles only were become the Church of Christ, and no Church or Commonwealth of *Israel* to be had at all, but they destroyed and ruined.

Secondly, here *Peter hath the keys of the Kingdom*, and unlocked the door for the Gentiles to come in to the Faith and Gospel, which till now had been shut and they kept out. And *Peter* only had the keys, and none of the Apostles or Disciples but he: for though they from hence forward brought in Gentiles dayly into the Kingdom of Heaven, by converting them to the Gospel; yet it was he that first and only opened the door, and the door being once opened, was never shut, nor never shall be to the end of the world. And this was all the priority that *Peter* had before the other Apostles, if it were any priority; and how little this concerneth *Rome*, or the Papacy, as to be any foundation of it, a child may observe.

3. *Peter* here looseth the greatest strictness, and what was the straitest bound up of any thing that was in all the policy of *Moses* and customs of the Jews, and that was, the *difference of clean and unclean* in the legal sense. And this he looseth on earth, and it is loosed in heaven, for from heaven had he an immediate warrant to dissolve it: And this he doth, first declaratively, shewing that nothing henceforward is to be called common or unclean, and shewing his authority for this doctrine, and then practically conforming himself to this doctrine that he taught, by going in unto the uncircumcised, and eating

eating with them: *Binding and looſing* in our Saviours ſenſe, and in the Jews ſenſe from whoſe uſe he taketh the phraſe, *is of things and not of perſons*, for Chriſt ſaith to *Peter* ὃ ἐὰν δήσῃς, and ὃ ἐὰν λύσῃς: ὅ and not ὅν *whatſoever* thou bindeſt and not *whomſoever*, and to the other Apoſtles ὅσα ἐὰν δήσητε, *Matth.* 18. 18. ὅσα and not ὅσους, *whatſoever things*, and not *whatſoever perſons*, ſo that though it be true indeed that Jews and Gentiles are looſed henceforward one to the communion of another, yet the proper object of this looſing that is looſed by *Peter*, was that Law or doctrine that tied them up: and ſo concerning the eating of thoſe things that had been prohibited, it is true indeed that the Jews were let looſe henceforward to the uſe of them in diet and to eat what they thought good, but this looſing was not ſo properly of the men, as the looſing of that prohibition that had bound them before. And this could be no way but doctrinally by teaching that Chriſtian liberty that was given by the Goſpel.

Now though *Peter* only, and none but he *had the keys of the Kingdom* of Heaven, yet had all the Apoſtles the *power of binding and looſing* as well as he: and ſo have all the Miniſters of the Goſpel as well as they, and all in the ſame ſenſe, namely, doctrinally to teach what is bound and looſe, or lawful and unlawful, but not in the ſame kind: for the Apoſtles having the conſtant and unerring aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt, did nullifie by their doctrine, ſome part of *Moſes* Law, as to the uſe of it, as Circumciſion, Sacrifices, Purifyings, and other legal Rites, which could not have been done by men that had not had ſuch a ſpirit, for there muſt be the ſame ſpirit of Prophecy to abrogate a Law, which had ſet it in force.

This matter therefore of *Cornelius* his calling in, as the firſt-fruits of the Gentiles, is a thing that deſerves very high regard and conſideration; as in which are included and involved ſo many things of note as have been mentioned, and divers others that might be added thereunto; and in the conſideration of the matter, the time of it is not to be neglected, which to the ſerious and conſiderate Reader and weigher of things in the ballance of Judgment, will appear to be in this year in which we have laid it; eſpecially that being concluded upon, which before we proved undeniable, that the Famine was in the ſecond year of *Claudius*. And this time is the rather to be looked upon, becauſe that ſome do fooliſhly miſconſtrue a clauſe in *Daniel* 9. 27. by miſſing of the right time of this occurence of *Cornelius*. For looking no further into the text than in our Engliſh tranſlation, which there hath not ſpoken the mind of the Original, they conceive that Chtiſt dyed in the midſt of the laſt ſeven years of the ſeventy ſevens, namely, when three years and an half of the ſeven were gone, and that at the end of the other three and an half *Cornelius* was converted: and ſo they will make thoſe ſeventies to end in that his converſion, and not in Chriſts death: which were ſcarcely worth anſwering, though we had time and ſeaſon to do it: ſeeing it riſeth from a miſtake in the Text, and ſets in a miſtake of the time.

Verſ. 30. *Four days ago I was faſting, &c.*

The Greek hath it, *From the fourth day until this hour I was or have been faſting:* by which it ſeemeth that *Cornelius* had now been faſting four days together, as *Paul* was three days at his converſion, Chap. 9. 9. But it is not much material whether we underſtand it ſo, or as it is commonly underſtood of his faſting four days ſince, till ſuch an hour of that day, as it was now of this day when he is ſpeaking to *Peter*, unleſs we will make any thing of it, that the Jews eſpcially upon their ſolemn days uſed to taſte nothing till noon, and *Cornelius* herein follows there cuſtome: and that it was about noon when *Peter* comes to *Cornelius*, as it was about noon when *Cornelius* meſſengers came to *Peter*: And ſo the diſtance betwixt *Cæſarea* & *Joppa* to be a days journey and an half.

Verſ. 36. *The Word which God ſent.*

Beza ſuppoſeth that this verſe ought to be referred and joyned to the verſe that went before, and they two together, to be conſtrued to this ſenſe, *Now I know that God is no reſpecter of Perſons: but in every Nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteouſneſs, is accepted of him; which is the very doctrine which God ſent among the children of Iſrael by Moſes and the Prophets, preaching peace by them by Jeſus Chriſt.* And one main induction

that

that he hath to this construction is, because otherwise it would be improper for *Peter* to say, *Cornelius and his friends knew this word*, when it was *Peters* very errand to instruct them in it, and teach it to them. But the words are to be read and taken in the sense that our English hath well made of them; namely, as following the word *ye know*: For all the Country knew that *Jesus* preached, and preached peace and the like; and thousands though they knew that he preached, and what he preached, yet did they not believe that he was the *Messias*, nor that he was risen from the dead: and these two last things it was that *Peter* came to teach *Cornelius*, and not to tell him that *Jesus* of *Nazareth* had preached, for that he and all his friends knew.

Vers. 44. *The Holy Ghost fell on all them that heard the Word.*

This was a second confirmation of the entertainment of the Gentiles to the Gospel, or a miracle added by God, to the doctrine preached by *Peter*, that nothing now was to be accounted common or unclean: for when God had poured the Holy Ghost upon the uncircumcision as well as upon the circumcised, it was evidence sufficient that now God made no difference betwixt them: How these extraodinary gifts of the Spirit had been confined hitherto only to the Nation of the Jews, it is not only clear by Scripture, but it is upon that clearness thought by the Jews that it must be confined thither ever, and that neither any Gentile at all, nor hardly any Jew out of the Land of *Canaan* could be capable of them; and therefore when they here see the same measure and fulness and freeness of the Spirit upon the Gentiles, as had been upon Jews; they cannot but conclude the difference was in vanishing, and that God was setting up a Church among them, when he bestowed the Spirit of Prophecy upon them.

Vers. 47. *Can any man forbid water, &c.*

Peters thoughts in these words, look back to those words of our Saviour, *Go teach all Nations, and baptize them*, *Mat.* 28.19. where he meaneth not, that none should be baptized but those that are capable of teaching, but his meaning is this, that whereas his Disciples had hitherto been limited and confined only to preach to the Jews, to go to none but to *the lost Sheep of Israel*; now had the Jews by the murdering of Christ shewed themselves unworthy, and had forfeited the benefit of the Gospel; and therefore Christ now inlargeth his Apostles and Disciples, to go now and to teach all Nations, and to baptize them to preach to the Heathens, and to bring them in by baptism, since the Jews had despised the Gospel, and crucified the Lord of life that preached it: To this it is that *Peter* here looketh, at this first conversion of the Gentiles; and when he seeth the very same gifts bestowed on them from Heaven, that were upon the Jews, he concluded that none could object against their being baptized: and accordingly he commands that they should be baptized: either by some of those that came with him from *Joppa*, they being more than probably Ministers; or he commanded that provision should be made for their baptizing by himself.

Acts XI.

That part of this Chapter which falleth under this year that we have in hand, *viz.* to *vers.* 19. is but a rehersal of this Story in the tenth Chapter, and therefore it is not necessary to insist upon it.

PART II.

The ROMAN Story.

§ 1. *Caius still cruel.*

THE beginning of this year *Caius* was Conſul, but held that place only for a month or thereabouts, and then reſigned for ſix months more to his partner *Apronius*, and after thoſe ſix months *Sabinius Maximus* took the place. A policy above his reach, howſoever he came to it, to ſhake the chief Magiſtracy by ſo often changes, that his own power might ſtand the ſurer. Both in his Conſulſhip, and after it, he behaved himſelf after his wonted manner of barbarouſneſs and cruelty, but that now he began to add one vice more to his cruelty in bloodineſs, namely intolerable covetouſneſs and oppreſſion. Now, ſaith *Dion*, was nothing but ſlaughter: For many of the Nobles were condemned, many periſhed by the Sword-playes, and many impriſoned by the late Emperor *Tiberius*, were drawn to execution. Now did he bend himſelf to croſs the people, and the people being thorowly incenſed began to croſs him. The main cauſes of this his diſpleaſure (gueſs how weighty) were ſuch as theſe: Becauſe they came not to the Plays and Shews ſo conſtantly, and at ſuch conſtant times as he had appointed: becauſe ſometimes when they came, they liked ſuch ſports as he liked not, *& contra:* And becauſe they once extolling him, called him by the title of young *Auguſtus*. For ſuch occaſions as theſe (behold the madneſs of a man ſelf-willed) he brake out into all cruelty, ſlaying many at the Theater for the one fault, and many as they went home for the other, and many at their own homes, or otherwhere for a third. And now was his rage grown ſo high, that *he wiſhed that all the City had but one head, that he might ſtrike it off at one blow*; and bewailed his times, for that they had not been enfamouſed with ſome notable miſery of the Roman State, as was the reign of *Auguſtus* with the overthrow of *Varus* and his Army in *Germany*; and the reign of *Tiberius* with the ſlaughter of above twenty thouſand men by the fall of an *Amphitheater* at *Fidenæ*. And that we may take a full view of his cruel words and actions here together, (the Reader I hope will not be punctual in expecting an exact order of time in this diſorder of conditions) his common reſolution againſt the people always was, *Let them hate me and ſpare not, ſo that they fear me.* But what was his anger think you, when his very feaſts and imbraces of his minions were mixed with cruelty? he uſed to have men tortured in his preſence as he ſate at meat, mingling his ſauce as it were with innocents blood. At a great feaſt to which he had invited the two Conſuls, he ſuddenly fell out into an extream laughter, and upon demand of his reaſon, his anſwer was, *Becauſe he had power to take away their two heads whenſoever he pleaſed.* And whenſoever he was kiſſing the neck of his wife or paramour, he would conſtantly add theſe words, but cruelly amorous, *This neck, as fair as it is, when I command ſhall be cut off.* Such was his jeſting; and as for his eraneſt, I ſuppoſe you will eaſily believe, that it was proportionable. Whereas hitherto, he had been very free and laviſh of his tongue in diſpraiſing *Tiberius*, and not only had not checked, but alſo countenanced, and taken delight in thoſe that ſpake ill of him, as well as he; he now turneth his tune, and breaketh out as fluently into his commendations: pleading that he himſelf had liberty to ſay what he liſt, but accuſing thoſe that had aſſumed the like liberty, when as no ſuch thing belonged to them. Then did he cauſe a liſt or catalogue to be read of thoſe that had been executed and put to death under *Tiberius*; laying withall the death of the moſt of them to the charge of the Senate, and accuſed ſome for accuſing them, others for witneſſing againſt them, and all, for condemning them. Theſe things he alledged out of thoſe books which in the beginning of his reign and in the time of his ſeeming goodneſs, he profeſſed that he had burnt: and after a moſt bitter and terrible ſpeech now made among them in the Senate, and reviving an act of treaſon for ſpeaking againſt the Prince, he ſuddainly departed out of the Senate and the City. In what caſe the Senate and the people were, that were guilty of either words or actions, that he had charged them with all, it is readily gueſſed, but how they ſhall come off, and what they ſhall do to eſcape, is not eaſily to be reſolved. Their preſenteſt help is to fawn and ſpeak fair, and that courſe they take, praiſing him infinitely at their next meeting, for his juſtice and piouſneſs, and giving him as infinite thanks that he ſuffered them to live, and decreeing that ſacri-

fices

fices ſhould be offered annually to his clemency on that very day that thoſe charges were publiſhed againſt ſo many, ſeeking to appeaſe his ſenſeleſs and fooliſh anger by as ſenſeleſs and fooliſh a pacification. But how little they could ſacrifice, or pray or praiſe him into any better mind than he hath been in hitherto, you ſhall ſee by the ſequel.

§ 2. *An inhuman Cruelty.*

Among the many cruelties of this monſter, the murder of *Eſius Proculus* may bear ſome bell, becauſe he ſlew him for nothing but only for this, for that he was ſuch an one as God had made him. This man was the goodlieſt man of perſon and ſhape in all the City, inſomuch that he was commonly called *Colofferos*, for his extraordinary properneſs and ſtature: One day as he ſate a ſpectator upon the ſcaffolds, of the bloody ſports below, *Caius* commanded him ſuddainly to be put down among the combatants, and there to fight for his life. When he had had a tryal with two ſeveral men and came off victorious, the inhuman Tyrant cauſed him ſpeedily to be bound, and arraied in tatters and rags to be led about the City, ſhewed to the women, and then ſlain. So much of beaſt had this monſter in him that he could not indure the goodlineſs of a man.

§ 3. Caius *his Luxury, Laviſhneſs and prodigality.*

Thus beſtial was he towards men, and no leſs was he in another kind towards women. This appeared in the deflouring of his own ſiſters, and adulterating the moſt of the noble Ladies of the City. He was his own Pimp, and purveyer for his luſt, with this open and hideous way of brothelry. He would invite the great men and their Ladies to ſupper, and as the women paſſed by him in way of ſalutation he would earneſtly and leaſurely view them, *mercantium more*, ſaith my Author, as they do that are to buy any thing, and if any matron for modeſty held down her head, he would lift it up, that he might have his full ſurvey: ſhe that pleaſed him, he took into a retiring room and adulterated: and preſently would he bring her forth again, and tell openly whether ſhe had given him content or no. Nor was he content with this choice and variety of women neither, but that he might be beaſtly in every kind, he abſtained not from the abomination of Sodomie with men. But let us ſtay no longer upon him in this his filthineſs, but trace him a little in his more tolerable vices of fantaſtickneſs and prodigality. He ſeemed to affect a ſingularity in theſe three things, *ſinging*, *working* and *ſpending*, according to the uncontroledneſs of his will, the vaſtneſs of his command, and the hugeneſs of his revenue. He invented new manner of bathings, and prodigious kinds of meats and feaſts; he would diſolve moſt rich and precious Jewels in Vinegar, and then drink them off. And becauſe he doubted, as it ſeemeth, that he could not waſt his treaſure faſt enough with ſuch tricks as theſe, he would ſtand upon a Tower divers days together, and fling great ſums of mony among the people. To all which ways of laviſhing and expenſiveneſs, he joyned monſtrous works and machinations, which ſhewed at once, his folly in their undertaking, and the vaſtneſs of his power in their performance: As levelling mountains to even the plain, and in other places filling up the plain to equal mountains; ſometimes cauſing rocks of flint to be cut through, to make a paſſage: and ſometimes foundations of houſes or walls to be laid in the bottom of the Sea, bringing ſoil and rubbiſh to fill up the place and to make it firm ground: ambitious to bring to paſs ſeeming impoſſibilities, and cruelly haſty in the accompliſhing of what he undertook, puniſhing the ſlacking of the work with certain death.

§ 4. *His ſtrange Bridge and Ships.*

In the liſt of theſe his vanities, and ungodly ways of ſpending, let his bridge between *Puteoli* and *Bauli*, come in the firſt place, or elſe you do it ſome injury. Theſe two places were about three miles and a half diſtant, an arm of the Sea of that breath, ſevering them, and lying between. The ambition of the vain Emperour was to ride on horſeback and in his chariot between theſe two places: What his fancy or Phrenzy rather,

rather, was, that ſtirred up ſuch a humor in him, is diverſly related, and it is no great matter to inquire after it. Some ſay it was, that he might terrifie *Germany* and *Britain* againſt whom he intended hoſtility, with the very rumor of ſo great a work: others, that he might intimate, or rather excel *Xerxes*, who made a bridge of Ships over the Helleſpont. But the rumor of it at Court, where his mind was likelieſt to be beſt known, was, that he did it in confutation of a prediction of *Thraſillus*, who had told *Tiberius*, that *Caius ſhould no more rule then ride over the bay of Baiæ on horſeback*. *Dion* gueſſeth this to have been his reaſon, that whereas the Senate upon their fear and fawning mentioned before, had decreed an *Ovation* for him, or a kind of triumphant riding on horſeback, he thought it too poor a thing to ride ſo by land, and therefore invented this trick of his own vain head, to ride ſo by Sea. For this purpoſe, all the ſhips that could be got were ſent for in, and when they were not enough, others were made and ſo they all were ſet two and two linked together till they made a bridge of that three miles and an half long: Then cauſed he an infinite number of workmen to carry on earth, and make a cauſey like the *Apion* road over all thoſe ſhips from the continent to the Iſland. (If this were not a *Pontifex Romanus* with a witneſs, let all men judge.) When his dear bought way was thus prepared, he prepares for it and for his Phantaſtick journey over it: His garb in which he would ride was this: He put a breaſt plate on, which he ſaid had been *Alexanders*, and over that a rich purple robe, then his ſword and buckler, and an oaken garland about his head: and having ſacrificed to *Neptune* and to the other Gods, and even to the Deity *Envy*, leſt the bridge ſhould miſcarry, he ſets forth on horſeback with a great troop of armed men attending him, and takes his ſtrange and idle voyage. When he had ridden thus one day on horſeback, he returns the next day in his Chariot, with an infinite train of his freinds in Coaches, of Souldiers in arms, and of the common people lookers on, and among others of ſtate *Darius* an hoſtage of *Parthia* attended his Chariot; when he had done this great exploit, of walking, riding and coaching ſo many miles upon the Sea, he getteth up into a Desk, which was made upon this new-found bridge on purpoſe, and there maketh a ſolemn ſpeech in commendation of this his great attempt, and of the ſouldiers and workmens pains and care about it; And when he had done he beſtowed a large munificence among them. And the reſt of that day and the night that followed, he ſpent in feaſting and banqueting in banqueting houſes that he had made purpoſely upon his bridge, becauſe he would make the Sea a perfect road. Into theſe houſes he had brought freſh water in Pipes from the ſhore to ſerve the occaſions of this nights feaſt, if he will ſuffer one to call it night: For he that had turned the Sea into a Coach-way, was ambitious alſo to turn night into day; that in him might be ſhewed at once both how fooliſh he may prove that hath once let go the reines of reaſon, and how boundleſs that folly is when it is backed with power. The ſhips that made the bridge were ſet in manner of a creſcent, and ſo went the rode: upon it he cauſed a great number of fires to be made, and ſo upon the mountains all about, that what had been his Coach-way by day was now at night become his *Amphitheater*. But it is ſtrange that we hear of no murder of all this while among all this madneſs, for if *Caius* be not cruel he is not *Caligula*. After this his entertainment of his friends and of the company, he ſuddainly caſt a great multitude of them into the Sea, and when they laid hold of rudders or any thing that might ſuccor and ſave their lives, he cauſed them to be thruſt away and ſo they periſhed.

Anſwerable to the vanities of this his bridge, had he alſo Ships and Frigots to ſail in for his own recreation, in which were baths, vineyards and orchards that ſailed with him, that as upon his bridge he went over the Sea by land, ſo in his ſhips when he went by Sea, the land went with him.

§ 5. *His Covetouſneſs.*

It is not ſo much wonder that theſe courſes waſted the Emperours treaſures, as it is how they have held out ſo long: And now that all his wealth is emptied, and gone, he can find as ſtrange and unheard of means to fetch in more as he had found out to conſume the old. He now began to accuſe, condemn and execute apace, that he might be dealing with their goods in confiſcation. So died *Claviſius*, *Sabinus*, *Titius Rufus*, and *Junius Priſcus*, for no other real fault but only for being rich. But why ſhould I reckon them by one and one, when at one clap he condemned forty men together, and when he came into his Chamber he bragged to *Cæſonia* his darling Lemman, *Behold how much*

much I have done in the time that thou art taking a nap at noon! but this feat of condemning would not bring in mony fast enough, therefore as there were more ways of spending than one, so must there also be of getting. He inventeth new taxes and payments, strange exactions and imposts, suffering nothing to pass in common use, but it must bring some tribute unto his treasures. He sate a rate to be paid him out of all meat that was eaten, a rate out of every sute or action for debt, a rate out of the porters gains, nay a rate out the whores hire. He made men that were already free of the City to buy their freedom again, and many that had named him for their heir when they should die, he poisoned, that he might inherit their estate sooner: And these his exploits he used not only in *Rome*, but when mony was scarce there, he went into *France* and *Spain* and set up the same trade of polling there: He sold the Jewels, the goods, and the very servants of his condemned sisters; nay the very Jewels of the Crown, as the royal robes and ornaments of *Antony*, *Augustus*, *Julia*, *Antonia*, and others of the princely bloody. And to conclude all in one, he set up a stews in his own Palace, and had women there of all sorts and sizes, and his panders went about to fetch in whoremaster customers: and all this was done, because it was for the Emperours profit. He also made the Palace a common dicing house, and himself was the master gaimster; cogging, cheating, lying, forswearing, and doing any thing to make himself a gainer. Having once left another to play his game, and being gone down into the court of the place, he saw two rich Knights passing by, and caused them suddainly to be apprehended, and their goods to be confiscated, and returned to his game again, bragging *that he had had an exceeding good throw.* Another time at play, wanting mony to maintain his stake, he went down and caused divers rich Nobles to be slain, and returned presently again, saying, *You sit here playing for a few pence, and I since I went, have gotten six hundred thousand sesterces.*

As he thus cruelly murdered many, only for their goods, so also did he many others upon other spleens: as *Lentulus Getulicus*, because he was beloved of the Souldiers: *Lepidus* because he had adulterated his sisters, when he had done with them himself, and he caused *Agrippina* one of them to carry his bones in an urn in her bosome to *Rome.* A poor serving man for filching a silver plate off the cubboard, he caused to have his hands cut off, and hung about his neck, and to be led up and down with a Crier before him proclaiming his offence. *Seneca* was condemned by him for being too eloquent, or more eloquent than himself, (for that he could not indure in any) but he escaped through the intreaty of one of *Caius* his Lemmans. But *Domitius Afer* deserved to scape indeed who overcame him with silence, and mastered the Tyrant by being mastered. For being a man of renowned and incomparable eloquence, and now under accusation, *Caius* had strained the utmost of his own Rhetorick to frame a speech to confound him, both in his cause and in his Oratory. *Domitius* (when the Emperour looked that he would have answered him with the same height of Rhetorick again, and had he done so, it had cost him his life) sate mute, and took upon him to be amazed at so admirable and infinite fluency, and instead of pleading his own cause, he rehersed his Oration word by word, seeming to be so ravished with that eloquence that he forgot and neglected his own life. And then cast he himself at the Tyrants feet, and begged for mercy, avowing that he dreaded him more as an Orator than as *Cæsar.* The Lion grows mild upon this fawning, and turnes his malice and spleen into pride and vain glory, rejoycing that he had so overcome *Domitius* in eloquence, whereas *Domitius* had more cause to rejoyce that he had so overcome him by silence.

PART III.

The JEWISH Story.

§ 1. *Herod and Herodias before the Emperour.*

WE are now to present to *Caius* as bloody a woman as he was a man: *Herodias*, that hath committed as much murder in taking away but one mans life, *John the Baptist*, as he hath done in all his: And when these two are met together, two Princes of the greatest cruelty and bloodiness that either sex could then afford, are met together. You may remember that not long since we left Her and her *Herod* (for husband I may not call him) shipped for *Rome* to purchase, if possible, the Emperours good respect, and with that, an augmentation of their dignity and dominion. *Agrippa*, knowing of this their journey, and suspecting that as it began in envy and emulation to him, so would it terminate, if they could compass it, to his disadvantage, he sendeth his servant *Fortunatus* after them with letters to the Emperour, either because himself was not yet at leasure to come, or in policy trying how his letters would speed and be entertained before he ventured his own person. At *Baiæ* they all met before *Cæsar*, and *Agrippa*'s complaint by writing meeteth theirs by word of mouth. He layeth to *Herods* charge, confederacy with *Sejanus* at *Rome* and with *Artabanus* in *Parthia*, and an armory and magazine at his own home, sufficient to furnish seven thousand men, all which laid together could not but breed a just suspition of his revolting. *Herod* not being able upon questioning, to deny the last thing that he was charged withall about his arms, gave *Caius* presumption to conclude the truth of all the other: whereupon he adjudgeth him to perpetual banishment to *Lions* in *France*: and thus (thank *Herodias*) by his looking for a greater dignity and honour, he lost that which he had already.

Cæsar would have spared *Herodias* for *Agrippa*'s sake as being his sister, but she refused the curtesie, and chose to suffer the same fortune with her husband; and but very justly neither, for she had brought him to it. And she could not in civility refuse to take part with him in his misery, as he had done with her in her folly, that had caused it; both their estates, dignities and dominions *Caius* bestoweth upon *Agrippa* to their greater vexation; and so we leave them going to *Lions*, there to think, and repent too late, how wholesome the counsel was that was given them by the *Baptist* and that they tooke it not.

§ 2. *The Alexandrian Jews still perplexed.*

And now let us return from *Rome* to *Alexandria*, where the last year we left the Jews in so extream misery and distress, and now it is to be suspected we shall find them in the same still. Being so oppressed, plundred and massacred by *Flaccus* as we have heard, their utmost refuge is to petition to the Emperour, but a miserable refuge you must needs think it will prove when they cannot do it but by *Flaccus* his permission and assistance. When they made this motion and request to him (fooliſh men to expect such curtesie from their greatest enemie) he taketh on him to approve of their intention, promiseth to speed their petition the best he could, but when he had it, pretending to have sent it away, he keepeth and suppresseth it, and answered neither his promise nor their expectation, either in hast or in assisting. Thus do the poor Jews lie waiting in uncertain hopes but in certain misery, looking for some comfortable answer from *Rome* to their petition, which is still at *Alexandria*. But at last comes their old friend and countreyman *Agrippa* to *Rome* with the old grudg in his bosome against *Flaccus* for his base usage of him at his last being there, and he promotes their cause to *Cæsar* with the best excuses he can make for them, and with some bitter accusing of their enemie the Govenour.

§ 3. *Flaccus his downfall.*

Whether it were the prevalency of *Agrippa*'s letters with the Emperour, or the divine vengeance upon this unjust and murderous Governour, or both, or some other conjoyned,

joyned, *Caius* ere long sent *Bassus* a Centurion, with his band into *Alexandria*, to apprehend *Flaccus*: He stole in by night into the City, lest his approach (had it been detected) should have bred commotion, and meeting with a Souldier in the dark, and inquiring for the chief Captain, that he might acquaint him with the cause of his coming, and obtain his assistance with his Souldiers if there should be any resistance, he was informed that *Flaccus* and he were both at supper with *Stephanio* one of the Freemen of *Tiberius*. Thither he getteth with all secrecy, and scouting before the house, he sendeth in one of his Souldiers habited in the garb of a Servingman, that he might the more safely thrust in among the Servitors to see what store of company was there, and when he heard by him that it was but small, he bursteth in with his men and apprehendeth him. I leave to the Reader to imagine the contrary operation that this suddain action had with *Flaccus* and with the Jews. It was now the time of the feast of Tabernacles with them, but the feast was intermitted because of their common misery, but now somewhat solaced by the event of this feast of *Flaccus*. He is hurried away to *Rome* in the beginning of winter, and there tried, and condemned to perpetual banishment in the Isle of *Andros*, where what became of him you shall hear the next year.

§ 4. *The Jews of Alexandria still distressed.*

Flaccus the Jews enemies at *Alexandria*, they are thus happily rid of, but a worse, if worse may be, springeth, as it were out of his corruption at *Rome*. *Helicon* a Servant of *Tiberius* whilst he lived, and now of *Caius*, a fit man for such a master, the more to ingratiate himself into the Princes favour (yet had he it already in no ordinary measure) bendeth himself with the utmost of his Rhetorick and Eloquence, skill and flattery to traduce the people and Religion of the Jews, and to make them odious, and himself the more acceptable to the Emperour. The envious *Alexandrians* having by their Ambassadours espied this advantage, do spur him forward who needed no incitation: with great presents and greater promises they urge him on to prosecute that malicious accusation that he had begun: which he performed accordingly, with a renewed impetuousness, added to his present spleen by his future expectation, and present fee. The miserable Jews thus betrayed, lie under distress and under the Emperours displeasure for a season, and could not learn from whence it proceeded: But at last they address a number of petitioners to *Rome* to make their peace with *Helicon*, if possible, and to make an humble remonstrance to the Emperour of their state and grievances, and a petition for some remedy and redress. Their Legation and Ambassy they indeed presented not to the Prince till the next year, yet since *Philo* saith that they took their voyage in the very depth and middle of winter, it was not unproper to mention their preparation and setting forth, this year, and you shall hear of their business, and the success of it, when the next year comes in.

THE CHRISTIAN HISTORY;

THE Jewiſh and the Roman,

Of the Year of *CHRIST* XLI.
And of *CAIUS CALIGULA* IV.
Being the Year of the WORLD 3968.
And of the City of *ROME* 793.

Conſul { *Caius Cæſar* III. *ſolus.*

ACTS.

CHAP. XI.

Verſ. 19. *Now they which were ſcattered abroad, &c.*

IN this fourth year of *Caius*, and forty firſt of our Saviour, we conjecture theſe occurrences to have been in the Church: namely *Antiochs* receiving the Goſpel: *Barnabas* his being ſent from *Jeruſalem*, and preaching there to the converſion of many: his going to *Tarſus* to hearken out *Saul*: and his bringing him thither: and there did they two ſpend a whole year in preaching, which whole year may very probably be concluded to have been the next year after this that we have in hand, or in the firſt of *Claudius*, in which year *Agabus* prophecyed of the great famine which was to come; which befel in the ſecond of *Claudius*, as we obſerved and proved before. So that we may hence take up the time of theſe Miniſters diſperſion and preaching up and down; which were ſcattered at the death of *Stephen*; namely, that they had been in this employment and travail for the ſpace of ſix whole years or thereabout: And in this time they had gone over *Judea*, *Samaria*, and *Galilee*, and were now got out of the Land of *Canaan* into *Phœnicia*, *Cyprus*, and *Syria*, and yet preached the Goſpel to none but Jews onely.

Verſ. 20. *Men of Cyprus and Cyrene.*

Men of theſe places by Original, but of *Jeruſalem*, or ſome other part of *Canaan* by education and reſidence, as *Simon*, *Alexander*, and *Rufus* were. *Mark* 15. 21. and *Barnabas*, *Acts* 4. 36.

5. *They*

§. They spake unto the Grecians.

Gr. *To the Hellenists:* This word is not opposed to the word *Jews* in the preceding verse, but it is a part of the same story: for that telleth of their preaching to the Jews in *Phenicia*, *Cyprus*, and *Antioch*; and this telleth of the fruit of their Ministry to the Jews in *Antioch*, that it was to the conversion of many of them. That sheweth that they came to *Antioch*, and preached to Jews only, this sheweth who they were that came to *Antioch*, and how they preached to the *Hellenists*, which must be understood in the same sense with the former: But he calleth them *Hellenists*, because they were Jews of the Corporation or enfranchisment of the City, for *Antioch* was a *Syrogrecian* City.

Vers. 22. *They sent forth Barnabas.*

He himself was an *Hellenist*, being a man of *Cyprus*; and he was to be a fellow helper to the Apostle of the Gentiles for their conversion: and therefore he a very fit man to go to this Gentile City, who coming thither and seeing a great conversion of all sorts of people, Gentiles as well as Jews, he goeth over to *Tarsus* to seek the Doctor of the Gentiles, to bring him over thither to a work agreeable to that his function, to preach to the Gentiles.

PART II.

The JEWISH Story.

§. 1. Troubles at Jamnia.

THE troubles and miseries of the Jews are now drawing to the heart of their State, and this year are got into their own Land, and drawing near *Jerusalem* it self. And the poor *Alexandrian* Jews Commissioners, that the last year set forward for *Rome*, and in the beginning of this year are gotten thither, to petition for redress of their own calamities, do there receive tydings of worse miseries coming towards all their Nation. The original and occasion was from *Capito* a gatherer of Tribute for the Romans in *Judea*. This man coming into that Office and Country a very poor man: and (as no other can be expected from men of so base and mean quality put into so high places) having pilled and polled all before him, to raise and to mend his fortunes; and being now grown rich, and being afraid to be accused of the Jews to *Cæsar*, for his injustice and oppression, he thinks it the safest way to prevent that, to get some occasion against them, that he might accuse them, and cry thief first. In *Jamnia* therefore where he resided, there was mixture of Inhabitants, very many Jews, and not a few Strangers, or Gentiles. Hereupon *Capito* secretly contriveth, That these strangers should set up an Altar in the City to *Caius*, who as they heard, would be worshipped for a God. This both he and they knew that the Jews would never indure, as being a most notorious violation of their Law; but would oppose the matter, and so should he have cause and accusation enough against them to *Cæsar*, for despising of his Majesty, and contemning his Godhead. Accordingly did the cursed plot take effect: for suddainly and unexpectedly an Altar is built and erected in the City, the Jews as soon as they hear and see the business, they rise generally and pull it down. Their enemies that had built it, run to *Capito*, who indeed had had the chief hand in the design, and complain of the indignity: He not thinking it enough to take recognisance of the business himself, by Letters acquaints the Emperor with the affront, for so he sets it forth; and well he knew the Emperor would be ready enough to second him to do mischief to the Jews according to his desire.

§. 2. *Troubles*

§. 2. *Troubles at Jerusalem and elsewhere throughout Judea. Caius his Image to be set up in the Temple to be Worshipped.*

Caius having received this intelligence from *Capito*, which he had mingled with all kind of gall and vinegar of exasperation and evil language against the Jews, and being himself already irreconcileably incensed and bent against them; partly through mischievous incendiaries and accusations, and chiefly because they only were cross to his deifying and impious Worship; he now determineth a course against them, which should strike at the very root, and bring them either to bend or break. He dispatcheth therefore a message to *Petronius* the Governor of *Judea*; that in stead of the Altar of stone which the Jews had pulled down at *Jamnia*, he should without fail set up a Golden Colos or an Image of the Emperor in the Temple at *Jerusalem*: and that this design might receive no hindrance by opposition, he charged that he should send for part of the Army from *Euphrates* that lay there for the guard of the East; that if the Jews would quietly receive the statue it was well, and if they would not, they must be forced to it, whether they would or no. What must the Jews do now at such a pinch? Nay, what must *Petronius*? If he disobey what he is commanded, he hazardeth his own ruine; if he perform it, he ruineth a whole Nation: The Jews will be ready to dye before they will admit of such an Idol; and *Petronius* is not like to escape, if he bring them not to admit of it. In this strait between affection to himself, and to a whole people, he useth the best accommodation that the present necessity would afford: namely, not to decline the injunction for his own safety, but to delay it as much as may be for the safety of the Jews: that in the space while the image was leasurely making the one party might possibly be brought to comply, either the Emperor upon consideration to lay his resolution down, or the Jews upon perswasion to lay down their resoluteness. He appointeth the Image to be wrought at *Zidon*, whence on the one hand, less offence might accrew to the Jews, and on the other some satisfaction might come to the Emperor, he hearing by Passengers that the work was in hand, and they seeing the gentleness of *Petronius* that would not work it in their own Country.

Josephus relateth this story far different from *Philo*: For he saith that *Caius* sent away *Petronius* for this purpose; but *Philo* that he was in *Judea* already: *Josephus* that the notice of the message came in time of seedness; *Philo* in time of harvest: *Josephus* that the Jews came to *Petronius* at *Ptolemais* and *Tiberias*; *Philo* in *Phœnicia*; and the like: which the Reader will readily see if he compare the two Authors together, and his judgment subscribe to *Philo* as the more probable, he being at the Emperors Court when these things were done; but only that he hath flourished the truth with Rhetorick more than needful.

Tydings of this lamentable and heavy design could not be long kept from the Jews, nor they upon the tydings long from *Petronius*. To him they come into *Phenicia*, men and women, young and old, of all sorts and conditions an innumerable multitude, with tears in their eyes, and bitter cries in their mouths, that either he would surcease the enterprise that was in hand, or take their lives before they saw the performance of such abomination. *Petronius* threatens, speaks fair, urgeth, perswadeth, but all to no purpose, they tendering their necks rather to the execution, than enduring to hear of such violation of their Religion. In the end they obtain this favour of the gentle Governor, that he will not proceed in this impious work, till he or they, or both have sued to *Cæsar*, by petition to surcease the design, and to remit of his resolution. And so return the Jews to their home and harvest, with some contentment in speeding so well at the present, and in some hope to speed better for the future. *Josephus* here telleth a story of a miraculous and suddain shower that fell as *Petronius* and the Jews were thus parlying together, whereas there had been no rain of a long time before, and no sign at all of any rain instantly before this fell: God (as he would have it) seconding this their request with this wonder, and using this argument for the moving of *Petronius* to back theirs.

§. 3. *Petronius his Letter to the Emperor.*

The gentle Governor failed not of his promise, nor of the trust the Jews had reposed in him, but though it may breed his own smart, he addresseth a message to the Emperor in their behalf, and useth the utmost of his perswasive skill and faculty in it. He layeth before him that the prosecution of his commanded and intended enterprise, would be the destruction of a whole Nation, the loss of a fair and goodly Tribute and Revenue, the impairing of the Roman strength and honour, the prejudice of his Majesties journey into *Alexandria*, which he intended ere long to take: That they were already grown desperate, and began to neglect their harvest and occasions, whereby a certain famine would follow upon the Land, and a disadvantage to the Countries round about: with other

Arguments of the same nature, sensible, strong, and perswasive, had not the Emperor been wedded to his own sensless will, and bewitched and led away with destructive counsel. Two caitives he had about him that continually suggested evil to him against the Jews, as if for either ear one, *Helicon* an *Egyptian* mentioned before, and *Apelles* an *Ascalonite*, such another as he. These were ever adding spurs to his malice against that Nation, which was in its full carreer already, and blowing those coals which it was impossible to quench. Wretched men that they were, that sought to rear their fortunes upon others ruines, and to cement estates with other mens blood. Such instruments it pleased God to use for the scourging of that ungracious and condemned Nation, and having done the work by them that he had appointed, he cast these rods into the fire, *Apelles* being tortured by *Caius*, whom he had indoctrinated to cruelty, and *Helicon* slain by *Claudius*, the Emperor that succeeded in *Caius* his room.

§. 4. *Agrippa his mediation for the Jews.*

King *Agrippa* the Jews old friend and Advocate is now at *Rome*, and ready in affection, as well as in place, upon these heavy tydings to intercede for his people, and to do them good, if it be possible for any good to be done. *Josephus* and *Philo* do again differ about the relation of this his undertaking of a meditation, as they do almost in every thing that they relate jointly, in one circumstance or other. *Josephus* saith that *Agrippa* hearing of this misery of his people, invited *Caius* to a most sumptuous and extraordinary banquet; using to his cost such a preparative to his fairer and better aggress and accoasting the Tyrant upon a matter of so great import: That *Caius* at the banquet offered him a boon, whatsoever he should desire, expecting he would desire some great Revenue: but that *Agrippa* requested nothing but the liberty of his people in their Religion, and the removal of that fear that now lay upon them by the Image preparing. That *Caius*, overcome by so honest and unexpected a petition condescended to his desire, and was well apaid and pacified, till *Petronius* his Letter came to him after this, and then was he all of a fury and ragedness again. But *Philo* thus, That the intelligence from *Petronius* was come to him before *Agrippa* began to mediate: That *Agrippa* coming as at other times to attend the Emperor, was so cast down and daunted at the terror of his looks, and thunder of his words against the Jews, that he fell down in a swoon, in which he lay till the next day. Then he addresseth a Letter to him in his peoples behalf, so powerful and pithy, that *Caius* betwixt anger and calmness, betwixt commending *Agrippa*, and being displeased with him, at the last granteth it to *Agrippa* as a special boon, that the dedication of his Image should not go forward: and to such a purpose he writeth to *Petronius*; but withal mingling mischief with this his mitigation, he giveth order that if any one would set up his Image, or dedicate his statue in any Town or City of *Judea*, (*Jerusalem* excepted) it should not be opposed, but the opposer should be suddainly and severely punished. A politick and a deadly plot to involve the Nation in an insurrection and rebellion: For the enemies of the Jews would be ready to be erecting such offences; not so much for the honour of *Cæsar*, as for spite of the Jews, and the Jews would be as ready to oppose them to the hazard of their lives, because they abhorred Idols for themselves, and not for the place; and the Tyrant would be as ready as either to take this opportunity of their insurrection, to entangle them in a destructive War. But the time of their final desolation was not yet come, and so it pleased God that none of their enemies were active at this time in this kind; nor when he set awork a *Colosse* to be made for him in *Rome*, intending from thence to convey it secretly into the Temple at *Jerusalem*, it took effect according to his impious design and desire, but came to nothing and the intention quashed, either by his death, which fell out the beginning of the next year, or by some other stop and hinderance.

§. 5. *Flaccus Avilius in banishment and his end.*

The last year we brought *Flaccus* to the Isle of *Andros*, and now let us land him there. When he came within ken of Land, he burst out into tears and lamentation, comparing that place in his pensive thoughts with *Italy* and *Egypt*, and his deplorable condition of life upon which he was now to enter, with the pomp and prosperity in which he had lived in those two places of his education and Authority. Being landed, his pensiveness increased the more, by how much he was now nearer to that misery which his thoughts presaged. His demeanor in this his banishment; if *Philo* have not set it forth with more Rhetorick than truth, was full of horror and amazedness: avoiding the society of men, running

running up and down the woods, tearing his hair, tormenting himself, and sometimes rising out of his sleep at midnight, and running abroad, and he would look up towards Heaven and cry out in a lamentable note. Βασιλεῦ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἄρα τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ἀμελῶς ἔχεις. *O King of Gods and men, thou art not therefore careless of the Nation of the Jews.*

Thus did he spin out a miserable life for certain months, till *Cæsar* cut his woful thred in two. For the Tyrant lying awake one night and could not sleep, among other thoughts that came into his mischievous mind, he considered how happily retired those men lived that were banished: they wanting nothing, and enjoying all things in enjoying themselves. The cruel caitif from these thoughts of their estate, began to envy it, and accounting their banishment rather a pleasure than a punishment, he gave charge the next morning that they should all be slain. Under this doom fell *Flaccus*, one of the first in the Tyrants thoughts, because one of the first in his displeasure. Executioners are sent for his dispatch, whose errand he knew as soon as he saw them, and from them he flies as soon as he knew them. But it is in vain to flee, and it is too late, for they and vengeance have soon over taken him, and with many wounds have put him to death.

§. 6. *The Embassadors of the Alexandrian Jews before the Emperor.*

The miseries of the *Alexandrian Jews* could find no remedy, while the source from whence they flowed, was not stopped, but overflowed them continually. The well-head of this their mischief was double: The spiteful counsel that was given the Emperor against them by others; and the endless rancor that he bare to them himself. To stop the current, and inundation of the calamity that overwhelmed them continually from these two puddle springs, they can find no better, or more feasable means and way than to send some men of their own Nation to *Rome*, to atone, intercede and mediate for them. We left them upon their journey the last year, three in number, as saith *Josephus*, but five, as *Philo*, who was one of them himself: and now let us trace them to *Rome*, and see how they speed.

The first sight of the Emperor was in *Campus Martius*, who saluted them friendly, and promised to give them hearing with a great deal of speed, and it was hoped by the most of them with a great deal of favour, but it proved far otherwise. For he shortly went out of the City down to *Puteoli* by the Sea, and they follow him thither. There they first hear the tydings of the state of *Judea* under *Petronius*, and of *Cæsars* Image that was preparing. From *Puteoli* they follow him to *Rome* again, and there being admitted to audience, he with a terrible and grinning countenance first asked them; *What? Are you that people that of all others scorn my Deity, but had rather worship your nameless God?* And then scornfully lifting his hands up to Heaven, he named the name *Jehovah*. At this all the company of the malignant party rejoyced, as accounting they had got the day. But when the Jews began to excuse and answer for themselves, he flung away, and frisked from room to room, they following him all this while: At last, after some chiding at somewhat that he disliked in the rooms, and appointing how he would have it mended; he asked them, *How comes it to pass that you forbear to eat Swines flesh?* Here the company laughed out again: and as the Jews began to answer, he angerly interposed thus, *I would fain know what are those privileges of your City, that you challenge?* When they began to speak, he frisked away into another room. Shortly he cometh to them again in a milder manner: *And now*, saith he, *what say you?* And when they began to lay open their matter to him, away flings he into another room again. At last, coming again more mildly still, *These men seem to me*, saith he, *not so evil, as miserable, which cannot be perswaded that I am a god*; And so he bad them to depart. And thus concluded this great scene of expectation, for ought that we can find further in *Philo*. But whether this was the very end of the matter, or it proceeded further, but that the relation of it is failing in *Philo*, is hard to decide. It seemeth by him that this was the end of their conference with the Tyrant, but it appeareth withal, that they presented him with some *Palinodia*, or recantation, which is perished and gone. *Eusebius* speaketh of five Books written by *Philo*, about the calamities of the Jews, and the madness of *Caius*, whereof we have but two extant at this time, that against *Flaccus*, and that about the Embassie to *Caius*, and the other three seem to be the *Palinodia*, or it to be some part of them. Eccles. Hist. l. 2. c. 5.

§. 7. *Apion.*

§. 7. *Apion.*

Among the five, or three Ambassadors of a side, (as *Josephus* and *Philo* differ in their number) the most renowned in their contrary and differing kinds were *Apion* the Greek, and *Philo* the Jew; the others are wholly nameless, and their memory extinct, but these two have left a perpetuation of theirs behind them by their writings.

Apion was an Egyptian, born in the utmost borders thereof in a place called *Oasis*, but fained himself for an *Alexandrian*. A man given to the Grecian studies of Philosophy, but with more vainglory than solidity. He not contented, to have been a personal accuser of the Jews to *Caius* in that their Embassie, wrote also bitterly against them in his Egyptian History, to disgrace them to posterity. Of which *Josephus* that wrote two books in answer of him giveth this censure. *That some things that he had written were like to what others had written before, other things very cold, some calumnious, and some very unlearned.* And the end and death of this blackmouthed railer he describeth thus, *To me it seemeth, that he was justly punished for his blasphemies, even against his own Country laws, for he was circumcised of necessity, having an ulcer about his privities, and being nothing helped by the cutting or circumciling, but putrifying with miserable pains, he died,* Contr. Apion. lib. 2.

§. 8. *Philo the Jew.*

Philo was a Jew by Nation, and Alexandrian by birth: by line, of the kindred of the Priests; and by family, the brother of *Alexander Alabarcha.* His education was in learning, and that mixed, according to his original and residence, of the Jews and of the Greeks: his proof was according to his education, versed in the learning of both the Nations, and not inferior to the most learned in either: From this mixture of his knowledge, proceeded the quaintness of his stile and writing; explaining Divinity by Philosophy, or rather forcing Philosopy out of Divinity, that he spoiled the one, and did not much mend the other. Hence his Allegories which did not only obscure the clear Text, but also much soil the Theology of succeeding times. His language is sweet, smooth, and easie, and *Athens* it self is not more elegant and *Athenian.* For attaining to the Greek in *Alexandria*, partly naturally, (that being a Grecian City) and partly by study, (as not native Grecians used to do) he by a mixture of these two together, came to the very *Apex* and perfection of the language, in copiousness of words, and in choice. His stile is always fluent, and indeed often to superfluity, dilating his expressions sometimes so copious, that he is rather prodigal of words, than liberal, and sheweth what he could say if the cause required, by saying so much, when there is little or no cause at all. And to give him his character for this, in short, He is more a Philosopher than a Scripture man in heart, and more a Rhetorician than a Philosopher in tongue. His manner of writing is more ingenious than solid, and seemeth rather to draw the subject whereon he writeth whither his fancy pleaseth, than to follow it whither the nature and inclination of it doth incline. Hence his allegorizing of whatsoever cometh to his hand, and his peremptory confidence in whatsoever he doth allegorize, insomuch that sometimes he perswadeth himself that he speaketh mysteries, as *pag* 89. and sometimes he checketh the Scripture, if it speak not as he would have it, as *pag.* 100.

How too many of the Fathers in the Primitive Church followed him in this his vein, it is too well known, to the loss of too much time, both in their writing and in our reading. Whether it were because he was the first that wrote upon the Bible, or rather because he was the first that wrote in this strain, whose writings came unto their hands, that brought him into credit with Christian Writers, he was so far followed by too many, that while they would explain Scripture, they did but intricate it, and hazarded to lose the truth of the story, under the cloud of the Allegory. The Jews have a strain of writing upon the Scripture, that flieth in a higher region than the writings of Christians, as is apparent to him that shall read their Authors. Now *Philo* being a Jew, and naturally affecting like them to soar in a high place, and being by his education in the Grecian wisdom more Philosophical than the Jews usually were, and by inclination much affected with that learning, he soareth the Jewish pitch with his Grecian wings, and attaineth to a place in which none had flown in before (unless the Therapeutæ, of whom hereafter) writing in a strain that none had used before, and which too many, or at least many

too

too much used after; of his many strange and mysterious matters that he findeth out in his vein of allegorizing, let the Reader taste but some.

As see what he saith of *the invisible Word of God*, *pag.* 5. and *pag.* 24. & 169. & 152.

How he is a Pythagorean for numbers, *pag.* 8. and *pag.* 15, 16, 31. where he is even bewitched with the number Seven; and *pag.* 32, 33. as the Therapeutæ were 695. from whom he seemeth to have sucked in his Divinity.

Pag. 9. He accounteth the Stars to presage future things; whom in *pag.* 12. he almost calleth intelligible Creatures, *pag.* 168. and immortal Spirits, *pag.* 222.

Pag. 12. He seemeth to think that God had some Coadjutors in mans Creation.

Pag. 15. *God honored the seventh day, and called it holy; for it is festival not to one people or region only, but to all: which is worthy to be called the festivity of the people, and the nativity of the world.*

Pag. 43. He distinguished betwixt *Adam formed and made, earthly and heavenly.*

Pag. 57. He teacheth strange Doctrine, which followeth more copiously, *p.* 61. about two natures created in man, good and bad.

Pag. 68. Observe his temperance when his list.

Pag. 86. He believeth that his soul had sometime her raptures, and taught him strange, profound, and unknown speculations, as there she doth concerning the Trinity, and in *pag.* 89. He thinketh he talketh mysteries.

Pag. 94. *Faith the most acceptable Sacrifice*; an unexpected confession from a Jew.

Pag. 100. He checketh *Joseph* the Patriarch for impropriety of speech, and he will teach him how to speak.

Pag. 102. Speaking of the death of *Moses*, he saith, οὐκ ἐκλείπων προστίθεται, &c. *He is not gathered*, or added, *fainting* or failing, *as men had done before, for he admitted not either of addition or defection, but he is translated or passeth away by the Authority of that efficient word by which the universe was made.*

Pag. 122. He is again very unmannerly and uncivil with *Joseph*, and so is he again in *pag.* 152. he had rather lose his friend than his jest, and censure so great a Patriarch than miss his Allegory.

That *Aaron* used imposition of hands upon *Moses*, *pag.* 126.

Pag. 127. That *Abel* slain yet liveth, as *Heb.* 11.

Pag. 152. God like a Shepherd and King governeth all things in the world by right and equity, προστησάμενος τὸν ὀρθὸν αὐτοῦ λόγον πρωτόγονον υἱὸν ὃς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς ἱερᾶς ταύτης ἀγέλης οἷ ἅτε μεγάλου βασιλέως ὕπαρχος διαδέξεται· *Setting over them his upright word, which is his first begotten Son, who taketh the care of this sacred herd, like the Deputy of some great King.*

Pag. 161. He sheweth his learning is the great *Encyclica.*

Pag. 168. He calleth Angels *Genii* and *Heroes*, according to the Greeks, and holdeth that they were created in the air, but in the superiour part of it near the Sky, and fly up and down there, *pag.* 221, 222.

Pag. 170. His Allegories make him impious, and he counteth the story of Paradise to be but foolery, if it be taken litteral.

Pag. 180. He talketh a Rabinical tale about the invention of Musick.

He constantly followeth the LXX, as appeareth, *pag.* 160, 179, 218, 245, 255.

Pag. 190. He maketh *God* and *his wisdom*, as it were father and mother, of whom the world was generate, but not *humano more.*

Ibid. He readeth that place, *Prov.* 8. 22. *The Lord created me the first of his works. For saith he, it was necessary that all things that came to generation, should be younger than the mother and nurse of all things.*

Pag. 191. He is very uncivil with *Jethro.*

Pag. 205. He holdeth *Lots* wife to have been turned into a stone.

Pag. 206. He was in the Theater at a play.

Pag. 213. He holdeth *Isaac* weaned at seven years old. And mentioneth certain Dialogues made by himself, personating *Isaac* and *Ismael.* He calleth *cap.* 32. of *Deuteronomy* Ὤδη μείζον, *Canticum majus*, according to the Rabbins phrase: so likewise *pag.* 179.

Pag. 214. *Jacob* praying for *Joseph* saith, Υἱὸς ἠυξημένος νεώτατος πρός με Ἀνάστρεψον. It is very questionable where this speech is to be found.

Pag. 223. The spirit of God is an immortal knowledge.

Pag. 232. He treateth *de Primogenito, & secundogenito Dei*: that is, of his Word and the World.

Pag.

Pag. 234. He holdeth freewil, but it is in comparison of the actions of men with the effects of Plants and Bruits.

Pag. 241. He is fallen out with *Joseph* again.

Pag. 251. He telleth a fable, how all Birds and Beasts spake the same Language, and understood one another; but that their Tongue was confounded because they petitioned that they might never grow old, but renew their youth as the Serpent doth, who is the basest of them.

But this is more than enough for a taste: we shall conclude this Character with that Apophthegme that came from him when *Caius* was in a rage against him and his fellow-Commissioners, *How ought we to chear up*, saith he, *though Caius be angry at us in words, seeing in his deeds he even opposeth God? Josephus* relateth it, *Antiq. lib.* 18. *cap.* 10.

PART III.

The ROMAN Story.

§. 1. *Caius still foolish and cruel.*

THIS year did *Caius* make an expedition to the Ocean, as if he would have passed over into *Britain:* but the greatest exploit that he did was, that first he went a little upon the Sea, and then returning, he gave a signal to his Souldiers, that they should fall to battail, which was nothing else but that they should gather cockles and shells upon the shoar, and so he returned with these goodly spoils, and brought them to *Rome* in a foolish triumph, as if he had conquered the *Ocean:* being come into the City he had like to have slain all the Senate, because they had not decreed divine honours and worship to him: But he became reconciled to them again upon this occasion: *Protogenes* his bloodhound (that used to carry his two Books, or Black-bills, the one whereof he called a *Sword*, and the other a *Dagger*; in which Books he inrolled whom he destined to death or punishment) he coming one day into the Court, and being saluted and fawned upon by all the Senate, was among them all saluted by *Scribonius Proculus*. Upon whom looking with a grim and displeased countenance, *What*, saith he, *dost thou salute me, that hatest so deadly the Emperor my Master?* Whereupon the rest of the Senators arose, came upon him and pulled him in pieces. With this piece of service so well suiting with the Tyrants humor, he was so well pleased, that he said they had now regained his favour again. Under his cruelty this year perished by name, *Ptolomy* the son of King *Juba*, because he was rich: *Cassius Becillinus* for no crime at all: and *Capito* his father, because he could not indure to look upon his sons death. Flattery delivered *L. Vitellius* our late Governor of *Syria*; and it was much to appease such a Lion, but that it was a flattery without parallel.

§. 2. *Caius profane.*

The blasphemous Atheist continued still in his detestable Deity, being what God he would when he would, and changing his Godship with the change of his cloths: sometimes a male Deity, sometime a female, sometime a God of one fashion, sometime of another. Sometime he was *Jupiter*, sometime *Juno*, sometimes *Mars*, sometimes *Venus*, sometime *Neptune*, or *Appollo*, or *Hercules*, and sometimes *Diana:* and thus whilst he would be any thing, he was nothing, and under the garb of so many gods he was indeed nothing but Devil: He built a Temple for himself in *Rome*, and made himself a room in the *Capitol*, that he might (as he said) converse with *Jupiter*. But it seems *Jupiter* and he fell out, for he removed his own mansion, and built himself a Temple in the Palace, because he thought that if *Jupiter* and he shared in the same Temple, *Jupiter* would have the upper hand, and the more repute.

Therefore that his own Deity might have room enough, he built this new Temple; and that he might be sure to get equal worship with *Jupiter*, he intended to set up the statue of *Jupiter Olympius* there, but pictured directly after his own Image; so that it must have been *Jupiters* statue, but *Caius* his picture; *Jupiturs* trunk, but *Caius* his

his head and face; but this fine deſign came to nothing, and was clean ſpoiled, for the Ship that went for this ſtatue was ſpoiled with lightning; and there was a great laughing always heard, whenſoever any one went about to meddle with the picture, to forward the buſineſs; and truly it was as fit an *Omen*, as likely could have been invented for it. When this invention thus failed him, he found out a new trick, to get part of the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* for himſelf, and joyned it to the Palace; and he ſo contrived the matter, that his entrance was juſt in the middle between thoſe two gods: and therefore he called them his *Porters*, and himſelf he ſtiled the *Dialis*: and his dear *Cæſonia*, and his uncle *Claudius*, and divers of the richer ſort he ordained to be his Prieſts, and got a good ſum of money of every one of them for their Office; nay he would be a Prieſt unto himſelf, and which beſt ſuited with him in ſuch a function, *he admitted his Horſe to be fellow Prieſt with him*; and becauſe he would be a right *Jupiter* indeed, he would have his tricks to imitate thunder and lightning, and he would ever be defying *Jupiter* in *Homers* ſpeech, *Either take me away, or I will take thee.* And thus was his Palace parted into a ſenſleſs contrariety, one part to be a Temple, and another part a common Stews; in one, *Caius* to be adored as a god, in another, *Caius* to play the Beaſt, deflowring Virgins, violating Boys, adulterating Matrons, exacting and extracting Money from all; and uſing to tumble himſelf in heaps of Money which he had ſo gotten.

THE

THE CHRISTIAN HISTORY.

THE Jewiſh and the Roman.

Of the Year of *CHRIST* XLII.

And of { *CAIUS CALIGULA* V. / *CLAUDIUS* I.

Being the Year of the WORLD 3969.

And of the City of *ROME* 794.

Conſuls { *Caius Cæſar* IV. / *Cn. Sentius Saturnius.*

PART I.

The ROMAN Story.

§. 1. *Caius his death contrived.*

THIS madneſs of *Caius* could not laſt long, it was ſo mad and it was ſo violent, and he could not expect a dry and timely death himſelf, which had brought an untimely and bloody to ſo many hundreds. He began a Conſulſhip this year with *Cn. Sentius*, but it was ſoon out of date, as he was himſelf, but he not ſo ſoon as the people deſired, as he had deſerved, and ſome had compaſſed, had their plot but taken effect. One or two conſpiracies had been contrived againſt him before this, but had failed in the ſucceſs, and he eſcaped to do more miſchief ſtill. But now a deſign is in undertaking, that will run the buſineſs to the full, and men are entred into the combination, that have mettle, and want not fortune. Theſe were *Caſſius Chæreas* and *Cornelius Sabinus* that contrived in chief, and they intertained many others into the conſpiracy with them, as *Calliſtus* and *Eparchus*, *Regulus* and *Minutianus*. While the plot was in hatching, *Caius* gave an extraordinary offence and diſguſt unto the people, which haſtned and ripened it the more, upon his own head. There were ſolemn ſports kept now in the City, at which time it was the cuſtom that if the people asked a boon, the Emperor did freely grant it. Now therefore they begged that he would eaſe their taxes, and releaſe ſomewhat of the grievous impoſitions under which they groaned.

But he was so far from granting, that he caused many of the petitioners to be slain, hasning his own death by theirs, and condemning himself by their condemnation. For what now remains thought the conspirators, but a speedy course, when neither his own reason, nor their petitions, nor their Countries custom can any whit move him to goodness, nor divert him from his cruelties? Besides this general quarrel of their Country, some of them had their peculiar heart-burnings against him for particular abuses: As *Minucianus* for the death of his friend *Lepidus* and for fear of his own life: but *Cassius Chereas* for divers affronts and disgraces, which the Tyrant not only used but loved to put upon him above other men. He was Tribune of the Prætorian band, or as it were Captain of the guard, and a man as valiant, as that place required or any whatsoever. Yet was it the senseless and inconsiderate Tyrants delight and continual custom, to jeer him with the taunts of Cowardise or Effeminacy: Whensoever he came to him to ask of him a word or ticket for the Watch, he would give him *Venus* or *Priapus*: when he offered him his hand to kiss, he would frame it into an obscene form, and so hold it to him: And that which might make him odious to others, he caused him to be the wracker and tormentor of delinquents, himself standing by, that he might use no mercy for fear; and yet when he had cruelly and miserably torn and rent the poor wretches, would the spiteful Prince speak pitifully to them, bemoan the extremity, condole their condition, and sometimes give them rewards, thus turning the detestation of all the cruelty upon the head of *Chereas* only: such things as these set the abused man all of a fire for revenge, that was hot enough already for the common cause, and he wanteth nothing to end his own disgrace and his Countries misery, but partners and opportunity. He therefore first assaieth *Clemens* the chief commander of the souldiery, and *Papinius* the chief Querry or Squire of the Emperors body, with feeling words and forcible arguments to draw them into the same design with himself of freeing the Common wealth from the common misery, and themselves from the common guilt that lay upon them, not only for not redressing, but also for promoting it. *For Caius*, saith he, *indeed commandeth such cruelties, but we are the men that execute them, he guilty in word only, but we in action. Whilst we obey his bloodiness we incourage it, and the weapons that our offices have put into our hands, for our Country, we use only against it: forwarding that cruelty which when it wanteth further objects will not stop to fall upon our selves. Come let us at the last right our Country and our own consciences: and give an end to those butcheries which we promote by our obedience, and of which we are doubly guilty, because we execute them, and because we avenge them not.* With these or such expressions as these, did *Chereas* easily bend these men to his opinion, who were in the same guilt, danger and misery with him: But *Clemens*, whether for cowardise or variableness of his disposition, fell suddainly off again, and persisted not either in resolution or in secrecy, but began to divulge the conspiracy all abroad: Now therefore was it time for *Chereas* to hasten his enterprize, or it would be too late: such undertakings as these will not brook long delays, especially when any one of the faction beginneth to run out, and leak. He therefore speedily addresseth himself to *Sabinus*, and to *Minutianus*, though a kinsman to *Caius*, and prevaileth with them both, to be of the same mind and action with him: and all of them having men ready for this exploit do but wait for an opportunity to bring it to effect.

§. 2. *The manner of his death.*

Chereas afraid to lose any time, thought several times to have thrown the Tyrant headlong from an high place which he used to stand in in the Capitol, to throw and scatter money to the people, but he was withheld partly by his own judgment, which doubted whether the fall would kill him or no, and partly by the advise of his friends, which perswaded him to hold till a solemn festival which was now coming on, in which they might have better access in a mixed crowd and multitude.

This time was come, and three days of the festival, and of the shews were past before opportunity would serve their turn: On the fourth and last of the solemnity which must be the day or none, and this was *the ninth of the Calends of February* or *January* the three and twenty, *Chereas* provideth his confederates for the expedition both for mettle and weapons. In the morning betime, people of all conditions flock to the place of the shews and solemnity to get them places, disposing of themselves where they could, so that men and women, bond and free, noble and base sat mixedly together, and happy was he that could get a place no matter where. At last comes *Caius*, way forced

forced for him through the crowd, all eyes upon him, but theirs especially that meant him mischief. His first beginning of that days solemnity was with sacrifice, with the blood whereof when the cloaths of *Asprenas* a Senator were accidentally bedawbed, it afforded matter of laughter to the Emperor, but it proved a fatal omen to himself. After his sacrifice he took his place with the Nobles about him, and the plays began: one of them was a Mimick acting that part which *Neoptolemus* did at the slaughter of King *Priamus*: Another, of one or more actors that seemed to vomit blood, so that the stage was even bloody over; and his sports read his destiny, himself being presently to substantiate in his own person, what these did but personate and represent of others. Having sitten a spectator of these his own *Omens* till towards one a clock, and indifferent whether to go to dinner or no, his stomack being undispos'd through his yesterdays gluttony; *Asprenas* a partner in the plot, sitting near him, perswaded him for his refreshment to go to the Bath, and so to Dinner, and then to the Plays and shows again. *Caius* giving notice of his rising, the company busles to make him room, the conspirators pretending officiousness, helpt to keep off the crowde and people; when he was come from among the multitude, he took not the open and ordinary way to the Palace, but a back and by way toward the Bath: There was he met and accoasted by *Chereas*, who came to him as the custom was to demand the word: which when he gave him with his accustomed scorn, and disgracefulness, *Chereas* drew and flew upon him, with these words, *Hoc age*, and smote him sore into the coller bone: upon the wound *Cæsar* neither cried out nor resisted, but sought to have slipt away. Then was he intertained by *Sabinus* with the like curtesie of a blow or stab, so that by this time the great Lion is gotten down, and then the rest of the confederacy flie all in upon him, every one with his slash, that there he lieth mangled with few or no less than thirty wounds.

§. 3. *The sequel.*

A pleasant spectacle was this to the overpressed Common-wealth, but there must be some more trouble before she can enjoy the pleasure. Such storms as these, though they come suddainly, and without expectation, yet are they not so suddainly, passed and calmed again.

The German Souldiers were the first that had notice of the Princes death, and they are the only men that will avenge it: Men not only conditioned like himself, in barbarousness and headlong cruelty, but also in love with those conditions, because they found acceptance and reward with him. These men upon the report, rise up in revenge, and in searching for the murderers of *Cæsar*, you must expect some innocency will be murdered. They first light upon *Asprenas*, a man that indeed had a finger in the business, but it is like it is more than they knew, yet howsoever he must pay for it because he cometh in their way, and so the shedding of his own blood answereth the *Omen* that he had but even now by the blood of the sacrifice. Next cometh *Barbarus Norbanus* to handling, because next to hand, and after him *Anteius* whose curiosity was his destiny, for coming to look upon the corps of the slain Tyrant, he was made a corps himself: When the rumor of what had passed came into the Theatre, it moved different passions according to their different affections. Some could not believe the news it was so good, others would not, because it was displeasing, hoping better, than that they had lost so great a patron of their unrulineſs and sporting. But when the Souldiers came in thither after the rumor, with the heads of *Asprenas*, *Norbanus* and *Anteius* in their hands, then imagine what case they were all in there, expecting to be all involved in the same fatal end, by the same fatal fury, though they were not of the same opinion and affection to the fact that had lately passed. But this fear and fury was with as much speed as wit, and indeed were both finely calmed and removed by one *Aruntius*; for coming in among them in a mourning weed, as if for *Caius*, he plainly, and dolefully, and assuredly averred that he was dead. One would have thought that this should have increased the raging of the Souldiers far more than before, but it had the clean contrary effect, as his policy had wittily foreseen. For when they knew certainly that he was dead, of whom they expected a reward for this their outrage in his quarrel, and when they considered what the people might do now he was dead, who so hated him while he was alive, they sheathed their swords and their fury together, and withdrew themselves from the Theatre, and the peoples fear from the people fairly and quietly both at once. By a carriage of as much valour as this was of ingenuity, did *Valerius Asiaticus* calm the tumult of the

people in the market place, for when there was no other language, but, *who is it, and who is it that hath killed Cæſar?* he ſteppeth into ſome place above the people, and boldly cried *I would it had been I*, and with his boldneſs daunted the mutiny, and amazed their anger.

§. 4. *Diſſention about the Government.*

The hearts of the people were pretty well ſetled about the death of the Prince, but their minds not ſo well about the manner of the future Government. The Senate being aſſembled in the Capitol were divided about this great matter, whether the Commonwealth ſhould return to its old Democracy, or to its latter Monarchy again; ſome remembring the tyrannies uſed by the two latter Monarchs, abhorred the thought of that Government any longer: Others conſidering that it were better to be under one Tyrant, than under many, were as much againſt Democracy; and yet if they might have a Monarch, which they deſired, they were yet to ſeek who ſhould be he. *Sentius* the Conſul was vehement for the former choice, and might have well been ſuſpected for affecting ſome kind of Monarchy for the preſent himſelf, for he was chief Governor alone, but that his earneſtneſs to reduce the ſtate to its former rule ſtopped the mouth of any ſuch prejudice. Thus roſe the Court without any determination, and no leſs was the City divided in opinion. And indeed it was a very hard task that they had in hand, to reſolve for futurity what might prove the beſt, being to take a gentle *medium* betwixt their too much liberty and too little.

§. 5. *Claudius.*

Whilſt they were thus in doubt and agitation, and better able to reſolve what they would not have, than what they would, fortune ſeemed to offer them an umpirage and determination, winding an acceptance of a Monarch into their hearts before they were aware. *Claudius* an uncle of the Tyrant that now lay dead, hearing the tumult and hubbub that the Palace was in, and how the matter went with *Caligula*, he crept into an obſcure hole to hide himſelf, not much guilty indeed of any other cauſe of ſuch fear, but only becauſe he was ſo near allied to the man ſo hated and now ſlain. When lo *Gratus* a common Souldier ſearching about, whether for a prey or for a conſpirator, ſpieth his feet lying out of his skulking hole, and draws him out to ſee who it was; here might a ſtander by have laughed to have ſeen the different paſſions of *Claudius* and the Souldier meet together in one like and uniform action. *Claudius*, ready to kneel to the Souldier to beg for his life, and the Souldier already kneeling to *Claudius* to reverence his perſon. For being drawn out and brought into the light, and his face known by him and who he was, he preſently ſhews him all reverence and homage, and crieth out *An Emperor, an Emperor*; with this cry they bring him out to ſome more of their fellows, who getting him on their ſhoulders bring him into their Garriſon, the people as he went pitying him, as going unto execution. There he lodged that night, and you may ſuppoſe that he ſlept but little, being ſo divided betwixt hope and fear. The Conſul and Senate the next day hearing what was done, ſend to him adviſe him to ſubmit to their Government, and not to diſturb the State with a Monarchy again, which had been ſo burdenſom and tedious to it ſo long: which if he ſhould go about to do they would oppoſe him to their utmoſt ſtrength, and doubted not the aſſiſtance of the Gods in this their vindication of their liberty. *Verrannius* and *Brachus*, their two Legats upon this meſſage, delivered their errand with as much moving Rhetorick and intreaty as they could invent, beſeeching him with all the vehemency they could, not to diſtemper the Republick again by affecting and aſpiring the Monarchy, which was now in a hopeful poſſibility of ſetling her tranquility and liberty to her own content. But the ſight of the ſtrength and forwardneſs of the Souldiers that were about him, made them to ſtrain their Oratory one key higher than it may be they had either commiſſion for at their coming forth, or any thanks for at their return. For they beſought him that if he would needs have the Empire, that he would rather receive it from the hands of the Senate than of the Souldiers, and make an entry to his Government by conſent and approval and not by violence.

Claudius, howſoever his mind ſtood, gave a gentle anſwer, either diſſembling till he could be ſure to have his own party good, or indeed rather forced upon this purſuit than propenſe, and though affecting the Majeſty of the Empire, yet not patient of the trouble.

§. 6. *Cæſonia*

§. 6. *Cæsonia and her child slain.*

There let us leave him to study, as far as his fear and the Souldiers tumult would suffer him, what to resolve upon as best to be done, or if he were resolved already, then how to do it: And let us a little step aside to the corps of *Caius*, and there we shall see some partners with him in his death, which had better relation to it than *Asprenas* and the other that we saw slain before: *Chereas* not thinking it enough for the common safety, and the accomplishment of his design, that *Caius* was dead alone, unless so much also of him were cut off with him, as was in *Cæsonia* his wife and her and his little child, he sendeth one *Lupus* one of the tribunes upon this execution, that nothing might remain of *Caligula*, but his putrified memory. Some were of opinion that *Cæsonia* had been his perswasive and provocation to his mischiefs either by charms, or exhortations, or both; others thought, that she used her utmost endeavours to have reduced him to a better mind, but could not prevail: But were it the one or the other, were she good or bad, it is all one to *Chereas*, she was *Caius* his wife, and so must needs die for the desert of her actions, if she were nought, and though she were otherwise, yet for the due of her relation. *Lupus* findeth her tumbling upon the ground with the corps, all besmeared with his blood and her own tears: She conceiving his errand by his very person, boldly invites him to accomplish what he came about, which he did accordingly, and withal slew the little child upon the heap: And so their lieth the greatest Prince and Princess under Heaven, a spectacle of misery and majesty tied up together, and to be lamented in regard of these two, howsoever but justly rewarded in regard of their deserts.

§. 7. *Claudius made Emperor.*

That rule and Monarchy that the Souldiers would have tumbled upon *Claudius* they cared not how, *Agrippa* the King of whom we had mention a good while ago folded it as it were upon him fairly and smoothly, that it both lay more easie for him himself, and less wrinckled and rugged to the eyes of others. For first coming privately to *Claudius* whilst he somewhat fluctuated in opinion, and was ready to have yielded to the Senates propositions, he setled him in a contrary resolution, perswading him by no means to forsake or relinquish that fair apprehension and seisure of the dominion that was offered him. Then cometh he as craftily into the Senate as if he had been a meer stranger to what was in hand, and there asketh how the matter went between them and *Claudius*; when they ingenuously laid all the business before him, and demanded his counsel and advise in those affairs: He subtle enough for his own ends, and neither regarding their liberty, nor *Claudius* his Monarchy so much in the matter as his own security in his Kingdom, maketh fair weather to them, and professeth with all solemnity to serve them in their designs to the utmost of his power. But when it came to the vote what must be done, and the resolution was that they must take up arms, and arm their servants, and compass that with the sword that they could not do with perswasions; then *Agrippa* thought it was time to work or never. He therefore puts them in mind of the strength of the Souldiers that had proclaimed *Claudius*, and of their forces but weak, few, and utterly unexpert: that to hazard a war was to hazard their State, and therefore he would advise them to tender to *Claudius* propositions of accommodation, and if they were so pleased, he himself would be the agent. It is agreed upon, and he sent upon this imployment, which how he would perform it is easie to guess, by looking upon his own condition in which he now stood. For in the life of *Caius* it was conceived that his evil counsel had very much forwarded the others cruelty and mischievousness, and therefore if the Senate be masters of their desires, he can little expect to be master any more of his Kingdom, but if with all his officiousness and trotting up and down he can help *Claudius* to the Monarchy, he is sure he hath then holpen himself to the Royalty. It was therefore not an oversight in that grave and discreet great Councel that they imployed such a man as this in their occasions, who, a far dimmer eye of judgment than any of theirs would easily perceive, would be against them: but it was their discreet evasion with their honour, when finding themselves too weak to deal it out by force of Arms, they came to a noble reference, by the motion and meditation of so great a Prince.

When

When *Agrippa* cometh to *Claudius* he is now more urgent than before, that he ſtand to his challenge, becauſe he had now groped the mind and ſtrength of the Senate: and he prevaileth with him ſo far that the Souldiers go to the Senate houſe, and there demand a confirmation of their choice. It was now come to it in the Councel, that they were reſolved to chooſe one Monarch, for they ſaw the Souldiers would ſo have it, but now the queſtion was who that muſt be; ſome were for one, ſome for another; but the conſpirators againſt *Caius* were againſt *Claudius* howſoever: This diviſion had like to have cauſed another tumult, but the end of all was, that the power and fear of the Souldiers prevailed, and the Senate was glad to accept him for their Prince whom they durſt not refuſe.

§. 8. *His demeanor at his beginning.*

Agrippa had perſwaded him to deal gently with the Senate, but he either perſwaded not or prevailed not with him for the like towards the conſpirators of his nephews death. *Chereas* and *Sabinus* the ſlayers of *Caius*, and *Lupus* the Executioner of *Caſonia* and her child were not like the Senate, either perſwaded by reaſons, or affrighted by forces to accept of *Claudius*, or to owe him homage, but they boldly and reſolutely gainſay his election even to the death. *Claudius* therefore cauſeth *Chereas* to be ſlain, and *Lupus* with him, which doom they underwent with different demeanours, *Chereas* ſtoutly, but *Lupus* weeping, *Chereas* at one blow, for he met death half the way, but *Lupus* at many, for he ſhrunk it all he could. But *Sabinus*, foolhardy as he was, when *Claudius* had granted him his pardon, and not only ſo but alſo reſtored him to his former honors, he diſdaining to be ſingled from his fellow conſpirators in their end any more than in their deſign, fell upon his own ſword and died. Such a beginning did the new made Emperor make into his Empire, mingling ſeverity and clemency together in the cenſure of offendors of the ſame knot, that he might alſo mingle fear and love in the hearts of the people. This *Claudius* was the ſon of *Druſus* the ſon of *Livia*, a man dull and diſeaſed even from his childhood, and for that brought up moſt in the converſe with women or nurſes: hence his effeminacy and luxurioufneſs at all times, and his readineſs to be led away by the counſel of women at ſome. He was now about fifty years of age when he began to reign, at the very ripeneſs of all the diſcretion he had, but that it was often blaſted with fearfulneſs, drunkenneſs and wicked counſel. When he was ſet quietly in the Throne, the firſt thing he did was to get the two days in which the agitation was about the change of the Government, quite out of memory, and for that end he made an Act of Oblivion of all things that had paſſed either in Words or Actions of all that time: yet had he not wrought his own ſecurity ſo far, but that he cauſed all that came near him to be ſearched for weapons, and while he ſat at any meal, he had a ſtrong guard about him. For the motion that had been ſo lately and ſo ſtrongly carried for the abolition of Monarchy, and the other which propoſed others thereto when Monarchy was agreed upon, and would have excluded him, had taken ſuch an impreſſion upon him, that he reputed no ſafety in his holding of the Royalty, but by that ſtrong hand and power by which he had gotten it. Yet tried he fair and gentle dealing though he durſt not truſt it: Thoſe from whom he had received any affront, in the days of *Tiberius* and *Caligula* (for ſometimes in thoſe days to abuſe *Claudius*, was to curry favor) he freely pardoned if he found them guilty of no other crime, but if he did he paid them then for all together. The unjuſt fines of *Caius* he remitted, his illegal decrees he revoked, his innocents impriſoned he releaſed, and his cauſleſs baniſhed he called home.

The poiſons which he had prepared for the Nobles, and a liſt of their names for whom they were prepared, being found in the Palace, though *Caius* had pretended to have burnt them, he ſhewed publickly to the Senate and then burnt them indeed. He forbad any one to adore him or to ſacrifice to him, he reſtrained the great and loud acclamations that were uſed to be made to the Emperor, and carried himſelf with ſuch ſweetneſs and moderation, that happy had the Republique been in the continuance of the Monarchy, had he been ſo happy as to have continued in this his firſt demeanor. But his wicked Empreſs *Meſſallina*, and her wicked conſorts firſt provoked him to miſchief, and his too much delight in the bloody ſports did by degrees habituate him unto cruelty. He had recalled *Julia* and *Agrippina* the two ſiſters of *Caius* out of baniſhment, whither they had been ſent by their own Brother after he had deflowred them, and he reſtored them to their Eſtates and Revenues again. But

Meſſallina

Meſſallina ſtomacking that *Julia* did her not honour and homage enough, and envying her beauty, and being jealous of her privacy with *Claudius*, ſhe cauſed her to be baniſhed again, and in a ſhort time ſhe compaſſed her death.

Theſe were but ominous beginnings, when *Cæſars* love to his own neece was cauſe enough to work her ruine, but was not ſtrong enough to ſtand between her and the fury of his own wife: And it did but fatally preſage what miſchief her wretched counſels would work the cowardize and indiſcretion of her husband to, when their firſt effect was upon one ſo near allied: Nor did cruelty and bloodineſs enter thus only in at his ears, by the ſuggeſtion of his curſed wife, but the like it did alſo at his eyes, by his frequent and delightſom beholding of the bloody ſports: that growing by degrees to be his delight to act, which had grown by degrees alſo to be his delight to ſee. Sometimes beaſts with beaſts, as twelve Camels and Horſes at one time, and 300 Bears, and 300 African wild beaſts at the ſame: ſometimes beaſts with men, and ſometimes men with men, and at all times hideous bloodſhed, that he that can look upon ſuch barbarouſneſs and ſlaughter with content, it may be ſuſpected that he in time will grow to act the like with the ſame delight.

PART II.

ACTS XI.

Verſ. 26. *And the Diſciples were called Chriſtians firſt in Antioch.*

§. 1. *The name of Chriſtian.*

THE Jews and Gentiles being now ſince the calling of *Cornelius* knit up together into one Church, they are this year tied up into the roſie and glorious knot of the ſame name and Epithet, the name of *Chriſtian:* A new name which the Lord himſelf did give them, as we may well underſtand that propheſie, *Eſa.* 65. 15. that the two diſtinguiſhing names of Jews and Heathen might no more continue the ancient diſtance that was betwixt them, but that that and all differences ariſing therefrom might be buried under this ſweet and lovely denomination given equally to them both. The current of the ſtory hitherto hath fairly and plainly led this occurrence to this year, as the Reader himſelf will confeſs upon the trace of the Hiſtory, and he will be confirmed in it, when he ſeeth the next year following to be the year of the famine, which next followeth in relation in St. *Luke* to this that we have in hand, *Act.* 11. 26, 27, 28.

By what names the Profeſſors of the Goſpel were called before this time, it is plain in Scripture. Among themſelves they were called (*b*) *Diſciples*, (*c*) *Believers*, (*d*) *The Church*, (*e*) *Devout men*, (*f*) *Brethren*; But among the unbelieving Jews, by this ſole common and ſcornful title of (*g*) *The ſect of the Nazarites.* *Epiphanius* hath found out a ſtrange name for them not to be found elſewhere, nor to be warranted any where, and that is the name of *Jeſſæans.*

(*b*) Act. 4. 15; (*c*) Cap. 5. 14. & 6. 1. & 9. 1. (*d*) Act. 8. 1. (*e*) Act. 8. 2. (*f*) Act. 11. 29; 1 Cor. 15. 6. (*g*) Act. 24. 5.

Before they were called Chriſtians (*h*) (ſaith he) *they were called Jeſſæi; either from Jeſſe the father of David, from whom the Virgin Mary and Chriſt by her deſcended, or from Jeſu the proper name of our Saviour. Which thou ſhalt find in the books of Philo, namely in that which he wrote* Περὶ Ἐσσαίων. *In which treating of their Policy, Praiſes and monaſteries which are about the Mariſh Marian* (*commonly called Mareotis*) *he ſpeaketh of none others than of Chriſtians.* Of the ſame opinion in regard of the men themſelves, are divers others, both the Fathers, and later writers; though they differ in regard of the name. No Romaniſt but he takes it for granted, that *Philo* in that book (that is meant by *Epiphanius*, though he either title it not right, or elſe couch two books under one title,) ſpeaketh of Chriſtian Monks, and from thence who of them doth not plead the antiquity of a Monaſtick life, ſo confidently, that he ſhall be but laughed to ſcorn among them that ſhall deny it? They build indeed upon the *Ipſe Dixit* of ſome of the Fathers to the ſame purpoſe, beſides the likeneſs of thoſe men in *Philo* to the Romiſh Monks, that ſuch a thing as this is not altogether to be paſſed over, but ſomething to be examined, ſince it ſeemeth to carry in it ſelf ſo great antiquity and weightineſs.

(*h*) Lib. 1. adverſ. Nazaræos pag. 120.

Euſebius

Eusebius therefore in his (*i*) Ecclesiastical History delivereth such a matter as tradition. *They say* (saith he) *that Mark being first sent in Egypt, preached the Gospel there which he also penned, and first founded the Churches of Alexandria, where so great a multitude of believing men and women grew up,* Διὰ ἀσκήσεως φιλοσοφωτάτης τε καὶ σφόδρα σπουδαίας *in a most Philosophical and strict course, that Philo himself vouchsafed to write of their converse, meetings, feastings, and all their demeanor:* And for this his writing of them, *He is reckoned by us* (saith (*k*) *Jerome*) *amongst the Ecclesiastical writers, because writing concerning the first Church of Mark the Evangelist, he breaketh out into the praises of our men: relating that they are not only there but also in many other Provinces, and calling their dwellings Monasteries.* Of the same mind with these Fathers, are *Cedrenus* (*l*) *Nicephorus*, (*m*) *Sixtus Senensis*, (*n*) *Bellarmine*, (*o*) *Possevine* and others; which last cited Jesuite is not contented to be satisfied with this opinion himself, but he revileth the *Magdeburgenses*, and all others with them, that are not of the same opinion with him. For the examining of which, before we do believe it, we may part their position into these two *quæres*. First, Whether *Mark* the Evangelist had founded the Church at *Alexandria* before *Philo* wrote that book. And secondly whether those men about *Alexandria* reported of by *Philo*, were Christians at all yea or no.

(*i*) Lib. 2. c. 15

(*k*) De Scriptorib. Eccles. tom. 1. pag. 102.

(*l*) Lib. 2. cap. 16. 17.

(*m*) Bibl. Sanct. l. in voce Philo.

(*n*) Lib. 2. c. 1. de Monach.

(*o*) Apparat. Sacer. in voce Philo.

First then look upon *Philo* and upon his age, and you shall find that the last year when he was in Embassie at *Rome*, he was ancient, and older than any of the other Commissioners that were joyned with him, for so he saith of himself: *Cæsar* speaking affably to them when they first came before him, the standers by thought their matter would go well with them, (*p*) *But I* (saith he) *that seemed to outstrip the others in years and judgement, &c.* and then from him look at the time when *Mark* is brought by the Ecclesiastical Historians first into *Egypt* and *Alexandria*. (*q*) *Eusebius*, (for we will content our selves with him only) hath placed this at the third of *Claudius*, in these words, *Marcus Evangelista interpres Petri, Ægypto & Alexandriæ Christum annunciat.* And then is *Philo* four years older than before. To both which add what time would be taken up after *Marks* preaching before his converts could be disposed into so setled a form of buildings, constitutions and exercises, and then let indifferency censure, whether *Philo* that was so old so long before, should write his two books of the *Esseni*, and the *Therapeutæ* after all this. But because we will not build upon this alone, let us for the resolution of our second *Quære*, character out these men that are so highly esteemed for the patterns of all Monasticks, and that in *Philo's* own words and description.

(*p*) In legat. ad Caium.

(*q*) In Chronico.

PART III.

The JEWISH History.

§. 1. *The Therapeutæ.*

"THEY are called *Therapeutæ* and *Therapeutrides* (saith *Philo*) either because they "profess a Physick better than that professed in Cities, for that healeth bodies "only, but this diseased souls. ——— Or because they have learned from na- "ture, and the holy Laws to serve *him that is* ——— Those that betake themselves to "this course, do it not out of fashion, or upon any ones exhortation, but ravished with "a heavenly love, (even as the *Bacchantes* and *Corybantes* have their raptures) until they "behold what they desire. Then through the desire of an immortal and blessed life, re- "puting themselves to die to this mortal life, they leave their estates to sons or daughters "or to other kindred, voluntarily making them their heirs, and to their friends and fa- "miliars if they have no kindred. ——— When they are thus parted from their goods, "being taken now by no bait, they flie irrevocably, leaving Brethren, Children, Wives, "Parents, numerous Kindreds, Societies and Countries, where they were born and "bred ——— they flit, not into other Cities ——— but they make their abode without "the walls in gardens or solitary Villages, affecting the wilderness not for any hatred of "men, but because of being mixed with men of different conditions, which thing they "know is unprofitable and hurtful. This kind of people are in many parts of the world, "——— but it abounds in *Egypt* through every one of those places that are called *Nomi*, "especially

Τὸ ὄν.

Καθάπερ οἱ βακχευόμενοι καὶ κορυβαντιῶντες ἐνθουσιῶσιν.

" eſpecially about *Alexandria*. Now out of all places the chief *or beſt* of the *Therapeu-*
" *tæ* are ſent into a Colony (as it were into their Country) into a moſt convenient re-
" gion, beſides the lake *Maria*, upon a low gentle riſing bank, very fit, both for ſafety
" and the wholeſom air. ---------- The houſes of the company are very mean, affording
" ſhelter in two moſt neceſſary reſpects, againſt the heat of the Sun, and the coldneſs
" of the air. Nor are they near together like houſes in a City, for ſuch vicinity is
" trouble and diſpleaſing to ſuch as love and affect ſolitude. Nor yet far aſunder, be-
" cauſe of that communion which they imbrace, and that they may help one ano-
" ther if there be any incurſion of thieves. Every one of them hath a holy houſe
" which is called a * Chappel and Monaſtery, in which they * being ſolitary do per-
" form the myſteries of a Religious life: bringing in thither neither drink nor meat, nor
" any other neceſſaries for the uſe of the body, but the Law and the Oracles given by
" the Prophets, and hymns and other things whereby knowledge and religion are in-
" creaſed and perfected. Therefore they have God perpetually in their mind, inſomuch
" that in their dreams, they ſee nothing but the beauty of the Divine powers, and there
" ſome of them who by dreaming do vent excellent matters of Philoſophy. They uſe to
" pray twice every day, morning and evening, at Sun riſing and Sun ſetting, and all the
" time between they meditate and ſtudy the Scripture, allegorizing them, becauſe they be-
" lieve that myſtical things are hid under the plain letter: they have alſo many commen-
" taries of their predeceſſors of this Sect to this purpoſe. They alſo made Pſalms, and
" Hymns to the praiſe of God. Thus ſpend they the ſix days of the week every one
" in his Cell, not ſo much as looking out of it. But on the ſeventh day they meet to-
" gether and ſit down according to their age demurely, with their hands within their
" coats, the right hand betwixt their breaſt and their skin, and the left on their ſide.
" Then ſteps forth one of the graveſt and skilfulleſt in their profeſſion and preacheth to
" them, and the reſt hearken with all ſilence, only nodding their heads, or moving their
" eyes: their place of worſhip is parted into two rooms, one for the men and the
" other for the women: All the week long they never taſte meat nor drink any day be-
" fore Sun ſetting, becauſe they think the ſtuddy of wiſdom to be fit for the light, and
" the taking eaſe of their bodies for the dark: ſome hardly eat above once in three days,
" ſome in ſix; on the ſeventh day after they have taken care of the ſoul, they refreſh
" the body. Their diet is only bread and ſalt, and ſome add a little hyſſop. Their
" drink ſpring-water. Their cloths mean and only fit to keep out heat and cold. At
" the end of every ſeven weeks they feaſt together, honouring much the number ſeven:
" Old women are preſent at their feaſts, but they are ſuch as are Virgins upon devotion.
" When they firſt meet together, they firſt ſtand and pray that the feaſt may be bleſſed to
" them, then ſit they down the men on one ſide and the women on the other, ſome of
" their young Scholers wait on them: their diet is but as at other times, bread and ſalt
" for their meat, hyſſop for ſauce, and water for drink: there is general ſilence all the
" meal, ſave that one or other asketh or reſolveth queſtions, the reſt holding their
" peace; and they ſhew by their ſeveral geſtures that they underſtand, or approve or
" doubt. Their interpretations of Scripture are all allegories; when the preſident hath
" ſatisfied the things propoſed, they give a general applauſe, and then he ſingeth a Pſalm
" either of his own making or of ſome of the ancients: And thus do the reſt in their
" courſe, when all have done, the young men take away the table: and then they riſe
" and fall to a daunce, the men apart and the women apart for a while, but at laſt
" they joyn and dance all together: and this is in repreſentation of the dance upon the
" ſhore of the red Sea. Thus ſpend they the night, when Sun riſeth they all turn their
" faces that way, and pray for a happy day, and for truth and underſtanding, and ſo
" they depart every one to their Cells.

* Σεμνεῖον καὶ Μοναστήριον.
* Μονεμένος.

κοινὸν σεμνεῖον.

To this purpoſe doth *Philo* deſcribe theſe *Therapeutæ* of his times: which howſoever they are taken for Chriſtians by divers as was ſaid before, yet it is ſo plain by divers paſſages in *Philo's* Characterings of them that they were no Chriſtians, but Jewiſh ſectaries, that it is even needleſs to determinate it: let the reader but conſider that it is a Jew that commends their devotion, that he himſelf imitates their manner of expounding the Scriptures by allegories, that he ſaith they had many commentaries of their predeceſſors to that tenour, that they were ſuperſtitious about the number ſeven, as he himſelf is not a little, and if there were no other arguments to prove that they were only a Sect of the Jews, theſe were enow.

§. 2. *The affairs of the Jews in Alexandria, and Babylonia.*

The death of *Caius* was an allay to the troubles of the Jews both in *Judea* and *Alexandria*, and the proclamation of *Claudius* which we ſhall hear of the next year, was their utter ceſſation for the preſent, but ſo it was not in *Babylonia*. The terror and trouble that had ſeized *Judea*, about the ſtatue of *Cæſar*, was removed, and extinct with the removal, and extinction of *Cæſar* himſelf, ſo were the preſſures of them in *Alexandria* mitigated much from what they were before, though their commotions and troubling continued ſtill in an equal meaſure. For whereas before the diſpleaſure of the Emperor lay ſo heavy upon them that they neither could nor durſt ſtand out in their own defence, when that burden is now removed they gather heart and metal, and now though the Greeks and they be continually at daggers drawn, yet now it is upon equal terms, and they dare ſtrike as well as the other. But in *Babylonia* and thereabout, their miſeries is but now a brewing, and an equal ſtrait is preparing for them, as had been to either of the other, though it began with ſome ſmiling of a ſeeming happineſs, and the ſunſhine of preſent proſperity. The bloodhound of vengeance was to hunt this Nation, and not to be taken off till it was deſtroyed: and therefore when it giveth off the queſt in one place, it takes it in another, and leaveth not their footing till it had left them no footing at all.

Thoſe Jews whoſe Tragedy we have ſeen acted already found their own miſery, though they ſought it not, and how much more ſhall they that we are now to bring upon the ſcene that ſought and wooed it with their utmoſt pains.

§. 1. *The rebellion of ſome Jews.*

There were in *Neardaa* (the reſidence and Univerſity of the Jews in *Babylonia*) two brethren named *Aſinæus* and *Anilæus*, or in their proper language *Chaſinai*, and *Chanilai*. Theſe two their Mother (their Father being dead) had put to a trade and to a Maſter, for the making of ſails or other tackle for ſhips. The ſturdy youths having one day given their Maſter ſome offence, and he them ſome blows, did take the matter in ſuch high ſcorn and diſdain, that they reſolve not only to overrun their Maſter, but indeed to run over all Maſterſhip whatſoever. They therefore getting away all the Arms their Maſters houſe would afford, betake themſelves to a ſtrong place in an Iſland of *Euphrates*, and there publiſh and proclaim their rebellious reſolution. Young men flock in to them apace, men of the ſame deſperate minds and fortunes, and after building ſome Caſtles in the air of future expectations, they begin to build a Fort in the Iſle for their preſent ſecurity and rendevouz. They then command the neighbour Towns to pay them Tribute, which the numerouſneſs and reſolution of the Commanders made them that they durſt not diſobey. The Governor of *Babylonia* thinking to quel this growing evil before it ſhould be too ſtrong, cometh ſecretly upon them on the Sabbath day, thinking to involve them in their own ſuperſtition into the trap that he had prepared for them. But the furious youths were not ſo over-religious as to be kild in devotion, nor did they prize the Sabbath above their own lives, but for all it was that day they are reſolved to fight, and they fight reſolvedly, and kill and rout and foil the forces that made no other account but of victory.

Artabanus King of *Parthia* hearing of the power of this newborn Army, and the reſolution of thoſe upſtart Captains, and conſidering how advantageous it might be for his own affairs, to have them ſure and firm unto himſelf, he ſendeth for the two Brethren with aſſurance of their ſafety: whereupon they come to him, and are Royally and bravely intertained by him: and when *Abdagaſis* the General of his Army would have ſlain *Aſinæus* treacherouſly, the King forbad him, ſent *Aſinæus* home with rich gifts and the Government of *Babylonia* committed to him: There he grew greater and greater in power and honour: and ſtood in high repute both with the *Babylonians* and the *Parthians*, and had all *Meſopotamia* at his command. And thus continued theſe Brethren in pomp and height for fifteen years together: till a miſcarriage of *Anilæus* began to cloud and eclipſe their proſperity: For *Anilæus* having ſlain a *Parthian* Peer that he might enjoy his Lady, and ſhe when ſhe was now his wife, uſing her ancient Idolatry as in her firſt husbands days, this became a double offence to his chiefeſt friends, namely, for that he had married an Heathen, and for that ſhe continued ſtill in her Idolatry: They ſeriouſly admoniſh *Anilæus* of the matter, but he ſlew one of the chiefeſt of them for his home-reproof and admonition. Therefore the reſt addreſs themſelves to *Aſinæus*, and demand

demand the vindication of their native Laws and Religion: he rebuketh his Brother *Anilæus*, and is therefore poiſoned by the *Parthian* Lady, becauſe that her husband might be from under rebuke, and might be commander of all. He being now ſo indeed, firſt invadeth the Country of *Mithridates*, ſon in Law to *Artabanus*, and forrageth that, and by a ſurprizal getteth *Mithridates* priſoner, yet ſendeth him home again to his own poſſeſſions, having hardly delivered him from his Souldiers fury that they did not kill him: *Mithridates* ſenſible of the diſgrace of his uſage (for they had ſet him naked upon an Aſs,) and inſtigated by the haughty and revengeful ſpirit of his wife, raiſeth what force he can get, and giveth *Anilæus* battel and routeth him. But *Anilæus* himſelf eſcaping, and recruiting an Army of diſſolute and reſolute fellows again, he beginneth to ſpoil ſome Towns of the *Babylonians*, but the *Babylonians* finding a fit opportunity, fall upon *Anilæus* and his troop, and ſlew many of them, and *Anilæus* himſelf among the reſt: This bridle and curb of the Jews, which had lain ſo long and ſo heavy upon the *Babylonians* being now taken off, they begin now to riſe up and to curb and oppreſs the Jews: who for their ſafety flee to *Seleucia:* and there they reſide quietly for the ſpace of five years, but in the ſixth year, a hot Plague driving the reſt of them that had ſtaied behind at *Babylon*, into *Seleucia* alſo, providence did as it were bring them all thither together to execution: for a quarrel being firſt between the Greeks and Syrians that dwelt in that City, and the Syrians getting the better through the help of the Jews, at laſt Greeks and Syrians joyn both together againſt the Jews, and deſtroy fifty thouſand of them: And this was a ſecond notable vengeance that hath ovetaken that Nation ſince the murder of the Lord of Life.

THE CHRISTIAN HISTORY,

THE Jewiſh and the Roman,

Of the Year of CHRIST XLIII.

And of the Emperor CLAUDIUS II.

Being the Year of the WORLD 3970.

And of the City of ROME 795.

Conſuls { *Claudius* II. / *C. Largus.*

ACTS.

CHAP. IX.

Verſ. 28. *Great dearth throughout all the World; which came to paſs in the days of Claudius Cæſar.*

THAT this famine was in the ſecond of *Claudius*, we have ſhewed before, not only out of *Dion* the Roman Hiſtorian, but even by neceſſary collection from other things. Now whether it proceeded from want of Rain, or from what other cauſe, it is not determinable: it appeareth by *Suetonius* that it came to this height through a continued ſterility of the ground, which it ſeemeth had been ſome years together. This year was *Helena* the Queen of the *Adiabeni*, preſent at *Jeruſalem*, and her preſence there was a happineſs to the City, for from *Cyprus* and *Alexandria*, ſhe ſent for Proviſions, and diſtributed them among the people, when divers had periſhed of famine before.

Verſ. 30. *Sent it to the Elders by the hands of Barnabas and Saul.*

§. *Pauls rapture into the third Heaven.*

Although it be not mentioned in this Chapter that *Paul* went up to *Jeruſalem*, but was ſent only with proviſions to the poor brethren in *Judea*: yet have we alſo proved before, that at this journey he had his trance in the Temple, *Acts* 22. 17. and in that

that trance he was rapt up into the third Heaven. The ſtory of which he himſelf relateth, 2 *Cor.* 12. 2. *I knew a man in Chriſt above fourteen years ago, whether in the body I cannot tell, &c.* And there he relateth alſo the ſtory of the meſſenger of *Satan*, buffeting him, and himſelf praying, and God giving him a gracious anſwer: all which we ſhall explain, by Gods permiſſion, in another place.

In this trance God bids him get out of *Jeruſalem*, and gives him commiſſion to go preach among the Gentiles, *Acts* 22. 18, 21. And ſo he returneth from *Jeruſalem* to *Antioch*, where we ſhall have him the next year.

§. 2. *Peter not this year at Rome.*

This year the Romaniſts have brought *Peter* to *Rome*, and made this the firſt year or beginning of his Epiſcopacy there. For thus *Baronius*, *That Peter came to Rome this ſecond year of Claudius the Emperor, it is the common Opinion of all men.* And to this purpoſe he alledgeth *Euſebius* his Chronicle, and *Jerome de ſcriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis*, and concludeth that *others have written the ſame things concerning the time, that there can be no doubt left of it.*

It may be tolerated to inſiſt a little the more largely upon the examination of this opinion, not for that it is of any ſuch great import in its own nature, as for that it is made of ſo great by them for their own advantage. For were it granted that *Peter* was Biſhop of *Rome*, and that he went thither in this year, yet what great matter were there in this, in common ſenſe and reaſon? But becauſe unreaſonable men have from hence, or upon this foundation built the ſupremacy of the Pope, the great deluſion of the world, let the ſame common ſenſe and reaſon equally and impartially judge of the probability or improbability of this thing, in theſe two parts into which this *tenet* doth fall of it ſelf.

1. Whether it be probable that *Peter* was Biſhop of *Rome* at all.
2. Whether it be poſſible that he could come thither this year according as they themſelves have laid his progreſs, and that he ſhould ſet up an Epiſcopacy there.

Weigh the firſt by theſe;

Firſt, *Peter* was Miniſter of the Circumciſion, why then ſhould he go ſettle himſelf to live and die among the uncircumciſed? He might indeed have preached to the uncircumciſed as he travailed up and down, as *Paul* did to the circumciſed, being the Miniſter of the uncircumciſion, but to take up his abode and reſidence, and there to ſettle, to live and die among them; was a thing neither probable in the eyes of other men, nor juſtifiable in him himſelf.

Secondly, If *Peter* were at *Rome* in the ſenſe and extent that the Romaniſts will have it, then hath the Scripture omitted one of the greateſt points of ſalvation that belongeth to Chriſtianity: For how many main points of Faith hath Popery drawn out of this one concluſion, *that Peter was Biſhop of Rome*; as the Primacy of the Pope, the infallibility of his Chair, his abſolute power of binding and looſing, no ſalvation out of the Church of *Rome*, and divers other things, which all hang upon the Pin forenamed: And it is utterly incredible; 1. That the Holy Ghoſt that wrote the Scriptures for mans ſalvation, ſhould not expreſs or mention a thing that containeth ſo many points of ſalvation. 2. That *Luke* that undertook to write the Acts of the Apoſtles, ſhould omit this one act of *Peter*, which is made of more conſequence than all the actions of all the Apoſtles beſide. It is above all belief, that he that would tell of *Phillips* being at *Azotus*, and going to *Cæſarea*, Chap. 8. 40. *Sauls* going to *Tarſus*, Chap. 9. 30. And *Barnabas* his going thither to him, and divers other things of ſmall import, in compariſon, ſhould omit the greateſt and moſt material, and of the infiniteſt import that ever mortal mans journy was (for to that height is the journy of *Peter* to *Rome* now come) if there had ever been ſuch a thing at all.

Thirdly, It is as incredible, that *Paul* ſending ſalutations to ſo many in *Rome*, and again from ſo many there, ſhould omit to have named *Peter* at one time or other if he had been there. What was become of *Peter* in theſe reciprocal kindneſſes and ſalutations of the Saints one to another; was he aſleep, or was he ſullen, or what ſhall we make of him, or was he not indeed at *Rome* at all?

But not to inſiſt upon this queſtion whether *Peter* were at *Rome* at all, which hath been proved negatively by many Authors, and by many undeniable Arguments; let us look a little upon this foundation of his being there, which hath been laid, namely, his coming thither this year, which is the ſecond thing to be taken into conſideration.

And

And about this point, there have been divers simple *Ignoramus's* in former time, who so they held this first Article of the Roman Creed, *That Peter was Bishop of Rome five and twenty years, and died in the last year of Nero*, and so believed as the Church believed, they never cared to bring the head and heels together, or to observe how the times agreed, but have easily swallowed this camel of senseless computation, *that Peter went from the Councel of Jerusalem*, Acts 15. *to Rome, and there sate Bishop five and twenty years, which expired in the last of Nero*; whereas, betwixt the Councel at *Jerusalem*, and the last of *Nero* there were but twenty years in all, if there were so many: But nimbler wits, that cannot be caught in so plain and apparent a trap as this, have found out a quainter and more curious date from which to begin the Chair of *Peter* at *Rome* than this, and that is from the Story in the twelfth of the *Acts of the Apostles*. Where *Peter* being apprehended by *Herod* after his murder of *James* the great, and being delivered by an Angel, and having acquainted the Disciples with his delivery, they being together in *John Marks* house, he is said, *to depart to another place*, which they say, (and you must believe it, or they will take it very ill) was to *Rome*, and this was (say they) the second year of *Claudius*. A long journey believe it, to run to *Rome*, to avoid danger at *Jerusalem*: and *Rome* but a mad place to set up an Episcopacy in at this time, as hath been plain in the preceding, and will be also in the subsequent story of it. But that we may see, if not the impossibility, yet the utter improbability of that his journy in this second of *Claudius*, if that were the journy in the twelfth of the *Acts*, it will not be impertinent to insert a story out of *Josephus* concerning *Agrippa's* return from *Rome* to *Jerusalem*, where he slew *James*, and imprisoned *Peter*.

PART II.

The JEWISH Story.

5. *Herod Agrippa his coming to Jerusalem.*

CLAUDIUS the Emperor having attained the Empire as we have seen, the more easily and readily by the mediation and agitating of *Agrippa*, he would requite him like an Emperor for that his service: and therefore he confirmed to him by Charter, that Kingdom in which he had been inthroned by *Caius*, adding also *Judea* and *Samaria*, which had belonged to his Grandfather *Herod* (from hence it may seem that he took that name) and *Abilene*, and the Region near it, and appertaining to it in *Lebanon*, which had belonged to *Lysanias*. He caused also the Articles of a League betwixt himself and the King, to be cut in brass, and to be set up in the midst of the *Forum*.

There was now some sedition and civil hostility in *Alexandria*; for the Jews having been suppresst and oppresst by the Greeks, all the time of *Caius*, began after his death to stand in their own defence, and to rise up against those that had opposed them. *Claudius* by Letter commands the Governor of *Egypt* to quel the tumult: and at the request of *Agrippa*, and of *Herod* King of *Chalcis*, he sendeth forth an Edict into *Syria* and *Alexandria* in behalf and favour of the Jews. And another Decree he sent also through the rest of the Roman Empire, to the same tenor, and for the benefit of the same people, beginning with these his Titles, *Tiberius Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, Pont. Maximus. Trib. Pleb.* or *Tribunitiæ Potestatis Consul designatus* II. or second time Consul, and so it goes on.

By these decrees (saith *Josephus*) being thus sent to *Alexandria*, and through the whole Empire, *Claudius* declared what opinion he had of the Jews: And presently he sent away *Agrippa* to manage his Kingdom, with inlarged Honors, and wrote to the Governors of the Provinces, and to the Magistrates to favour him. And he, as it befitted a man that had had happy success, returned with speed. And coming to *Jerusalem*, he performed or offered Thanks-Offerings, omitting nothing that was injoyned by the Law: Wherefore he caused many Nazarites to be shaven, and the golden Chain which was given him by *Caius*, weighing equally with the iron chain that had bound his Royal hands,

*ἐντὸς περιβόλου within the inclosures.

hands, he hung up * in the consecrate Court over the Treasury, for a memorial of his adversity, and for a witness of his better fortune. Thus *Agrippa* having performed rightly this his service to God, he removed *Theophilus* the son of *Ananus* from the High Priesthood, and conferred the honour upon *Simon* the son of *Boethus*, whose name was also *Cantheras*, thus *Josephus Antiq. l.*19. *c.*4.

§. *Peter not imprisoned in the second year of Claudius.*

To which let us joyn some of St. *Lukes* text in the twelfth of the Acts, and then let us make use of both together. *Now about that time* (saith he) *Herod the King stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the Church; and he killed James the brother of John with the sword. And because he saw it pleased the Jews, he proceeded further to take Peter; then were the days of unleavened bread.*

Now let the Reader observe in either story one special circumstance of time, as in *Josephus*, That *Claudius was now second time Consul:* and in St. *Luke*, that *James* was slain before *Easter*; and then let him cast whether it were possible, at the least probable, that so many things should be done and intercede between the beginning of *January*, when *Claudius* entred his Consulship, and Easter, as in these Stories must intercede, if *Peter* were imprisoned at the Easter of this year; yea though it fell the latest or furthest in the year that ever Easter yet fell. For, for *Claudius* to make his decree, and disperse it: for *Agrippa* to provide for his journy, and part from his friends in *Rome:* for him to travail from *Rome* to *Jerusalem*, to perform his Sacrifices and Ceremonies there, to seek to lay hold upon certain of the Church, to light upon *James*, and to kill him, and then to apprehend and imprison *Peter*, and all this betwixt *Claudius* his entry of his Consulship in *January*, and *Easter*, is a thing so incredible (especially to him that considereth how slowly great bodies move, as Kings and Emperors in their actions) as that it seemeth next impossible. For it cannot be imagined that this decree for the Jews was the first thing that *Claudius* did after he was made Consul, or that he fell upon that work in the very beginning of *January*; for matters of the City and of *Italy* one would think should take up the first thoughts of the Consuls, when they entred into that Office, and not of *Jerusalem* and *Alexandria* so many hundred of miles distant: and matters of the Romans themselves, and not of the Jews a despised Nation: But grant that on the very first day he set pen to paper for that decree, on the second dispersed it, and on the third dismissed *Agrippa*, yet must so great a Prince have some preparation for so great a journy, he must have some time to part with so great acquaintance; it was strange if he waited not some time for a convenient wind, and he must take up some reasonable time after he is shipped, before he land in *Judea*. After his landing some time was required for such a King in his own Kingdom to prepare for his journy by Land to *Jerusalem*, some for his setling there; some for his Sacrifices, and performances of the Rites of the Law mentioned; and all these before the apprehension of *James*, and that no man knows how long before Easter. Let indifferency judge, whether all these things were possible to be done in that space of time; and then let it censure of the matter in hand.

To the eviction of this opinion, that *Peter* went to *Rome*, and there began his Episcopacy the second year of *Claudius*, Romanists themselves may be produced that do gainsay it; as *Salmeron* on the twelfth of the Acts, who holds that he went thither in *Claudius* his fourth, and he produceth *Comestor*, *Nauclerus*, and *Petrus de natalibus* of the same opinion with him.

So likewise *Simeon* the *Metaphrast*, though he bring *Peter* from *Jerusalem* this year for fear of *Herod*, and lead him through many places, ordaining Churches and making Bishops, yet in conclusion he mentioneth not one word of *Rome*, but bringeth him to *Jerusalem* again at Passover next. Hereupon *Surius*, or at least his Marginist, and *Baronius* are ready to give him the lie; and though they both alledge him, and applaud him while he serveth their own humor, yet here they fly in his face, and tell him he is beside the cushion, because he is beside their opinion, and saith not what they would have him say.

Upon consideration of what hath been said before, we have put over the death of *James* to the year next following, as not seeing it possible to have fallen out this year before Easter, all circumstances being well considered: and accordingly have we referred thither, as the order requireth, the imprisonment of *Peter*, and his fleeing for his life, or retiring for some other cause, which the Romanists will have to have been to *Rome*; and there will we take it into some examination again.

PART

PART III.

The ROMAN History.

THE Moors rebelling, are beaten by *Suetonius Paulinus*, and after him by *Cn. Sidius Geta*, who following them far into the Sands, fell into an extream want of water for his Army: But by the wicked advice and furtherance of a renegado Moor, he obtaineth an extraordinary great rain by Magick, to the sufficient refreshing of his Army, and to the terror and subduing of the enemy. And now did *Claudius* divide *Mauritania* into *Tingitana* and *Cæsariensis*.

Claudius is exceedingly delighted with and given to the cruelty of the Sword-plays, in which he swept away a world of Servants and Freemen that had been accusers of their Masters in the time of *Caius*. And which was most ridiculous, he caused the statue of *Augustus* to be removed out of the place, because it should not behold such bloody work; being inhumanely himself delighted in that butchery, which he thought too barbarous for a brazen statue to look upon.

These bloody spectacles brought him to an habit of cruelty; which was augmented and hardened in him by the damnable counsels of his Empress *Messalina*, a woman wicked above parallel or expression, and by the spurrings on of other sycophants *C. Appius Silanus* is put to death, because he refused to incestuate *Messalina* when she desired him, for he had married her mother; but because *Claudius* must not hear of this beastly cause of her displeasure, *Narcissus* a freeman of the Emperor accused him for this, that in a dream he had seen *Appius* slay the Emperor.

Upon his death the people began to expect no more goodness from *Claudius* at all, but gave him up for a Tyrant like the two that had gone before him: whereupon, *Annius Vinicianus*, and *Futius Camillus Scribonianus* and others conspired against him; but being deserted of their souldiers in the enterprize, they are glad to end their lives by their own hands, that they might escape the executioners.

Messalina and *Narcissus* and others of their faction using the stupid folly of the Emperor to the compassing of their own wills, involve in false accusations and in miserable deaths, an infinite multitude of men and women, honorable and inferior, of all qualities and conditions, according as the spleen of any of them moved or was provoked. Among them that thus perished *Arria* the wife of *Cæcinna* is upon record for her Roman valour: for when her husband trembled and was afraid to slay himself, she took the sword out of his hand, and fell upon it, and gave it him again, reeking with her blood, with these words, *Behold boy how I feel no pain:* And now, saith my Author, were matters come to such a pass, that nothing was reputed a greater vertue than to die valiantly and like a Roman. To such a cruelty had custom and evil counsel brought him, that of himself was of a reasonable gentle nature, but wanted constancy and discretion to manage it.

THE CHRISTIAN HISTORY,

THE Jewiſh and the Roman,

Of the Year of CHRIST XLIV.

And of the Emperor CLAUDIUS III.

Being the Year of the WORLD 3971.

And of the City of ROME 796.

Conſuls { *Claudius Cæſar* III. / *L. Vitellius.*

ACTS.

CHAP. XII.

Verſ. 2. *And he killed James.*

§. 1. *The Martyrdom of James the great.*

WE are now come to the time of Great *James* his death. For *Agrippa* coming the laſt year into *Judea*, as we ſaw from *Joſephus*, and it not being probable that he ſhould do this exploit before Eaſter, as the circumſtances told us; we may juſtly take this year for its proper time and place. *Now about that time* (ſaith St. *Luke*) *Herod the King* (the Syriack addeth *who is called Agrippa*) *ſtretched forth his hands to vex certain of the Jews; and he killed James the brother of John with the ſword.* The firſt words, *About that time*, relate to what went before in the preceding Chapter, verſ. 28. and meaneth in the days of *Claudius Cæſar*. Now what ſhould be the incentive of the ſpleen of *Agrippa* againſt the Church, is not ſpecified: it may well be ſuppoſed it proceeded from that his Ceremoniouſneſs and ſtrict obſervance of Moſaick Rites, which is mentioned by *Joſephus*: Concerning the Martyrdom of *James* under this his ſpleen, we will content our ſelves with the words of the Text, *He killed James the brother of John with the ſword*; accounting all other additional circumſtances which may be found in officious Authors to be nothing elſe but gilded legends, and fond inventions: As that mentioned by *Euſebius* out of *Clemens* his *Hypotypoſeon*, concerning his accuſer, that ſeeing his conſtancy to the death, confeſſed the faith, and was martyred

martyred with him. That by *Epiphanius* that he lived and died a Virgin: and that by * *Surius* (who is the bell-weather for old winter tales,) that telleth, That his body after his martyrdom was shipped by *Ctesiphon* and his fellow-Bishops for *Spain*; that the Ship in six days was directed thither without Pilot or Compass, but only by the influence of the Corps that it carried. That at the landing the body was taken up into the air, and carried near the place of its burial, twelve miles off. That *Ctesiphon* and his fellows were led to it by an Angel: And more such trash, that it is but labour lost, either to read or mention.

* Tom. 2. Julii 25.

§. 2. *The Apostles Creed.*

The Creed was made upon this occasion (saith (a) *Rabanus Maurus*) *as our Ancestors have delivered unto us. The Disciples after the Ascension of our Saviour being inflamed with the Holy Ghost, &c. And being charged by the Lord to go to all Nations for the preaching of the Gospel, when they are to part one from another, they first make a common platform among themselves for their future preaching. Lest being severed in place, divers and different things should be preached to those that were invited to the faith of Christ. Being therefore together in one place, and filled with the Holy Ghost, they compose a short platform for their preaching, conferring together what they thought. And this they appoint to be given to them that believe, and to be called Symbolum, &c.* Thus he, and very many others with him, conceiving that the Apostles supplied not only the matter of the Doctrine contained in the Creed, but the very form and words also.

(a) De Institut. Clerici. l. 2. c. 56. extat in Auctario ad Biblioth. Patrum. col. 620

For Peter *said*, say they, *I believe in God the Father Almighty.*
John, *The maker of Heaven and Earth.*
James, *And I believe in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord.*
Andrew, *Which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin* Mary.
Philip, *Suffered under* Pontius Pilate, *was crucified, dead and buried.*
Thomas, *He descended into Hell: the third day he rose again from the dead.*
Bartholomew, *He ascended into Heaven: sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty.*
Matthew, *From thence shall he come to judge both the quick and the dead.*
James the son of Alpheus, *I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholick Church.*
Simon Zelotes, *The communion of Saints, the forgiveness of sins.*
Judas the brother of James, *The resurrection of the flesh.*
Matthias, *The life everlasting.* Amen.

Thus the hundred and fifteenth Sermon *de Tempore*, that goeth under the name of (b) *Austen*: but apparent that it is not his, by this, that here is reckoned *the descent into Hell*, which in his book (c) *de Fide & Symbolo* is quite omitted.

(b) Tom. 10. col. 849.
(c) Tom. 3. p. 143.

Now were this Tradition as true as it is punctual, it would readily plead for its own place in Chronology, namely, about this time at which we now are, before *James* his death, for he gave in his *symbolum* (according to this tradition) among the rest. But that this opinion of the Apostles casting in every one his parcel, is of no validity, but a presumptuous and false surmise, may be evinced by these Arguments.

First, (d) Because the title of *The Catholick Church*, is neither used in any of the Apostles writings, nor is it likely that it came into use till after the Apostles days, when the Church was dispersed into all parts of the earth.

(d) Mr. Perkins on the Creed.

Secondly, Because the Article *He descended into Hell*, is not owned or acknowledged at all by the Nicene Creed, nor by any of the ancientest Fathers next the Apostles times, in their reckoning up of the Articles of the Creed, as see instances in abundance in (e) *Polanus* his *Syntagma*, *lib.* 6. *cap.* 21.

(e) Pag. 410.

Thirdly, If the matter and words of the Creed had been from the Apostles themselves, why is it not then Canonical Scripture as well as any of the sacred Writ?

Fourthly, In the giving in of their several Symbols or parcels, after the manner opinionated before, there is so great disproportion and inequality, some giving so much, and some so little, that it maketh the contribution it self to be very suspitious.

Fifthly, The Summary Collection of the points of Christian Religion taught by the Apostles, and delivered by them to others to teach by, consisteth of two heads, *Faith* and *Love*, 2 *Tim.* 1. 13. But the Creed consisted of faith only. *I rather think therefore*, saith Mr. *Perkins*, *that it is called the Apostles Creed, because it doth summarily contain the chief and principal Points of Religion, handled and propounded in the Doctrine of the Apostles; and because the points of the Creed are conformable and agreeable to their Doctrine and Writings.*

§. 3. Tra-

§. 3. *Traditions.*

With their framing of the Creed before their parting, hath *Baronius* joyned alſo their delivery of Traditions. *Sicut ſymbolo*, ſaith he, *ita etiam aliis abſque Scriptura traditionibus Eccleſiæ imperitis, diviſerunt ſibi ad quas ſinguli proficiſcerentur orbis terræ provincias. Having thus imparted the Creed, and alſo traditions without Scripture to the Church, they parted among themſelves what Country every one of them ſhould go unto.*

Theſe Traditions the (*a*) Councel of Trent divideth into *thoſe which were received by the Apoſtles from the mouth of Chriſt; or delivered from hand to hand, from the Apoſtles to our times; the Holy Ghoſt dictating them unto them.* And theſe thoſe Fathers hold of equal authority with the Scriptures, and the Councel curſeth them that ſhall willingly and knowingly contemn them. And well do they deſerve it, if they did but certainly and aſſuredly know that they came from ſuch hands. *Bellarmine* (*b*) hath ſtretched the name and piece of Traditions to one tainterhook higher. For *Traditions*, ſaith he, *are Divine, Apoſtolical and Eccleſiaſtical. Divine, are thoſe which were received from Chriſt himſelf teaching his Apoſtles, and yet are not to be found in the Scriptures; ſuch are thoſe which concern the matter and form of the Sacraments. Apoſtolical are thoſe which were inſtituted by the Apoſtles, not without the aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt, and yet are not to be found in their Epiſtles. Eccleſiaſtical traditions are properly called certain old cuſtoms, begun either by Prelates, or by people, which by little and little by the tacit conſent of the people obtained the power of a Law.* Under theſe heads, eſpecially under the two firſt, hath he placed theſe particulars (*c*) *The perpetual Virginity of* Mary, *the number of the Canonical books, Baptizing of Infants, bleſſing the water before, bidding them renounce Satan and his works, ſigning them with the ſign of the croſs, anointing them with oyl, not re-baptizing after Heretiques, Lent, Ember week, inferior Orders in the Church, worſhipping of Images, &c.* To which (*d*) others add, *The oblation of the Sacrament of the Altar, Invocation of Saints, Prayer for the dead, the Primacy, Confirmation, Orders, Matrimony, Penance, extreme Unction, Merits, neceſſity of Satisfaction, Auricular Confeſſion, &c.* Into which controverſie not to enter, concerning the thing it ſelf, which ſo many grave and learned pens have handled ſufficiently, reckoned by *Bellarmine*, though with ſmall good will, in his entry upon this queſtion; let but reaſon and indifferency cenſure, concerning that which is more proper to this diſcourſe, namely, the time of delivering theſe Traditions, whether this or any other: And here in the firſt place let the Reader but conſider that at this time, there was no more of the New Teſtament written, than the Goſpels of *Matthew* and *Mark*, if ſo be that thoſe alſo were written at this time. And then let him judge how ſenſleſs a thing it is to ſpeak of delivering unwritten Traditions to the Church, when almoſt all the New Teſtament was yet to be written. Or take it at the Councel at *Jeruſalem*, which was divers years hence, when all the Apoſtles were all together, and giving rules to the Church, or take it at *Pauls* apprehenſion at *Jeruſalem*, when imagine all the Apoſtles to be together again, and even at either of thoſe times, will the ſame abſurdity follow ſtill for no more of the New Teſtament was written, or very little more than now. And then how ridiculous doth it appear, That the Apoſtles ſhould offer to give rules to the Church by unwritten Tradition, when they had all their Epiſtles for rules of the Church yet to write: If they would leave the Church to be regulated by unwritten Traditions, why ſhould they write after? And if they would have her regulated by their writings, why ſhould they give her unwritten Traditions before? A quick wit will nimbly anſwer, that they left her ſuch Traditions as were not to be expreſſed in their writings, but let an honeſt conſcience and an unprejudicate judgment cenſure whether this will abide the teſt, yea or no. For is it within any compaſs of likelihood that theſe Apoſtles did know what things *Paul* would not write of in his Epiſtles, that they ſhould deliver ſuch things before-hand for Tradition, when as yet they hardly knew whether he was to be an Apoſtle of the Gentiles or no, when they did not know whether he would write any Epiſtles or no, much leſs did they know what Epiſtles he would write? *Appello conſcientiam*, and ſo much for Traditions.

(*a*) Sſſ. 4. decret. 1. extat tom. 4. conciliorum par. 2.

(*b*) Lib. 4. de verbo non ſcript. c. 2. extat tom. 1. pag. 166.

(*c*) Ibid. c. 9.

(*d*) Vid. whitaker de S. Script. controv. 1. q. 6. c. 5.

Verſ. 3. *He proceeded to take Peter alſo, &c.*

§. *Peters impriſonment and delivery.*

James his death was ſeconded by *Peters* impriſonment, but his time for martyrdom was not yet come as was the others. *Agrippa* having laid hold upon him, deferred his execution

execution till after the Passover, (e) either because he would not defile that holy feast with effusion of humane blood, or because he would afflict *Peter* the more, and give the Jews the greater content by his long restraint and strait imprisonment, or rather because he feared a tumult if he should have slain him in that concourse of people as was there at Passover time. Thus lay he guarded, with four quaternions, or (as the *Syriack* hath it) with sixteen Souldiers, which as it seemeth watched him by course, for the four watches of the night, two close by him and two at the gate. Besides these two and two successive jaylors, he was bound with two chains, and if (f) some say true, his two keepers were tied for the more sureness in the same chains with him. Happy men were they sure, that had so great interest in these happy chains, which if you dare believe (g) *Surius*, had the virtue to work Miracles, to diffuse Grace, to procure Holiness, to heal Diseases, to affright the Devil and to defend Christians. They were preserved, saith he, by some of *Herods* servants that believed, and in process of time laid up for a sacred relique at *Constantinople*, and there either he or they *lie*.

(e) Sanctius in Act. 12.

(f) Sanct. ubi supra ex Chrysost.

(g) Augusti. 8. c. 18, 19, 20.

That very night that preceded *Peters* intended execution, he being fast asleep between his keepers, is waked, loosed and delivered by an Angel. (h) *Baronius* maketh a great matter of it that the whole Church prayed for *Peter* whilst he was in prison, and since the like is not related to have been done by them for any other, he will needs from hence infer his primacy, the whole flock praying for her universal Pastor, whereas the reasons of this expression are apparent to be only these two. First, To shew that the Church was praying for him whilst he was sleeping, for after he had taken a part of his first sleep, this night he cometh to the house of *John Mark*, and they are there still out of their beds and at prayer. Secondly, Because the fruit of their prayers were shewed in his delivery. There is no doubt but constant prayers were made for *James* by the whole Church whilst he was in prison as well as for *Peter*, but so much is not expressed, because the story could not answer that relation with relation of his delivery: And Atheism and profaneness would have been ready to have scoffed, that the whole Church should have prayed in vain.

(h) Anna ad ann.

The Angel, and *Peter* (thus loosed) pass two watches, and then come to the iron gate; there are some that hold these watches to be two prisons, and the word φυλακὴ to be taken as it were passively for places where men are kept, and that *Peter* was in a Gaol within these two, as in the worst, basest and surest place, and that all were closed with a gate of Iron. But (i) others hold these watches to be guards of men, and that the prison was without the City, between or within the two outmost walls, but in these things it is not material to insist for determination. The latter is far the more probable, both in regard of the signification of the Greek word, and that *Josephus* mentioneth three walls about *Jerusalem*, and divers towers in every wall, as also in regard of the greater heightning of the miracle, in that *Peter* escapeth, not only his own sixteen mens watch, at the prison door, but also two watches more at the two walls gates, and the second which was the Iron gate gave them free passage of its own accord.

(i) Vid. Baron

Peter being cleared of the danger, and left of the Angel, betaketh himself to the house of *Mary* the mother of *John Mark*, where when *Rhoda* upon his knocking and speech averred constantly it was *Peter*, the whole company there assembled conclude that it was his Angel. Here is some ambiguity about their thus concluding. (k) Some understand it of his tutelar Angel, and from hence would strongly plead the opinion that every man hath his proper and allotted Angel to attend him.

(k) Chrysost. in loc. hom. 27.

But first, we sometimes read of one Angel attending many men.

Secondly, Sometimes of many Angels attending one man.

But thirdly, If the matter may be agitated by reason, if a singular Angel be destined to the attendance of every singular man, what doth that Angel do till his man be born, especially what did all the Angels but *Adams* and *Eves* and a few more for many hundreds of years, till the world was full? (l) Others therefore understand it of a messenger, which the Disciples supposed *Peter* had sent to them upon some errand. But this opinion is easily confuted by *Rhoda's* owning of *Peters* voice. (m) There is yet a third opinion as much unwarrantable as either of these; That the Disciples concluded that an Angel by this knocking and voice came to give them notice of *Peters* death to be near at hand, and that therefore they call him his Angel, and that it was sometimes so used that one Saint should know of anothers death by such revelations. The Jews indeed in their writings make frequent mention of *Samael* the Angel of death, but they call him so for inflicting it, and not for foretelling it: And we have some examples indeed in the Ecclesiastical history of one man knowing of anothers death by such revelations and apparitions as these: but because those stories are very dubitable in themselves, and that the Scripture

(l) Vid. Salmeron in locum.

(m) Arctius in loc.

Scripture is utterly without any such precedent, this interpretation is but utterly groundless and unwarrantable. The most proper and most easie meaning therefore of those words of the Disciples, *It is his Angel*, seemeth to be, that they took it for some Angel that had assumed *Peters* shape or stood at the gate in his resemblance.

Vers. 17. *He departed and went to another place.*

The place whither he went is not to be known, because not revealed by Scripture. As for his going to *Rome*, which is the gloss that Papists set upon this place, it is a thing senseless and ridiculous, as was touched before, and might be shewed at large were it worth the labour. I should as soon nominate *Antioch* for the place whither he went at this time, as any other place at a far distance: For I cannot imagine any time when he and *Paul* should meet at *Antioch*, and *Paul* reprove him, *Gal.* 2. 11. so likely as this time: for it is most probable that *Peter* being put to flee for his life, would get out of the territories of *Herod* for his safety: now there was no place more likely for his safety than in *Antioch*, where not only the distance of place might preserve him, but the new born Church would seek to secure him.

Vers. 21. *And upon a day Herod arraied in Royal apparel.*

The acts of this *Herod Agrippa* after his coming from *Rome* to *Jerusalem* and the manner of his death are largely described by *Josephus*, and therefore we will trace them in him in our Jewish Story.

PART II.

The ROMAN Story.

§. 1. *Some Acts of Claudius this year.*

THE Roman year was now taken almost wholly up with sacrifices and holy days, even as it is at this day, to the great hinderance of the people in their employments and occasions, therefore *Claudius* being now Consul abrogated abundance of these days and solemnities, and contracted those that he let remain into as narrow compass as was possible: Many things that *Caius* had foolishly given away, he remanded, and many again that he had wickedly wronged he repaired: He brought *Lycia* under servitude, because in a tumult they had slain some Romans, and he joyned it to *Pamphylia*: and disfranchised a *Lycian* Ambassador that came to treat about the business, because he could not speak Latin, saying, *That it was not fit that he should be a Roman that understood not the Roman tongue*: and many others he disfranchaled for other causes, yet on the contrary was he most lavish, he, *Messalina* and his and her favorites in conferring the Roman freedom and other offices for money, insomuch that he was glad to give an account of it in an oration in *Campus Martius*. He exhibited some sword plays this year in the Camp.

§. 2. *The abominable whoredoms and actions of Messalina the Empress.*

She lived in continual lust and uncleanness: and was not content to do so her self, but she forced divers other women to the same course: Nay she caused some women to commit adultery even in the very sight of their own husbands: And those that consented to her villany she honoured and rewarded, and those that did not, she hated and sought to destroy: These her detestable carriages she kept long unknown from *Claudius*, providing him lasses for his bed, while she took whom she thought good to hers: and killing and taking out of the way, whomsoever she suspected likely to tell *Claudius*. So slew she *Cotonius Justus*, to prevent his telling of tales: and the two *Julia's* upon other occasions.

A Roman Knight was also this year executed as for some conspiracy against the Emperour.

§. 3. *An*

§. 3. *An expedition into England.*

This year did *Aulus Plautius* with much ado lead an Army into *Britain*: For one *Bericus*, who had been expelled thence for sedition, had perswaded *Claudius* to send an Army over: But hardly would the Souldiers be gotten out of *Gaul* over thither, they being incensed and taking it ill that they should go fight even out of the world: *Narcissus* being sent by *Claudius* to the Army, made a speech to them which exasperated them the more, in so much that they made the outcry of *Io Saturnialia*: or *All Masters*, and were ready to make head, but at last they willingly followed *Plautius*: He parted his army into three parts, because that if they were repelled and opposed in one place, they might land in another: They had some trouble in their passage, through cross winds, but they took heart and bare it out, and the rather because a bright light or flame ran from the East toward the West even that way that they were to go: they entred the Island without opposition: for the *Britains* suspected not their coming: but when they were now entred and they not ready to withstand them, they ran into the woods and bogs, hoping to weary out the Romans with following and seeking them, and so to cause them to return without doing any more.

It cost *Plautius* a great deal of toil accordingly to find them out, which at last he did, and overcame first *Cataractacus* and then *Togodumnus* the two sons of *Cynobellinus*, who himself was but lately dead.

These fleeing, he took into homage part of the * *Boduni*, who were subject to the * *Catuellani*, for the *Britains* were now subject to divers Kings. He leaving a Garrison there, marched on till he came to a river, which the *Britains* thought he could not have passed without a bridge, and therefore they incamped carelesly on the other side: But *Plautius* sent over some * *Germane* Souldiers, who were accustomed to swim over Rivers, and they suddenly assault the enemy, but wounded not the men, but only their horses that should have drawn their Chariots, and so spoiled and undid the Riders. Then sent he over *Flavius Vespasian*, who was afterwards Emperor, and *Sabinus* his brother, who passing the River slew many of the enemies on a suddain: yet did not the rest flee but gave battel the next day, and the fortune of the fight was doubtful till *C. Sidius Geta*, being in danger to be taken, did so stoutly behave himself, that he got the victory, and triumphal honours, though he were not Consul.

* Glocestershire and Oxfordshire.
* Buckinghamshire and Hartfordshire. See *Camdens Britan.*
* Κελτὸς.

Then did the *Britains* betake themselves to the *Thames* towards the place where it falls into the Sea and flows high, and they easily get over, knowing the convenientest places: but the Romans following them were in danger: when the *Germans* had again swum the River, and others had passed at a bridge above, they fell upon the *Britains* on all parts, and made a great slaughter: but in pursuit of them they fell into some marishes, and so lost many of their men.

Upon this mishap, and because the *Britains* were exceedingly exasperated for the death of *Togodumnus*, and made still greater preparations for war, *Plautius* proceeded no further, but garrisoning those places that he had gotten, he sends for *Claudius*: for so he had been commanded to do if he came to a pinch.

Claudius receiving the tidings, prepares for the expedition, and among many other things brings divers Elephants along with him, and coming to his army at the *Thames*, and passing the River he fights a pitcht battle and obtains the victory, and takes in * *Camalodunum* the ‖ chief City of *Cynobellinus*; disarms the Britains, leaves them that were conquered to be governed, and the rest to be conquered by *Plautius*, and so goes for *Rome*, where the Senate gives him the title of *Britannicus*, appoints triumphs and Statues for him, and honors for *Messalina*.

* *Maldon.*
‖ Βασιλεῖον. *Regiam.*

§. 3. *A Whorish trick of Messalina.*

Little did she either deserve either honour or respect, but fear and flattery regard not desert. Among her various and continual adulteries, she cast her eyes of lust upon one *Mnester*, an Actor or Player, a man that had been very intimate with *Caius*, and never the better to be thought of for that. This man she sollicites to her bed, with words promises and gifts, but prevails not with him, not for any honesty that was in the man, but for fear of the displeasure of *Claudius*: When the shameless strumpet could not prevail with all her sollicitations, she goeth to *Claudius*, and desires him to command *Mnester* to do what she would have him: which *Claudius* did, not knowing what he commanded.

manded. And then did *Mneſter* adulterate the Empreſs ſo freely from fear of *Claudius*, that he thought it had been the Emperors expreſs mind he ſhould ſo do. And by divers other men did *Meſſalina* practiſe the very ſame project. And to that impudency did ſhe grow in her whoredom with this *Mneſter*, that when the Senate had commanded that all the braſs coin that bare *Caius* his Image ſhould be melted, and this in deteſtation of *Caius*, ſhe cauſed pictures of *Mneſter* to be made of it.

PART III.

The JEWISH Story.

§. 1. *Agrippa his actions at Jeruſalem after his return from Rome.*

AGRIPPA returned the laſt year to *Jeruſalem*, where as we obſerved and ſaw before, he performed much ceremoniouſneſs, and changed the Highprieſt, ſlew *James* and impriſoned *Peter*. Beſides theſe things he remitted a tribute to the men of *Jeruſalem*, for their kindneſs in entertaining of him: he obtained the letters of *Petronius* to the men of *Dor* for the removal of *Cæſars* ſtatue, which ſome ſeditious men had ſet up in their Synagogue: He removed *Cantharas* from the Highprieſt again, and placed *Matthias* in his ſtead. He impriſoned *Silas* the Maſter of his Horſe for his free diſcourſe concerning his ſervice done to him in the time of his calamity and poverty, but on his birth day feſtival he inlarged him again, where he continuing ſtill in the ſame freedom of ſpeech, he impriſoned him again. He began to fortifie *Jeruſalem*, and to make it exceeding ſtrong, but *Marſus* (the preſent Governour of *Syria* in ſteed of *Petronius*) got letters from *Claudius* to ſtop his work, as ſuſpitious towards innovation. He was exceedingly obſervant of his Countries Laws, and much care and coſt he beſtowed on ſacrifices, yet was he challenged by one **Simon* that took on him to be a teacher, for an unholy man and one unfit to come into the Temple: which *Simon* he ſent for to *Cæſarea*, where he queſtioned with him about the words, and diſſwaded him without puniſhment but with a reward.

* It may be this ſtory aimeth ſomething at *Simon Peter.*

He built ſumptuous things in *Berytus*, as a Theater, Amphitheater, Baths, Porches, and ſuch like magnificences, and ſet 700 and 700 condemned men to fight together for paſtime, and ſo deſtroyed them. From thence he went to *Tiberias* of *Galilee* whither divers Kings came to him to viſit: And ſo did *Marſus* alſo the Governor of *Syria*; but he ſeeing ſo many Kings together with him (for they were five) he ſuſpected the matter as tending to innovation, and therefore he commanded them home. *Herod* after this went down to *Cæſarea*, and there he made ſports and ſhows in honour of *Cæſar*; and on the ſecond day being moſt gorgeouſly apparelled, and the Sun ſhining very bright upon his bright cloathing, his flatterers ſaluted him for a god, and cried out to him; *Be merciful unto us, hitherto have we feared thee as a man, but henceforward we will acknowledge thee to be of a nature more excellent than mortal frailty can attain unto.* The wretched King reproved not this abominable flattery, but did digeſt it: And not long after he eſpied his Owl which the *German* had foretold to be the *Omen* of his death. And ſuddainly he was ſeized with miſerable gripings in his belly, which came upon him with vehement extremity, whereupon turning himſelf towards his friends, *Lo*, ſaith he, *he whom ye eſteem for a God is doomed to die; and deſtiny ſhall evidently confute you in thoſe flattering and falſe ſpeeches which you lately uſed concerning me. For I who have been adored by you as one immortal, am now under the hands of death:* And ſo his griefs and torments increaſing, his death drew on a pace, whereupon he was removed into the Palace, and all the people put on ſackcloth and lay on the ground praying for him, which he beholding could not refrain from tears: And ſo after five days he gave up the Ghoſt being now 54 years old, and having raigned ſeven years, four years in the time of *Caius* and three under *Claudius*: He left a ſon behind him of ſeventeen years old named alſo *Agrippa*, and three daughters, *Bernice*, *Mariamme* and *Druſilla*. Before his death was publiſhed, his brother *Herod* the Prince of *Chalcis*, and *Chelchias* the Kings Lieutenant, cauſed *Silas* to be put to death.

FINIS.

THE

TEMPLE SERVICE

As it ſtood in the Days of

Our SAVIOUR.

Deſcribed out of the

SCRIPTURES,

And the Eminenteſt

Antiquities of the JEWS.

By *JOHN LIGHTFOOT* D.D.

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TO THE
READER.

IT was my desire, and so it was my hope that this poor Treatise, should not have gone abroad into the world so thinly and so alonely as it doth, but that it would have had a mate to have gone forth with it, which was bred and born and grew up with it, even till the time that it should go forth: but then it stumbled at the threshold, got a lameness, and so was forced to stay at home. My design in reference to the affairs of the Temple, when first I undertook a work of that nature, was first to describe the place, and to give the character and platform of the Temple it self, and then to have something to say about the service. And accordingly with no small pains and study, out of the Scripture, and the highest Antiquities of the Jews, *I drew up in a large Tractate and Discourse, as also in a very large Map and Figure, a full, plain, punctual, and exact prospect and description (if I may have liberty to say so much of mine own Work) of the Temple at* Jerusalem, *especially, as it stood in those times, when our Saviour himself in humane flesh did resort thither. Its Situation, Dimensions, Platform, Fabrick and Furniture, both within and without: the Walls, Gates, Courts, Cloisters, Chambers and Buildings that were about it. The Altar, Lavers, Stations for Men, Slaughter places for Beasts, and all the Offices belonging to it: with observation of all or most of those places in either Testament, that speak concerning it, or any of the parts of it. A delineation so copious and plain, of all the particulars in that holy ground, that had it had the hap to have come to the publick view, I should not have feared to have made the Reader the Judge and Censor, upon the nature and use of the thing, and whether it might have proved of any benefit and advantage yea or no.*

But that hap of becoming publick, is not happened to it: for the Schemetical delineation of the Temple, and of the buildings about it, in the Map, and the Verbal description of them in the Written Tract, do so mutually face and interchangeably refer one to the other, (the Map helping to understand the Description in the Book, and the Book helping to understand the Delineation in the Map) that they may not be sent forth into publick apart or one without the other, but must needs appear (if ever they appear) both together. For this purpose have I waited very many months since Book and Map were both finished, (nay many months before I would suffer this present Tract to go to the Press) for the Ingraving or Cutting of the Map in Brass, that it might be Printed, and so it and that Treatise and this might have come forth at once, as it was my desire and mine intention. But I have so far failed of my desire and expectation, and find so little fruit of all my long waiting, that to this very hour I have not obtained so much as the least hope of the Maps Ingraving at all, or the least probability when it will be begun. I have therefore laid both those aside in suppression, the one to wait for the speeding of the other, (if that will ever be) and both to see how this speeds which is sent abroad, which it may be had been as good to have staid at home

as

as they do, and not to have been ſo forward. That reſts in the Readers manner of entertainment, Curteſie or Cenſure: I ſhall not uſe many words to Court the one or Deprecate the other: Learned ingenuity will be Courteous, though not Flattered: and proud or unlearned cenſoriouſneſs will be crabbed, unleſs I would be a Spaniel: and it may be I ſhould be then kickt too. I ſhall only ſay thus much of what I have done, I have deſired to benefit, and I have ſpared no pains, I have walked in paths very rugged and very untroden: if I have ſtumbled or erred, it is no wonder; the way full of difficulty and I of humane frailty: And as for many things, which I have left, not explained, as it may be the Reader would have deſired, it was becauſe I ſuppoſed all along, as I drew up this tract, that the other would have come forth with it, in which divers things, which will be thought wanting here, are more fully handled and ſupplied.

London, May 30.
1649.

J. L.

A

PROSPECT

OF THE

Temple Service.

OR,

The TEMPLE SERVICE as it ſtood in the days of Our *SAVIOUR.*

Deſcribed out of the SCRIPTURES, and the eminenteſt Antiquities of the *JEWS.*

CHAP. I.

Of the different Holineſs of the ſeveral parts of the Temple.

THE degrees of the Holineſs of places among the Jews, by their own reckoning were (*a*) theſe eleven.

1. *The land of Iſrael was more holy than other lands.* Not to mention the many appropriations, fixed to that land by them, which they will have no other land under Heaven to partake of, [as (*b*) that the ſpirit of Propheſie, (*c*) Ordination, (*d*) appointing the New Moons, &c. ſhould be no where elſe) theſe two or three peculiarities they obſerve by name, as proper only to that very ſoil and no other. That the Omer or firſt reaped Sheaf and other firſt Fruits that were to be offered, and the two Loaves of Shew-bread which were to ſtand continually before the Lord, might not be taken and made of the Corn of any Country under Heaven, but only of the Corn that grew in the Land of *Iſrael.*

(*a*) *Kelim. per.* 1 *Maym. in Beth habbechirah. per.* 1.

(*b*) *R. Sol in Jonah.* 1.

(*c*) *Maymon. in Sanhed. per.* 4.

(*d*) *Idem in Kidduſh hhodeſh. per.* 1. & *per.* 5.

2. *Walled Cities were more holy than the reſt of the Land:* For, 1. Lepers were not ſuffered to be in them, but were turned out, 2 *Kings* 7. 2, 3. and this their turning out was called (*e*) שלוח *Shilluah:* and it may be poſſibly the fountain *Siloam* took its name from ſuch a thing, it being without the City, a place whither ſuch poor creatures were ſent. 2. A dead body carried out of the walls, might not be brought in again: מסבבים בתוכה ערך מה שירצו : they might carry it up and down in the City, as they thought good, but if it were once carried out of the gates it might not be brought in again. 3. A dead corps was not to be buried within the walls, *Luke* 7. 12. And *none* [ſaith (*f*) *Rabbi Nathan*] *were buried within the walls of* Jeruſalem, *but the Kings of the houſe of* David, *and the Propheteſs* Huldah.

(*e*) *Maymon in hiath Mikdaſh per.* 3.

(*f*) *Avoth. R. Nathan. per.* 34.

3. *Within* Jeruſalem *was holyer than within any other walled City*; for (*g*) there they might eat the Peace-offerings, the firſt fruits, and the ſecond tithe, which they might not eat in any City elſe whatſoever: And there alone (while *Jeruſalem* was theirs] did they eat the Paſsover.

(*g*) *Rambam in Kelim per.* 1.

4. *The mountain of the Temple was more holy than* Jeruſalem; for זבים וזבות נדות ויולדות Men or Women that had Iſſues or Fluxes, and Women that were unclean in their *menſtruis*,

menſtruis, and upon child-bearing, might not come in thither; yet ſuch were in *Jeruſa-*
(h) Maymon. ubi ſupr. *lem* continually. And the reaſon of this their reſtraint was (*h*) becauſe *they made that unclean that either they ſate or lay upon, yea even the place where they ſtood:* which in this circumſtance was a deeper defiling, than defiling by the dead, for a dead corps might [if there were occaſion] be brought in hither, [as to ſave the dead body of an eminent perſon from violence, and as they give the example of *Moſes* carrying the bones of *Joſeph* with him, even within the camp of *Levi*,] but one of theſe unclean perſons might not come in here.

5. *The* חיל *chel, or alley was holyer than the mountain of the Houſe*; for *ſtrangers* and thoſe that were defiled by the dead might not come within it, which they might do into the other. By *ſtrangers*, here, we are not to underſtand Proſelytes that were circumciſed and baptized, for they were as *Iſraelites* to all purpoſes; but *ſtrangers*, were ſuch, as were of other Nations, that were not come to that conformity with the Jews in Religion; were they *Proſelytes of the gate*, or were they ſtrangers in the moſt proper ſenſe: For we ſhall obſerve hereafter, that even Gentiles unproſelyted, yea while they were yet Idolaters, might and did ſometimes bring their offerings to the Temple, and ſo might come into *the mountain of the Houſe*; and hence, that is ordinarily called among Chriſtian writers, *The Court of the Gentiles:* But though they might come within *the mountain of the Houſe*, yet might they not enter into the *chel* upon pain of death, which was ſignified to them by inſcriptions upon pillars at the entrance into it, as is obſerved in its place.

And from hence roſe that tumult againſt *Paul*, *Act.* 21. who being himſelf, and four others, attending upon their purification, in the court of the Women, ſhaving their heads, and burning their hair in the *Nazarites* room, and doing what was to be done by thoſe whoſe vow was out; an *bubbub* ariſeth upon ſuppoſal that one of the four had been a Gentile, namely *Trophimus* an Epheſian, whom they had ſeen walking with *Paul* in the City, and indignity was taken at this, as if *Paul* had brought in a ſtranger within the חיל *chel*.

6. *The Court of the Women was more holy than the* חיל for טבול יום *Tibbul iom* might not come in thither, that is, whoſoever was defiled with ſuch an uncleanneſs, as required his waſhing, and his Sun going down, before he was clean; though he had waſhed, yet if the Sun were not ſet, he or ſhe might not come in there.

(i) Id. ubi ſupra, & Kelim. per. 1. (k) Id. in Mechoſeret capparah per. 1. (l) Joſeph. de bell. 5. cap. 14. (m) Toſapheta in Erachim per. 2.

7. *The Court of Iſrael was more holy than the Court of the Women*, (*i*) for מחוסרי כיפורים they might not enter into it, that were, indeed, acquitted from their uncleanneſs, but had not as yet their atonement made for their purification: (*k*) *There were four ſorts of theſe, the Leper, a man that had an Iſſue: a Woman that had had been in her Separation, and ſhe that had born a Child:* (*l*) As for the Women they might not go into the Court at all, (*m*) unleſs it were when they brought a ſacrifice: but men who were capable of going in at other times, yet might they not enter the Court in this condition, till their atonement made.

(n) Piske Toſaph. ad Mid.

8. *The Court of the Prieſts was more holy than the Court of Iſrael:* for no Iſraelite might come in there but upon neceſſity: and that was in theſe three occaſions (*n*), either for the laying of his hands upon the head of the ſacrifice to be ſlain, or for ſlaying of it, or for waving of ſome part of it being killed.

9. *Between the Porch and the Altar was more holy than the lower part of the Court*; for even no Prieſt might come there that had a blemiſh, or bareheaded, that is, without his bonnet or without his vail: for they uſed the covering of their heads as one moſt ſolemn rite in their greateſt devotions, as ſhall be ſhewed afterward.

10. *The Temple was more holy than that:* becauſe none might go in thither, unleſs with waſhed hands and feet: which up and down the Court they might more tolerably do with both unwaſhed, if they did not meddle with ſome part of the ſervice.

11. *The Oracle or within the vail was moſt holy of all:* becauſe that none might go in thither, but only the High-prieſt, and that but one day in the year only.

Thus many riſings and degrees of Holineſs were in that Land, and in theſe places; now, and many hundreds of years ago raked up in as many, and many more degrees of miſery, defilement and deſolation. The blinded Nation deſpiſing the life and marrow of thoſe holy things, whereby theſe places received all their holineſs and honour; and ſo loſing the things, places, and holineſs it ſelf.

(o) R. Sol. in Kelim. per. 1. Maym. in Beth habbitch. per. 7.

The Jews do parallel *Jeruſalem* and the Temple, to the Camp of *Iſrael* in the wilderneſs and the Tabernacle, in theſe proportions. (*o*) *From the gates of* Jeruſalem *to the mountain of the Houſe, was the camp of* Iſrael. *From the gate of the mountain of the Houſe, to the gate of* Nicanor, *the camp of* Levi: *and from the gate of* Nicanor *inward, the camp of the divine glory.*

SECT.

SECT. I.

How the unclean were kept from the Temple.

UPON the obſervation of what perſons were prohibited acceſs to the Temple, leſt they ſhould defile it, two things methodically do come to hand to be conſidered thereupon, as referring to it; and thoſe are, 1. What courſe was taken for the prohibiting of the unclean from coming there. And, 2. What was the penalty of thoſe that were in their uncleanneſs, yet would dare to come.

The former inquiry is not of ſo eaſie reſolution as is the latter, and the reaſon is, becauſe thouſands of perſons might come, that were not in a fit caſe to have come thither; and yet it was impoſſible, without immodeſty and uncivility, unleſs it were by oath, to diſcover in what caſe they were. There were indeed Porters and Guards at the gates, but thouſands of unclean perſons might paſs them, and they never the wiſer, unleſs they ſhould have put the paſſengers to an oath, which I believe was never yet dreamed of by any writer that hath handled the Jews cuſtoms. Men in iſſues of blood or ſeed, and women in their ordinary or extraordinary fluxes, could neither be diſcerned by their face in what caſe they were, nor do we find that they were ever at all examined, much leſs ſworn or ſearched. They might repel and keep back, indeed, what or whoſoever carried with them viſible defiling, as one that appeared to be a Leper, one that came with things about him that might not be brought into the Temple: or they might keep back thoſe that would go beyond their bounds: or they might have an eye to any that came ſuſpiciouſly either to ſteal or to diſturb the Service: or they might check thoſe that ſhewed any lightneſs at their coming in, or being entred: or they might direct thoſe that were not well acquainted with the place what to do and how to behave themſelves there: or they might admoniſh all that came, to take heed of coming there if they were unclean: But as for keeping out all that were in any uncleanneſs, and ſuch as whereby the place might receive defilement, it was a thing ſo far impoſſible, that it is far from being imaginable. A man might have touched a dead Corps, or might have touched a Woman in her ſeparation, or ſuffered Gonorrhœa in the night, or twenty ſuch like caſes as theſe, and he cometh to enter into the Temple, and no one in the world knew how the caſe was with him but himſelf, how ſhould this man be poſſibly diſcovered or reſtrained, unleſs it were by the ſpirit of Propheſie, or by giving him an oath, which power we never read the Porters to have had, nor is there any ground or colour to ſuppoſe ſuch a thing.

The ſecurity of the place therefore from ſuch pollutions lay more in the ſeverity of the penalties that were ſentenced againſt and inflicted upon thoſe that were deprehended offenders in this kind, than it did in any poſſible care, or practical prevention they could uſe that they ſhould not come there: And as the rigour and ſtrictneſs of Laws, and execution upon offenders in other caſes, is the ſureſt prevention of ſuch offences, the like was the way of caution and prevention here.

SECT. II.

Penalties doomed upon unclean Perſons found in the Temple. Death by the hand of Heaven, and Cutting off.

FOur ſad and ſevere puniſhments [for puniſhments I cannot but call them all] were ſeverally allotted, two in ſentence or doom and two in execution, upon thoſe that preſumingly by their uncleanneſs, did violate the Holineſs of the place and ſervice, ſome upon one degree of offending, and ſome upon another: And thoſe were theſe,

מיתה ביד שמים *Death by the hand of Heaven.*
כרת *Cutting off.*
מלקות *Whipping.*
מכות מרדות *The Rebels beating.*

1. There is a penalty of which the Jews do ſpeak exceeding often, due as they hold to divers ſorts of offenders, and amongſt other, to ſome of thoſe that we are ſpeaking of, namely ſuch as being unclean, yet would for all that go into the Temple, and they do call it *Death by the hand of Heaven* [or by the hand of God, (*a*) for they do very commonly call God *Heaven*,] (*b*) *An unclean perſon*, [ſaith *Maymony*,] *that ſerveth in the Sanctuary profaneth his ſervice, and is guilty of Death by the Hand of Heaven, though [illegible] ſtay not there.* And again (*c*) *A Prieſt that ſerveth and waſheth not his hands and feet* [illegible]

(*a*) *Vid. Eliu Levit. in Tesbi in* שמים.
(*b*) *Maymon. in Beath Mikdaſh.* [illegible]

(d) Ibid. per. 4. *the morning, he is guilty of Death by the hand of Heaven.* And again, (d) *Men or Women with Fluxes, Women in their Separation and upon Childbirth, or one unclean by a creeping thing or by a carcaſe, or the like, may not deal with the ſervice, nor go into the Court: But if they do, they are liable to cutting off for their going in thither, and to Death by the hand of Heaven for their ſerving.* And divers other inſtances and examples might be given in other delinquencies and offences, to which *Death by the hand of Heaven* is doomed as the proper puniſhment of them, but theſe may be ſufficient to our preſent purpoſe.

2. There is likewiſe as frequent mention, if not more, among the Hebrew Writers, of another doom or penalty upon divers offenders [and amongſt others upon thoſe of whom we are ſpeaking, who would go into the Temple in their uncleanneſs, knowing how the caſe was with them] which they call כרת *kereth* or *Cutting off:* And the *Talmud* in the Treatiſe *Kerithuth* which bears the name upon this very ſubject doth reckon up ſix and thirty offences to which, if wilfully committed, this penalty accrewed. It may not be amiſs to give the matter at large in their own words, and that the rather becauſe we have not only ſome occaſion to look after them now, but ſhall have again alſo, when we come to treat concerning ſin-offerings, which was a part of their ſervice, and which, as we ſhall ſee then and even in the words now before us, had ſomewhat to ſay to the matter of *Cutting off.* Their words are theſe.

(e) Kerithuth. per. 1. (e) *There are ſix and thirty cuttings off in the Law: He that lieth with his mother, or his fathers wife, or his daughter in Law, or with a male, or with a beaſt, or a woman lying with a beaſt: or a man lying with a woman and her daughter, or with another mans wife, or with his own ſiſter, or his fathers ſiſter, or his mothers ſiſter, or his wifes ſiſter, or his brothers wife, or his fathers brothers wife, or with a woman in her ſeparation: or he that blaſphemeth, or comitteth Idolatry, or giveth his ſeed to Molech, or uſeth Sorcery, or profaneth the Sabbath, or eateth holy things in his uncleanneſs, or that cometh into the Sanctuary he being unclean: or that eateth fat or blood, or what is left of the ſacrifice, or any ſacrificed thing not offered in ſeaſon, or that killeth or offereth up a ſacrifice out of the Court, or that eateth leaven at the Paſſover, or that eateth ought on the day of Expiation, or doth any work on it: or that makes oil or incenſe like the holy, or that anoints with holy oil: that delayeth the Paſſover or Circumciſion for which there are affirmative precepts: All theſe if done wilfully, are liable to cutting off, and if done ignorantly, then to the fixed ſin-offering: and if it be unknown, whether he did it or no, then to a ſuſpenſive treſpaſs-offering: but only he that defiles the Sanctuary and its holy things, for he is bound to an aſcending or deſcending offering.*

Now that we may the better underſtand what *Death by the hand of Heaven*, and *Cutting off* mean; we are firſt to take notice, that neither of them was any penalty inflicted by the hand or ſentence of man, but both of them do import a liableneſs to the wrath and vengeance of the Lord in their ſeveral kinds. And the Jews do ever account *Cutting off* to be the higher and more eminent degree of Divine vengeance: As to ſpare more evidences of this, which might be given copiouſly, this paſſage of *Maymonides* is ſufficient, and it is remarkable, when he ſaith (f) *Is it poſſible for a Prieſt that ſerveth in his uncleanneſs, to ſtay ſo little in the Court* שלא יתחייב כרת אלא מיתה ביד שמים בלבד *As that he ſhould be guilty of death by the hand of Heaven only, and not guilty of cutting off?* He had had thoſe words but a little before which were cited even now. *An unclean perſon that ſerveth in the Sanctuary profaneth his Service, and is guilty of death by the hand of Heaven, although he ſtay not there:* and then he comes on, *and is it poſſible,* (ſaith he) *that he ſhould ſtay ſo little as to be guilty only of death by the hand of Heaven, and not to be guilty of cutting off?* Apparently ſhewing that *cutting off* was the deeper degree and die of guilt and vengeance by the hand of God, and Divine indignation.

(f) Maym. in Biath. Mikdaſh. per. 4.

By *Death by the hand of Heaven* in their ſenſe therefore is to be apprehended ſome ſuch a ſodain avengeful ſtroke as the Lord ſhewed upon *Nadab*, and *Abihu*, or *Ananias* and *Saphira* to take them away. And this may the better be collected by two paſſages uſual in the Rabbins about this matter: Firſt, In that they give up the offence of the Prieſts drinking wine before they went to ſerve, [which is held to have been the offence of *Nadab* and *Abihu*;] (g) *to death by the hand of Heaven*, which argues that they mean ſuch a kind of ſtroke as they two had. And ſecondly, In that whereſoever the Law enjoyneth *Aaron* and his ſons, and the people about the affairs of the Sanctuary, *they ſhall or they ſhall not do thus or thus, leſt they die*; they interpret this of *death by the hand of Heaven.*

(g) Id. b. per. 1.

(h) Kimchi in Eſay 38.

(i) R. Sol. in Gen. 17.

(k) Aruch. in כרת

But what to underſtand by *Cutting off*, is not ſo readily agreed among them: (h) *Kimchi* alledgeth it, as the opinion of their Doctors, *That Dying before fifty years old is death by cutting off.* [Compare Joh. 8. 57.] (i) *Rabbi Solomon* ſaith, *It is to die childleſs, and to die before his time: Baal Aruch* giveth this diſtinction between *Cutting off*, and *Death by the hand of Heaven*, that (k) *Cutting off is of himſelf and of his children, but Death by the hand of Heaven, is of himſelf, but not of his children.* But mean it which of theſe you will, or all theſe together, or [which may have good probability to conceive] a liableneſs

liableneſs to cutting off from the life of the world to come; both this, and *Death by the Hand of Heaven*, were held by that Nation, with whom the phraſes were ſo much in uſe, to mean, not any cenſure or puniſhment inflicted by man, but an impending vengeance of God, and a continual danger and poſſibility when indignation ſhould ſeize upon him that was faln under theſe gilts: *Anathema Maran Atha*, one under a curſe whenſoever the Lord ſhall come to inflict it: as *Joh.*3.18,36.

SECT. III.

Penalties inflicted upon unclean perſons found in the Temple. Whipping and the Rebels beating.

IT was not a ſmall awe, that this might work in the hearts of the people, towards their reſtraining from going into the Sanctuary in their uncleanneſs, to have this impreſſed and inculcated upon them [as it was continually,] that ſuch a venture did hazard them both body and ſoul, and brought them *ipſo facto* into Gods dreadful diſpleaſure, and into undoubted danger of accrewing judgment.

But did they let the offender thus alone, that had offended, as if he was fallen under the guilt of *death, by the Hand of Heaven*, or under the guilt of *cutting off*, that they had no more to do with him, but leave him to the juſtice of God, and to judgment, when it ſhould fall upon him? Many a wretch would make ſleight of this matter, and becauſe ſentence upon his evil work was not executed ſpeedily, his heart would be fully ſet in him to do ſo again, as *Eccleſ.*8.11. Therefore they let not the Delinquent ſo eſcape, but as he had fallen under the wrath of God, ſo they alſo brought him under a penalty by the hand of man. And this penalty was twofold, either מלקות or מכות מרדות *whipping* by the appointment of the Judges, or *mawling* and beating by the people.

1. There was the penalty of מלקות *whipping* or ſcourging, upon the cenſure of the Judges, according to the Law, *Deut.*25.2. Where he was to receive forty ſtripes: but their Tradition brought it to forty ſave one, 2 *Cor.*11.24. And the reaſon of this was, becauſe they would make a hedge to the Law, and whereas that commands that they ſhould not give to a Delinquent that was whipt, above forty ſtripes, *leſt their brother ſhould ſeem vile unto them*, they abated one of forty to make ſure to keep within compaſs: The meaſure and manner of their whipping is largely deſcribed in the Treatiſe *Maccoth*, thus in their own words (*a*) *How many ſtripes do they give him?* [ſaith the *Miſhuch* there.] *Why, forty lacking one: As it is ſaid by a certain number, forty ſtripes; that is a number near to forty:* Rabbi Judah *ſaith, he is beaten with full forty; and where hath he the odd one above thirty nine? Between his ſhoulders: They allot him not ſtripes, but ſo as they might be triplicated: They allot him to receive forty, he hath had ſome of them, and they ſay he is not able to bear forty, then he is quit: they allot him to receive eighteen, and as he is in whipping they ſay he is able to bear forty, yet he is quit. How do they whip him? His hands are tied to two pillars or poſts, and the Officer of the Court lays hold of his garments, and rip or rent, it is no matter; he pulls them down till he have bared his breaſt. Now there was a ſtone lay behind him, upon which the Officer of the Court ſtood, with a whip of whit-leather in his hand, platted four plats, and two laſhes hanging by it; the handle was a hand bredth long, and the whip a hand bredth broad, and the end of it raught to his belly: A third part of his ſtripes he gave him before [on his belly,] two parts behind: And he beats him not ſtanding nor ſitting, but bowed down, as it is ſaid, The Judge ſhall cauſe him to lie down, and he ſtrikes him with one hand with all his might. And in the mean while, one ſtanding by, reads or ſays theſe portions of Scripture: But if thou wilt not obſerve to do all the words of this Law, &c. Then the Lord will make thy plagues wonderful, and the plagues of thy ſeed, &c.* Deut. 28. 58, 59. *And therefore ye ſhall keep the words of this Covenant, &c. And he concludes with, But he being full of compaſſion forgives iniquity, and deſtroyeth not,* Pſal.78.28.

(*a*) *Maccoth. per.*3.

This was the manner of their ſcourging; a very ſharp penalty, thirteen laſhes with a three-laſh whip, which by that triplication, aroſe to forty ſave one, or if the number were allotted leſs, yet it was as many ſtripes as they conceived the party could bear.

2. There was the penalty of מכות מרדות *The Rebels beating*, the beating or the mawling by the people; which was a terrible rugged beating by all the people, without any ſentence of the Judges paſſed upon him at all, and without any meaſure: As in divers caſes, if a man were deprehended faulty in ſuch or ſuch an offence, the people made no more ado, but fell upon him pell mell, with fiſts, ſtaves or ſtones, and mawled him unmeaſurably, and very often to death: *Rabbi Nathan* deſcribes it thus, (*b*) *The beating according to the Law is, of thoſe that tranſgreſs againſt negative precepts, and it is by meaſure, and for admonition, and with a three corded whip: But he that tranſgreſſeth againſt affirmative ſpeeches, they beat him till his life depart, and not with a threefold whip. And likewiſe, whoſoever tranſgreſſeth againſt the words of the wiſe men, they beat him without number and meaſure, and they call it* מכות מרדות, *The Rebels beating, becauſe he hath rebelled againſt the words of the Law,*

(*b*) *Aruch in* מרד

(c) *Gloſſ. in Maym. in Sobbath. per.* 1. *Law, and againſt the words of the Scribes. The reaſon of this beating,* (c) [ſaith another Jew] *is becauſe he tranſgreſſed againſt a prohibition of theirs, in a thing which hath its foundation in the Law, and he is* בן מרדות *A Son of Rebellion:* The frequent taking up of ſtones by the People to have ſtoned our Saviour, and that incurſion upon him, *Mat.*26.67. and upon *Stephen*, *Act.*7.57,58. for blaſphemy as they would have it, and upon *Paul*, *Act.* 21. 31. for defiling the Temple, as they ſuppoſed, were of this nature.

Thus he that committed a tranſgreſſion for which he became liable either to *Death by the hand of Heaven*, or to *Cutting off*, he did not eſcape barely with that liableneſs, but either he was to be whipt, or thus mawled, or in ſome caſes was to ſuffer death by the ſentence of the Judges: [*d*] *Every negative precept* [ſaith *Maymony*] *upon which they become liable to death by the hand of Heaven, they are beaten for it:* Much more where there is a liableneſs to *cutting off*, which is the greater guilt. And the ſame Author [*e*] reckons eighteen offences, that fell under liableneſs to *death by the Hand of Heaven*, and for which the Offenders were whipt: and twenty one that fell under liableneſs to *cutting off*, and for which the Offenders were alſo whipt, and were not put to death by the Judges.

[*d*] *Maym. in Biath. Mikdaſh. per.* 4.
[*e*] *Id. in San. per* 19.

Amongſt thoſe tranſgreſſions that deſerved theſe penalties; *going into the Sanctuary in uncleanneſs*; fell under as many of them as any one offence whatſoever: It were too tedious to inſiſt upon all particulars, let us take up theſe few, and gueſs and conjecture of the reſt by them: A Prieſt or any other that went into the Court being unclean, fell under the guilt of being *cut off*, and if they ſerved there in their uncleanneſs, the Prieſt at the Altar, and any other perſon in laying on of his hands on the ſacrifice, or waving any part of it, they then became liable to *death by the hand of Heaven.* And ſuch a Prieſt being deprehended thus faulty, [*f*] they never brought him before the *Sanhedrin*; [*g*] *but the young men of the Prieſts thruſt him out of the Court, and daſht out his brains with the billets:* And the like they did by the other perſons; A Leper that entred into the Mountain of the Houſe was beaten with eighty ſtripes: He that was defiled by the dead, or unclean for a day, if he went into the Court of the Women, he was to be beaten with the *Rebels beating:* And ſo was he that came in, having eaten or drunk any unclean thing, or after a ſeven days uncleanneſs would go into the Court of *Iſrael* before his atonement was made. And he that brought in a Veſſel, or came in any Clothes which one that was defiled by the dead had toucht, was to be whipt. And not to multiply particulars, whoſoever came within the holy Ground, being unclean, and knowing of it, and yet would come in, he incurred the guilt of *cutting off ipſo facto*; and if he were diſcovered, and the matter proved by witneſs, he was ſure either to be whipt, or elſe to be mawled with the *Rebels beating*, the former always moſt terrible, the latter deadly very oft. It is indeed a common ſaying among the *Talmudick* Writers; that for ſuch or ſuch offences, *though a man be not whipt, yet is he beaten with the Rebels beating*, as if the latter were the gentler caſtigation; they do not mean, that the *Rebels beating* was the leſs penalty, but they intend this, that though there be no expreſs in the Law, that appoints his whipping, yet the decrees of the Wiſe-men which he hath broken, appoint him to be beaten: [*h*] *Whoſoever had incurred the guilt of being Cut off, after he is whipt is acquitted from that guilt: as it is ſaid, Leſt thy brother be vile in thine eyes: Behold after he is whipt he is thy brother again:* But the *beating with the Rebels ſtripes*, very ordinarily coſt the life.

[*f*] *Id in Biath. Mikd. ubi ſupr.*
[*g*] *Talm. in Schedr. per.* 9.
[*h*] *Talm. in Maccoth. per.* 3.

This then was the ſure guard of the Temple, that kept it from defilement and pollution: the dreadful penalties that were ſure to light upon thoſe that were diſcovered to be unclean, and to know ſo much, and yet to have dared to enter there: Nay, he that knew not of his uncleanneſs, if he came in there, was not ſo entirely excuſed by this his ignorance, but that whenſoever he came to know in what caſe he was, he was bound to bring an Offering for this his ſin, and ſo was he to do in the other caſes [whoſe witting and wilful committing them, deſerved *cutting off*] if he did any of them unwillingly and not knowing: Did he eat fat or blood, and not know what he eat, or come into the Sanctuary in uncleanneſs, and not know that he was unclean, or commit any of the other tranſgreſſions mentioned, and not know that he tranſgreſſed, there was an Offering appointed to atone for him, which he was to bring as ſoon as he came to know that he had miſdone: but he that knowingly and wilfully would run into thoſe faults, there was no Sacrifice to atone for him, but he fell under the indignation of God, and liableneſs to divine vengeance, and humane penalty, and expectation when it would ſeize upon him: And to this the Apoſtle writing to the *Hebrews* who were very well acquainted with theſe things, ſeemeth to allude in thoſe words, *Heb.*10.11. *If we ſin wilfully after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there is no more ſacrifice for ſin, but a certain fearful looking for of judgement and fiery indignation, &c.* Heb. 10.26,27.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the ſeveral ranks of Prieſts, and ſeveral Officers of the Temple.

THE diſtinction of the Prieſts that attended the Temple Service, was into theſe ſeveral ranks and degrees.

1. The High-Prieſt, of whom there is ſo known, and common mention in the Scripture.

2. (*a*) The *Sagan* or ſecond Prieſt, as *Jer.*52.24. where the *Chaldee Paraphraſt* uſeth the word *Sagan*; and which word in this ſenſe, is moſt ordinary in all Jewiſh Writers; betokening the Vice-high-prieſt, or one next ſubſtitute to him. (a) *Vide Maym. in kele hammik. daſh. per.* 4.

3. There were two *Katholici* קתוליקין which were ſubſtitutes to the *Sagan*, as the *Sagan* was to the High-prieſt.

4. There were ſeven *Amarcalin* אמרכלין [the word is uſed by the *Chaldee Paraphraſts* exceeding often.]

5. There (*b*) were three *Gizbarin* גוברין or *Treaſurers*, theſe were in a manner under the *Amarcalin*. (b) *Talm. in Shekalim per.* 5.

6. The ראש המשמר *chief Prieſt of every courſe* that ſerved interchangeably its week.

7. The ראש בית אב *chief of any family* that ſerved in that courſe.

8. And laſtly, there was כהן הדיוט *An ordinary Prieſt*, or one that was of none of theſe ranks, but an inferiour.

Now theſe degrees were one above another as they are named, the High-prieſt above the *Sagan*, the *Sagan* above the *Katholici*, the *Katholici* above the *Amarcalin*, the *Amarcalin* above the *Gizbarin*, the *Gizbarin* above the chief of any courſe, and the chief of the courſe above the Head of any Family.

Theſe ſeveral ranks [of the five firſt eſpecially,] were as a conſtant and ſtanding Council, for the continual regulating and ordering of the Affairs of the Temple Service and attendance there.

Theſe are thoſe that are called the *Beth din ſhel cohanim*, *The Conſeſſus or Conſiſtory of Prieſts*: ſpoken of by the *Talmud* in the Treatiſe *Ketubboth* in theſe words, אחת אלמנת ישראל ואחת אלמנת כהן כתבתה מנה בית דין של כהנים היו גובין תוו לבתולה ולא מוחו חכמים ביום. (*c*) *It is all one whether ſhe be the Widow of an Iſraelite, or the Widow of a Prieſt, her contractive dower is a Maneh, The Conſiſtory of Prieſts demanded* 400 *Zuzims for a Virgin; and the Wiſe Men did not contradict them:* which may be confirmed by that paſſage of *Maimonides*: (*d*) who relating how Women after Fluxes and Childbearing, brought Money to buy Turtles and Pigeons, and put it בשופר into the Treaſury, אין בית דין של כהנים עומדים משם עד שובלו, &c. *ſaith that the Conſiſtory of Prieſts departed not thence till they had taken out all the money, and offered Turtles and Pigeons anſwerable to it.* (c) *Ketubboth. per.* 1. (d) *Maym. in mechoſere Caparah. per.* 1.

And theſe alſo we may well underſtand to be the זקני כהונה (*e*) *Elders of the Prieſthood*, to whom the High-prieſt was delivered by the *Sanhedrin*, that they might prepare him for the ſervice of the day of Expiation, and theſe were the בוליטי *Counſellers* of the Temple, of which we have had occaſion to ſpeak elſewhere. (e) *Joma. per.* 1

Beſides theſe, there were (*f*) fifteen *Overſeers* ממונין or *Preſidents* over fifteen ſeveral companies, in ſo many ſeveral employments. (f) *Vid. Shekalim. per.* 6. *Maymon. in Kele.*

1. ממונה על זמנים *The Overſeer concerning the times:* He or one of his Deputies, when it was now time to begin the ſervice, cried aloud, *O ye Prieſts to your ſervice, O ye Levites to your Desks* [to ſing] and *O ye Iſraelites to your ſtation*: and all of them upon his Proclamation went to their ſeveral duties. *Mikdaſh. per.* 7

2. על נעילת שערים *The Overſeer for ſhutting of the doors:* by whoſe appointment they were opened and ſhut, and by whoſe appointment the Trumpets ſounded when they were opened: He was ſome one appointed by the *Amarcalin* for this care; for they ſeven had the keeping and diſpoſing of the keys of the ſeven Court gates.

3. על השומרים *The Overſeer of the Guards.* This was called איש הר הבית (*g*) *The man of the mountain of the Houſe:* He went about among the *Levites* guards every night, walking as it were the round, and if he found any one aſleep he cudgelled him, and ſet fire on his Coat. (g) *Mid. per.* 1

4. על המשוררים. *The Overſeer of the Singers.* He appointed who ſhould be every days Songs-men, and blowers of the Trumpets.

5. על הצלצל. *The Overſeer of the Cymbal Muſick:* As the other appointed the Voices, Trumpets and ſtrung Inſtruments, ſo did this take care for the Muſick by the Cymbal, which was of another kind, as ſhall be ſhewed ere long.

6. על הפיסות *The Overſeer of the lots:* Who by lots every morning deſigned the Prieſts their ſeveral ſervices at the Altar.

7. על

7. על הקינים *The Overſeer about birds*: He provided Turtles and Pigeons ready, that thoſe that needed them might have them for their money, and he gave account of the money to the Treaſurers.

8. *The Overſeer of the Seals*, על החותמות. Theſe Seals were ſuch kind of things, as the Tickets or Stamps that Miniſters have uſed to give to thoſe they admitted to the Sacrament: (*b*) There were four kinds of theſe Seals or Tickets, and they had four ſeveral Words written or ſtamped on them: on one was עגל a *Calf*, on another זכר a *Male*, on a third גדי a *Kid*, and on the fourth חוטא a *ſinner*.

(*b*) *Shekalim. per.* 5.

Now the uſe of them was this: Any Perſon that brought a Sacrifice, to which he muſt have a Drink-offering, went to this Overſeer of the Tickets: He looked what his Sacrifice was, and ſo upon the ſight of it, conſidered what Drink-offering was aſſigned by the Law to ſuch a Sacrifice: Thereupon he gave him a Seal or Ticket, whoſe Inſcription was ſuitable to his Sacrifice: as was it a Ram? he gave him a Ticket with זכר a *Male*: was it a Sin-offering? then the Ticket חוטא a *Sinner*, and ſo of the others: And for the Ticket he received from the Man, as much money as his Drink-offering would coſt, with this Ticket the man went to

9. על חנסכים *the Overſeer of the Drink-offerings*, who took care to provide them ready, and delivered them out to every man according to his Ticket, for by that he ſaw what nature his Sacrifice was of, and what Drink-offering it required, and ſo he ſuited them therewith accordingly: And at night this Overſeer of the Drink-offerings, and the Overſeer of the Seals, reckoned together what one had received, and the other had given out.

10. על החולים *The Overſeer of the ſick*: The attendance of the Prieſts at the Altars bare-footed, and thin-clothed, and their eating much fleſh, which in thoſe parts was not ſo very agreeable, made them ſubject to Colds, Colicks, and other diſeaſes: therefore was a skilful man appointed to look to ſuch as were ill, and to give them Phyſick.

11. על המים *The Overſeer of the Waters*. Who was to look and take care that Wells, Ciſterns, and Conduits ſhould be digged and made, that the Temple and *Jeruſalem* might never want Water: and more eſpecially that there might be no ſuch want at the three Feſtivals, when all *Iſrael* was gathered thither together. (*i*) *Nicodemus* if he be the ſame with *Nicodemus* mentioned in the *Talmud*, ſeemeth to have been of this employment, for it relateth a ſtrange Story of him tending to ſuch a purpoſe.

(*i*) *Avoth. R. Nathan. per.* 6. *Taanith. fol.* 19.

12. The Overſeer of the making of the Shew-bread.

13. The Overſeer of the making of the Incenſe.

14. The Overſeer of the Workmen that made the Veils.

15. The Overſeer for the providing of Garments for the Prieſts.

CHAP. III.

Of the High-prieſthood.

(*a*) *R. Sol. in* 1 *Chr.* 24.

THE High-prieſthood, ſtill deſcended to the firſt-born: for ſo was *Eleazar* to *Aaron* when *Nadab* and *Abihu* were dead; which (*a*) *Rabbi Sol.* pertinently obſervs upon thoſe words, in 1 *Chron.* 24. 1. Nadab *and* Abihu *died and had no Sons, therefore* Eleazar *and* Ithamar *executed the Prieſts office: For* [ſaith he] *if* Nadab *or* Abihu *had left Sons, they had had the High-prieſthood before* Eleazar *or* Ithamar. *And ſo* Jozedek *and* Ezra *were the Sons of* Seraiah *the High-prieſt, but* Jozedek *was the High-prieſt after him, and not* Ezra, *for* Jozedek *was the firſt-born.* And as the firſt born in the Family of any Tribe, was Prieſt before the Law was given [and accordingly doth the (*b*) *Chaldee*, on *Gen.* 49. 3. paraphraſe the words of *Jacob* to this ſenſe, Reuben *thou art my firſt born, and to thee belonged three Portions, the Birth-right, the Prieſt-hood, and the Kingdom*] ſo the firſt born in the chief Family of *Aaron*, was High-prieſt lineally deſcended, and by Suceſſion. And therefore (*c*) when *Simeon the juſt* having two Sons *Shimei* and *Onias*, would have put *Shimei* the eldeſt, by the High-prieſthood, and put *Onias* the younger in, he could not do it but, *Shimei* obtained his right, and *Onias* was put to flee into *Egypt*, where he built a ſumptuous and a famous Temple.

(*b*) *Targ. in Gen.* 49.

(*c*) *Jucaſin fol.* 15.

And by this neceſſity of Succeſſion it came to paſs that ſometimes the High-prieſt proved to be but meanly qualified for ſuch an Office; as appears, amongſt other evidences, by that paſſage in (*d*) *Joma* where it is related how againſt the Expiation day, ſome Elders were appointed to attend the High Prieſt, and they ſaid to him, Sir *High-prieſt read thou thy ſelf, it may be thou haſt forgotten, or it may be thou haſt not learned:* And a little after it is ſaid, *If he was a wiſe man he expounded; if not, they expounded before him.*

(*d*) *Joma per.* 1.

him. And to this purpoſe is that Proverb or Probleme ממזר תח חשוב מכנ עם הארץ. (*e*) *A Scholar though he be a baſtard, is of more value than an unlearned Highprieſt.* This ſheweth that the Function was rather Typical than the Perſon. (*e*) *Maym. in Talmud. Torah. per.* 3.

2. (*f*) The inſtalling of the High-prieſt into his Office was by the *Sanhedrin*, who anoynted him, or when the Oyl failed [as there was none under the ſecond Temple] cloathed him with the High-prieſtly Garments: If he were anointed, he was anointed dayly ſeven days together; and if he were not anointed [when the holy Oyl was gone] he was cloathed with the eight Garments of the Prieſthood, daily ſeven days together, and he was called מרובה בגדים, *The inſtalled by the garments.* (*f*) *Id in Kele Mikdaſh. per.* 4.

The Garments were theſe:

1. כתונת *The Coat:* (*g*) This he ware next his skin: it was made of fine linnen, wrought checker work, like Diaper, and therefore it is called כתונת תשבץ, *the checkered Coat, Exod.*28.4. as *Sauls* Coat of Mail is called שבץ, 2 *Sam.* 1.9. ſuch a Coat as this had every one of the Prieſts in the ſervice, without any difference: and ſuch a one did the High-prieſt wear whilſt he was an ordinary Prieſt, before he came to that dignity: * when theſe Linnen Coats of the ordinary Prieſts were grown ſo old; that they were paſt wearing, they ravelled them in pieces, and made Yarn of them for the Lamps in the Golden Candleſtick. (*g*) *Id. ib. per.* 8. * *Talm. Jorus in Succah. per.* 5.

2. מכנסי בד. *Linnen Breeches. Exod.*28.42. When it is ſaid, that the checkered Coat was next the Skin, it is to be underſtood from the Loins upward, and thicker clad were not the ordinary Prieſts there than with that thin Diaper Shirt, for ſo we may call it: but upon their Thighs they had Linnen Breeches to cover their nakedneſs: which Breeches or Drawers when they were old, they ravelled them alſo to make wick-yarn for Candles of light at the joyful feſtivity of drawing of water on the laſt and great day at the Feaſt of Tabernacles; and ſo they did by their overworn Girdles.

3. אבנט *The Girdle*; which was as a long linnen ſwaddle, which went many times about them, over their paps and downward; partly to keep them warm, and partly to ſtrengthen their backs in the hard ſervice to which they were ſometime put, the High-prieſt and ordinary Prieſts had of theſe alike.

4. מעיל *The Coat of the Ephod.* This garb the ordinary Prieſts had not, but only the High-prieſt, and it was called the *Coat of the Ephod*, becauſe the *Ephod* did gird it to him: it had no ſleeves as his checkered Coat had, but it was made of two main pieces, the one whereof, hung before him, and the other behind him: the Collar of this *Ephod* was like the Collar of an Habergion whole, and to be put over his head: and from the Collar downward the pieces were parted, and his Arms came out between them: At the lower end of either of theſe pieces, were thirty ſix little golden Bells with Clappers, and Pomgranats of needlework, between every Bell: ſeventy two Bells in all. This Coat was ὑ ακίνθινος as both (*h*) *Joſephus*, and (*i*) *Philo* relate, and ſo render the word תכלת of which [as *Maymonides* ſaith] it was all made, which *Philo* renders alſo ἀέρος ἰκτῖνος the colour of the Air, or sky colour. (*h*) *Joſeph. Ant. lib.*3. *cap.* 8. (*i*) *Philo de Vita Moſis l.* 3. *p. apud me.* 519.

5. אפוד *The Ephod.* The breadth of this was the breadth of his back from ſhoulder to ſhoulder, and it hung behind him, from his armholes to his feet, from it there came two pieces under his armholes, and met together, and claſped over his paps, and this was called חשב *the curious Girdle of the Ephod*, becauſe both it and the *Ephod* were curiouſly wrought of fine twiſt and Gold. It had two ſhoulder pieces alſo which went over the Prieſts ſhoulders, and were faſtned to the *Ephod* behind, and to the Girdle before: and ſo the *Ephod* hung low behind like a Womans Vail, and came but ſhort before, like ſome Workmens Aprons hanging over their ſhoulders, and coming down but to their Breaſts. Upon theſe ſhoulder pieces were two *Beryl* ſtones ſet in Gold, in which the names of the Twelve Tribes were ingraven, ſix in one ſtone on the one ſhoulder, and ſix in the other: ſo equally divided for the Letters, that there were 25 Letters in either ſtone, and *Joſephs* name was written *Jehoſeph* to make the equality, and ſo he is called and written, *Pſal.* 81.6.

Upon theſe ſhoulder-pieces there were two boſſes of Gold, near to theſe ſtones, into which, two Gold Chains, which tyed the Breſt-plate to the *Ephod*, were ſo faſtned, that Breſt-plate and *Ephod* might not be parted: and who ſo willingly parted them was to be whipt.

6. חושן *The Breſt-plate.* This was a rich piece of Cloth of Gold, an hand-bredth ſquare, double; ſet with twelve Precious Stones in four rowes, three in a row; theſe are called *Urim* and *Thummim*, *Exod.*28.30. which are eminently mentioned in Scripture, and famous for the inquiring by *Urim* and *Thummim*, and Gods anſwering by them, the manner of which we have diſcourſed elſewhere. (*k*) In the ſecond Temple they made a Breſt-plate and *Urim* and *Thummim*, that is, ſet the Stones in the Breſt-plate, but never inquired by them, becauſe the Spirit of Propheſie was then departed. (*k*) *Maym. ubi ſupr. per.* 10.

7. מצנפת. *The Miter.* So it is almost Englished in *Philoes* Greek, when speaking of the High-priests garb, he saith among other things, (l) οὐδέποτε ἀπομιτρώσει *that in the service he never went without the Miter.* (m) This was called τίλος ἄκωνος οὐ δικνούμενος εἰς πᾶσαν κεφαλὴν ἀλλὲ πόλιγον ὑπερβεβηκὼς μέσης. *A bonnet* [saith *Josephus*] *without a Crown, which went not over all his head, but only a little above the middle of it: sitting upon his head as it were a Crown. It was made of linnen, and was a long kind of swaddles of a large bredth, which he wrapt oft about his head, and complicated it in and out:* That the wrapping or warping of it up about his head was after the manner of the *Turkish* Tullibants; only it wanted a crown, but was open on the top, sitting on his brows after the manner of a Garland.

(l) Philo in lib. de profugis. pag. apud me 364.
(m) Joseph. Ant. ubi sup.

8. ציץ *The golden plate, Exod.* 28.36. this was fastned on the front of the Miter: and in it was ingraven *Holiness to the Lord:* (n) *And between the Miter and the Plate he put and wore his Phylacteries.*

(n) Maym. ubi up. per. 10.

Thus was the High-priest drest, exceeding rich and exceeding gorgeous: and his office eminent, and high in dignity; but the choicest eminency of it, was in what it typified and resembled, *the great High-priest that was to come*; the explication and application of which Type and Antitype is so abundantly set forth in the Scripture, especially in the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, that it is needless to insist upon it: Let us only for conclusion take the testimony of one that was either a stranger or an enemy to the Gospel, and yet in this point and matter speaketh exceeding consonant and concurrent to it, and that is *Philo* the *Jew* whom we mentioned before, who speaking divers things concerning the High-priest concludes thus, Λέγομεν γὰρ τὸν ἀρχιερέα, οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ἄλλα λόγον θεῖον εἶναι, πάντων οὐκ ἑκουσίων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκουσίων ἀδικημάτων ἀμέτοχον. (o) *We say that the High-priest meaneth not a Man but the Word of God: who was free from all sin, both voluntary and unvoluntary.* And if any one desire to see how allegorically he applieth the several parcels of the High-priests Garments to the several parts of the World, Air, Earth, Water, Fire, *&c.* he may have him at large discoursing it, according to his accustomed fluency, in his third book *de Vita* Mosis, *pag. apud me* 519, 520, 521. where after he hath spent a great deal of time and words, and fancy to little profit, he at last comes on with this Golden Saying, worthy a Thousand Volumes of such stuff as he had produced before: Ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τὸν ἱερωμένον τῷ τοῦ κοσμοῦ πατρὶ παρακλήτῳ χρῆσθαι τελειωτάτῳ τὴν ἀρετὴν υἱῷ πρός τε ἀμνηστείαν ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ χορηγίαν ἀφθονωτάτων ἀγαθῶν. (p) *It was necessary that he setting up a Priest to the father of the world, should use his most absolutely perfect Son for a Mediator* or Advocate *both for the obtaining of pardon of sin, and supply of abundant good.*

(o) Philo ubi supra.
(p) Id. p. 521.

An High-priest once installed was High-priest for his life. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλος γε τὶς ἀφηρέθη τὴν τιμὴν ἅπαξ παρολαβών. (q) *For none was deposed from this honour, when he had once obtained it:* that is, not by any legal deposition: but Money and Power at the last broke this priviledge, and the High-priests were frequently thrust in and thrust out by these, according as the one or the other prevailed: as the *Gemara* on the Treatise *Joma* maketh mention, and *Josephus* in divers places giveth example.

(q) Joseph. Ant lib. 15. cap. 3

The High-priest in some things was nothing differenced from others of the People. (r) *He might be a witness in causes, and might be witnessed against as well as any other. He might be a Judge as well as any other, and he might be judged.* Nay כנ׳ שעבר עבירה שחייב עליה מלקות מלקים אותו בבד של עא׳ כשאר מחוויבי וחזר לגרולתו. (s) *If he committed an offence which by the Law deserved whipping, the great Sanhedrin whipt him, and then he was restored again to his dignity.* His shoe was pulled off for not raising seed to his brother [though by the Law he might not do it, being not permitted to marry a Widow,] and his Wife so left, might pull off the shoe of the next kinsman: and several other things might be mentioned in which the High-priest in point of Law or Practice had no priviledge above other men, or difference from them, which are not material to insist upon, to our purpose.

(r) Sadhedr. per. 2.
(s) Maym. in Biath. Mikdash per. 4.

But there were some things again in which he was differenced from the rest of the People, and that not only in regard of the Dignity of his Function [in which he was also distinguished from the rest of the Priests] but also in regard of some things in Civil Converse. As had he any of his that died, he might not follow the Corps to the Grave, he might not rent his Clothes for the dead: he might not be vailed if others were vailed, nor unvailed if they were unvailed, but still in a contrary Garb to them; whilst others sate on the ground he sate on a Seat; and divers particular differences which it would be tedious to recite.

His difference from the rest of the Priests was especially in his superiority above them, in his anointing or cloathing with the rich garments, and in his service on the day of Expiation.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Succeſſion of the High-prieſts.

SECT. I.

To the building of the Temple.

THE Catalogue and Succeſſion of the High-prieſts, from the firſt inſtitution of this Order, to the laſt times mentioned in the Old Teſtament, are thus given us in Scripture.

1. *Aaron*, *Lev.* 8. 7, *&c.*
2. *Eleazar*, *Num.* 20. 28.
3. *Phinehas*, *Num.* 26. 13. *Judg.* 20. 28. He is tenaciouſly held by the Jews to be *Elias.*
4. *Abiſhua*,
5. *Bukki*, } 1 *Chron.* 6. 5, 6.
6. *Uzzi*,
7. *Zeruhiah*,
8. *Merajoth*, } Here the High-prieſthood changed from the Line of *Eleazar* into the Line of *Ithamar.*
9. *Eli* of *Ithamar*, 1 *Sam.* 1. 9. & 2. 35. 36.
10. *Phinehas*, 1 *Sam.* 4.
11. *Ahitub*, 1 *Sam.* 14. 13. & 22. 20.
12. *Ahimelech* or *Ahijah*, ibid.
13. *Abiathar*, 1 *Sam.* 22. 20. He was put out of the High-prieſthood by *Solomon*, 1 *King.* 2. 26.

In the time of theſe High-prieſts of the Houſe of *Ithamar*, there were theſe ſucceſſions in the Line of *Eleazar.*

Amariah, 1 *Chron.* 6. 7.
Ahitub, } 2 *Sam.* 8. 17.
Zadok, }

Now whereas it is ſaid in the place cited laſt, that Zadok *the ſon of* Ahitub, *and* Ahimelech *the ſon of* Abiathar *were Prieſts*; it is to be underſtood as the like is in the 1 *Sam.* 1. 3. of *Hophni* and *Phinehas*, *that they were Prieſts unto the Lord*, chief among the Prieſts, and Chief Overſeers in the conſtant ſervice and matters of the Sanctuary, but their Father *Eli* was High-prieſt; ſo in the beginning of *Davids* ſettlement in his Kingdom, *Abiathar* was chief Prieſt, and he was of the Houſe of *Ithamar*; now the High-prieſt did not ſo much attend the ordinary and common ſervice of the Sanctuary; therefore *Zadock* of *Eleazar*, and *Ahimelech* of *Ithamar*, were the chief in that ſervice under him.

SECT. II.

The High-prieſts from the building of the Temple to the Captivity.

AS ſoon as *Solomon* was ſet upon the Throne, he put *Abiathar* from the High-prieſthood, as a man guilty of Treaſon in the Conſpiracy of *Adonijah*, and he put in *Zadok* in his room, and now *Eleazars* Line hath the Prieſthood again.

Zadoks ſon was *Ahimaaz*, 2 *Sam.* 15. 36. his ſon *Azariah*, and his ſon *Johanan*, 1 *Chron.* 6. 9. Theſe ſix are omitted by *Ezra* in his reckoning up of the Line of the High-prieſts, *Ezra* 7. and the reaſon of the omiſſion we may gueſs to be, becauſe from the time of *Amaziah* the Houſe of *Eli* began in the Function, and till the time of *Azariah* the ſon of *Johanan* the ſervice in the Temple of *Solomon* did not begin.

The ſon of *Johanan* was *Azariah*. *He it was that executed the Prieſts Office in the Temple which* Solomon *built in* Jeruſalem, 1 *Chron.* 6. 10. But the queſtion is, What time it was when he executed this Office, whether at the beginning of the Temple ſervice, when it was new built, or in after times? The Jews do very generally hold, that this *Azariah* was he that withſtood *Uzziah* when he went into the Temple to burn Incenſe, 2 *Chron.* 26. 17. 21. And becauſe he ſtood ſo gallantly for the honour of the Prieſthood againſt the King, that therefore it is ſaid of him alone, that *he executed the Prieſts Office in the Temple.*

But *Kimchi* goes yet further, holding indeed that this was *Uzziahs Azariah*, but that he was born in *Solomons* time, and ſo he makes him to live at the leaſt two hundred years, an Age not uſual in thoſe times. But by looking over the times of the High-prieſts that ſucceeded

ceeded him to the Captivity, it will be apparent enough that this *Azariah* the son of *Johanan*, was High-priest in *Solomons* time, and was dead and rotten many years before *Uzziah* was born.

This Azariah *begat* Amariah, as it is recorded, 1 *Chron.*6.11. Now this *Amariah* was High-priest in the days of *Jehoshaphat*, 2*Chron.*19.11. *Amariah* begat *Ahitub*, 1 *Chro.*6.11. this *Ahitub* was *Jehojada*, 2*Chron.*23.1. &c. and he is called *Ahitub the Ruler of the House of God*, 1*Chr.*9.11. *Neh.*11.11. because of his great power and sway in the crowning of *Joash*, and in the work of Reformation.

Ahitub begat *Zadok*, 1*Chron.*6.12. this *Zadok* was father in law to King *Uzziah*.2*Chr.* 27.1. Now *Zadok* was not *Ahitubs* immediate Son, but his grand-child, for *Zadok* was the son of *Merajoth* the son of *Ahitub*, 2*Chr.*9.11. which *Merajoth* may well be supposed to be *Zechariah*, the son of *Jehojadah*, who was stoned in the Temple Court, 2 *Chr.*24. and named here *Merajoth*, in Memorial of that great Rebellion of the People against God, his Prophet, and his Temple, and omitted in the Line of the Priests, 1*Chron.*6. because he was not used like an High-priest, his High-priesthood was not long, and he died as a Prophet.

Zadok begat *Shallum*, 1*Chron.*6.12. or *Meshullam*, 1*Chr.* 9.11. one of those two it was, either the father or son, that opposed *Uzziah* when he would have offered Incense, but I rather believe it was *Zadok* the Kings father in law, who in that story is called *Azariah* after the Kings name; either he or *Shallum* is called *Urijah*, 2*King* 16.10.

Shallum begat *Hilkiah*, 1*Chr.*16.13. this *Hilkiah* found the Manuscript of *Moses* in the days of *Josiah*, 2*Chr.*34.14.

Hilkiah begat *Azariah*, 1*Chr.*6.13 & 9.11. *Ezra* 7.1.

Azariah begat *Serajah*, 1*Chr.*6.14. this *Serajah* begat *Jozedek* and *Ezra*, *Ezra* 7.1. He was slain by *Nebuchadnezar* at the destruction of *Jerusalem*, 2*King.* 25.18.

Jozedek, the eldest son of *Serajah*, was captived into *Babel*, 1*Chr.*6.15. and thence he never returned: and thus have we the High-priests till the Captivity: And now if we look back upon these times that we have observed, it is no hard thing to conclude, that that *Azariah which is said to have executed the Priests office in* Solomons *Temple*, 1 *Chr.* 6. 10. did do it presently after the Temple was built, either at the very first service of it, or at the restoring of the service upon *Solomons* Repentance after his Apostasie.

SECT. III.

The High-priests under the second Temple.

IT may not be amiss for the entrance into this discourse concerning the High-priests after the return out of the Captivity, till the ruine of the Temple, to produce a passage out of the *Jerusalem Talmud*, which speaketh something unto that occasion. *In the first Temple* [saith the *Gemara* in *Joma*] *the High-priests served, the son still succeeding the Father, and they were eighteen in number: But in the second Temple, they got the High-priesthood for money, and some say they destroyed one another by witchcraft: so that some say that there were fourscore High-priests in that space: some fourscore and one, some fourscore and two, some fourscore and three, some fourscore and four, and some fourscore and five.*

Talm. Jerus. per.1. Joma.

Not to insist upon examination of their number of *eighteen before the Captivity* [which, falls something in with what was said before, though *R. Solomon* think it is to be read *eight*] it may be as a piece of Apology before hand, if we cannot exactly reckon up the persons after the Captivity, seeing the number by their own confession is so very various and uncertain, as some to say thus differently one thing, and some another.

R.Sol. In 1Chr. 6.

1. JOSHUA the son of *Jozedek* [called also *Jeshua* after the *Syrian* pronunciation] returned out of Captivity [where his father had died] with *Zerubbabel* and began and forwarded the building of the second Temple, and the settlement of the People. He was High-priest all the time of *Cyrus* and *Ahasuerus*, and some part of the time of *Darius*. The High-priesthood that was now grown poor and low, is restored and beautified to him in a Vision, *Zechar.*3. who as he bare the name, so he was a figure of the Lord *Jesus*.

Ezra 2. 2. *Hag.* 2. 2.

Hag. 1.1. *&c.*

2. JOAKIM, *Neh.*12.10.

3. ELIASHIB, *Neh.*12.10.

Joseph. Antiq. lib.11. cap. 5.

4. JOJADA. *Neh.*12.10. *Josephus* calls him *Juda.*

*Antiq.*11.6.7.

5. JONATHAN or JOHANAN, *Neh.* 12.11.22. *Josephus* calleth him Ἰωάννης or *John*, and relateth how he slew his own brother *Jesus* in the Temple, whom *Bagoses* the chief Commander for *Artaxerxes* the younger would have made High-priest: for which foul fact *Bagoses* broke into the Temple, and laid a Tax of forty Drachmes upon every Lamb that was sacrificed in the daily sacrifice.

Joseph. Antiq. b.11. 6.7.

6. JADDUA,

6. JADDUA, *Neh.*12.11.12. He had a brother called *Manaſſes* which married *Sanballats* daughter, and for that was driven from the Prieſthood, and went and occaſioned the building of the Temple on mount *Gerizim*. This *Jaddua* met *Alexander* in the High-prieſts Garments, when he marched in fury againſt *Jeruſalem*, and the very ſight of him appeaſed him. *Id. ib. c. 8.*

7. ONIAS the ſon of *Jaddua*. *Id ib. prope finem & lib. 12. c. 2.*

8. SIMON or SIMEON *the juſt*: There is exceeding famous mention of this man among the *Hebrew* Writers, and of him they ſpeak many eminent things: As that he was the three and twentieth receiver of their Traditions, that he burnt two red Cows to make purifying aſhes, that he was the laſt of the 120 of *Ezra*'s great Synagogue, that he took but one *Nazarites* offering all his time; that every day of Expiation an *Angel* went in with him into the moſt holy place, and came out with him, only the laſt time he went in, the Angel went in with him, but came not out, whereupon he knew he ſhould dye that year, and that when he died, the fire on the Altar ſlacked much, *&c.* and that he left behind him *Shimei* and *Onias*: he would have had *Onias* to have been High-prieſt, but his brother *Shimei* put him to flee to *Alexandria*, where he built that famous Temple, *&c.* *Idem ibid.* *Juchaſin. fol. 1. & fol. 13.*

Some think this *Simeon the juſt* to have been the ſame with *Jaddua*, and to have been the ſon of *Joſhua* or *Jeſus* whom his brother *Jonathan* ſlew, but this matter we will not diſpute here.

9. ELEAZAR: he was *Simeons* Brother. This *Eleazar* was he that ſent the Lxx. Elders to *Ptolomy Philadelphus* to tranſlate the Law into Greek. *Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 2.*

10. MANASSES *Eleazars* Uncle. *Id. ib. c. 3. 2.*

11. ONIAS the ſon of *Simeon the juſt*, a covetous Wretch, and that brought the diſpleaſure of *Ptolomy Euergetes* againſt him by his covetize. *Id. ib. ad finem.*

12. SIMON the ſon of *Onias*. *Id. ib. c. 4. ad fin.*

13. ONIAS the ſon of *Simon*. *Id. ib. c. 6.*

14. JESUS the brother of *Onias*, for *Onias* left a ſon behind him, but very young: this *Jeſus* called himſelf *Jaſon*.

15. ONIAS the brother of *Jaſon* or *Jeſus*, he called himſelf *Menelaus*. This Wretch quarrelling with his brother *Jaſon*, calleth in *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and himſelf forſaketh his Countrys Laws and Religion: And *Antiochus* coming in, deſtroyed all Laws and Religion, and brought in ſuch trouble as *Iſrael* never had ſince they were a Nation, until that time, *Dan.*12.1. of which read *Dan.* 11.30.31. 1 *Mac.*1.44,45, &c. *Joſeph. Antiq. l. 12. cap. 7. Id. ib. c. 8. 1 Mac. 2. 1.*

16. The deſolation that *Antiochus* had brought upon Religion and the Temple, cauſeth *Mattathias* a Prieſt of the courſe of *Jojarib*, which was the firſt courſe of the four and twenty, he being now old, to ſtand up for the maintenance of Religion, and for the delivetance of his Country. The *Chaldee Paraphraſt* calls him the High-prieſt, *Cant.*6.6.

Here began the Name and Renown of the *Aſmonæan* Family, of which there is ſo frequent and famous mention in all Authors; The *Chaldee Paraphraſt* applies that ſpeech of *Hannah* to this Family, in 1 *Sam.*2.4. *They that ſtumbled are girded with ſtrength. Hannah*, ſaith he, *propheſied of the* Greeks *Kingdom, when ſhe ſaith, The bow of the mighty are broken: and of the* Aſmonæan *Family, which was weak, and for which ſigns and wonders were done, when ſhe ſaith, They that ſtumbled are girded with ſtrength.* And ſo doth the *Targum* on the *Canticles*, apply the ſeventh verſe of the ſixth Chapter of that Book to the ſame Houſe: *As a piece of a Pomegranate are thy Temples: The Kingdom*, ſaith it, *of the* Aſmonæan *Family was full of Judgments as a Pomegranate*, &c.

Not to be inquiſitive after the derivation of the word [which we find in *Pſal. 68.* 32. and which is generally interpreted by the Jews to ſignifie *great Dukes and Princes*] *Mattathias* not living long after his firſt appearing a Champion for his diſtreſſed Country, he left the charge of that War and Expedition to his ſons after him: amongſt whom

17. JUDAS [ſurnamed *Maccabæus* from theſe four Acroſtick Letters in his Enſign, מכבי which meant מי כמכה באלים יהוה, *Exod.* 15. 12. *Lord who is like thee among the mighty?*] undertook the quarrel of his People, and of the Law, Religion, and Covenant, and did very victoriouſly; but at laſt was ſlain. *Joſeph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 9, 10, &c. 1 Mac. 3. & 4, &c.*

In theſe times when all things were in a combuſtion and confuſion in the Land, and in Religion, one ALCIMUS bare the name of High-prieſt, being indeed of that Line, but a man for miſchief and impiety more like a Heathen than a High-prieſt of *Iſrael*, doing much evil whilſt he lived, and coming at laſt to a moſt fearful end. *Joſeph. ubi ſup. c. 15, 16, 17. 1 Mac. 7. 12. 13, 14, &c. & 9. 1. 5, 55. 1 Mac. 9. & 10. & 11. & 28.*

18. JONATHAN ſucceedeth his brother *Judas* as chief Commander: he was made High-prieſt by *Alexander* the ſon of *Antiochus*; and confirmed therein by *Antiochus* the ſon of *Alexander*, doth many valiant acts, and at laſt is ſlain by *Trypho*. *Joſep. Ant. l. 13. ad c. 11.*

19. SIMON his brother ſucceedeth him: valiant alſo and advantagious to his people like his brethren, but ſlain at laſt treacherouſly by his own ſon in Law. *1 Mac. 14. & 15. & 16.*

20. JOHN *Joſeph. ubi ſupra c. 11, 12, 13.*

Joſeph. ubi ſup. cap. 18. Juchaſin. fol. 14

20. JOHN called alſo *Hyrcanus*, or *Hyrcanus Jannai*: He ſacked *Samaria*, deſtroyed the Temple at *Gerizim*, ſlew many of the wiſe men at *Jeruſalem*, was High-prieſt eighty years and turned *Sadducee*.

Joſeph. ib. c. 9.

21. ARISTOBULUS his ſon: He firſt took upon him to be King.

Ibid. c. 22, 23.

22. ALEXANDER: He bare alſo the name of a King; made many Wars, and at laſt died of a Quartan Ague, which had held him three years.

Ibid. c. 24.

23. HYRCANUS his ſon is made High-prieſt: but his mother *Alexandra* by the ſupport of the *Phariſees* ſways the Kingdom.

Lib. 14. c. 4, 5, 6.

24. ARISTOBULUS younger brother to *Hyrcanus*, after the death of their mother *Alexandra*, maketh War upon his brother, drives him from his Kingdom to a private life, and takes both Kingdom and High-prieſthood upon himſelf: They both deſire help and aſſiſtance from the *Romans*, *Scaurus*, and *Pompey*; *Ariſtobulus* provoking *Pompey* by ſome dalliance cauſeth the ſacking of *Jeruſalem*, and the ſubjecting of the Jews to the *Roman* yoke, from under which they were never delivered. *Pompey* reſtoreth the High-prieſthood to *Hyrcanus*, and carries *Ariſtobulus* and his ſon *Antigonus* priſoners to *Rome*, and his two daughters.

Ibid. c. 10.

25. ALEXANDER the ſon of *Ariſtobulus* eſcaped the hands of *Pompey*, when he captived his father and his brother to *Rome*: and he in *Judea* raiſed divers ſtirs and tumults, and affecting the Kingdom is twice ſuppreſſed by the *Roman Gabinius*.

Ib. c. 21. & 25.

26. ANTIGONUS, *Ariſtobulus* his other ſon eſcaping from *Rome* into *Judea*, firſt by the help of the King of *Tyrus*, and after by the help of the *Parthians* buſleth for the High-prieſthood and power, out of the hands of *Hyrcanus*: getteth *Hyrcanus* priſoner, cauſeth his ear to be cut off, and by that blemiſh or maim he maketh him uncapable of the Prieſthood: But as *Hyrcanus* loſt his ears, ſo at laſt *Antigonus* loſt his head, by the ax of *Antony* at *Antioch*: having been firſt crucified and whipt.

Lib. 15. c. 1. Dion. Caſſ. l. 49.

Joſ. l. 15. c. 2.

27. ANANELUS an inferiour Prieſt, ſent for out of *Babylon*, is made High-prieſt by *Herod*. Here *Alexandra* the daughter of *Hyrcanus*, and wife of *Alexander* the ſon of *Ariſtobulus* took indignity, and ſo did *Mariam Herods* wife who was *Alexandra's* daughter, that an inferiour perſon ſhould be preferred to the High-prieſthood, and *Ariſtobulus Mariams* brother and *Alexandra's* ſon be paſſed by: Theſe womens ſhifts and importunities obtain the High-prieſthood for *Ariſtobulus*, and the depoſition of *Ananelus*.

Ibid. c. 2.

Ibid. c. 3.

28. ARISTOBULUS a young man of a rare beauty is made High-prieſt, being not much above fifteen years old: after a years injoyment of it or little more, he is drowned by *Herods* policy, as he was ſwimming: And then *Ananelus* becomes High-prieſt again.

Ibid. c. 12.

29. JESUS the ſon of *Favens*: him *Herod* removed again.

Ibid.

30. SIMON the ſon of *Boethus*: he was but a Prieſt before: But *Herod* marrying his daughter, a woman of a rare beauty, he made him High-prieſt.

Lib. 17. c. 6.

31. MATTHIAS the ſon of *Theophilus*: *Herod* depoſed his father in law *Simon* from the High-prieſthood, becauſe he thought both he, and his daughter [*Herods* wife] were privy to the counſels of his ſon *Antipater*.

Ibid. c. 8.

32. JOZARUS the ſon of *Simon*, *Herods* brother in law; *Matthias* being depoſed by *Herod*.

Ibid. c. 15.

33. ELEAZAR made High-prieſt by King *Archelaus*, *Jozarus* being depoſed.

Ibid.

34. JESUS the ſon of *Sie* ſhoulders *Eleazar* out.

Lib. 18. c. 1.

35. JOZARUS again: He was now in the place when *Judea* was taxed under *Cyrenius*, *Luke* 2. [at the birth of Chriſt] and when the people were ready to rebel rather than be taxed, he overcame them with perſwaſions.

Ibid. c. 3.

36. ANANUS upon the removal of *Jozarus*, made High-prieſt by *Cyrenius*.

Ibid.

37. ISMAEL promoted by *Valerius Gratus*, upon *Ananus* his removal.

38. ELEAZAR the ſon of *Ananus* promoted by the ſame *Gratus* upon *Iſmaels* removal: he injoyed the High-prieſthood but one year.

39. SIMON the ſon of *Kamith*, advanced by the ſame *Gratus*. The *Jeruſalem Talmud* calls him בן קמחית and relates this ſtory of him, that *on the Eve of the day of Expiation, he went out to ſpeak with the King, and ſome ſpittle fell upon his garments and defiled him, therefore* Judah *his brother went in on the day of Expiation, and ſerved in his ſtead: and ſo their Mother* Kamith *ſaw two of her ſons High-prieſts in one day. She had ſeven ſons and they all ſerved in the High-prieſthood*; hence came up this Proverb, כל קמחאי קמחאי וקמחא קמחית סולת *All meal is meal, but* Kamiths *meal is fine flower*, *In Joma per. 1.*

Ibid.

40. CAIAPHAS, who was alſo called *Joſeph*: He was *Gratus* his creature too; and all theſe changes were made by *Gratus* in eleven years: and now are we come up to the time of our Saviours death, and to a wretch that had not a ſmall hand in it. *Annas* or *Ananus* who had been High-prieſt four changes before him, is ſaid to be High-prieſt with him, *Luke* 2.

41.

41. JONATHAN the ſon of *Ananus* made High-prieſt by *Vitellius* in the room of *Cajaphas*, whom he removed. *Ibid. c.6.*

42. THEOPHILUS the brother of *Jonathan*, upon the removal of *Jonathan* by the ſame *Vitellius* is made High-prieſt. *Ibid. c.7.*

43. SIMON called alſo *Kantheras* made High-prieſt by *Herod Agrippa*, *Theophilus* being removed: this was he whoſe daughter *Herod* married, and who was removed from the High-prieſthood ſo many changes ago. *Lib.19. c.5.*

44. JONATHAN the ſon of *Ananus* reſtored by *Agrippa* again: but he deſires that his brother *Matthias* might be put in the place as a fitter man than himſelf: which was a wonder in the great ambition for the High-prieſthood which commonly was afoot. *Ibid. c.6.*

45. MATTHIAS put in the room of *Jonathan*.

46. ALIONEUS or *Elioenai* placed by *Agrippa* in the room of removed *Matthias*. *Ib. cap.7.*

47. JOSEPHUS the ſon of *Kanei*: promoted by *Herod* King of *Chalcis*. *Lib. 20. cap 1*

48. JONATHAN ſlain by an *Aſſaſſin* by the contrival of the Governour *Felix*. *Ibid c.6.*

49. ISMAEL the ſon of *Fabi*. *Ibid*

50. JOSEPH the ſon of *Simon*. *Ibid*

51. ANANUS the ſon of *Ananus* mentioned before. This man was a *Sadducee*: He put to death *James* the brother of our Lord, he is called *Ananias* a whited wall, one whom *Paul* will not own for High-prieſt, *Act.*23.3,5. *Ibid. c.8.*

52. JESUS put in by *Agrippa* King of *Chalcis* in the room of *Ananus*: this *Jeſus* was the ſon of one *Gamaliel*. *Ibid.*

53. MATTHIAS the ſon of *Theophilus*. And here began the Wars of the Jews, which at laſt were their deſtruction. *Ibid.*

In which time, the confuſion of the times did breed ſuch confuſion and jumbling about the High-prieſthood, in chooſing and counterchooſing, and putting in and out according to the pleaſure of this or that faction that prevailed, that it would be but confuſed work to go about to give a Catalogue or account of them; therefore having led the row of the High-prieſts thus far, as till all order both in Church and State were periſhed, and the dignity and reſpect of that Order was utterly loſt, we will ſuperſede with this number that hath been related, and paſs on to the other ranks of Prieſts that are before us.

CHAP. V.

The Sagan, Katholikin, Immarcalin, and Gizbarin.

SECT. I.

SAGAN.

THE word *Sagan* is rare in the Scripture, but both the name and the dignity is very commonly known and uſed in the Hebrew writers. It is undoubted that he was next to the High-prieſt, or Vicegerent to him, but under what notion he came into this deputation is diſputable, and (*a*) *Abraham Zacuth* doth purpoſely diſpute it. One conjecture about this matter is from that Tradition mentioned in *Joma*. That againſt the day of expiation, when the High-prieſt was to go into the moſt Holy place: (*a*) *Juchaſin fol* 57.

מתקינין לו כהן אחר תחתיו שמא יארע בו פסול (*b*) *They appointed another Prieſt in his ſtead, who might ſupply the ſolemn work of that day, if any uncleanneſs did befal the High-prieſt himſelf: And* R. Judah *alſo ſaith, they appointed him another wife leſt his own wife ſhould have died, becauſe he was enjoyned to atone for himſelf and for his houſe, that is, for his wife*: Now it is conceived by ſome, that this Prieſt that was appointed as a reſerve, if any thing had befallen the High-prieſt, to make him unfit for that work, was called the *Sagan*. (*c*) *Joſephus* giveth one example, when the work of the day of Expiation was carried on by ſuch a ſubſtitute; but this opinion maketh the *Sagan* uſeful but for one week in the year, whereas it appeareth by the Jewiſh records that he was in a continual office all the year thorough. Some therefore again conjecture, that the *Sagan* was to be he that was to be the next High-prieſt, and in his *Sagan-ſhip* was as a *Candidate* for that Office. (*d*) So R. *Solomon* calleth *Eleazar* the ſon of *Aaron* the *Sagan*: And (*e*) the *Jeruſalem Talmud* obſerves that none was High-prieſt unleſs he had been *Sagan* firſt; but there are two arguments that oppoſe this opinion; the firſt is, becauſe the High-prieſts, after the time of *Herod* eſpecially, were ſo made at the arbitrary diſpoſal of the Governor; that (*b*) *Joma per.1. abenitio.*

(*c*) *Joſeph. Ant. lib.17. cap.3.*

(*d*) *R. Sol. in Num.19.*

(*e*) *Aruch. in Sagan. & Juchaſ. ubi ſup.*

that it is not imaginable that they ever regarded whether he had been *Sagan* before or no. And another is, because in all the Old Testament where the succession of the High-priesthood was fair and legal, and it was still known who should be High-priest next, yet there is never mention of the word or of the thing *Sagan*, but only in 2 *King.* 25. 18. and *Jer.* 52. 24 where is mention of *Zephaniah the second Priest*, and the *Chaldee Paraphrast* calls him *Sagan*: Now unless he were son to *Serajah*, which I know not who ever held, he was in no possibility of the High-priesthood, had the Temple scaped the *Babylonian* fire and desolation.

For the discovering therefore what the *Sagan* was, and under what notion he came into his Office, it is observable that he is most commonly called סגן הכוהנים *The Sagan of the Priests*: So the *Chaldee* in the two places cited, titleth *Zephaniah*. So the *Talmud* in two places in the Treatise *Shekalim* speaketh of (*f*) *Ananias the Sagan of the Priests*: and in divers places both in the *Talmud* and in other *Hebrew* writers, the phrase is used in this conjuncture סגן הכוהנים *The Sagan of the Priests*. By the which it seemeth his Office had relation as much, if not more, to Priests below him, as to the High-priest above him: and I know not what fitter conception to have of him than this, that he was as the High-priests Substitute, in his absence to oversee, or in his presence to assist in the oversight of the affairs of the Temple, and the service of the Priests: For although it is true, that in some particulars his attendance did especially respect the High-priests person, as in three reckoned by (*g*) the *Talmud of Jerusalem*, yet did his Office also relate to the Priests below him, and so saith *Maymonides* כל הכוהנים תחת יד כגן (*h*) *That all the Priests were under the disposal* or command *of the Sagan*. For the High-priest having the chief charge and care of the holy things, and that burden and incumbency being of so great a weight, he was forced to get an assistance to help him to bear the burden [nay sometime the sillines and weakness of the High-priest did add to this necessity] and to this his assistant had the inferior Priests a respect and observance as to the High-priest himself. This was called (*i*) especially the *Memunuch* or *President* above all the fifteen that have been named, because upon him lay the great charge of the looking to the service, as the High-priests Deputy; and of this *President* we shall have occasion to make somewhat frequent mention when we come to speak of the service.

(*f*) *Sotkalim per.* 3. & *per.* 6.

(*g*) *Talm. Jerus. Joma. per.* 3.

(*h*) *Maym. in Kele Mik. per.* 4.

(*i*) *Id. ibid.*

In such a sense it was observed before, that *Zadok* and *Ahimelech* are said to be Priests in the days of *Abiathar* the High-priest, he the chief, and they in the chief care and charge and oversight under him: And whether *Annas* and *Cajaphas* may not be said to be High-priests together in this sense, *Luke* 3.2. namely *Cajaphas* High-priest, and *Annas* his *Sagan* [the *Hananiah the Sagan of the Priests* mentioned out of the *Talmud* before] be it referred to the Learned to determine: I was * once of another mind I confess, and supposed *Annas* to be called High-priest, because a Priest and head of the *Sanhedrin*, in which I was too credulous to *Baronius* a man far better skilled in Christian Antiquity than in Jewish; but now I find that never any such man was head of the *Sanhedrin* at all; and therefore I am now swayed to believe that *Annas* is called High-priest, as indeed having been so once, but now deposed, and now the *Sagan* under *Cajaphas*.

* In Harm. of Evang. at the notes on Luke 3.2.

SECT. II.

KATHOLIKIN.

Either *Maymony* himself, or his Transcriber, hath put a twofold reading upon this word: For in his (*a*) *Jad Hazakah* he reads it קתיקולין *Kathikolin* but in his (*b*) comment upon the *Talmud* Text he reads it קתילוקין *Katholokin*; and with the latter the (*c*) *Jerusalem Talmud*, and other Jews agree something near, and utter it קתוליקין *Katholkin Catholici*: The Gloss interprets it, ממנים על אוצרות *The Presidents or chief Overseers of the Treasures*: And so might the use of the word be shewed in other Authors, sometime to signifie *chief Treasurers*, and sometime to signifie *chief Favorites* or Officers. (*d*) *Rabbi Tanchuma* compares *Moses* and *Aaron* in reference to God, to two *Kathlikin* [for so he writes it קתליקין] in reference to a King: For speaking of Gods commanding *Moses* and *Aaron* to go up into mount *Hor* and *Nebo* and there to die, he utters this Parable: *To what is this matter like? It is like to a King that had two* Katholici, *who did nothing without the will of the King: one of them had some difference with the King, and the King had need of him; the King saith, although this man is in my power, yet will I not differ with him but he shall know it: So also the holy blessed God saith, these two righteous men never did any thing out according to my mind, and now I will take them away, yet I will let them know it, &c.* In this comparison he takes *Katholikin* to be chief Favourites or Officers, without designing any peculiar Office that they were in; (*e*) but other of the *Hebrew* writers assign them to the Treasuries; as *Bamid bar Rabba* that saith, *Korah was Katholicus*

(*a*) *Kele Mikd per.* 4.
(*b*) *Gloss. in Talm. Shekal. per.* 5.
(*c*) *Ibid. in Gemara.*
(*d*) *Jelammedenu. fol.* 83. *col.* 1.
(*e*) *Vid. Buxt. lexic. Talm. in voce.*

Katholicus to the King of Egypt, and had the keys of his Treasures: nay the same *Tanchuma* in another Parable putteth that sense upon the word also, for he saith, (f) *It is like unto a King that made his friend his Katholicus, and set him over his treasures: Katholiciani* in the terms of the Law, of old, signified *Rationum Præfecti, the Overseers of Accounts,* as is observed by the most Learned *Buxtorfius.* (f) *Aruch. in voce.*

We need not to be curious in determining these men to a peculiar Office, they were two men that were in the highest Office and Employment about the Temple, and but only two men above them, *The High-priest and the Sagan:* and whereas there were three common Treasurers of the Temple stock, [as we shall see by and by] these two were Headtreasurers and Overseers over them; much like the constitution of the Presidents in the *Persian* State, where 120 Princes were set over the 120 Provinces, and three Presidents were set over all these to take account of them, *Dan.* 6.1,2. *Maymony* gives this short character of these *Katholikin*; That ממנין קתיקולין להיות לסגן כמו הסגן לכ׳ (g) *They appointed the Kathicolin* or *Katholikin, to be to the Sagan, as the Sagan was to the High-priest:* substitutes and assistants, and next in place and in honour. The business of the Temple consisted especially in these two things, *its service,* and *the disposal of its treasury* or stock that came by Oblations or otherwise: Now as there were inferiour Priests that performed the dayly service, and as there were inferior Treasurers or Receivers that received the Offerings and whatsoever was brought in into the common stock, so these four men especially, the High-priest, *Sagan* and the two *Katholikin*, were Overseers both of the one and the other: that the Treasury might be disposed fitly for the Temple service, and that the service might be performed as was fitting. (g) *Maym. in Kele Mikd. par.* 4.

SECT. III.

IMMARCALIN. אמרכלין

WITH these may we joyn the seven *Immarcalin* [for that was their (a) number and they might not be less] men whose peculiar Office is as hard to find out, as was theirs before: but only that it is agreed upon, that they carried the keys of the seven gates of the Court, and one could not open them without the rest: (b) some add, *That there were seven rooms at the seven gates, for the laying up of the holy vessels, and holy vestments, and these seven men kept the keys of them, and looked to their disposal.* (a) *Talm. in Shek. per.* 5. *Maym. ubi sup.* (b) *Vid. Tosaph. ad Shekalim cap.* 5. & *R. Sol. in* 2 *King.* 12.

The *Chaldee Paraphrase* upon the Law, [that goeth under the name of *Jonathan*] useth this word אמרכול in *Numb.* 1. and *Numb.* 7. 11. for the Princes or chief heads of the twelve Tribes that stood with *Moses* to number the people, and that offered their gifts at the dedication of the Altar, and in *Levit.* 4.15. he useth it for the Elders of the Tribes who laid their hands on the head of the sin-offering of the Congregation: And so whosoever was the *Targumist* on the *Canticles*, he useth it in *Cant.* 4. 3. for a Prince or Potentate that was near the King: for that verse [*Thy lips are like a thred of scarlet, and thy speech is comely: thy Temples are like a piece of a Pomgranate within thy locks,*] he gloseth thus. (c) *The lips of the High-priest were earnest in prayer on the day of Expiation before the Lord, and their fulness turned the sins of Israel which were like a scarlet thred, and made them white as pure wool. And the King which was head over them was full of judgment, like a Pomgranate* בר מן אמרכליא וארכונין *Besides the Nobles and Rulers which were righteous, and there was no evil in them.* (c) *Targ. in Cant.* 4. 3.

And likewise in other places in the *Chaldee Paraphrasts*, the word is sometimes used to signifie only dignity and high place: but sometime again to denote a Function and Office; and so the *Chaldee* of *Jonathan* upon the Prophets, renders, the Priests the keepers of the door, in 2 *King.* 12.10. כהניא אמרכליא *The Priests, the Amarcalin*; whereupon *David Kimchi* giveth this Comment, שומרי סף (d) *The keepers of the threshold, meaneth, the keepers of the vessels of the house: For* סף *is a general name for the vessels of the service: And* Jonathan *interprets it* Amarcalin; *now these were chief Treasurers, which had others under them: And so* Onkelos *renders that passage,* Eleazar *the son of* Aaron *shall be chief over the chief of the Levites,* Numb. 3. 32. אמרכלא דממנא *The* Amarcal *appointed over the chief of the Levites.* (d) *Kimch. in* 2 *King.* 12.10.

It is not much material to look after the various writing and reading of this word; how sometimes it is written *Marcol* [and that especially by the *Jerusalem Talmud*, which useth now and then to take away the first א *Aleph* in certain words, and so it constantly reads *Lazar* for *Eliazar*] and according to this reading *Aruch* doth Etymologize it to mean מר עד כל *Lord over all*] sometimes *Amarcol*, sometimes *Immarcol* or *Immarcal*, which by the *Gemara* of the *Talmud* is rendered, *An appointer of all things*, or one by whose appointment the affairs of the Temple were managed; it is the office of the men we are looking after, which the writing or notation of the word little helps us in. It

It is agreed on all hands that their number was seven, and that they carried seven keys, according to the seven gates of the Court: But here ariseth a question, were these seven *Amarcalin* pepetual officers, or did they change every week, as the Courses of the Priests changed? These several arguments might be used for the several assertion of either part: if they were not perpetual officers, why are they reckoned as perpetual? For in the changing Courses the *Head of the Course* is reckoned as chiefest, and these are reckoned two steps above him: and if they were perpetual officers, and the unlockers and lockers of the Court-gates continually, what shall we answer to that passage in the Treatise *Middoth* (c) which saith, *That the keys of the gates were in the keeping of the seniors of the house of their Fathers* in the changed Courses?

(c) *Mid. per.* 1.

Therefore for a temper between these two we are to apprehend that these seven *Amarcalin*, were perpetual in their office, as well as were the High-priest, *Sagan* and *Katholikin*, and that the keys of the Court were at their disposal; but that they committed the opening and shutting of the doors of the Court to Deputies, namely to some of the seniors of every course as it came in; and that they had not only these keys at their dispoſal, but also the keys of the Temple Wardrobes, and of the rooms of the several vessels, and were Overseers about them, and disposed of them for the use of the Temple.

SECT. IV.

GIZBARIN. גוברין.

(a) *Maym. in Kele Mikdash. per.* 4.

IT was a fixed tradition אין פוחתין משלשה גוברין (a) *That the Gizbarin were not to be less than three, and they were as substitutes to the Immarcalin.*

The word גובר is used in the *Hebrew* Text, *Ezra* 1.8. and in the *Chaldee* Text, *Ezra* 7. 21. in both which places our *English* hath rendred it *Treasurers:* the scope and sense of the former place doth evidently enough justifie the translation; for, speaking of *Cyrus*, his restoring the vessels of the Temple, to the Temple again; he saith, *He brought them forth by the hand of Mithredath the Gizbar:* which the LXX hath rendred *Gazbarenus*, as if it were some proper name, or a name Patronymick: but the very place sheweth that it meaneth that he was the man that kept these vessels or was Treasurer of them: and so *Kimchi* expounds it, (b) *He was Overseer and Treasurer.* In the latter place cited, the LXX renders it ταξεις, not *Treasurers* but *Treasuries*, but the sense of the place sheweth that it meaneth the Kings Officers and Receivers, and so *Rabbi Solomon* glosseth it, המקבלים מסים (c) *The receivers of his Tributes.*

(b) *Kimchi in Michol. in voce.*

(c) *R. Sol. in Ezra* 7.

Now as for these officers of the Temple that we are speaking of, which were called *Gizbarin*, *Maymony* in the place cited a little before, gives them this character, (d) *That they were they that demanded all the hallowed things, and redeemed what was to be redeemed:* which in his gloss upon the *Talmud* treatise, *Shekalim* he speaketh more at large, and saith (e) *that the Gizbarin were those that were appointed over the holy stock and all consecrate things: And they redeemed every sanctified thing* [הקדשות *Lev.*27.14.&c.] *And every devoted thing* [חרם *Num.*18.14.] *And every estimated person* or thing, [ערכים *Lev.*27.2.&c.] *And the second tith.*

(d) *Maym. ubi sup.*

(e) *Id in Gloss. in Shek. per.* 5.

And the *Talmudick* Text it self in that Treatise *Shekalim* (f) speaketh of the *Gizbarin*, receiving the half-shekel poll money: and of the *Gizbarin* opening the Treasury of the dedicate vessels. And in the Treatise *Megillah* (g) it speaketh of *the Gizbarin receiving wood*, &c. So that these men that we have in discourse, were the first Receivers and Treasurers of all things due or dedicate to the Temple treasury, as the half shekel mony of every Israelite, the vessels that were offered to the service, things that were vowed or devoted, and the thing vowed or devoted, that was to be redeemed with mony; these were they that stated the rate of the redemption, and received the mony; now these were but as sub-collectors and sub-treasurers, for what they received they were accountable for to the seven *Immarcalin*, and both these and the *Immarcalin*, to the *Katholikin:* and all under the oversight of the High-priest and *Sagan.*

(f) *Talm. in Shek. per.* 11. & *per.* 5.
(g) *Talm. in Megillah per.* 3. *Aruch. in* גוכר

And this was properly the *Beth Din* or *Consistory of the Priests*, of which we spake before, which transacted the business of the Sanctuary; not sentencing nor inflicting any penalties, or mulcts, corporal or pecuniary, upon their brethren or any other; but they were בולוטי *The Counsellors* for the Temple, that took care of the dues, stock, treasury, vessels, vestments, repair and service of the Temple, and of ordering of all things tending to these ends: and these were they, that kept their sitting to consult of these things in the chamber of *Parhedrin* or *Palhedrin* of which we have spoken in the survey of that piece of building: And these in the honester times were called Βελδται *Counsellors*, because they consulted and contrived really for the good of the Temple, but when they grew corrupt and minded their own ends, they were called but *Parhedroi* or *sitters: Joseph of Aramathea* is said to be Βελδτης τιμιος, *an honourable Counsellor*, *Mark* 15.43. Probably a Priest of this society, but of more than ordinary integrity and goodness. And so the *Talmud* speaks of *R. Simeon* בולוטה *the Counsellor. Jerus. in Taanith. per.* 4.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

SECT. I.

Of the four and twenty courſes of the Prieſts.

IT is a very received opinion among the Hebrew Doctors, (*a*) that the courſes of the Prieſts were firſt ordained by *Moſes*; namely [as ſome of them ſay] four of *Eleazar*, and four of *Ithamar*; but as others, eight of the one, and eight of the other. They that conceive that *Moſes* ordained but eight in all, hold that *Samuel* added eight more, and made them ſixteen, and then came *David*, and added yet other eight, and made them four and twenty. But thoſe that hold that *Moſes* ordained ſixteen, conceive that *David* and *Samuel* joyned counſels together, in adding the other eight to them. In which intricacy to perplex our ſelves to diſpute whether it were this way or that way, is both needleſs and uſeleſs, ſince the firſt time the Scripture tells us of any Courſes, it tells us of the four and twenty, and *David* the ordainer and diſtributer of them: he by the ſpirit of God, giving them their number, and a divine lot appointing their order.

(a) *Talm. Jeruſ. in Taanith per. 4 Maym. in Kele Mikd. per. 4. Kimch in 1 Chron. 24. R. Sol. ibid.*

For our better viewing and obſerving of theſe Courſes, and ſervice of the Prieſts in them; it may not be amiſs to begin with the conſideration of their age, when they entred into the ſervice, and their manner of induction to it, and then to ſee the manner and condition of their courſes.

1. We read in the Jewiſh writers exceeding frequent mention of פרחי כהונה *The ſpringals of the Prieſthood*; for ſo I may well render it; or *buds of the Prieſthood*; for ſo the word ſignifies in propriety: as in the Treatiſe *Joma* it is ſaid, That (*b*) *on the night that preceded the day of Expiation, if the High-prieſt began to ſlumber, the* פרחי כהונה *Springals of the Prieſthood filliped with their fingers to waken him:* where the *Gloſs* expounds it, *That they were young men, the hair of whoſe beards began to bud.* And in the Treatiſe *Tamid*, (*c*) it is ſaid, that *the Ancients of the Houſe of their father, lay upon benches, but the* פרחי כהונה *Springals of the Prieſt-hood lay on the ground*, there the *Gloſs* giveth the very ſame expoſition of the phraſe that it did before: But *R. Nathan* expounds it, (*d*) *The ſons of the Prieſts that were now fit for the ſervice:* and (*e*) ſome others do alſo expound it, שהגיעו לעבודה *ſuch as were new come to the ſervice*; which in the ſame place in the *Miſhneh* are called רובים *Youths.*

(b) *Joma. per. 1*

(c) *Tam. per. 1.*
(d) *Aruch in* פרח

(e) *Vid. Gloſs. in Miſhnth. & Gemar. in Tam. in locum citat.*

2. Now the ages of the Prieſts at their entrance into the ſervice, we find to be threefold, or held out in the Scripture in a threefold variety: for the firſt law about the age of the Prieſts at their entrance into the ſervice, was at thirty years of age, *Numb.* 4. 3. and ſo the Levites, *verſ.* 23. & 30. & 35. But another Text ſpeaketh of the Levites going in to wait from twenty five years old and upward, *Numb.* 8. 25. And a third Text ſpeaketh of the ſons of *Levi*, doing the ſervice from twenty years old and upward, 1 *Chron.* 23. 24, 27. In which variety there is not contradiction, but alteration in reference to ſeveral reſpects: The fixed and conſiſtent time was thirty years old initiant [and ſo our Saviour anſwered the type at his entrance into his Miniſtry, *Luke* 3.] but at five and twenty they were Probationers, and might do ſome ſervices, ſaith *Aben Ezra*, but they might not do all: (*f*) for they might wait upon the Tabernacle, but they might not bear the Ark. And (*g*) therefore when the Ark was now ſetled in the Temple and no more to be born up and down; *David* by divine warrant, warrants their entrance to their function at twenty years old: And then were they but פרחי כהונה *Springals of the Prieſthood*, the down of their cheeks but now breaking out. The attendance of *Samuel* at the Tabernacle at *Shiloh* from a very child was a caſe extraordinary, and (*h*) his work there was but a Candidate and Probationer, to learn the manner of the ſervice and the ſong.

(f) *Aben. Ezra in Num. 8.*
(g) *D. Kimch. in 1 Chron. 23.*
(h) *Id. in 1 Sam. 2.*

3. The manner of their inſtalment and admiſſion to the ſervice was thus; (*i*) The great *Sanhedrin* ſate dayly in the room *Gazith*, to judge concerning the Prieſts that came to age, to enter into the ſervice, to ſee whether they were of the Prieſts line rightly deſcended or no; and if they proved ſo, then to ſee whether they were without blemiſh: if they proved not truly and compleatly Prieſts born, they were cloathed in black, and vailed in black, and ſo turned away, and no more to do with them: but if he proved of the Prieſts line rightly begotten, and there were any blemiſh in him of the 140 bleminſhes, (*k*) for ſo many they number, then he was ſet to the worming of the wood, of which we have ſpoken in the deſcription of the Court of the women. But if he proved rightly deſcended, and without any blemiſh, then was he clothed in white, and inrolled among the reſt of the Prieſts, and he went in and ſerved at the Altar as the others did: and to theſe cuſtoms that ſpeech alludeth, in *Rev.* 3. 5. *He that overcometh, the ſame ſhall be clothed in white raiment, and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life.*

(i) *Mid. per. 5. Maym. in Biath. Mikd. per. 6.*

(k) *Id. ib. per. 8.*

And here a ſtory mentioned by *Suidas* may not be unworthy to be related, though it be not ſo worthy to be believed, and that is this.

(l) *Suidas in voce Ιησῦς.*

(l) One *Theodoſius* a Jew in the time of *Juſtinian* the Emperor related to one *Philip* a Chriſtian [who perſwaded him to become a Chriſtian alſo] as a great ſecret among the Jewiſh Nation, and known but to few neither; That in the time of the Temple ſtanding, even while *Jeſus Chriſt* lived as a private perſon, a certain Prieſt died at *Jeruſalem*, and the heads of the Prieſts met together to chooſe another in his ſtead: And while one named one, and another another, a certain Prieſt ſtood up and named *Jeſus* the ſon of *Joſeph* the Carpenter, as one known to them for a man of moſt ſingular wiſdom and integrity: But when ſome objected that *Joſeph* was not of the Tribe of *Levi*, but of *Judah*, and ſo *Jeſus* his ſon was not capable of the Prieſthood; and it was anſwered again, that he was come of a ſtock that had ſo mixed with the Tribe of *Levi* that he might be admitted, he was generally approved of, as one fit to ſucceed in the room of the Prieſt deceaſed. Now becauſe it was the cuſtom to inrol the names of thoſe that were admitted to be Prieſts, and the names of their parents, they called the mother of *Jeſus* to give them account of his parentage, [for *Joſeph* was now dead] and when ſhe had told them that he had no earthly Father, but was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, and that ſhe bare him, as divers could witneſs which were peſent at her Travail, but that ſhe was yet a Virgin: and when they had taken the witneſs of ſome that were with her at her Child-birth, and had received teſtimony from other women whom they ſet to ſearch her, that ſhe was ſtill a Virgin, they entred the name and Parentage of *Jeſus* into their Regiſter; in theſe words, *Such a day ſuch a Prieſt died, the ſon of ſuch a man, and ſuch a woman; and by the common ſuffrage there was choſen in his ſtead, Jeſus the ſon of the living God, and of the Virgin Mary.* And this Regiſter Book [ſaith this relater] at the ſacking and deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, was preſerved by the care and induſtry of ſome of the chief of the Jews, and is now laid up privately at *Tiberias*: and this ſtory [ſaith *Suidas*] I had from ſome that heard it from *Philip*; to whom it was related.

Not to inſiſt upon the examination of this ſtory, but to leave it as we found it, and to return to the Courſes that we are about; It is held by the Jews, and that not without ſome ground, that of all the four and twenty Courſes that ſerved under the firſt Temple, four only returned out of the captivity of *Babel*; namely *Jedajah*, *Harim*, *Paſhur*, *Immer*. Thus the *Jeruſalem Talmud*, and *Toſaphoth ad Taanith* (*m*) reckon them, from *Ezra* 3. 36, 37, 38, 39. But the *Babylon Talmud* in ſtead of *Harim* (*n*) nameth *Jojarib*; and the *Gloſs* upon it doth juſtly ſcruple, how *Paſhur* is now become one of the Courſes, who was none of them before.

(m) *Talm. Jeruſ. ubi ante. Toſaph. ad Taanith. per. 4.*

(n) *Tal. Bab. ib.*

But how ſhall theſe four families do, to make four and twenty Courſes, as was the Primitive and Original diſtribution, and that by Prophetick and Divine appointment? The Prophets therefore that were amongſt the children of the Captivity [ſay the ſame Authors] found out a way to caſt them into ſo many Courſes, and their way was this.

They made four and twenty lots, and they wrote the names of the heads of the four and twenty Courſes upon them, and put them into the lottery box. Jedajah *took out five, and himſelf one, there is ſix.* Harim *took out five, and himſelf one, there is ſix.* Paſhur *took out five, and himſelf one, there is ſix.* Immer *took out five, and himſelf one, there is ſix. And the Prophets that were among them conditioned with them, that though* Jojarib *came out of captivity, yet ſhould he not drive out the Courſe that was before him.*

Now the meaning of this Tradition is this: That in drawing theſe lots with the names of the heads of the old Courſes upon them, they only intended to find out, what Courſes of the old names muſt be made out of every one of theſe four families, and they did not intend to alter the order of the Courſes, but to let them run as they did in the ancient round: only the Courſe of *Jojarib* which of old was the firſt, is now put to give place to *Jedajah*. And the reaſon of this was becauſe *Jedajah* was of the High-prieſts family, of the houſe of *Joſhua* the ſon of *Jozedek*, and ſo they allotted him the prehemi-nence, *Ezra* 2.36. The *Gloſs* indeed upon the *Babylon Talmud*, gives the reaſon to be, becauſe (*o*) *in this their new molding, every one was to take his Courſe as his lot was drawn, and that in the order that the lot came up in the drawers hand they ſerved their weeks.* But if this were a reaſon, why ſhould not *Jojarib* be a drawer of the lots as well as *Jedajah*, ſince the record ſaith he was preſent? And if they were ſo indifferent for the altering of the order of the Courſes, why ſhould they be ſo punctual for their number, ſince the one in the Primitive inſtitution was appointed by divine direction as well as the other? When the Evangeliſt *Luke* ſaith that *Zachary* the father of *John* the Baptiſt was *of the Courſe of Abia*, *Luke* 1.5. he undoubtedly referreth to the order of *Abia's* Courſe as it is ranked in 1 *Chron.* 24. For the family of *Abia* was not now extant among the Courſes, for there is no mention at all of him among the Prieſts that returned out of Captivity, and therefore the Evangeliſt ſaith, not that *Zachary* was of his family but of his Courſe, that is, of a Courſe that bare

(o) *Gloſs. ib.*

bare his name; but as for the Order of the Courſe, he either referreth to the Text mentioned, as to a place to be found in Scripture, and ſo his words to be conſtrued and underſtood by it, or elſe there is no order of his Courſe to be found at all.

The Courſes being thus divided after the Captivity anew, but ordered and ranked as of old, and in time encreaſed and grown numerous כל משמר ומשמר היה מעמד בירושלים *Every Courſe* [ſaith the *Miſhneh* in the place aforecited] *had a ſtation in* Jeruſalem; which the *Jeruſalem Gemara* expoundeth thus, *It is a tradition that* 2400 *were the ſtation at* Jeruſalem, *and half a ſtation was at* Jericho. *And* Jericho *alſo was able to have produced a whole ſtation, but becauſe it would give the honour to* Jeruſalem *it yielded but half: And wen any Courſe was to go up to* Jeruſalem, *half the Courſe went up to* Jeruſalem *out of the Land of* Iſrael, *and half the Courſe went up out of* Jericho; which the *Babylonian Gemara* wordeth thus, *There were four and twenty Courſes in the Land of* Iſrael, *and twelve at* Jericho.

Not that there are ſix and thirty Courſes to be ſuppoſed, but that the four and twenty were thus divided; that half or more of every Courſe were continually reſident in *Jeruſalem*, and about it; that they might unfailingly be ready for the Service when the time of their Courſe came: and the other part, or half of every Courſe was up and down diſperſed through the Land: only at and about *Jericho*, there was a great number conſtantly of every Courſe reſiding there, as the others did at *Hieruſalem*; who when the Week of their Courſe came, went up, either to aſſiſt their Bretheren of the courſe in their Service, or to help to cater proviſions for them, while they ſerved מחקנים לאחיהם: *They ordered for their Brethren*, ſaith one gloſs upon the place, שיספקו מים ומזון לאחיהם *That their brethren might have ſufficient of Water and Proviſion*, ſaith another: And as for the reſt of that Courſe that were neither at *Hieruſalem* nor at *Jericho*, but diſperſed up and down the Country, they and the *Levites* and the *Stationary* men, that were appertaining to that Courſe, met together in their Synagogues, according as they were near together, and faſted, and prayed, and read the Law, and made ſupplications that their Brethrens Service now in hand at *Hieruſalem*, might be accepted ישראל שבאותו משמר מתכנסין לעריהן *Iſrael that was of that Courſe*, ſaith the *Miſhneh* even now cited, *gathered themſelves into their Cities and faſted, &c.* Where by the word *Iſrael* is not meant the *Iſraelites* or *Stationary* men of that Courſe, as they ſtood in oppoſition and diſtinct to Prieſts and *Levites*, but it meaneth all the Prieſts and *Levites*, and *Stationary* men that were of that Courſe, who were diſperſed through the Land of *Iſrael*, in diſtinction to thoſe that were then at *Hieruſalem* at the Service.

As the Courſes were every one of them thus divided, in regard of place and attendance, ſo was every one of them alſo diſtinguiſhed into degrees.

1. There was ראש המשמר *The head of the Courſe*, who was Preſident over them all, and who reſembled that eminent perſon from whom the Courſe took its name: the moſt of theſe Heads no doubt were of the great *Sanhedrim*, and though in the affairs of the Temple the *Sagan*, *Katholikin*, *Immercalin* and *Gizbarin*, of whom hath been ſpoken already, were above them; yet in this great Council they were all equal, and theſe altogether are thoſe that are ſo frequently mentioned by the Goſpels, as Members of that Judicatory, by the name of *Chief-prieſts*.

2. There was ראש בית אב *The heads of the houſes of their fathers:* (p) for the Preſident of the Courſe, divided the Courſe ſo among the Houſes of the Fathers, that every Houſe or Family might ſerve its day. And thoſe that were in theſe ſeveral Families under the Head of the Houſe of their Father, were called כהנים הדיוטים, Ἱερεῖς Ἰδιῶται, *private or ordinary Prieſts.* (p) *Maym. in Kelé Migdaſh per.* 4.

Theſe Courſes entred on the Sabbath, and on the next Sabbath they went out, 2 *King* 11. 7. 2 *Chron.* 23. 4. ſerving only a Week at a time; and ſo their attendance was required twice in the year.

The ſerving of every Courſe, was thus divided.

(q) *The Courſe that had five houſes of Fathers in it, three ſerved three days, and two ſerved four days.* (q) *Talm. Jer. & Toſaph. ubi ſupr.*

The Courſe that had ſix houſes of Fathers in it, five ſerved five days, and one ſerved two days.

The Courſe that had ſeven houſes of Fathers in it, they ſerved every one their day.

The Courſe that had eight houſes of Fathers in it, ſix ſerved ſix days, and two one day.

And the Courſe that had nine houſes of Fathers in it, five ſerved five days, and four ſerved two days.

(r) *In their attendance, the men of the Courſe were permitted to drink Wine in the night, but not in the day; becauſe it might be, that the ſervice of their brethren might be too heavy for the houſe of the Father that was to ſerve, and they might be neceſſitated to come in and help, which they might not do having drunk Wine. But the men of the houſe of the Father that were to ſerve, might not drink Wine either by day, or by night. Whoſoever knew his courſe and the houſe of his Father, he was forbidden Wine only for that day that his Fathers houſe ſerved; He* (r) *Toſaph. ibid.*

that

that knew his course, but not his fathers house (the knowledge of which in long continuance might be lost) *he was forbidden Wine all that Week.*

(f) Maym. in Biath. Migdash. per. 4.

In some exigents the Priests might serve though they were unclean. (f) *Every offering either of the Congregation, or of a particular person, the time for the offering of which is fixed,* (as all the offerings time of the Congregations be) *they dispence with the Sabbath, and with uncleanness, but that is with uncleanness, or defiling by the dead only: As for example, the time fixed for such a Sacrifice is come, and the most of the Congregation that should offer it, are defiled by the dead;* as 2Chro. 30. 17. *or the Congregation is clean, but the Priests that should offer it, are defiled by the dead; or both of them are clean, and the Vessels of the Service are so defiled, yet must it be offered in this uncleanness, and the clean, and unclean may be imployed about it alike, and they may all go into the Court. But those that are unclean with any other uncleanness, as by fluxes, issues, touching of creeping things, any carcass, or the like, may not be imployed about the Service, nor may they go into the Court.*

CHAP. VII.

Of the Levites.

SECT. I.

Of the Porters and Guards of the Temple.

(a) 1 Chron. 25. & 26.
(b) Erachin. per. 2. in Gemar.

THE (a) *Levites* were divided into Porters and Singers; (b) fixed Offices which they might not change, one to intrude into anothers Office, and neither of them into the Priests.

The distribution of Porters into four and twenty Courses, is not so clearly legible in the Scripture, as is such a distribution of the Priests and Singers; for the Courses of both those are both numbred and named, and so are not these. And yet do these two Texts, 2*Chron.*3.14. and 1*Chron.*26.17,18. hold out so fair a probability of such a thing, that it may almost as readily be concluded upon, as may the other. For in the former, the Porters go in the very same Equipage, as to the matter of division into Courses, with the Priests and Singers. *He appointed the Courses of the Priests according to the order of* David *his Father, and the Levites to their charges, to praise and minister before the Lord, as the duty of every day required; the Porters also by their Courses at every Gate.* And in the latter, the first Fathers of the Porters are summed up to the very same number that the first Fathers of the other Courses were, namely, to four and twenty: *Amongst all the Porters* (c) [saith *David Kimchi*] *there were four and twenty according to the rest of the courses; six on the East side, four on the North, four on the South: at Asuppim two and two, four in all; four on the West, and two at Parbar; behold four and twenty. And our Rabbins have distributed them into four and twenty places, &c.*

(c) Kimchi in 1 Chron. 26.

The Office of the Porters was first to open and shut the Doors of *the Mountain of the House*, and of the Court of the *Women*; (for we have observed elsewhere, that the Priests took care for opening and shutting the Gates of the other Court) and to attend in those Gates all the day for prevention of any inconvenience that might come: to the prejudice of the purity, safety, or peace of the place or service. Secondly, the Scriptnre puts some Treasureship upon the Porters, as that they had some Treasures and Treasuries at the Gates where they attended; of which is spoken at large in our Treating concerning the Gates and Treasuries elsewhere. As for that part of their office and imployment which the Rabbins do sometimes make mention of, (under the phrase of לחנות דלתות) whether it were the brushing of the Gates, and keeping of the guilding bright, or their being the Turn-keys at the Wickets, or little doors within the great Gates when the Gates were shut; it was a work so coincident with their attendance at the Gates continually, that it is but a piece of that imployment, and needs not to be taken for an Office by it self.

Now besides this care of the Porters at the Gates by day, there was as much or more both at the Gates and other places by night in the Guards which were set to watch the Temple, which were four and twenty in all. (d) *The guards of the Sanctuary* (saith *Maimony*) *was an affirmative command; although there were not fear either of enemies or thieves: and the command concerning this guarding, was that it should be by night. And they that warded were the Priests and the Levites, as it is said, thou and thy sons with thee, before the Tabernacle of the Congregation, &c.* Now whether the Levites that were of these Guards were the Porters only, and not the Singers also of every Course as it came in, might

(d) Maym. in Beth. habbech. per. 8.

might very well be queſtioned, if it were worth the labour to examine it; (*e*) but were they, or were they not, the guards were in number four and twenty, and were kept in four and twenty places every night, three of Prieſts, and one and twenty of Levites. 1. There was a guard at every one of theſe Gates of the *Mountain of the Houſe*, one at the Eaſt Gate *Shuſha*; one at the North Gate *Tedi*; two at the two South Gates *Huldab*; and one at the Weſt Gate *Coponius*: And there was a Guard within every one of the four corners of that great Square: ſo that there were nine in that boundary Wall that encompaſſed the Holy Ground. The three other Gates on the Weſt quarter, namely, one of *Parbar*, and two of *Aſuppim*, had not Night-guards at them as the reſt had, though they had Porters by day, either becauſe the ſteep deſcent from them did help their ſecurity, or becauſe they found ſome ſecurity for them ſome other way. 2. About the Wall that encloſed the Courts, there were two Guards at the two Eaſt corners, and at the Weſt, and both of them without the Wall of the Court; and there were five at five of the ſeven Gates. The two Gates that had not the Levites Guards upon them, were the *Water-Gate*, over which there was a Guard of Prieſts in the Chamber of *Abtines* and the upper Gate of *Corban*, by which there was a Guard of Prieſts in the room *Beth Mokadh*. And there was one Guard more of Levites on the North ſide, in the Chamber of *Corban*, over againſt the Holy Place, and another on the South ſide over againſt the Vail, and another juſt behind the moſt Holy Place. The Gate *Nitſets* had a Guard of Prieſts and Levites both at it, very near together; All which places will be eaſier underſtood upon ſight of them in the Map that we have drawn of the Temple, and building about it, if it could once find the hap to come to ſight.

(*f*) There was one that walked the Round through all theſe Guards every night, and him they called, *The Man of the Mountain of the Houſe: And if he found any one not ſtanding on his feet, he ſaid unto him, Peace be unto thee; but if he found any one aſleep, he ſtruck him, and had liberty to ſet fire on his Garments: ſo that they would ſay, what noiſe is yonder in the Court? why it is the noiſe of a Levite beaten, and his Coat burnt becauſe he ſlept upon the Guard.* Rabbi Eliezer *the ſon of* Jacob *ſaith, one time they found my Mothers Brother ſleeping, and they burnt his Garments.* Now whether this *Man of the Mountain of the Houſe* were the *Sagan* [as ſome have thought, but very unlikely,] or one man of the Courſe that then waited, appointed for this purpoſe; as is the Opinion of (*g*) *Maimony* and (*h*) *Bartenora*, or whoſoever he was, methinks his action in burning the ſleepers Garments, giveth light to that place, *Rev.* 16.15. *Bleſſed is he that watcheth and keepeth his Garments.*

(*f*) *Id ibid.*

(*g*) *Maym. ubi ante.*

(*h*) *Bartenor. in Middoth.*

SECT. II.

Of the Singers and Temple Muſick.

NOt to inſiſt upon the ordaining and diviſion of the Singers and their Courſes, of which there is large deſcription, 1 *Chron.* 25. nor to ſearch the ground of the Temple Muſick from the Law; about which the *Gemariſts* are copiouſly inquiſitive in the Treatiſe (*a*) *Erachin*; let us take up a little conſideration firſt of the perſons of the ſingers themſelves, and then of their Song and Muſick.

(*a*) *Erachin fol.* 11.

(*b*) *Maimony* tells us, that the Singers were *Levites* and *Iſraelites* together מחן לויים ובהן ישלא לין מיוחכין המשיאין לכהונה שאין עולה עיר דוכן אלא מיוחס He had ſpoken immediately before, that the Song of the Temple was properly with Voices, and not with Inſtruments, becauſe the ground of that Song which was the Service, was the Voice. עיקר שירה בקול which is a Maxime that the *Talmud* ſpeaketh of exceeding oft; yet he concludeth that others ſtood with the Voices, with Inſtruments. *And ſome of them* (ſaith he) *were Levites, and ſome of them were Iſraelites of note, that had married with the Prieſthood; for none might go up into the desks of the Song men, but men of note.*

(*b*) *Maim. in Kele Mikdaſh ptr.* 3.

The *Miſhnah* in the Treatiſe *Erachin* cited above, doth make the like diviſion in this point, and it doth it ſo, as that the *Iſraelites* our *Rabbin* ſpeaketh of, appear to have their part in the inſtrumental Muſick only, and not in the Vocal. For having made mention of the ſounding of the Trumpets, and the Muſick of other Inſtruments, and how, and when they were uſed, it concludeth thus: *Now theſe* (that played upon ſuch and ſuch inſtruments, for that was the diſcourſe in the next words before) *were the ſervants of the Prieſts. The words of* Rabbi Mier: Rabbi Joſe ſaith, *it was the Family of Pegarim, and the Family of Tſipporiah of* מעימעוס *Emmaus which were taken to the Prieſthood.* Rabbi Haninah *the ſon of* Antigonus, *ſaith they were Levites.* The Gloſs upon the place, ſaith *theſe were Families of Iſraelites of note, whoſe Daughters the Prieſts had married.* (*c*) The Treatiſe *Succah*, ſpeaketh of theſe very Families, and ſaith *they were of Ai and Emmaus.* (it is written אמאם there) and the Gloſs there, ſaith *they were Iſraelites of worth, whoſe daughters and widows were fit to be married to the Prieſts.*

(*c*) *Succah ptr.* 5. *in Gemara.*

So

So that it is a disputed case whether any were imployed in the Musick but the Levites only; but if any other, they were to be as near the Priesthood as possible, both for alliance and qualifications, and when they were come to the highest they could, they were not admitted to joyn Voices with the Vocal Musick, which was the proper Song, and the proper Service, but only to joyn with the Instrumental: which was but thus much, that if any man of worth and piety, or in near affinity with the Priesthood, had addicted himself to Musical Devotions, and to pour out his Praises to God that way, (as that was then greatly in use) if he came to offer to joyn his Skill and Devotion to the Temple *Chorus*, they refused him not, but let him put in with his Instrument among the Instruments, but among the Voices he might not joyn, for that belonged only to the *Levites*. So it is said in the 2 *Sam.*6.5. *And David and all the House of Israel played on all manner of Instruments made of fine wood, even on Harps, and on Psalteries, and on Timbrels, and on Cornets, and Cymbals.*

As for the number of the Singers, that is the Voices, they were never to be under twelve, for so was the number of every Course when they were divided into their Courses, 1*Chron.*25. But as many above twelve as might be, and so their Tradition is express; (*f*) *There must not be less than twelve Levites in the desks, but they add to the number ever.* And whereas the *Levites* Children might never come within the Court, upon any other occasion, nor at any other time wqatsoever: yet might they come in when the *Levites* were singing, and might sing with them, not going up into the Desks, and looking over as the *Levites* did, but standing upon the ground, between their Fathers Legs. (*g*) And the Warrant for this they take from those words in *Ezr.*3.9. *Then stood Jeshua with his sons, Kadmiel and his sons, &c. And they sang together by course, &c.* And they back it also with this reason, *&c.* דהני קטי קלייהו והני עב קלייהו (*h*) Because *the voice of those was small, and the others big, those trebled, and the other sang more base: And so by this means they made the more full, and the more sweet Musick.*

(*f*) *Erachin ubi supr.*

(*g*) *Glossa ibid.*

(*h*) *Gemara. ibid.*

The Instruments that they used, were either wind Instruments, or Instruments with strings. The first of their wind Instruments to be looked after, were their Trumpets, of whose Attendance on the Altar service we find mention, 2 *Chron.* 7.6. and 29.26. and in divers other places, where the use of them is ascribed to the Priests, and not to the *Levites*; for indeed they were none of the Consort, but a Musick when the Consort stopped, as we shall see anon.

The number of the Trumpets was to be (*i*) *not under two*, nor above an *hundred and twenty*, the reason why not under two, was because of that command, *Num.*10.2. *Make thee two Trumpets*: and why not above 120. was because of that example at the beginning of the Temple Service, 2 *Chron.*5.12.

(*i*) *Maym. ubi supr.*

The Lord enjoined in *Numb.*10.10. *That in the day of their rejoycing, and in their solemn Feasts, and in the New Moons, they should blow with Trumpets*: This was the warrant and engagement of this Trumpet Musick, and the manner of it was thus:

Those that blew with Trumpets were the Priests, for so was the original institution, *that the Priests the sons of Aaron should blow with them*, *Numb.*10.18. 1 *Chron.*15.24. And their standing, when they were about this piece of service, was not where the *Levites* stood in the desks, or near them, but it was clean on the other side of the Altar, and they stood looking down the Court when they blew the Trumpets, as the *Levites* stood looking up the Court when they sang and plaid, but both looking on the Altar: (*k*) *Two Priests stood by the Table of the Fat* שולהן חלבים *with two silver Trumpets in their hand, &c.* as saith the *Mishnah* of the *Talmud* in the place cited in the Margine: Now it speaketh of two Priests, because that was the lowest number of Trumpets that might be used, and if there were more, they stood in the same place in more compass, namely on the West side of the rise of the Altar, for there as is observed in the place, the *Table of the fat was placed.*

(*k*) *Tamid. per.* 7.

The manner of their blowing with their Trumpets was first a long plain blast, then a blast with breakings and quaverings, and then a long, plain blast again; this the Jews call תקועה תרועה תקיעה, and in their short writings they express it thus תתת. The *Mishnah* last cited, saith, thas the Priests standing in the place there mentioned, תקעו והריעו ותקעו, *sounded, blew alarm, sounded*, for so let me *English* it till further discourse do more fully shew its meaning.

The Priests did never blow, but these three blasts went together, and hereupon arose that dispute which occurs more than once or twice in the *Talmud*, about how many times the Trumpets sounded before the Altar every day.

The general Tradition ran thus, אין פוחתין מכא תקיעה במקדש ולא מוסיפין על מח: (*l*) *They never sounded less than one and twenty soundings in the Sanctuary, and never more than eight and forty*: But there were some that express it thus, (*m*) *That they never sounded less than seven soundings, nor more than sixteen*: Now the reason of this difference, which indeed was no difference at all, was this (*n*) because the one party held the three distinct

(*l*) *Erachin. per.* 2. *in Mish. & Succab. per.* 5

(*m*) *Gemara. ib.*

(*n*) *Talm. Jer. in Succab. per.* 5. *& Gemara. Bab. in Erach. per.* 2.

ſtinct blowings to be but one ſounding, and the other held them to be three ſoundings diſtinct.

The *Jews* do expreſs theſe three ſeveral ſoundings, that they made at one blowing, by theſe words, תרועה באמצע ופשוטה לפניה ולאחריה (o) *an Alarm in the midſt* [for ſo our *Engliſh* renders תרועה, *Num.*10.5,6. *Vatablus, vox infracta, a broken or quavering ſounding*] and a plain note before it and after it: which our Chriſtian Writers do moſt commonly expreſs by *Taratantara*; though that word ſeem to put the quavering ſound before and after, and the plain in the midſt, contrary to the *Jewiſh* deſcription of it.

(o) *Talm. Bab. in Succah. ubi ſup. in Gemar. fol.53. & Gloſs. ib. & Gloſs. in Erach. ubi ſup.*

A ſecond wind Inſtrument that they uſed, was חליל *Chalil*, or אבוב *Abbubh*, a *Pipe*, or *Hoboy*, or *Cornet*, or ſome ſuch loud Wind Muſick [which of theſe I will not much queſtion:] the *Jews* in this ſtory give us ſome Character of it. (p) *Our Rabbins have delivered* [ſay they] *that there was an Abbubh or Pipe in the Sanctuary*; [the *Gemara* and the *Gloſs* intimate *Chalil* and *Abbubh* were all one] *It was ſmooth, it was thin, it was of reed, and it was from the days of* Moſes. *The King commanded, and they gilt it all over with gold, but then the ſound of it was not ſo ſweet as before. They took off the gilding, and the ſound was as ſweet as ever.*

(p) *Gemara in Erach. ibid. & Aruc. in* אבוב.

Now this Pipe or Hoboy, or call it what you will, was not a conſtant Muſick at the Altar every day, as the Trumpets were, and the other inſtruments that we are to ſpeak of, but it was uſed only twelve days in all the year, (q) *There were not to be leſs than two Chalils* or Pipes [ſaith the *Talmudick* Tradition] *and there were not to be more than twelve. And on twelve days of the year did they play on the Chalil, before the Altar, namely at the killing of the firſt Paſſeover* [or the Paſſeover in the firſt month:] *and at the killing of the ſecond Paſſeover*; [in the ſecond month] *on the firſt Holiday of the Paſſeover Week, on the Holiday of Pentecoſt*, [Lev.23.21.] *and on the eight days of the feaſt of Tabernacles: And they played not on a Pipe of braſs but of reed, becauſe the ſound of that is ſweet: And the cloſe was made with one Pipe or* Hoboy *alone, becauſe ſuch a cloſe is moſt delightſome: For one Pipe* [r ſaith the *Gloſs*] *drew out the cloſe after the other had done: for this is a better way than if they ſhould have cloſed all together. And this Muſick of the Chalil was at the time of the Offering: and the* Levites *ſung the Hallell with their voices, all the twelve days mentioned, but on the other days the other inſtruments were uſed, and they ſung the ordinary ſong.*

(q) *Erach. ubi ſup. in Miſhn.*

(r) *Gloſs. ibid.*

Thoſe other inſtruments therefore, that were the conſtant Muſick, and never failed from attendance were theſe three, נבל כנור צלצל *Nebhel*, *Kinnor* and *Tseltſel*, and theſe were ſeverally diſtributed to the ſons of the three Maſter Muſicians, *Aſaph*, *Heman* and *Jeduthun*, 1*Chron.*15.19,20,21. See theſe three Inſtruments named together [ſave that inſtead of צלצל the word מצלתים is uſed, which maketh no difference] 1*Chr.*16.5. and 25. 1. *Neh.*12.27. &c. 2*Chron.*29.25.

In going about to determine punctually and exactly, what kind of Inſtruments theſe three were; we might ſpend a great deal of time in ſhewing what this and that, and the other Author ſaith of them: and when we have done all, we muſt ſit down with a conjecture, that it may be one of them was of this faſhion, and another was of that, for it will be very hard and daring to be poſitive in them; and therefore we will only take up with *Joſephus* his Character and deſcription of them, who himſelf was often preſent no doubt at the Temple Muſick, and whoſe deſcribing of them will give ſatisfaction enough to thoſe that look rather after the time, order, and managing of the Muſick, than at the very conſort of the Muſick it ſelf.

1. נבל (s) He renders Νάβλα, and defines it thus, Ἡ δὲ Νάβλα δώδεκα φθόγγους ἔχουσα τοῖς δακτύλοις κρέσται.

(s) *Joſeph l.7. c.10.pag. apud. me. 216.*

2. כנור He expreſſeth by Κιννύρα, and gives it this character; Ἡ μὲν κιννύρα δέκα χορδαῖς ἐξημμένη τύπτεται πλήκτρῳ.

3. And צלצל or מצלתים he tranſlateth Κύμβαλον, and ſaith of that kind of inſtrument, Κύμβαλά τε ἦν πλατέα καὶ μεγάλα χάλκεα.

Upon which words we may take up theſe Obſervations:

1. That נבל and כנור which our *Engliſh* conſtantly tranſlates *Harps* and *Pſalteries*, were ſtrung inſtruments, and not wind inſtruments, as thoſe were that we have ſpoken of before.

2. That though both theſe were inſtruments with ſtrings, yet there was this difference between them. 1. That the one was ſtruck with a quill or a bow, as are our Citterns and Viols; and the other with the fingers, as the *Pandura* and the *Lute*. And 2. that the notes of the one was made and differenced by ſtops and frets, and of the other by the ſeveral ſtrings, for ſo are the words φθόγγους and χορδαῖς to be underſtood and diſtinguiſhed. 3. That the נבל *Nebhel* had twelve ſtrings, which made twelve ſeveral Notes; [as it is with our Harps and Virginals, where the ſeveral Notes are not made by ſtops, as they are on Lutes, but every ſeveral ſtring is a ſeveral Note] And the כנור *Kinnor* had ten ſtrings, but the Notes were made with frets and ſtops. I ſhould therefore according to *Joſephus* his character, if that be current, tranſlate *Nebhel* a Harp, for the ſeveral ſtrings made the ſeveral notes, and it was ſtruck with the fingers, in both which things our Harps

Harps agree. And כינור *Kinnor* I ſhould liken to our Citterns or Viols, ſtopt on the frets, and played on with a quill or bow, and ſhould tranſlate it a *Viol.* (*t*) *Rabbi Judah* ſaid, *The* כינור *Kinnor of the Sanctuary had ſeven ſtrings: but in the days of Meſſias it ſhall have eighth, as it is ſaid, To him that excelleth upon* Sheminith, *or upon the eight ſtring of the world to come.*

(*t*) *Gemara in Erach. ubi ſup.*

3. צלצל which both our Engliſh, the LXX. [in *Pſal.* 150.] and *Joſephus* [in his words cited] do render *Cymballs*, ſeemeth to have been neither wind inſtrument, nor ſtring inſtrument, but ſome broad inſtrument of braſs, whereon their muſick was made by beating on it as on a Taber. *They were great and broad Cymbals of braſs*, ſaith *Joſephus*. And the *Talmudicks* tell this ſtory of one of their Cymbals; (*u*) *There was a Cymbal* צלצל *in the Sanctuary, and it was made of braſs, and the ſound of it was ſweet. It became crackt, and the wiſe men ſent and fetcht workmen from* Alexandria, *who mended it, but then the ſound was not ſo ſweet as before. They took off the mending, and the ſound was as ſweet as it uſed to be.* * There might not be above one Cymbal in the Quire at once, and this ſeemeth to have born the Baſe, as being deepeſt and loudeſt: to this the Apoſtle alludes in his expreſſion, 1 *Cor.* 13. 1.

(*u*) *Ibid. fol.* 10. & *Tal. Jeruſ. in Succah. fol.* 55.

* *Maym. in Kele Mikd. per.* 3.

We ſhall not be further curious, nor inquiſitive about this matter, concerning the form or nature of the muſick-inſtruments: ſince our inquiry is after the ſong it ſelf, I ſhall only add this, (*w*) that of the *Nebhels* or Harps, there might not be leſs than two in the Quire, nor above ſix: (*x*) and of the כנורות *Kinnor* or Viols not under nine, but as many above as poſſible: and ſo the leaſt Quire that could be, was nine Viols, two Harps and one Cymbal. And now let us hear the Muſick it ſelf.

(*w*) *Erach. per.* 2 *in Miſhn.*
(*x*) *Toſaph. in Erach. per.* 2.

1. The Trumpets ſounded their תקתה *Taratantara* [for ſo for company will we call it,] (*y*) every morning at the opening at the Court Gates, particularly at the opening of the Eaſt gate, or the gate of *Nicanor*: (*z*) Now though this practice had not any expreſs and literal Command, yet was it grounded upon this neceſſity and reaſon, becauſe that the *Levites* and *Stationary* men might have notice to come to attend their Desks and Service: and that the People of *Jeruſalem* might hear and take notice, and thoſe that would come to the Temple: ſo that this ſounding was as it were the Bells to ring them into the Service: And after this the Trumpets ſounded not till the very time of the morning Sacrifice.

(*y*) *Succ. per.* 5. *in Miſh. Maym. in*
(*z*) *Gloſs. ibid.*

2. The Song and Muſick began not to ſound, till the pouring out of the Drink-offering. This is a Traditionary Maxime, exceeding common, and received among the Rabbins, and they deſcant upon it thus, אין אומר שירה אלא על היין [1.] *They utter not the ſong but over the Wine of the Drink-offering:* [2.] *for a man ſingeth not but for gladneſs of heart.* [3] *Therefore they utter not the ſong at the very time of the Offering, but over the Wine which cheareth God and Man*, as *Jud.* 9. 13. And ſo the Treatiſe *Tamid* deſcribing the manner of the daily ſervice, relateth that when the High-prieſt was minded to offer the Sacrifice, [4] He went up the riſe or bridge of the Altar, and the *Sagan* on his right hand: when he came to the midſt of the riſe, the *Sagan* took him by the right hand and lift him up: then the firſt man that was to bring up the pieces of the ſacrifice, reached him up the head and the feet, and the ſecond reached him the two ſhoulders, and ſo the reſt reached him the reſt of the parts, and he diſpoſed of them, *&c.* And when he was to go about the Altar, to ſprinkle the blood upon the horns of it, he began at the South-eaſt corner, and from thence to the North-eaſt, and ſo to the North-weſt, and concluded at the South-weſt. *They give him the wine of the drink-offering to pour it out: the* Sagn *ſtood by the horn of the Altar, and a napkin in his hand: and two Prieſts ſtood by the Table of the fat, and two ſilver Trumpets in their hand to ſound. They came and ſtood by* Ben Arza, *the one on his right hand, and the other on his left: He* [the High-prieſt] *ſtooped down to pour out the drink-offering, and the* Sagan *waved with his napkin, and* Ben Arza *ſtruck up his Cymbal, and the* Levites *began the ſong.* And ſo may we underſtand that paſſage, 2 *Chron.* 29. 27. *And when the burnt-offering began, the ſong of the Lord began with the Trumpets and with the Inſtruments*; namely, when the drink-offering was poured out, for till then the Offering was not perfect becauſe every burnt offering was bound to have a meat offering, and a drink offering, or elſe it was not right, *Num.* 15. 5. And this may be the proper cauſe, whatſoever the Jews deſcant, why the Muſick began not till the drink-offering: namely, they ſtayed till the offering was compleat, and then began.

[1] *Erachin. in Gemara. ubi ſup. fol.* 11.
[2] *Gloſs. ibid.*
[3] *Gloſs. in Peſachim. cap.* 5. *fol.* 64.
[4] *Tam. per.* 7.

3. The conſtant and ordinary Pſalms that they ſang were theſe:

[5] On the firſt day of the week, the four and twentieth Pſalm, *The earth is the Lords, and the fulneſs thereof, &c.*

[5] *Tamid. ubi ſup. Roſh. haſh. fol.* 31. *Maym. in Tamid. per.* 6.

On the ſecond day of the week, the forty eight Pſalm. *Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praiſed in the City of God. &c.*

On the third day, the eighty ſecond Pſal. *God ſtandeth in the Congregation of the mighty, and judgeth among the Gods, &c.*

On the fourth day, the ninety fourth Pſal. *O Lord God to whom vengeance belongeth, &c.*

On

On the fifth day, the eighty first Pſal. *Sing aloud unto God our ſtrength, make a joyful noiſe unto the God of* Jacob, *&c.*

On the ſixth day of the week, the ninety third Pſal. *The Lord reigneth, he is cloathed with Majeſty, &c.*

On the ſabbath day they ſang the ninety ſecond Pſal. which bears the Title of *A Pſalm or Song for the Sabbath day.*

Theſe were the known, and conſtant, and fixed Pſalms, that the ſingers ſang, and the muſick plaid to, on the ſeveral days of the week: And the reaſon of the choice of theſe ſeveral Pſalms for the ſeveral days; [6] the *Gemara* on the Treatiſe *Roſh haſhanah*, and the *Gloſs* upon the Treatiſe *Tamid*, do give to this purpoſe. [6] *Roſh. haſh. ubi* 1 *p Gloſs. in Tamid. c.* 7.

On the firſt day of the week they ſang the Pſalm, *The earth is the Lords, and the fulneſs thereof, &c. Becauſe on the firſt day of the week of the Creation, God poſſeſſed the world, and gave it in poſſeſſion, and ruled in it.*

On the ſecond day of the Week they ſang the Pſalm, *Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praiſed, &c. For on that day the Lord divided his works, the waters, and reigned over them.*

On the third day they ſang the Pſalm, *God ſtandeth in the Congregation of the mighty, &c. Becauſe on that day the earth appeared, on which is Judging and Judges; and by his Wiſdom he diſcovered the Earth, and eſtabliſhed the World by his Underſtanding.*

On the fourth day they ſang the Pſalm, *O Lord God to whom Vengeance belongeth, &c. Becauſe on the fourth day he made the Sun, Moon and Stars, and will be avenged on them that worſhip them.*

On the fifth day the Pſalm, *Sing aloud unto God our ſtrength, &c. Becauſe of the variety of Creatures that were made that day to praiſe his name.*

On the Sixth day the Pſalm, *The Lord reigneth, he is cloathed with Majeſty, &c. Becauſe on the ſixth day God finiſhed his works, made man, who underſtands the glory of the Creator, and the Lord ruled over all his works.* Thus they deſcant.

4. [7] Now the ſingers, in ſinging of theſe Pſalms, divided every one of them into three parts, making three large pauſes or reſts in them; and ceaſed their Muſick and Singing for a while; theſe parts and pauſes the *Talmudicks* call פרקים, and they ſay thus of them, that *they were* בנעימת קול להפסיק *Pauſings* or intermiſſions *in the vocal muſick, and when the voices ceaſed, the inſtruments ceaſed alſo, and ſo in every Pſalm the muſick made three intermiſſions.* [7] *Ibid.*

5. At theſe intermiſſions the Trumpets ſounded, and the People worſhipped על כל פרק תקיעה ועל כל תקיעה חשתחויה *For at every pauſe* [ſaith the *Talmud*] *there was a ſounding with the Trumpets, and at every ſounding there was a worſhipping*, their ſounding with the Trumpets, was, as hath been ſpoken before, a *Taratantara*, [as we have choſen to call it,] and they never ſounded otherwiſe than ſo, when they ſounded, namely, three ſtrains, a plain, a quavering, and a plain again: and thus did the Trumpets ſound one and twenty blaſts every day; three at the opening of the Court gate, nine at the morning ſacrifice, and nine at the evening ſacrifice: namely, three ſoundings at the three pauſings of the Muſick, and the three ſtrains named, at every ſounding: and ſo we ſee that the Trumpets were never joyned with the Quire in Conſort, but ſounded only when the Quire was ſilent.

Thus was the Song, and theſe were the Pſalms ſung ordinarily throughout all the year: but at ſome certain days there were other Pſalms and Songs uſed, and the Trumpets alſo ſounded extraordinary ſoundings, beſides that number now mentioned.

As 1. [8.] On the Eve of the Sabbath, the Trumpets ſounded two ſoundings more than they uſed to do at other days; namely one [which conſiſted of the three ſtrains] to cauſe the People to ceaſe from work, and another to diſtinguiſh between the common day, and the holy day that was now come in. [8] *Succ. per.* 5.

2. On the Sabbaths themſelves, there was an additional ſacrifice, beſides the daily ſacrifice, according to the appointment, *Num.*28.9,10. [9] And at the time of this additional ſacrifice, the *Levites* ſang *Moſes* his Song, in *Deut.*32. *Hear O Heavens, and I will ſpeak, &c.* but they ſang it not all at one time, but divided into ſix parts, and ſang one part of it every Sabbath, and ſo in ſix Sabbath days they finiſhed it, and then began again. Thus did they at the additional morning ſacrifice: and at the evening ſacrifice they ſang *Moſes* ſong in *Exod.*15. And the conſideration of this [that on the Sabbaths they ſang both the ſongs of *Moſes*] helpeth to illuſtrate that paſſage in *Rev.*15.3. where the Saints are ſaid to ſing *the Song of* Moſes *the ſervant of God:* becauſe they were now come to their everlaſting Sabbath, having gotten the Victory *over the Beaſt, and over his Image, and over his Mark, and over the number of his Name, and having the Harps of God in their hands:* [10.] Now at the additional ſacrifice, and ſong of the Sabbath, the Prieſts ſounded their [9] *Maym. in Tamid. per.* 6. [10] *Succah ubi ſup.*

their Trumpets three times more, as they did at the ordinary ſongs, the ſingers making their pauſes and ſtops in thoſe ſongs, as well as in the other.

[11] *Roſh. haſh. ubi ſup. & Maym. ubi ſup.*

3. [11.] At the Additional ſacrifices which were appointed for the firſt day of the year, *Num.* 29. 1, 2, &c. [which was called the feaſt of Trumpets, becauſe the Trumpets then ſounded to give notice of the years beginning] the *Levites* ſang the eighty firſt Pſalm, *Sing aloud unto the God our ſtrength, &c.* And if the firſt day of the year fell upon the fifth day of the week, [for which day this Pſalm was appointed in the ordinary courſe] then they ſaid it twice over, once at the daily ſacrifice, and once at the additional ſacrifice, but beginning at one of the times at the ſixth verſe, *I removed his ſhoulder from the burthen, &c.*

4. At the evening Sacrifice of the firſt day of the year, they ſang the nine and twentieth *Pſalm, The voice of the Lord ſhaketh the Wilderneſs, &c.* And if the firſt day of the year chanced to light upon the Sabbath, the Pſalms of the firſt day of the year were ſung, and took place of the Pſalms for the Sabbath.

5. At the Paſſeover, and at ſome other times, as hath been related, they ſang the *Hallel*, which to deſcribe we will refer till we come to take up the Celebration of the Paſſeover in its due place.

SECT. III.

Of the Stationary men, or Iſraelites *of the Station.*

AS there were four and twenty Courſes of the Prieſts, and as many of the Porters and Singers, ſo alſo were there four and twenty Courſes of *Iſraelites for the Station.* This indeed, is a title that is a ſtranger to the Scripture, and not mentioned there, and yet the thing it ſelf ſeemeth not to want its ground, nor the men themſelves their warrant from thence.

There were two *Maximes* in reference to their Sacrifices, which were as premiſes, out of which was neceſſarily deduced the concluſion for *Stationary men*, and thoſe were theſe.

1. A mans Sacrifice could not be offered up, unleſs he himſelf were preſent at it, and ſtanding by it, and ſo is the undoubted Tenet in both *Talmuds* אין אפשר שיהיה קרבנו של אדם קרב והוא אינו עומד על גביו (*a*) *A mans Sacrifice may not poſſibly be offered up, if he himſelf be not preſent at it.* And hence it was that although Women were at all other times, forbidden coming into the Court of *Iſrael*; yet when any Woman had a Sacrifice to be offered up for her, ſhe had admiſſion into the Court, and there was a kind of neceſſity that ſhe ſhould be there, אין נראית אשה בעזרה אלא בשעת קרבנה בלבד (*b*) *A Woman might not be ſeen in the Court, but only at the time of her Offering*: and then ſhe might be, nay then ſhe muſt be preſent there. And the reaſon of this was, becauſe of that command, that whoſoever had a burnt Sacrifice to offer up, (*c*) he muſt bring it to the Sanctuary himſelf, and if Bullock or Lamb, he muſt put his hand upon the head of it, *Levit.* 1. 3. and 3. 2. 8.

(*a*) *Vid. Talm. utrumque in Taanith. per.* 4. *Maym. in Kele Mikd. per.* 6.

(*b*) *Toſaph. in Erach. per.* 2.

(*c*) *Ab. Ezr. in Lev.* 1.

2. There were ſome Sacrifices, that were the Sacrifices of all *Iſrael*, or of the whole Congregation: and particularly תמידין קרבניהן של כל ישראל (*d*) *the continual daily Sacrifice was the Offering for all* Iſrael: And accordingly the (*e*) Lambs for the daily Sacrifice, and other Sacrifices which were offered up for the whole Congregation were provided, at the Publick Charge, out of the Temple Treaſury.

(*d*) *Tal. Jeru. in Pejachin. per.* 3.

(*e*) *Snek. per.* 4.

Now it was impoſſible that all *Iſrael* ſhould be preſent at the Sacrifices that were to be offered up for all *Iſrael*, and therefore it was needful that ſome repreſentatives ſhould be choſen, who in ſtead, and behalf of all the People, ſhould be preſent at every Sacrifice that ſhould be offered up for the whole Congregation: And becauſe this attendance would be continual, in regard of the daily Sacrifice, which was a Sacrifice of this Nature, and ſo the Service would be very heavy for any one company of Men to attend continually; therefore they appointed four and twenty Courſes of theſe *Stationary men*, as well as of the Prieſts and Levites, that their attendance in theſe viciſſitudes might be the more eaſie and portable, even as the others were alſo divided into the like Courſes for the ſame eaſe. The Jews hold that theſe ſtations were firſt ordained by the former Prophets. *For the former Prophets appointed* [ſaith (*f*) *Maymony*] *that they ſhould chooſe out of* Iſrael, *men upright and religious, and that theſe ſhould be as the Meſſengers of all* Iſrael, *to ſtand by the Sacrifices, and theſe are called* אנשי מעמד *The Men of the ſtation, and they divided them into four and twenty Courſes, according to the number of the Courſes of the Prieſts and Levites, and over every ſtation there was one made Chief or Preſident, and him they called, the Preſident of the ſtation.*

[f] *Maym. ubi ſup.*

(*g*) Theſe

(g) These men of the Station in every Course, did as the Priests and Levites did in their Courses, those that were in *Jerusalem* and near it, when their week came, went and attended upon their station: but those that were at distance and further off, gathered together into their several Synagogues, and there fasted and prayed, and read some part of the Law: because though at distance, yet would they joyn in service with, and for their brethren of their Course, who were now in their attendance at *Jerusalem*: They fasted on the second, third, fourth and fifth days of that week, and read over the story of the creation, in *Gen.* 1. & 2. in the six days, every day a portion of it. They would not fast on the first day of the week, because they would not slip out of the joy and delight of a Sabbath into a Fast, and they would not fast on the last day of the week, because they would not preface the joy and delight of the Sabbath, with a Fast neither. But the four days betwen, they spent in that solemn duty, for the prosperity of their brethren that were at *Jerusalem*, and of the work that they were about. (g) *Taan. per. 4. Maym. ubi sup.*

The *Stationary men* that were at *Jerusalem*, were to attend constantly upon the Temple Service, whilst it was in hand, except at some particular times, when they had a dispensation, of which anon: and their attendance referred especially to two ends:

First, They stood to be a representative Congregation, in behalf of all the people, at the offering up of the daily sacrifice, which was the sacrifice of all the people; and at the use and administration of the publick Ordinances and Service. The Jews were so precise and punctual about this point, of having a competent congregation present, when the publick Ordinances were administred; (h) that in their Synagogues they would not have publick Prayers, nor reading of the Law, unless ten men were there; much more was there a fitting Congregation of the people required to be at the Temple-service, which concerned all the people, to be administred unto, besides the Priests which were to administer: There was sacrificing there, twice a day, and reading of the Law at the least twice, and Prayers four times, and it had becomed and behoved [if it had been possible] all the people to have been there present and attending; which because it could not possibly be done, that all the people should be constant there, they ordained and provided these Courses of Stationary men, to be as the Deputies of all the people, and a representative Congregation in their behalf. It had been a visible contempt of those ordinances, to have had them administred daily, and none of the people to have been attending on them: and it would have been a hazard, that in time they would have been neglected by the people, if they had been only left to their own liberty, to come, or not to come to them, as they saw good; therefore to prevent this visible contempt that might have accrewed, and to provide that there might be always a Congregation of the people, these *stationary Courses* were ordained, that if devotion brought no other of the people to the service, yet these their representatives might be sure to be attending ועמידתן שם לתפלה ולתחנה ולבקשה ולקרות בתורה נקרא מעמד *And this their standing there, at prayers, supplications and oraisons, and at the reading of the Law, was called the station.* (h) *Megillah. per. 4. Maym. in Tephillah. per. 11.*

A second imployment that they, or at least, some of them had, was to take care [as representatives of the people] that those of the people that had been under any uncleanness, and being now cleansed were come to have their atonement made, might be dispatched, and the business done for which they came. And so it is intimated by the treaty *Tamid*, when it relateth (i) that upon the ringing of the *Migrephah*, [of which hereafter] by those that went into the holy place to offer incense, the head or chief man of the station, brought such persons up into *the gate of Nicanor*, to have their atonement made. (i) *Tam. per. 5.*

There have been some who have conceived that these *Stationary* men, as representatives of the whole Congregation, were to lay their hands upon the head of the daily sacrifice, which was an offering for all the people; I did once go along also with this opinion, but now I find the Jews on the contrary, asserting (k) *That there was no laying on of hands upon the sacrifices of the whole Congregation, but only in two cases. The one was upon the scapegoat, and the other was upon the bullock that was offered for the whole Congregation, when it sinned of ignorance, and the thing was hid from the eyes of the Assembly: And that it was a Tradition delivered even by Moses himself: that for the whole Congregation, hands were laid but upon these two sacrifices.* And accordingly there were divers sacrifice times, when the *Stationary men* were excused from attendance; though the sacrifice were a sacrifice for the whole Congregation; (l) *As they never made a station at the morning sacrifice all the eight days of the feast of Dedication, nor at the evening sacrifice on those days, when there was an additional sacrifice, added to the dayly.* (k) *Maym. in Corban. per. 3.* (l) *Id. ib. Tal. in Taan. per. 4.*

These *Stationary men* in the week of their attendance, might neither be trimmed by the Barber, nor might they wash their cloaths in all that time: And the reason of this was, because they were to do these things before they entred their attendance, and to come neat to it, and not to have these things to do, when they were entred.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning their Sacrifices and Offerings.

THE right of ſacrificing had theſe ſeveral ends.

1. To repreſent, and to be a memorial of the great ſacrifice of *Chriſt*, who ſhould once be offered up in behalf of ſinners.

2. To lecture unto them, the deſert of ſin and ſinners, death and fire, in the death and firing of the ſacrifice before their eyes.

3. To acknowledge their goods received from God, in offering up unto him, ſomething of all they had.

4. To be a matter of Worſhip and Religion in thoſe times of ceremoniouſneſs: wherein, all did acknowledge their homage to God, and true believers acted their faith on Chriſts ſufferings.

5. To be ſigns of repentance, and pledges of expiation.

Their oblations were either of living Creatures or of other things.

Of living Creatures they offered only theſe five kinds, Bullocks, Sheep, Goats, Turtles, Pigeons: Their offerings of other things, were Tithe, Firſt-fruits, Flower, Wine, Oil, Frankincenſe, Salt, &c.

Their ſacrifices of living Creatures were either קדשי הקדשים *the moſt holy ſacrifices*, or קדשים קלים [it is the Jews own diſtinction] *ſacrifices of an inferiour alloy.* Thoſe that they call *the moſt holy ſacrifices*, were *Burnt-offerings*, *ſin-offerings*, *treſpaſs-offerings*, and the *Peace-offerings of the whole Congregation.* Their inferiour ſacrifices were Peace-offerings of particular perſons, Paſchal-lambs, firſtlings and tenths.

Some of their offerings were זבחי חובה *ſacrifices of duty*, and to which they were bound, and ſome were זבחי נדבה *voluntary ſacrifices* which they offered of their own free will.

SECT. I.

Burnt-offerings. עולות

IT is diſputed among the learned of the Jews, what ſhould be the occaſion of burnt-offerings, and whereupon they became due. And I find the debate concluding in this reſolution, that either they were to expiate for the evil thoughts of the heart, as ſin-offerings, and treſpaſs-offerings were to do for evil actions: or to expiate for the breach of affirmative precepts, as thoſe did for negative. (a) *Rabbi Akibah queſtioned, For what doth a burnt-offering expiate? For matters whereupon there is a penalty, &c. or concerning affirmative precepts, and concerning negative precepts, whereunto ſome affirmative precept doth refer.* And (b) *the body of the Beaſt* (ſaith Aben Ezra) *that is offered to expiate for that that comes up into the heart, is called* עולה *as the offering for a ſin, or a treſpaſs, is called* חטאת & אשם To which ſenſe the Chaldee paraphraſe of *Jonathan* alſo ſpeaketh, when rendring thoſe words in *Lev.*6.9. *This is the Law of the burnt offering; &c.* he gloſſeth thus, *This is the Law of the burnt offering, which cometh to expiate for the thoughts of the heart*; upon which the Hebrew marginal gloſs giveth this explanation; *It is ſo written in Vajikrah Rabbah, that a burnt-offering cometh not, but for the thoughts of the heart: and there is an intimation of this in theſe words,* העולה על רוחכם היה לא תהיה *That that is come up into your heart ſhall in no wiſe come to paſs.*

(a) *Talmud. in Menachoth per.* 10.

(b) *Aben Ezra in Lev.* 1.

Burnt-offerings were of any of the five living Creatures named, and the manner of their offering was thus:

(c) *Id. ibid.*

If his burnt offering were a Bullock, he might take him (c) from eight days old and upward, and ſo alſo might he do by a Lamb or Kid: And it muſt be a male, becauſe the burnt offering being the nobleſt offering ſaith *Aben Ezra*, it required the nobleſt of the kind that was, to be offered.

1. *He was to bring it into the Court*, for the law was expreſs that he muſt *preſent his offering before the Lord*, *Lev.*1.3. Now this Phraſe, *before the Lord*, was underſtood (d) from the gate of *Nicanor* and inward; and the bringing of the Sacrifice into the Court was of ſo ſtrict and an inviolable obligation, (e) that women, who otherwiſe were abſolutely forbidden to come into the Court, yet if they brought a Sacrifice they were bound and neceſſitated to go in thither, as was touched but even now.

(d) *Talm. Jer. in Sotah. per.*1.
(e) *Toſapht. in Erachin. per.*2.

2. *He muſt lay his hand upon the head of it whileſt it was yet alive*, Lev.1.4. (f) *All the Sacrifices that any ſingle man offered of beaſts, whether it were an offering of duty, or an offering of free will, he muſt lay his hand upon it while it is yet alive, except only the firſtling, the*

(f) *Maym. in Corbanoth per.*3

the tenth and the Paſſover. This laying on of hands, was a Rite of tranſmiſſion as it were, of the mans ſin unto the Sacrifice that was to dye for him, and in his death which was now ready, he acknowledged his own deſert to dye, and ſo it was a figure of the laying of our ſins upon Chriſt, and an emblem of repentance.

About the laying on of the hands, they had theſe divers Traditions, as 1. *That it was to be in the Court*; and if he laid his hands on him before he came into the Court, he muſt do it there again; and if the offerer of the Sacrifice ſtood without the Court, and put his hands within, and laid it on the head of the Beaſt within, it ſerved the turn: as is obſerved elſewhere about the Leper in the gate of *Nicanor*. 2. *The owner of the beaſt muſt lay on his hands himſelf*, and might not do it by proxy; which is to be underſtood in reference to particular mens ſacrifice, for ſome of the Sacrifices of the whole Congregation had their Deputies or Proxies to lay their hands on them, as was obſerved even now. 3. *If divers men joined in one Sacrifice* [(*f*) as divers might] *every one was to lay on his hand particularly one after another.* 4. *There is ſome diſpute* among the Hebrew Doctors whether they laid on one hand or both, and there are aſſertors on both ſides, but all conclude in this, that whether one or both, *he muſt lay them on with all his ſtrength*, and all the ſtreſs he can. And ſo the *Targum* of *Jonathan* (which holds for one hand only) ſaith, *He ſhall lay on his right hand with all his force:* and *Maimonides* (which holds for both the hands) ſaith, *he was to lay on both his hands and that with all his might.* 5. The place where he ſtood to lay on his hands, was ordinarily the place where the Sacrifices were ſlain at the place of the rings, and ſo upon this occaſion an Iſraelite might and muſt come within the Court of the Prieſts. 6. The manner was thus; * the Sacrifice was ſo ſet, as that the offerer, ſtanding with his face towards the Weſt, laid his two hands between his horns, and confeſſed his ſin over a ſin offering, and his treſpaſs over a treſpaſs offering, and over a burnt offering he confeſſeth his tranſgreſſion both againſt affirmative and negative precepts, and his confeſſion was in this wiſe; *I have ſinned, I have done perverſly, I have rebelled and done thus and thus; but I return by repentance before thee, and let this be my expiation:* And preſently after this his confeſſion, was the beaſt to be ſlain.

(*f*) *Id. ibid. & R. Sol. in* Lev. 1.

* *Toſaph in Menachoth per.* 10. *& Maym. ubi ſupr.*

3. The killing of the Sacrifice was regularly and ordinarily the Prieſts work and office, yet might it upon occaſion be done by another: or if it were done by another, it was allowable: For whereas the Law ſaith, *And he ſhall kill the bullock before the Lord, and the ſons of Aaron the Prieſts ſhall bring the blood and ſprinkle it, Levit.* 1.5. as making a diſtinction betwixt the *he* that killed the bullock, and the Prieſts that took the blood, the Hebrew Doctors have obſerved not impertinently from hence, that שחיטת הקדשים כשירה בזרים אפי׳ קדשי הקדשים (*g*) *The killing of the Sacrifices was lawful by ſtrangers, yea of the moſt holy ſacrifices, were they the ſacrifices of a particular perſon, or of the whole Congregation:* And upon theſe words, *And the ſons of Aaron the Prieſts ſhall bring the blood:* it is a received tradition, that from thence moſt properly did begin the Prieſts office more peculiarly, ſee 2 *Chron.* 30. 16, 17.

(*g*) *Maym. in Biath Mikdaſh per.* 9. *& in Corbonoth per.* 5 *& R. Sol. in Lev.* 1.

4. The fleaing of the ſlain Sacrifice was not ſo inſeparably the Prieſts office, but that a ſtranger, or one that was not a Prieſt might do it. And ſo *Maimonedes* aſſerteth in the place cited above, that *the fleaing of the ſacrifice, and the dividing of it into pieces, and bringing wood to the Altar done by ſtrangers, was lawful.* This they did eſpecially at the Paſſover and other feſtival times when the Paſchal Lambs, and the other offerings were ſo many that the Prieſts could not ſerve to kill and flea them; but whoſoever killed or flead, the Prieſts ever ſprinkled the blood, and none elſe might do it.

When the number of the beaſts to be flead were not too many for that receipt, they hung him by the legs upon the hooks that were faſtned in the lower pillars, (which we have deſcribed elſewhere) and in the tranſom over them for that purpoſe; (*i*) but at Paſſover when there were more Lambs than that room would admit, two men took a ſtaff or bar, (divers of which ſtaves ſtood there for that end) and laying it upon their ſhoulders, they hung the Lamb upon it, and as he hung thus between them, they flead him. *Rabbi Eliezer* ſaith, *if the Paſſover fell on the Sabbath* (on which day they might not meddle ſo well with carrying of Staves) *a man laid his hand upon his fellows ſhoulder, and his fellow laid his hand upon his ſhoulder, and upon their arms they hanged up the Lamb, and ſo flead him.* All the skins of the moſt holy ſacrifices, that is, burnt offerings, ſin offerings, and treſpaſs offerings, fell to the Prieſts, and the Prieſts of the Courſe ſalted them all week, and on the eve of the Sabbath divided them; but the ſkins of the other ſacrifices, fell to the offerers, or owners themſelves.

(*i*) *Ibid. Sect.* 9.

5. The ſprinkling of the blood, was to be before the ſacrifice was flead, for this was the rule, and that agreeable to the Law אין מפשיטין אותן עד שיזרק הדם *They flead them not till one had ſprinkled the blood*; for in the Law there is mention of the ſprinkling the blood, before there is mention of fleaing, *Lev.* 1.5,6. The manner of their ſprinkling of the blood upon the Altar, and the circumſtances about that, were very various; we will take up the chiefeſt of them in their order.

Firſt,

First, The blood that was to be ſprinkled, was to be taken in a diſh or veſſel of the ſervice, and not in a common veſſel of a mans own; and that is a conſtant and rational maxim קבול דמן בכלי שרת (k) *That the taking of the blood of the Sacrifices muſt be in a veſſel hallowed for the ſervice.*

(k) *Vid. Zevac. per. 5. per totum.*

Secondly, (l) Theſe ſeveral ſorts of people might not take the blood to ſprinkle it, and if they did it was polluted. 1. A ſtranger, or one that was not a Prieſt. 2. A Prieſt a mourner, אונן that is, he that had one dead in his family that day; for (m) *whoſoever had one dead in his houſe, all that day of the parties death, he was called a mourner* אונן 3. He that had been unclean, ſo that he was to waſh that day, and his Sun was not yet down. 4. He that had been under a longer uncleanneſs, and his atonement not yet made. 5. A Prieſt that had not all the holy garments on that he ought to wear. 6. One uncircumciſed. 7. One that was unclean. 8. One that ſate, or ſtood on any thing whileſt he took the blood, but on the very pavement of the Court; for in the ſervice they might not ſtand upon any veſſel, or beaſt, or hide, or on his neighbours foot, but on the bare pavement. 9. He that took the blood with the left hand, ſome held it unlawful, but others were of another mind.

(l) *Ibid. per. 2. ab initio.*

(m) *Gloſſe in Miſnajo. b, ibid.*

Thirdly, (n) Whereas there was a red line about the Altar juſt in the middle between the bottom and the top, the blood of ſome ſacrifices were to be ſprinkled beneath that line, and ſome above, and if that that was to be ſprinkled below, was ſprinkled above; and if that that was to be ſprinkled above, was ſprinkled below, it was unlawful.

(n) *Zevech. ib.*

Fourthly, (o) The ſprinkling of the blood of burnt offerings, and treſpaſs offerings, and peace offerings, went all by one rule and manner, and it was thus; The Prieſt bringing it to the Altar, was to ſprinkle it below the red line, *and he was to ſprinkle it into the faſhion of the Greek Gamma*, or into this form ⌐; for ſo is the tradition in the *Gemara* of (p) the Treatiſe *Zevachim* cited ere while; and ſo is the meaning of *Maymony*, when he ſaith it was to be כמין גם Now the meaning of the thing is this; *He was to go* (as the margin of the *Talmud* gloſſeth) *to a corner of the Altar, and to caſt the blood out of the veſſel ſo, as that it ſhould ſpread to two ſides of the Altar at once*; which my laſt named Author gives more plainly thus, and more at large. (q) *He was to ſprinkle it out of the veſſel, but two ſprinklings upon two ſides of the Altar, namely, at the North-eaſt corner and at the South-weſt corner; and he muſt take care to ſprinkle the blood at the corner, ſo as that it may go on both the ſides of the Altar, like a* Gamma (*thus* ⌐,) *ſo that the blood at the two ſprinklings may be found upon all the four ſides of the Altar.* Their meaning is this, that as he ſtood on the Eaſt ſide of the Altar, near to the North-eaſt corner, he muſt caſt the blood out of the veſſel with ſuch a compaſſed and kembo caſt, that part of it may light on the Eaſt ſide, on which he ſtands, and part of it on the North ſide. And the like was he to do ſtanding on the Weſt ſide, near the South-weſt corner, that part of it might light on the Weſt ſide, on which he ſtood, and part of it on the South. And thus they accounted that they anſwered the command, which did enjoyn them that they ſhould *ſprinkle the blood round about, upon the Altar*, Lev. 1. 5. & 3, 8. And the reſt of the blood they poured upon the foundation of the Altar on the Southſide. By this may that difficult expreſſion be underſtood, which occurreth exceeding frequently in the Jewiſh writers, when they are ſpeaking about ſprinkling the blood of the Sacrifices, that *ſuch and ſuch Sacrifices blood* דמן טעון שתי מתנות שהן ארבע *is to have two ſprinklings, which are four.* The diſpoſal of the blood in ſprinkling they call מתנה *a giving*; and ſome bloods were to have ארבע מתנות *four givings*, or ſprinklings, namely, on the four corners of the Altar, and others were to have but two, as theſe mentioned at the two corners of the Altar: but theſe two proved as much as four, becauſe they ſprinkled all the four ſides of it, after the manner deſcribed.

(o) *Maym. in Corbanoth per. 5*

(p) *Zevach. per 5. fol. 53.*

(q) *Maim. ubi ſup.*

The ſprinkling of the blood upon the horns of the Altar, (as the blood of the ſin offerings was uſed) ſhall be obſerved by and by, and ſo ſhall the extraordinary conveyance of the blood of the Paſchal Lambs to the Altar, be obſerved when we come to Treat of the Paſsover.

6. (f) The Lamb to be ſlain (for of the daily Sacrifice we will take an example) was bound his forelegs and hinder legs together, and laid thus bound with his head toward the South, and his face toward the Weſt, and he that killed him ſtood on the Eaſt ſide of him with his face Weſtward. He killed him, and one took the blood and ſprinkled it, and then he hanged him up upon ſome of the hooks in the low pillars, and began to flea him: He flead till he came down to the breaſt, and when he was gone ſo far, he cut off his head, and gave it to him that was alotted to take it, and carry it to the Altar; he cut off the legs and gave them to another, and ſo he goes on and fleas him out; he then cuts open the heart and brings out the blood there; cuts out the two ſhoulders and gives them to him that was alotted for their carriage; cuts off the right leg and with it the ſtones; opens him quite, and takes out the fat, and lays it at the ſlaughter place; he takes out the bowels and gives them ſome to waſh, who firſt waſhed them well in the waſhing *room*, and then waſhed them a little again on the marble tables; then takes he the knife and

(f) *Tamid. per 4.*

parts

parts between the lights and the liver, but takes them not out yet; he takes off the breaſt and gives it to him that was to carry it, and ſo goes along the right ſide and cuts that out, and goes down to the ſpine bones, and there cuts out the loins, and ſo proceeds in other parcels; the manner how is at large related in the Treatiſe and Chapter cited above in the margin, but not ſo very material or neceſſary to our preſent purſuit, as to ſpend much time and labour thereupon: the learned Reader will peruſe it there; and the unlearned, would think it too tedious to peruſe it here.

7. The ſeveral Prieſts with the ſeveral parts of the divided Sacrifice in their hands, come to the riſe of the Altar (*t*) and there they lay them down and ſalt them. For this, the Law was very ſtrict, *Lev.* 2.13. *With all thine offerings thou ſhalt offer Salt*; and their obſervance of it was anſwerably ſtrict alſo, for * *nothing came on the Altar unſalted, but only the wine of the drink offering, the blood ſprinkled, and the wood of the fire: and in three places they uſed ſalt; in the chamber of the ſalt they ſalted the skins of the Sacrifices; upon the riſe of the Altar they ſalted the parts of the Sacrifices; and on the top of the Altar they ſalted the handful of flour and oil, and the frankincenſe*, Lev. 2.2. *and the moſt offerings that were to be burnt, and the burnt offerings of birds.* This Typical Law, our Saviour raiſeth, to ſignifie the ſeaſoning of every man with the Word of God, which he calleth *ſalting with fire*, *Mark* 9.49. for the word is called *fire*, *Deut.*33.2. *Jer*,5.14. & 20.9. & 23.29. 1 *Cor.*3.13, &c. And when he ſaith, *Every one ſhall be ſalted with fire*, (*u*) *Non prædicit aliquid futurum, ſed oſtendit quid ab omnibus requiratur, nempe ut verbo incorrupto conditi ſeſe Deo conſecrent.*

(*t*) *Maym. in Corban. per.6.*

* *Id. in Iſſure Mizbeahh. per.5*

(*u*) *Erra in loc*

The parts of the Sacrifice being ſalted, the Prieſt that was to offer them, took them up, carried them up to the Altar, and threw them confuſedly into the fire; he firſt cut out the ſinew that ſhrank, and threw it among the aſhes, and then he caſt all the pieces on an heap into the fire without any order. For though the Law injoined that the pieces ſhould be laid in order upon the fire, *Lev.* 1.8. and although their manner was to lay the beaſt on the fire, as like to his poſture whileſt he was alive as they could, namely, his head before, and his ſhoulders and foreparts next, and the reſt in order; yet at the firſt laying of them on, they thought they found ſome colour in the Law of injunction, that they ſhould ſcatter the fleſh as well as ſprinkle the blood, and therefore they threw them on at the firſt without any order, or diſtinction, and then they ordered them, and ſo let them lie to burn.

SECT. II.

Sin offerings. חטאת.

THE Law concerning Sin offerings, doth particularize no more about the occaſion of them, but only thus, that they were to be offered *for ſins ignorantly committed againſt any of the Commandments of the Lord, concerning things which ought not to be done*, *Lev.* 4.2, 13,22,27. that is, that they were offered for ſins of ignorance, againſt negative precepts: But the Hebrew Doctors do generally confine them to thoſe ſins done ignorantly againſt negative precepts, that if they had been done wittingly, had deſerved *cutting off*, אין חטאת באה אלא על שורנו לאו וכרת ושגגתו חטאת (*a*) *A ſin offering was not offered* (ſaith *Rabbi Solomon*) *but for a matter which if wittingly done againſt a negative command, deſerved cutting off; but being ignorantly done, it required a ſin offering.* And ſo the *Talmudick* Treatiſe *Kerithuth*, when it had reckoned up the ſix and thirty offences againſt ſuch precepts that bring under the liableneſs of being *cut off*; it concludeth thus, כל אלו חייבין על זדונם כרת ועל שגגתן חטאת (*b*) *Any of theſe committed wilfully, deſerve cutting off, but if ignorantly done, they require a ſin offering.* (*c*) And *whoſoever* (ſaith *Maymony*) *tranſgreſſeth ignorantly againſt any of the negative precepts, in which there is an action, for which men become liable to cutting off; he is bound to bring a ſin offering, and it is an affirmative command that he offer a ſin offering for his errour: and every tranſgreſſion, for the doing of which wilfully, a man deſerves cutting off; for the doing of it ignorantly he is to bring a ſin offering.* *Aben Ezra* goeth yet a little further, but for ought I find, he goeth alone; for he defineth a ſin offering to be (*d*) *for a ſin of ignorance againſt a negative precept, which if wilfully committed, deſerved cutting off, or whipping.* In the addition of this laſt word *whipping*, I find not the reſt of his Nation to agree with him; for divers offences againſt prohibitions of the Law fell under *whipping*, that fell not under *cutting off*; and the Jews do moſt unanimouſly apply a *ſin offering* to a ſin of ignorance only, whoſe wilfulneſs had incurred *cutting off*. And the reaſon of this their limitation, is in regard of the nature of the tranſgreſſion, or offence; for whereas (*e*) they number 365 negative precepts, according to the number of the days in the year, yet do they bring the number of ſin offerings (*f*) only in reference to three and forty of them; meeting

(*a*) *R. Sol. in Levit.4.*

(*b*) *Keritbuth. per.1.*

(*c*) *Maym. in Shegag. per.1.*

(*d*) *Ab.Ezra in Lev.1.*

(*e*) *Maym. in præf. ad lad. Chazach.*

(*f*) *Id in Shagagah per.1.*

meeting thoſe ſins of ignorance only with ſin offerings, which were moſt near a kin to thoſe of the higheſt danger, but that ignorance did mitigate, and make the qualification.

It is true indeed, that there are ſome ſin offerings appointed by name, which cannot exactly be brought under this predicament, of which we are ſpeaking; as was the ſin offering of *Aaron* upon his conſecration, *Lev.*9.2. the ſin offering of the woman at her purification, *Lev.*12.6. and of the Leper at his cleanſing, *Lev.* 14. 19. for we can hardly aſcribe theſe, as offered for ſome particular ſin of ignorance againſt ſome negative precept, the wilful violation of which, had deſerved *cutting off*; But they ſeem rather to be offered, that they might make ſure work to meet with that danger or offence, that it was poſſible, they might lye under, and not know of it; and ſo they were very near the nature of *treſpaſs offerings*, as a *ſin offering* is alſo called, *Lev.* 5. 6. But where the Law doth give the rules for *ſin offerings*, it nameth not any particular offence, but only this general, that they were to be preſented, in reference to the ignorant offending againſt a negative command, and therefore to reduce them to particulars, it was moſt pertinent to allot them to that ignorant offending, which if it had proved wilfulneſs, had made the foreſt breach betwixt God and Man; the reconciling of whom was the end of Sacrifice. Let us take one or two examples for the better underſtanding of what hath been ſpoken, and then we will look after the *ſin offerings* in their ſeveral kinds.

It was a negative precept, the wilful and witting violation of which deſerved *cutting off*; *Thou ſhalt do no work on the ſeventh day.* (g) *And what is a man liable to for working on the Sabbath? If he did it of his own will preſumptuouſly, he is liable to cutting off; and if witneſſes and evidence of it came in, he was to be ſtoned; but if he did it ignorantly, he was to bring the appointed ſin offering*, when he knew what he had done. *And all along the Treatiſe of the Sabbath* (they are the words of *Maymony*) *whereſoever it is ſaid he that doth ſuch or ſuch things, is* חייב כרת *Guilty; it meaneth he is liable to cutting off; and if there be witneſs and evidence, he is liable to be ſtoned; but if he did it ignorantly, he is* חייב חטאת *bound to bring a ſin offering.*

(g) Id. in Sabbath per.1.

Another offence that deſerved *cutting off*, *was going into Sanctuary in uncleanneſs*, which was contrary to that frequent prohibition, that no unclean perſon ſhould come there. And if any unclean perſon did wittingly and preſumptuouſly go in thither in his uncleanneſs, he became liable to *cutting off*; if witneſs came in, that he had done this preſumingly and knowingly, he was to be whipt or mauled with the *rebels beating*, as hath been obſerved; and if he did it ignorantly, he was to bring his offering: which offering in ſomething indeed differed from the ſin offerings in other caſes, (for whereas every one of them was חטאת קבעות an *appointed ſin offering* of ſome beaſt or other, this was קרבן עולה ויורד (*h*) *an offering aſcending, or deſcending*, (*i*) that is, of a higher or lower value according to the perſons ability that did offer it; if he were rich, he brought ſome Beaſt, but if he were poor, two Turtles, or Pigeons, or a tenth deal of flower,) yet was the riſe or occaſion of this his offering ſuitable to all the other. By theſe examples may eaſily be apprehended the like proceeding in the reſt of the ſix and thirty, or three and forty, (for into ſo many the ſix and thirty do branch themſelves) but concerning the committing the thing wilfully and ſuffering for it; or ignorantly, and offering for it.

(h) Kerithuth. per.1.
(i) Gloſſ. ibid.

Now (for the diſtinguiſhing of ſin offerings) they were either ſin offerings of the whole Congregation, or ſin offerings of particular perſons, *Lev.*4. 3, 13, 22, &c. But when we ſpeak of the ſin offerings of the whole Congregation, the words admit ſome ſcrupling, whether it mean the whole body of the people, or the *Sanhedrin* only, who were their repreſentatives: And we muſt anſwer, that it meaneth both: For,

1. There was the *ſin offering Goat*, which was offered on the day of expiation; it was an offering for the whole Congregation *Lev.*16.15. (the diſpoſal of which, we ſhall obſerve afterward) and this we may take for the whole body of the people undividedly.

2. There was the *ſin offering Bullock* for the whole Congregation, whereof mention is made, *Lev.* 4. 13, *&c.* which by the Jews is commonly called in their writings העלם דבר *The Bullock for the thing hid*, becauſe it is ſaid in the Text alledged, *And the thing he hid from the eyes of the Aſſembly:* In this matter, both the *Sanhedrin* and the people were included; and ſo included, that the *Sanhedrin* was the firſt tranſgreſſor ignorantly, and the people tranſgreſſed alſo by their errour. *Rabbi Solomon* explains it thus, (*k*) *By the Congregation of Iſrael is meant the Sanhedrin; and by the thing being hid, is meant, that they have erred in teaching concerning any of the cuttings off in the law, that ſuch or ſuch a thing is free, and the Aſſembly have done according to their determination.* But *Maymony* more largely, and more clearly thus, (*l*) *In any thing for which being ignorantly committed, men were bound to bring the ſin offering appointed, if the great Sanhedrin erred in their determinations, and taught to looſe what was bound; and the people erred by their determination, and did the thing relying upon their determination, and afterward it comes to the knowledge of the Sanhedrin that they have erred; Behold the Sanhedrin is bound to bring a ſin offering for their errour in their determination, although they themſelves did not the thing it ſelf; becauſe the actions of*

(k) R. Sol. in Lev. 4.

(l) Maym. in Shiggab. pq. 14.

the

the Sanhedrin are not looked after whether they do ſo, or do not ſo, but it is looked after how they determine: And as for the reſt of the people, they are quit from an offering, becauſe they relied upon the Sanhedrins decree: Now what offering was it that they brought? If they had erred about any of the cuttings off (except Idolatry) *every Tribe was to bring a Bullock:* and ſo particular perſons were acquitted, and one Bullock for every Tribe atoned both for the Tribes, and for the *Sanhedrin*, who were their repreſentatives. And ſomething to this ſenſe looketh the *Targum* of *Jonathan* when he rendreth the fifteenth verſe of that fourth chapter of *Leviticus* thus: * *And twelve Elders of the Congregation that are ſet as Rulers over the twelve Tribes, ſhall lay their hands on the head of the Bullock:* where his Hebrew marginal gloſſary takes *Rab* and *Rabbi Solomon* to task for holding a leſs number of perſons laying on of their hands upon his head. || *I am not of opinion* (ſaith he) *either with Rab or Rabbi Solomon, the one whereof, ſaith that three, and the other, that five laid on their hands. For the matter is plain from what is written:* [*and the Elders of the Congregation ſhall lay on their hands*] *that it meaneth Elders of all the Congregation: and it appeareth alſo from this, becauſe all the Congregation have ſinned, and why ſhould three or five only lay on their hands? But they were twelve, namely of every Tribe one:* where though he ſeem to hold that there was but one Bullock, and the *Targumiſt* upon whom he comments, ſpeak but of one neither, yet is it apparent by other writers of their Nation, that the Bullocks were twelve, and upon what ground they brought them to that number whereas the Text ſpeaketh but of one, ſhall be obſerved within a few lines.

* *Targ. Jon. in Lev.* 4.

|| *Gloſs. marg. ib.*

3. If the *Sanhedrin* erred about the matter of Idolatry and determined concerning it, what was not right, and the people upon their determination did practice accordingly, and erred alſo, then was there a Bullock and a Goat to be brought for every Tribe for a ſin offering when the errour came to be known and taken notice of, and this they collect from *Numb.* 15.24. by this manner of Logick; whereas it is there ſaid * [*If ye have erred and have not obſerved all theſe Commandments:*] *what ſin is that that breaketh all the Commandments? That is Idolatry, It breaketh the yoak, violateth the covenant, and diſcovereth the face,* or is impudent in evil. And whereas it is ſaid at *Levit.* 4.14. *Then the Congregation ſhall offer* הקריבו חקהל they conſtrue it diſtributively both in this caſe and in that laſt before, || *Every Congregation ſhall offer*, that is, every one of the Tribes, and ſo there were twelve Bullocks in the caſe before, and twelve Bullocks and twelve Goats in this caſe in hand. Theſe Goats are commonly called in Jewiſh writers שעירי עו *The Goats for Idolatry*, and שעירים נשרפים *The burned Goats*, and the Bullocks, called the *burned Bullocks*. Not but that the Bullocks that were offered in reference to other matters, than Idolatry, were burnt alſo, but becauſe by this means a diſtinction is made between פר פרים נשרפים העלם דבר הצבור *The Bullocks of the Congregation for the matter hid*, and *The Bullocks of the Congregation for the matter of Idolatry.*

* *R. Sol. in Numb.* 15.

|| *Maim. ubi ſupr.*

The blood of theſe Bullocks, that referred both to the one matter and to the other, was brought within the holy place, and there the Prieſt dipping his finger into it, ſprinkled of it ſeven times before the Vail. And then he came out and put ſome of it upon the horns of the Altar, and the reſt he poured upon the Altar foundation. The fat he burnt upon the Altar, but his skin, fleſh, head, legs, inwards, and dung, he burnt without the Camp. * And ſo alſo diſpoſed he of the Goats.

* *Toſaph. in Corbanoth per.* 6.

Chriſt our Sacrifice, who offered himſelf for an atonement for ſin, is moſt commonly by the Scripture reſembled to the Sacrifice of the Congregation, becauſe he died for all his people, and to the Sacrifice of a ſin offering, becauſe he died to prevent a curſe, and *cutting off*: He is called the *Lamb of God*, *Joh.* 1.29. in alluſion to the Lamb of the daily Sacrifice which was an offering of the whole Congregation; and he is ſaid to be *made ſin for us*, that is, a *ſin offering*, though himſelf knew no ſin, 2 *Cor.* 5.21. And to reſemble thoſe Sacrifices whoſe blood was brought within the Sanctuary for ſin, and whoſe bodies were burnt without the Camp, *Heb.* 13.11. This burning of their bodies without the Camp, was not only a figure of his ſuffering without the Gate, as the Apoſtle there applies it; but both that, and his ſuffering without the Gate, was in token of his dying for his people among the Gentiles, who were on the outſide of *Iſrael's* Camp: and the bringing of the blood into the holy place, denoted the appearing and preſenting of the merit of his blood continually before the Lord, for the atonement for the ſins of his Congregation.

The ſin-offerings of particular perſons, were theſe.

1. The High-prieſts ſin offering Bullock, on the day of expiation, *Levit.* 16.6. whoſe blood was brought within the Vail, *verſ.* 14. and his fleſh burnt without the Camp, *verſ.* 27.

2. The High-prieſts Bullock, for ignorantly committing ſomething that ſhould not be done, *Levit.* 4.3. the blood of this Bullock was brought within the holy place, and his fleſh and skin, &c. burnt without the Camp, *verſ.* 11. This Bullock is called by the Hebrew writers פר הבא על כל המצוות * *The Bullock that was offered in reference to all the*

* *Maym. ubi ſupr.*

|| *Ab. Ezra in* Levit. 4. *the Commandments.* || *And there are some that say, that he was to offer such a sin offering once every year:* which as it was for an atonement for himself, so (as *Baal Turim* applies it) it was for incouragement to others to confess their sins. * *The Law commands* (saith he) *that the sin offering of the High-priest be burnt publickly in the place of the ashes, that no man might be ashamed to confess his sin, for lo the High-priest sinned, and confessed his sin, and brought his sin offering.*

* *Baal Tur. in* Levit. 4.

3. There was the sin offering of the Ruler, *Levit.* 4. 22. this was to be a male Kid, *vers.* 23. his blood put on the horns of the Altar, his fat burnt on the Altar, and the flesh eaten, *vers.* 25. &c.

4. There was also the sin offering of any particular private person, *Lev.* 4. 27. this was to be a Lamb or Kid, but females, the blood put on the horns of the Altar, the fat burnt, and the flesh eaten by the Priests.

These were the several sin offerings that were to be offered, some upon express and singular command, and some upon the general rule of seeking atonement upon discovery of a sin unwittingly committed. Now for the more compleat understanding of the manner of the managing and disposing of these sin offerings we may observe these several particulars and circumstances about them.

1. That the place and manner of presenting, killing, and laying hands upon the sin offering, was the same with the place and manner of these things with the burnt offering.

2. That the blood of those that was brought into the holy place was thus disposed. * *The Bullocks that were burnt and the Goats that were burnt without the Camp, between the time of their killing and sprinkling of their blood* (upon the Altar of burnt offering) *the Priest went in and stood between the Golden Altar and the Candlestick: the Altar was before him, he dipt in his finger, and sprinkled the blood seven times towards the most holy place, and at every dipping and sprinkling he also put the blood upon a horn of the Altar.*

* *Tosaph. ubi supr.*

3. The blood that was not brought within the holy place, was put upon the horns of the burnt offering Altar, and so was some of the blood also that was brought out of the holy place again, and the manner of that rite was thus.

(*a*) The Priest went up the rise or bridge of the Altar, and went off on the right hand to the circuit of the Altar, and first to the South-east horn of it; he dipped his foremost finger of his right hand in the blood which was in the vessel, and dropt it, or sprinkled it upon the horn, and then wiped his finger on the side of the dish, and got off the blood that remained on it: then went he to the North-east horn, and did after the very same manner; and so at the North-west corner, and likewise at the South-west. And this was the blood that was bestowed above the red line that went about the Altar just in the middle: and only the blood of sin offerings was sprinkled with the finger.

(*a*) *Malm. ubi supr. ver.* 5. *Talm. in Zevac. per.* 5.

4. Whereas it is said that the *rest of the blood he poured at the bottom of the Altar*, it is to be understood upon the foundation, and either upon the South or West side, because in the South-west corner of it were the two holes into which the blood sunk; of which we have spoken in the description of the Altar. Some distinguish the pouring of the blood, thus, that which had been in the holy place was poured on the West side, and that which had not been there was poured on the South; (*b*) but *Rabbi Simeon saith, both the one and the other were poured on the West side; and they fell into an underground channel, and they were conveyed into the valley of Kidron, and sold to the Gardiners* to fatten their grounds. *But R. Meir asserteth that the wise men said, that they were not put to any use at all.*

(*b*) *Tosaph. ubi ante.*

5. (*c*) Those Goats and Bullocks that were burnt without the Camp, were cut into pieces skins and all upon them, and cast into the fire, even as the burnt offering was laid on the fire upon the Altar.

(*c*) *Maym. ubi supr. per.* 1.

6. These sin offerings that were not so burnt without the Camp, were eaten by the Priests, after the fat was offered upon the Altar, *Levit.* 6. 25, 26. & 10. 17. and the eating of them was in the Court. And in corrupt times it is charged upon the Priests, that in their service they regarded not devotion, but only to fill their own bellies, making those their God. *They eat up the sin* [that is, the sin offerings] *of my people, and set their heart on their iniquity, Hos.* 4. 8.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Treſpaſs Offerings. אשם

TReſpaſs Offerings (as to the cauſe and occaſion of their offering up) were ſo like to ſin offerings, as that they ſeem brethren, and it is ſomething nice and intricate to diſtinguiſh betwixt them. For as Sin-offerings came for offences againſt negative precepts, ſo did theſe; and as thoſe were offered for ſuch offences ignorantly committed, ſo likewiſe were theſe: and as thoſe had a reference to the danger of *cutting off*, ſo had theſe alſo; and yet a difference is betwixt them, but ſuch a difference, as that theſe *Treſpaſs offerings* were but in order to the other.

Now *Treſpaſs-offerings* were of theſe two kinds; there was אשם תלוי (a) *a doubtful treſpaſs offering*, and אשם ודאי *a treſpaſs offering undoubted:* and theſe were ſo called, not in regard that there was any doubt in the offering, whether it were an offering or no, when it was preſented, but becauſe there was ſome doubtfulneſs, or there was undoubtedneſs in the cauſe of its Offering. (a) *Mayh. in Corban. per. 9.*

The אשם תלוי *Doubtful* or *Suſpenſive Offering* (for ſo the word moſt properly ſignifieth) is conceived by ſome of the *Jewiſh* Writers to be ſo called, becauſe it ſuſpended the party that had committed a Treſpaſs from that penalty that was due to him for it, or לפי שיהלה ומנין עליו מן היסורין (b) *Becauſe it ſuſpendeth and feneeth him againſt the due caſtigations:* Which though indeed it carrieth a truth with it, yet is the Etymology of the Phraſe more generally given to be, becauſe there is a ſuſpence and doubtfulneſs in and about the matter, concerning which it was to be offered. There is a ſtory in the Treatiſe *Kerithuth* concerning *Baba Ben Bota*, (c) *that he offered one of theſe ſuſpenſive treſpaſs offerings every day in the year, but only on the next day after the day of expiation: And one day he ſaid, By this Temple, if they had let me alone, I had brought ſuch an Offering on that day alſo, but they ſaid to me, ſtay till thou come into ſome doubtfulneſs: And the wiſe men ſay, they bring not a ſuſpenſive treſpaſs offering* אשם תלוי, *but for ſuch an offence, as which wittingly committed, deſerveth cutting off, and unwittingly committed claimeth a ſin offering.* (b) *Gloſſ. in Mijuajoth in 8.* (c) *Kerithuth, per. 6. ſect. 3.*

Agreeable to theſe laſt words there is a paſſage in another place of the ſame Treatiſe, where having reckoned the ſix and thirty tranſgreſſions that deſerve *cutting off*, it concludeth that (d) *any of theſe committed wittingly, deſerve cutting off, and if unwittingly, a ſin offering, and if it be not known, then a ſuſpenſive, or doubtful treſpaſs offering.* (d) *Ibid. per. 11 ſect. 2.*

By both which teſtimonies it is apparent, that *ſin offerings*, and theſe ſuſpenſive *treſpaſs offerings* were ſo near a kin, that the latter is not accounted due, unleſs there be a poſſibility of the dueneſs of the other, and the one is offered for a thing committed unwittingly, and the other for a thing committed unwittingly and unknown. The main difference of them lay in this; a *ſin offering* was for a thing done indeed unwittingly againſt one of the negative precepts, and now known to be certainly done: but a *treſpaſs offering* was for a thing done indeed, but doubtful whether a precept was violated by the action; and the party is not yet knowing whether he treſpaſſed or not; yet was he to bring a treſpaſs offering, which (as was ſaid before) might fence him againſt the penalty of *cutting off*; and if he once came to know that he did offend againſt a Commandment in the action, then he was to bring a ſin offering: The *Talmudiſts* give theſe examples in the caſe.

(e) *He that eats fat* (namely that fat of the inwards, which in any Sacrifice was to be offered up) *if he did it wittingly, he was to be cut off; if he did it unwittingly, he was to bring a ſin offering as ſoon as he knew what he had done:* But our caſe in hand is this, A man is at a Table where there is that fat that might not be eaten, and another fat that might (for they might eat fat Beef, or Mutton, though they might not eat the fat of the inwards,) he eateth one of theſe fats, he knoweth not whether; he ſuppoſeth he eateth the fat that was lawful to be eaten, but it is poſſible he eateth that that is unlawful: for this poſſibility or probability that he may be under a guilt, he is to bring a treſpaſs offering ſuſpenſive אשם תלוי though he knew not whether he offended yet or no. (e) *Ibid. per. 3. Toſaphot. in Kerithuth. per. 2.*

He that wittingly lay with his ſiſter, was to be cut off; he that he did it unwittingly, was to bring a ſin offering aſſoon as he knew what he had done. But here is the caſe we are about; (f) A mans Wife and his Siſter are both in one bed, he lieth with one of them ſuppoſing it to be his Wife, it is poſſible it was his Siſter, for this he is to bring a doubtful or ſuſpenſive treſpaſs offering, becauſe it is doubtful whether he be not under a tranſgreſſion. And this kind of Offering was in this regard called *doubtful* or *ſuſpenſive*, becauſe it was in ſuſpence whether he were guilty or no, and it did alſo ſuſpend that guilt and penalty which did lie, or might light upon him. (f) *Gloſſ. in Mijuajoth ubi ante.*

Divers ſuch particular examples might be produced, we ſhall only add one or two more in the words of the Author of *Toſaphta*. (g) *There are two men together, and the one of them offends, but it is not known which of them,* Rabbi Joſi *ſaith, that both the one and the* (g) *Toſaphi ubi ſupr.*

the other must bring a suspensive trespass offering, and make confession. He that eateth the quantity of an olive of fat, or the quantity of an olive of flesh that hath lain so long before it be sacrificed that it stinketh, or the quantity of an olive of what is left of the Sacrifice, or the quantity of an olive of what is unclean, unwittingly, he is to bring a sin offering; but if it is doubtful whether he eat it, or eat it not, then he is to bring a trespass offering. He that lyeth with his Sister, or his Fathers Sister, or his Mothers Sister, or his Wifes Sister, or his Brothers Wife, or his Fathers Brothers Wife, or a Woman in her separation, he is to bring a sin-offering, ספק בא ספק לא בא מביא אשם תלוי *But if it be doubtful whether he lay with them or no, he is to bring a suspensive or doubtful trespass offering. A mans Wife and his Sister are together, and he lyeth with one of them, but he knoweth not whether: He hath two Wives, the one is in her Separation, and the other is not; he lyeth with one of them, but he knoweth not whether: There is before him fat, and something left of the Sacrifice, he eateth of the one, but he knows not whether: There is the Sabbath and the day of Expiation, he worketh on the one of them, but he knows not whether:* Rabbi Eliezer *adjudged him to bring a sin offering: But* Rabbi Joshua *acquitted him: Now* Rabbi Josi *saith, although that* Rabbi Joshua *acquitted him from a sin offering, yet he adjudged him to a trespass offering suspensive.*

By these examples it is reasonably well apparent, of what nature אשם תלוי, the *suspensive trespass offering* was in the repute of the *Hebrew* Doctors; but for the greater clearing of it, we may yet go with them one step further; A man finds himself in this possibility of having offended, though it be utterly uncertain to him, whether he have offended or no, yet in Conscience was he bound to bring this his suspensive trespass offering, because it is possible he is in the offence, this is the case in the examples given: But this is not the utmost, there comes in witness that he did undoubtedly eat of the fat that was forbidden, that it was his Wife in her separation that he lay withal, or that it was his sister, or the like; he is not yet convinced that it was so, but yet is doubtful, and in suspence he is to bring his *suspensive trespass offering*, because though it be certain in it self that he hath offended, yet is it not so as yet to him: But whensoever he shall be convinced that he did commit the offence indeed, then is he to bring his *sin offering*. And thus was the *suspensive trespass offering* in order to a *sin offering*, and in reference to those precepts whose violation deserved *cutting off*, but it being doubtful whether the offence was committed, this doubtful and suspensive offering was to be offered, to keep off the *cutting off*, the danger of which it is possible he lay under, See *Lev.*5.17.

אשם ידאי The certain or *apparent trespass offering*, is so called, because the Law doth punctually and determinatively appoint as what is to be offered, so by what persons, and upon what occasions it was to be offered, and those are five.

(h) Tosapht ubi supr. Tal. in Zevachin per. 5. Maym. in Shegag. per. 9.

1. אשם גזילה (*h*) *The trespass offering for a thing stolen*, or unjustly gotten, or detained, of which is mention *Leviticus* 6.2,3,6.

2. אשם מעילה *The trespass offering for sacriledge*, of which there is mention, *Levit.* 5.16.

3. אשם שפחה חרופה *The trespass offering concerning a bond maid*, about which the Law is given, *Lev.*19.20,21.

4. אשם נזיר *The trespass offering of the Nazarite, Numbers* 6.12.

5. אשם מצורע *The trespass offering of the Leper, Levit.* 14.12.

(i) Maym: in Corban. per. 9.

(k) Zevach. ubi apr.

(*i*) Now the manner of disposing of these Sacrifices when they came to be offered, was according to the disposal of the *sin offering:* They were killed, flead, the inwards taken out, washed, salted, and burnt like that, and the flesh eaten by the Males of the Priests in the Court: Only about the sprinkling of their bloud there was some difference; (*k*) for whereas the bloud of the sin offering was put upon the horns of the Altar, the bloud of these, was sprinkled with that sprinkling which was called שתי מחנות שהן ארבע *the two sprinklings, which were four*, that is, at two corners of the Altar forementioned, and into the fashion of the Letter *Gamma*; those were sprinkled above the red line that went about the middle of the Altar, and these below, as was the bloud of the burnt offering. And among all the rest, the Nazarites *Ram* of trespass offering was accounted one of the lesser *Sacrifices* or קדשים קלים whereas all the rest went in the rank of קדשי קדשים *The most holy offerings*; and whereas those were slain on the North side of the Court, this was on the South, and those were eaten only by the Males of the Priests, and in the Court, but this might be eaten by others, and in the City.

The eating of the most holy offerings in the Court, is very commonly called by the *Jews* אכילת לפנים מן הקלעים *the eating within the Curtains*, in which expression they allude to the Court of the Tabernacle, incompassed with Curtains round about. For as within those Curtains, there was that space which was called *the Camp of the Lord* (the Camp of *Levi* being pitcht without) so from the Gate of *Nicanor* inward only, was reputed the Lords *Camp*, (the Camp of the *Levites* being that without to the Gate of the Mountain of the Temple.) Now it was an express Command, that every *oblation*, meat

meat offering, ſin offering, treſpaſs offering, ſhould be holy for the Prieſts, and for their ſons, and ſhould be eaten in the moſt holy place, that is, in the Court, *Numb.* 18. 10. *Ezek.* 42. 13. *David Kimchi* upon the latter place cited, hath theſe words, (*l*) *The moſt holy offerings were eaten within the Court of Iſrael more innerly, and that was called Emphatically the Court: and that was the holy place for the eating of the moſt holy things, if they were ſo minded: But in the Court of the Prieſts, which was within the Court of Iſrael, there were Chambers of the Prieſts, and there they eat their holy things.* In which paſſage, he both reduceth the eating of the moſt holy offerings into a narrower compaſs than either was needful, or than the reſt of his Nation do, and alſo he findeth Buildings and Chambers for the Prieſts within the Court of the Prieſts, which unleſs they were thoſe Chambers joyning to the body of the Temple, are not imaginable, nor have been diſcovered by any hitherto. As the Command confined the Prieſts within the Compaſs of the Court, whilſt they were eating theſe things, ſo it may well be ſuppoſed that the place of their eating of them, was according to the ſeaſon and the beſt conveniency, in warm Weather under the Cloyſters in open Air, and in colder ſeaſons in ſome of the Chambers that ſtood within the Court, as *Gazith*, *Mokadh*, *Nitſots*, or what if in ſome of the Rooms joyning to the Temple.

(*l*) Kimchi in Ezek 42.

It appeareth by the Tradition concerning their eating of theſe things, that they fell not aboard with them till towards the Evening, and made them not their dinner at any time, but their ſupper, באכלים עד חצות. Hence is the common ſaying of the *Talmudiſts*, *They might eat of them till midnight*, but after that it was unlawful: And in the Treatiſe *Beracoth*, this is ſet as it were the Clock, to fix the time for the evening rehearſal of their Phylacteries. (*m*) *From what time* (ſay they) *do they ſay over their Phylacteries at even?* and it is anſwered, *from the time that the Prieſts go in to eat their Offerings, &c.* Whether the Prieſts faſted all day till this time or no: and whether the Chriſtian Ἀγάπαι did any whit follow this Copy of their Temple Feaſts, and whether this their feaſting before the Lord, were not a reſemblance of the bleſſed ſociety of the glorified in the Preſence of God, we ſhall not argue, but refer it to the Reader.

(*m*) Beracheth per. 1. Sect. 1.

Among theſe Offerings that we have mentioned of Bullocks, Goats, Rams, and Lambs, we muſt not forget that there were the like Offerings of Birds; and of all Birds there were only two kinds allowed, and theſe were Turtles and young Pigeons, and they were ever offered by Couples. In the *Talmud* Language they are called קינים or neſts, of which Title, and upon which ſubject there is a Treatiſe in that Code, and they were ordinarily ſold in the Temple, *Joh.* 2. 14. and Women eſpecially (though not only) dealt in this kind of Offering of all other: For the caſes concerning their uncleanneſs, iſſues, births, abortions (beſides their vows and free gifts) were ſo many, that they multiplied theſe Offerings to an incredible number; Let one Example give evidence concerning the reſt.

A woman [*n*] ſaith the Treatiſe Kerithuth] *that hath the doubtfulneſs of five births* (together) *and five fluxes, ſhe is to bring one offering, and ſhe may eat of the Sacrifices, and there is no further offering due from her; Hath ſhe five Births certain, and five fluxes certain, ſhe is to bring one Offering, and ſhe may eat of the Sacrifice; but there is a due from her for the reſt. There was this paſſage,* (*o*) *Doves ſtood one day in Jeruſalem at a Denarius of Gold. Rabban Simeon the ſon of Gamaliel ſaid, By this Temple, I will not ſleep this night till they be at a Denarius of ſilver; he went into the Sanhedrin, and determined thus; A Woman that hath five apparent births, and five apparent fluxes, is to bring one Offering, and ſhe may eat of the Sacrifices, and there is no more due from her upon the reſt. And thus Doves came that day to half a Denarius.*

[*n*] Kerithuth per. 1.

(*o*) Juchaſin fol. 66.

The manner of offering of theſe Birds was thus: (*p*) If they came for a Burnt Offering, the Prieſt went up the riſe of the Altar, and turned off to the circuit, and there at the South-eaſt corner he wrung off their heads, opened them, wrung out their bloud upon the ſide of the Altar, ſalted the head where it was wrung off, and caſt it into the fire, took out the inwards, and caſt them to the heap of Aſhes, ſalted the Birds, and caſt them into the fire. And if they came for a ſin offering, he wrung off their heads, ſprinkled the bloud on the ſide of the Altar, and ſqueezeth out the reſt of the bloud at the foundation, and there was no more to be done, but the Prieſt to take the birds for his own to eat. Only in the ſprinkling of the bloud of theſe birds either being for burnt offering, or ſin offering, the manner was clean different and contrary to the ſprinkling of the bloud of Beaſts; (*q*) for the bloud of beaſts in burnt offerings was ſprinkled beneath on the Altar below the red line that went about it, and the bloud of ſin offerings above: but as for thoſe birds, their bloud when they were offered for burnt offerings was ſprinkled above, and when for ſin offerings, it was ſprinkled beneath.

(*p*) Zevachim. per. 6.

(*q*) Kinnim per. 1.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

Peace Offerings, שלמים.

WE need not to go very far to find out the reaſon and notation of Peace Offerings, (as ſome have done, concluding that they were ſo called (*a*) becauſe *they made peace in the World, peace for the Altar, peace for the Prieſts, and peace for the owners*) but do but ſet them in *Antitheſis* and oppoſition to thoſe Offerings that have been ſpoken of already, and their name and nature will ſhew it ſelf; Burnt Offerings, Sin Offerings, and Treſpaſs Offerings, were preſented and offered up under the notion of ſome offence committed, and ſome guilt that he that brought them, either did or might lie under; but Peace Offerings came not under any ſuch liableneſs, offenſiveneſs or ſuſpition, but were preſented in reference to the parties more comfortable, and more unguilty condition, as being offered either by way of thankſgiving for good obtained, or by way of Vow or free Devotion.

(*a*) *R. Sol. in Levit.* 3.

And this ſenſe (it may be) the *Septuagint* looked after when they tranſlate *Peace Offerings* Θυσίας σωτηρίου, *Sacrifices of deliverance* or ſalvation.

The word שלום from whence שלמים, which ſignifieth *peace offerings*, is derived, doth ſignifie, as it is well known, either *peace* or *proſperity*, and the *peace offerings* accordingly may be conceived to have relation to this double ſignification: For ſome *peace offerings* were offered in way of devotion, as *free will offerings* to continue or to compaſs peace with God: Some in way of thankſgiving, and theſe were for proſperity or good obtained already; and ſome by way of vows, and theſe were offered that proſperity or good might be obtained for the future. For this diviſion of *peace offerings* into *thanks offerings*, *free will offerings*, *and offerings for Vows*, is held out by the Law, *Levit.*7.

We will firſt begin with ſome *peace offerings* that were of an extraordinary quality, and *Heteroclites* from the common rule; and theſe were the *peace offerings of the Heathen*, which even they offered at the Temple. *The Mountain of the Houſe* is very commonly called by Chriſtian Writers *The Court of the Gentiles*, as hath been ſaid before, for into that might even Heathens come, and they might bring offerings with them, and thoſe offerings were offered up, even as were the Sacrifices of the *Iſraelites*. And in alluſion to this it is that in the *Revelation*, when the Angel is meaſuring the Temple, he is bidden not to meaſure the outer Court, but to leave that out, for that was given to the Gentiles, *Rev.*11.2. Concerning theſe Sacrifices preſented by the Heathen, *Maymonides* gives us this teſtimony and Tradition. (*b*) *They receive not of the Heathen but burnt Offerings only, becauſe it is ſaid, From the hand of the ſon of a ſtranger, ye ſhall not offer the bread of your God: They receive even burnt offerings of birds from an Heathen, yea though he be an Idolater: But they receive not from them peace offerings, nor meat offerings, nor ſin offerings, nor treſpaſs offerings: And likewiſe for burnt offerings, they receive them not from the Heathen, if they come not by way of free will offering, or by way of Vow. A Heathen that bringeth peace offerings, they offer them as burnt offerings, becauſe the Heathens mind is towards Heaven; Doth he vow peace offerings and gives them to Iſrael that Iſrael may be atoned for, the Iſraelites eat them as if they were the peace offerings of Iſraelites; and if he give them to the Prieſt, the Prieſt eateth them. An Apoſtate Jew that is fallen to Idolatry, and that prophaneth the Sabbath preſumptuouſly* (בפרהסיא Ἐν παῤῥησίᾳ) *they receive not from him an offering at all, no not a burnt offering which they would receive from the Heathen.*

(*b*) *Maym. in Corban. per.* 3.

In which relation of his, when he ſaith *they do not receive peace offerings of the Heathen*, and yet afterward he ſaith they do, and ſo ſeemeth to contradict himſelf; theſe things obſerved, will clear his meaning, and ſhew that he ſpeaketh exceeding full and good ſenſe. 1. That they refuſed not a Heathens offering, becauſe in tendring of it, he ſhewed that לבו לשמים his mind was ſomething towards God, and that ſome devotion was in him; Yet 2. they would not receive a ſin offering, nor a treſpaſs offering from him, becauſe he was not under thoſe Laws, upon which ſin offerings and treſpaſs offerings did ariſe. 3. Nor yet would they receive a meat offering, or a peace offering from him, under that notion, or in that latitude of a peace offering, becauſe bread was to be offered with it, and it was prohibited that they ſhould offer the bread of their God received from a ſtranger. 4. But every Sacrifice that he offered, muſt be offered by him under one of thoſe two notions, under which a peace offering came; namely, either as a free will offering or a vow, and yet it muſt not be ſacrificed under the notion of a peace offering, but muſt be offered up as a burnt offering, becauſe brought in devotion to God, and not to be eaten by *Iſraelites*. But if 5. out of love to *Iſrael*, and deſire of their proſperity, he brought a peace offering even under that notion, to this end, that it might be for an atonement between *Iſrael* and *God*, it was now become *Iſraels* peace offering, and it might be offered

offered as a peace offering and the *Israelites* might eat it: or if in love to the Priests then serving, he brought it to be a peace offering for atonement between God and those Priests, the property was now altered, and it was become the Priests peace offering, and so it might be offered up and eaten.

Now to return to the Peace Offerings of the *Israelites*, they were either of the whole Congregation, or of particular persons. (c) The Peace Offerings of the whole Congregation, were only two Lambs offered at one time of the Year, and that was at *Pentecost*, *Lev.*23.19. And these were killed, flead, their bloud sprinkled, their inwards burnt, and the flesh eaten by the Males of the Priests in the Court, (d) even as the sin offerings were: (e) for these of peace offerings only were accounted קדשי חקקשים *most holy Sacrifices*, whereas all the rest were קדשים קלים *Sacrifices less holy*.

(c) *Id ubi supr.* per. 1.

(d) *Id. ibid.* per 9. & *Talm. in Zevac. per.* 5.

(e) *Vi. 4. R. Sol. in Lev.* 23. 20.

The Peace Offerings of particular persons were threefold.

1. *Peace Offerings that were offered without bread* with them; such were their Offerings that were offered for their *Hagigah* and *Simchah*, or for their festivity and rejoycing at the three solemn festivals: Now although these were offered without bread, and so might seem to have been proper for Heathens to have offered, as being clear from that exception of the Law, of not offering the bread of a stranger, yet might not Heathens offer these peace offerings, because that they were not under the command of the three festivals, nor of the festivity and rejoycing at them.

2. *Peace offerings that were offered with bread*, of which there is mention in *Lev.* 7. and where they are described at large: These peace offerings might be of Bullocks, or Kine, of Lambs Male, or female, and so of Goats, *Lev.*3. The occasion of their Offering as was mentioned before, was either for thanksgiving, or of a free devotion, or for a Vow. (f) *Rabbi Solomon* confines the thanksgiving offering to such occasions as those mentioned in the hundred and seventh *Psalm*, as namely for deliverance from tempests at Sea, from dangers in travail in the wilderness, from sickness, and from prison, עבר נס שנעשה לו *for some remarkable and wonderful deliverance or mercy that was wrought for him*; or as *Aben Ezra* expresseth it, because he is delivered out of any strait. In which Gloss they straiten the thanksgiving offering the rather to such singular and extraordinary occasions, because their Offerings of tithes, firstlings, first fruits, *&c.* were as thanksgivings for their common and constant mercies; and yet I see not, but these Peace Offerings might also come sometime in reference to their common mercies and prosperity, as for their health, comforts in their children, success in their business, or the like. And as for the Peace Offerings that came as Vows, and those that came of free gift, as the rise of them was of different ground, the one of pure devotion, the other upon some conditional reference, so do the Jews observe, (h) that if the Offerings that were vowed, died, or were stoln, they were to be made good by presenting others in their stead: but if those that were set apart of free gift, either were stoln or died, the party was not bound to any such reparation.

(f) *R. Sol. in Lev.* 7.

(g) *Ab. Ezr. ib.*

(h) *Kinnim. per.* 1.

(i) These Peace Offerings that we have in mention were slain in any part of the Court, but most commonly on the South side, and their bloud was sprinkled as was the bloud of the burnt offering שתי מתנות שהן ארבע namely with two sprinklings in form of the Letter *Gamma*, which two besprinkled the four sides of the Altar. The breast of the Peace Offering, and the right shoulder, were the Priests due that offered it, and so was a part of the Bread or Cakes that were offered with it, and this is called מורם *Murams* ordinarily by the Rabbins, that is, that that was taken of the Sacrifice, by the Priests and for them. The breast was to be waved before the Lord, and for this action (k) the Offerer was to go into the Court of the Priest, and to joyn his hand in the rite, and the manner of waving was thus; The Priest laid the fat in the owners hand, and upon the fat he laid the breast and right shoulder, and upon them he laid the kidneys and the Caul of the Liver, and if it were a *thanksgiving offering* he laid some of the bread aloft on all; then he put his hand under the hands of the owner, and he waved his hands this way and that way, and up and down, and all towards the East: and after this waving he salted the inwards, and burnt them upon the Altar; and the waved breast and shoulder the Priest took for his part, and the owner the rest, and they were to be eaten. It was lawful for the party that brought the Peace Offering to eat his part of it in any part of *Jerusalem*; and so is the *Talmudick* expression which frequently occurreth in this case to be understood, which saith נאכלין בכל חעיר *The remaining parts of it were eaten* (not in any City, but) *in any part of the City:* and this is one of the priviledges of *Jerusalem* above other Cities, (l) because the lesser holy things might be eaten in it, and not in any other: They ordinarily boyled their Peace Offerings in the Temple it self, in one of the corners of the Court of the Women, where we have observed in its description, boyling places for this purpose; See 2*Chro.*35.13. And in the like manner they did at *Shiloh*, upon which business the sons of *Eli* shewed their wickedness, when in stead of contenting themselves with the *wave breast, and heave shoulder*, they brought up a Custom

(i) *Zevachim per.* 5. *sect.* 5.

(k) *Pisk. Tos. in Mid.*

(l) *Kelim. per.* 1. *sect.* 8.

ſtom to ſtrike a three forked hook into the Cauldron where the peace offering was boyling, and to take whatſoever it brought up, 1*Sam.*2.

The *Peace offering of thanksgiving* was eaten the ſame day, but a Vow or Free-will Offering might be eaten on the morrow, *Lev.*7. 15,16. and herein the Prieſts and the Offerer came under the ſame reſtriction, for the one, and liberty for the other: and the whole Families of the one and the other, Wives, Sons, Daughters, Servants might eat of them: and the Offerer, if he would, might eat his part in the Temple, and the Prieſts, if they would, might eat theirs in *Jeruſalem*: an accurſed imitation of theſe peace Offerings, and eating of them in the Temple, was taken up among the Heathens, 1*Cor.*8.10.

3. There was a third peace offering of a particular perſon, and that was איל נזיר, as it is commonly called, *The Nazarites Ram*, of which the Law and Story is ſet down, *Num.*6.17. and the manner of its diſpoſal was thus: He was killed, and his bloud ſprinkled; then were the inwards taken out, and the right ſhoulder and breaſt ſeparated, and the reſt of the fleſh the *Nazarite* boyled in the corner of the Court of the Women, in the place called *the room of the Nazarites.* Then took the Prieſt the ſodden ſhoulder of the Ram, and a tenth part of the bread that was brought with him, and the heave ſhoulder, and wave breaſt, and the inwards, and put them in the hands of the *Nazarite*, and put his own hand under his, and waved them as before; and all that was waved was the Prieſts Portion, but only the inwards that were to be burnt upon the Altar, and the *Nazarite* had the reſt.

SECT. V.

Meat Offerings, and Drink Offerings.
מנחה & נסך.

(a) *Maym. in Corbanoth. per.* 2. *Talm. in Menachoth. per.* 6.

THere (*a*) were Twelve ſorts of *Meat Offerings*; Three of the whole Congregation, and Nine of particular perſons: The three of the whole Congregation were theſe:

1. *The twelve Loaves of Shew-bread*, which were ſet before the Lord every Sabbath, *Exod.*25.3. *Lev.*24.5,6,7. and when they were taken away, they were eaten by the Prieſts.

2. *The Sheaf* or *Omer of the firſt fruits of their Harveſt*, *Lev.*23.9. This was of Barley, the Corn that was firſt ripe: and there was but one Meat Offering more of Barley, of all the twelve; all the reſt were of Wheat. This Sheaf was waved before the Lord, this way and that way, and up and down, and then it was part offered, and part eaten. *Rabbi Solomon* giveth this reaſon of the waving of it, if it may be taken, (*b*) *Every waving* (ſaith he) *is bringing it this way, and that way, up and down; and the waving it this way, and that way, was for the reſtraining of evil winds, and the waving it up and down, was for the reſtraining of evil dews.*

(b) *R. Sol. in Levit.* 23.

3. *The two wave Loaves offered at Pentecoſt*, *Lev.*23.17.

The nine Meat Offerings of particular perſons were theſe:

1. חביתין *The daily meat Offering of the High-prieſt.*

2. מנחת חנוך *The meat offering of initiation*; which every Prieſt brought in his hand at his firſt entrance into the Office.

3. מנחת הוטא *The ſinners meat offering:* This was the offering of a poor man that ſhould have brought a ſin offering and was not able; I here cannot but obſerve a paſſage in the *Miſhnah*, and in *Toſaphta* that ſpeak of מנחת חוטא של כהנים, *the ſinners meat offering of the poor Prieſt*, that was ſo poor as that he was not able to bring a *ſin offering*; intimating in what poor condition ſome of them lived, though ſome again of them were as rich and ſtately.

4. מנחת קנאות *The Jealouſie meat offering* of the ſuſpected Wife, *Num.*5.15. this was of Barley meal.

5. מנחת סולת *The meat offering of fine flower unbaked.*

6. מנחת המחבת *The meat offering baked in a pan.*

7. מנחת חמרחשת *The meat offering baked in a frying-pan.*

8. מנחת מאפה תנור *The meat offering baked in the Oven.*

9 רקיקין *Wafers.*

Now beſides theſe names, we read of, & מנחת נסכים מנחת גויים ונשים *The meat offering of the Heathen, and of Women*, and *The meat offering with a drink offering*, which are but names different from ſome of theſe that are named, for the things themſelves did not differ: when a Heathen Man would preſent a meat Offering under the limitations forementioned, it was ſome of theſe mentioned, and alſo a meat offering that was offered with a drink offering, was ſome of theſe that are mentioned; but they are called by theſe

theſe diſtinctive names, only in regard of theſe circumſtances, and not in regard of the difference of Materials.

As for the making and managing of theſe meat offerings, theſe were the main and general rules by which they went.

1. That no meat offering ſhould conſiſt of leſs than the tenth part of an *Ephah* of Corn, (which was but very little differing from the tenth part of our buſhel) and of a log of oil, which was ſomewhat above thirteen ounces. Now as many tenth parts might be offered, as the offerer could find in his heart to offer, ſo that there were not above 60 in one Veſſel, and to every tenth part he muſt joyn a log of oil; but under one tenth part, and under one log, there muſt be no meat offering. This tenth part of an *Ephah* was called an *Omer*, *Exod.* 16.36. (c) *Maym. ubi ſup. par.* 13.

2. (d) That when the meat offering was any of the four ſorts baked, they commonly made ten cakes, or pieces of the tenth deal, and accordingly if more tenth deals were offered than one, they made ten cakes of every tenth deal that was offered; only the *High-prieſts meat offering* was made into twelve cakes; and when theſe cakes were baked, every one of them was broken in two, and twelve halfs were offered in the morning, and twelve at even. (d) *Id. ibid.*

3. (e) Some meat offerings required both oil, and frankincenſe, ſome required oil, but not frankincenſe, ſome frankincenſe, but not oil, and ſome neither frankincenſe nor oil. Thoſe that required both frankincenſe and oil, were theſe. The meat offering of fine flower unbaked, thoſe four that were baked, the meat offering of the High-prieſt, that of the Prieſts initiation, the Omer of firſt fruits, and the meat offerings of Heathens and of Women. The meat offering joyned with a drink offering, required oil, but not frankincenſe. The Shew-bread required frankincenſe but not oil: and the ſinners meat offering, and the meat offering of the ſuſpected wife, had neither oil nor frankincenſe. (e) *Talm. in Menac. per.* 5.

4. (f) All the meat offerings that were made in a veſſel, had three pourings of oil about it: as the unbaked meat offering of fine flower מנחת סולת, firſt oil was put into the veſſel, and the flower after it, then oil was poured upon the flower, and they mingled together, then was it put into the veſſel of the ſervice, in which it was to be brought to the Altar, and oil poured on it again, and frankincenſe put aloft on all; and ſo thoſe meat offerings that were baked in the pan or frying pan, oil was put into a veſſel, flower upon it, and oil upon the flower again; theſe being blended together, it was baked, and being baked it was broken into its pieces, and more oil put upon the pieces, and frankincenſe upon all: Only what was made and baked wafer wiſe, they were anointed with oil, and their anointing was to be כמין כי *after the form of the letter Chi*, as the *Talmud* expreſſeth it, which the Gloſs explaineth to be, *After the form of the Greek* Kappa, *or the Hebrew* Teth; *as is the parting between the Thumb and the Finger, that is, he poured the oil ſo upon them, that it went this way, and that way, into two parts.* (f) *Ibid. per.* 6. *ſect.* 3.

5. (g) Of ſome of the meat offerings the Prieſt took out one handful, and burnt it on the Altar, and the reſt he had for himſelf to eat: and ſome meat offerings were wholly burnt, and the Prieſt had no part: Now theſe are they, of which a handful was taken only, and the reſt fell to the Prieſts. The unbaked meat offering of fine flower, and the four baked, the meat offering of Heathens and of Women, the *Omer* of firſt fruits, and the ſinners meat offering, and that of Jealouſie. But the meat offering of the High-prieſts, and of the Prieſts initiation, and that that was offered with a drink offering, the Prieſts had no ſhare in theſe, but the Altar had all. (g) *Ib. Sect.* 1, 2.

6. (h) The manner of offering theſe meat offerings was thus: He brought it in a Silver or Golden Diſh, in which it was mingled, and puts it into one of the Holy Veſſels of the Service, and hallowes it in the Holy Veſſel, and puts the oil and the frankincenſe upon it: then goes and he brings it up to the South-eaſt horn of the Altar, ſtanding on the South-ſide of the horn. He had laid the frankincenſe on the one ſide; then takes he his handful from the oily place, and lays it in the midſt of another Holy Veſſel, and hallows it in the midſt of the Veſſel, then gathers he up the frankincenſe, and lays it aloft, and brings it to the top of the Altar, there ſalts it and lays it on the fire, and the reſt was for the Prieſts to eat. (h) *Toſaph. in Menac. per.* 1.

The meat offering that was offered with the daily ſacrifice, had alſo a drink offering preſented with it, and ſo had divers other Sacrifices the like, *Num.* 15. Now the drink offering was only ſuch a quantity of Wine, more or leſs, according to the Sacrifice as is there preſcribed; which was neither mingled, (i) nor any of it poured into the fire as the meat offering was, but it was poured upon the foundation of the Altar, as the blood was; and when the Wine of the daily meat offering was poured out, the Song of the Temple began, as we have obſerved. (i) *R. Sol. in Numb.* 15.

There was a meat offering offered every morning with the morning Sacrifice, and yet it is obſervable, that the time of the evening Sacrifice only is called *Minchah* (which was the title of the meat offering) and the time of the morning ſacrifice not ſo, 1 *Kin.*18.29. And again, the time of the Sacrifice is called by the name of the *meat offering*, rather than by the name of the *Sacrifice* it ſelf, *Dan.*9.21. the reaſon of which is ſomewhat hard to give, and almoſt as hard to find any that have given any gueſs at it; whether the former were not becauſe the private meat offerings, or thoſe of particular perſons were moſt commonly offered in the afternoon: or whether it were not becauſe the incenſe of the evening was offered at the time of the meat offering, which at the morning Sacrifice it was not: and whether the latter were not, becauſe of the variety of materials in the meat offering, which was not in the ſacrifice it ſelf, or becauſe the ſacrifice was not compleat till the meat offering came on, be it referred to the learned to judge.

And thus have we a brief account of the nature and manner of their ſacrifices: (for as for the offering of their firſtlings and their tenths, they were not ſo different from thoſe mentioned, that they need a diſcourſe by themſelves, and about the Paſchals we ſhall ſpeak anon.) There are only two things more concerning their ſacrifices to be inquired after, and they are theſe, Firſt, how theſe ſacrifices of ſin and treſpaſs offerings, and burnt offerings became paid, (as we have ſeen how they became due.) For it may be the Offender had no mind to be at ſuch charges, though he knew he did owea ſacrifice upon ſuch a ſin and treſpaſs: but he would ſpare the coſt of a Lamb, or Goat, and would think it better ſaved than ſpent, if he could come fairly off, and keep his money. The proviſion in this caſe was twofold, *Conſcience* and *Penalty*, and if the firſt prevailed not, the ſecond took place, if the offence were known. Thoſe that had any Conſcience, or regard of Religion, or of themſelves, needed no other inſtigation to bring their offering, when they knew they were under an offence that called for it, but their Conſcience and that regard: And they had a double motive to urge them to it; firſt, the obedience to Gods Commandment which called for it; and ſecondly, the expiation of their ſin, which they believed was obtained by the offering: But if the party were not ſwayed by Conſcience or Religion, but had rather, and was readier to ſave his money, than either regard Gods Command or his own expiation, if there were witneſs found that came forth and ſaid, that he had committed ſuch a ſin or treſpaſs, it was beſt for him then to think of ſetting apart an offering, or elſe he was in danger of a Penalty, as he lay under guilt: Had he committed ſin ignorantly againſt any of thoſe negative precepts, the tranſgreſſing againſt which willfully, had brought him under the danger of *Cutting off*; and now, when he comes to know that he had done amiſs, he refuſeth to bring that ſacrifice, that was due for ſuch an offence, this contempt and refuſal heightned the offence, ſo that now it appeared a wilful ſin, when he refuſeth to ſeek his peace for it as for one of ignorance, and if he were called to an account for it, and witneſs produced of what he had done, and he convented, he muſt either clear himſelf of the action, or (*k*) be challenged his offering; compare *Mat.*8.4. But as far as this matter reſted upon their devotion, (and where there was true devotion, it needed no further promoter,) the Nation was ſo zealous of their Rites, and the ſins that deſerved *cutting off*, were brought into ſo little compaſs, and ſo plain, and not very obvious to be ſtumbled againſt through ignorance, that the failing to the render of theſe ſacrifices when they became due, was indifferently well prevented, by one or other of theſe things, either this zeal, or their plainneſs, eſpecially this concurring that the People held, that *ex opere operato* theſe made their peace: The letter of the Law was, that *he ſhould offer of his own voluntary will*, *Lev.*1.4. And yet ſaith *Rabbi Solomon* upon the place, *It teacheth that they urged him*, כופין אותו, *it may be whether he would or no. But the text ſaith, he muſt do it of his own freewill. How then? They urged him till he ſaid, I am willing.*

(*k*) *R. Sol. in Levit.* 1.

A ſecond ſcruple about theſe ſacrifices is, concerning the time of their preſenting and offering. A man that lived at a great diſtance from *Jeruſalem*, was faln under ſuch an offence as that a ſacrifice was due from him: what muſt he do? Muſt he away preſently thither to offer his offering? Muſt he neglect his imployments at home, and travel up to *Jeruſalem*, at a charge double and treble, and more to the charge of the ſacrifice that he was to offer, and lay all things aſide till that be done? The Proviſion in this caſe was, That he that became liable to any offering might ſtay the paying of it till the next ſolemn Feſtival of the three came, when all muſt appear before the Lord at *Jeruſalem*. And ſo his pains and coſt of going up thither did accrew upon that general and comprehenſive Command for their appearance, and not from his own private and particular occaſion: They make this one of the Two Hundred Eight and Forty affirmative precepts, that they pick up in the Law, להביא כל הקרבנות שיש על האדם בחוב או בנדב ברגל ראשון שמגיע בו (*l*) *That a man ſhould bring all his offerings that are either due from him, or voluntarily dedicate, at the ſolemn feſtival that cometh next:*

(*l*) *Maym. in Præf. ad Jad.*

next: And so, as the Lord by appointing those three solemn times, in the Spring and Summer, did provide for the ease and accommodation of the people in that general service; so by this Law was provision made for every mans particular exigent, and devotion. And this command and practise they ground upon those words, *Deut.* 12.5,6. *Unto the place which the Lord your God shall choose out of all your Tribes, to put his name there, even to his habitation shall ye seek, and thither shalt thou come. And thither shall ye bring your burnt offerings, and your sacrifices, &c.* Eight things (saith (*m*) *Baal Hatturim*) *are named here according to the eight times using the words* Before the Lord, *in the Law concerning the three festivals.* And so would he construe that Text, to the sense that we are discoursing of by a Massoretick Arithmetical collection, as it is his common way and use to do; but those that go more seriously to work, conclude, their bringing of their particular and occasional devotions, at those general appearances from that Text, by expounding, *the seeking and going to the habitation of the Lord*, of the most eminent, and singularly commanded going thither: According to this construction and practise, the *Chaldee Paraphrast* understands what is said concerning *Elkanah*, that he went up out of his City to *Shiloh* to worship and to sacrifice מימם ימימה 1 *Sam.*1.3. for he hath rendred it מזמן מעד למעד *From the time of one solemn Festival to another:* what exceptions there might be in this matter, and whether, and upon what occasions, the bringing of those their sacrifices, might be deferred beyond the next coming Festival to another, and how those that were nearer to *Jerusalem*, and were so minded, might come with their gifts at other times, it is not much requisite to insist upon.

(*m*) Baal Hat. in Deut.12.

CHAP. IX.

The manner and managing of the dayly Service.

ON the North-side of the Court of the Temple, well towards the North-west corner of it, as we have observed in its due place, there was a great piece of building which was called בית מוקד (*a*) *Beth Mokadh, the fire room*, or *the House of burning:* and the reason of the name was, because in that room there was constantly a fire kept in all cold weather, both by day and by night. By day for the Priests to warm themselves by, when they came from the service, and by night for them to keep their guard by, for this was the chiefest Court of guard of the Priests, of all the three. Here the Elders of the House of their Fathers warded, and had the keys of the Court gates hanging by them, being committed to them by *Amarcalin:* If they had a mind to sleep at any time, there were benches round about the room, on which they laid them down and slept: And the younger Priests that were with them (for such also were there) when they would sleep, they laid themselves down on the ground, and the holy garments in which they were to serve, they wrapped up and laid under their heads, as it were a pillow, and slept in their ordinary wearing garments.

(*a*) Talm. in Tam.per 3. & in Middoth. per.1. Maym. in Beth habbech. per.5.

Now betimes in the morning, against the President of the service should come, they had bathed themselves in water, and put on the garments of the service, and made themselves ready against he came: They had this *Maxim* concerning their bathing in water for the service, אין אד׳ נכנס לעזרה לעבודה אפי׳ טהור עד שיטבול (*b*) *That a man, yea though he were clean, yet might he not go into the Court to serve, till he had bathed himself in water.* And for this purpose they had their bathing places in several rooms, some for the High-priest, and some for the other Priests, which places we have particulary observed in our survey. Having bathed themselves in the morning, they needed not to do that again of all the day, unless upon doing their easments of nature by seige, but they washed their hands and their feet, upon their making of water; and as oft as ever they came within the Court about the service, did they go out and in never so oft. And to this custom our Saviour seemeth to allude, *Joh.*13.10. *He that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit.* At last the President cometh, and knocketh at the door, and they open to him: what President it was, whether of the Lots, or the *Sagan*, we will not dispute [(*c*) *Maymony* saith, it was the *president of lots*] but the *Talmudick* dispute about the time of his coming, may be worth our marking: (*d*) *At what hour* (saith the Treatise *Tamid*) *did the President come?* And it answers thus, *Not at all times alike: sometimes he comes at Cocks crowing, sometimes near unto it, sometimes before it, and sometimes after:* which nominated uncertainty of the time, and yet their readiness for him whensoever he came, is so parallel to those words of our Saviour, *Mark* 13. 35. that if those were not spoken in some allusion to this custom, yet may they be well illustratedby it.

(*b*) Talm. in Joma. per. 3.

(*c*) Maym. in Tam. per. 6.

(*d*) Tam. per. 1

(*e*) Out

(e) *Ibid.*

(e) Out of the room *Beth mokadh*, they go through a wicket into the Court, carrying candles in their hands: and there as ſoon as they were all come in, they divide themſelves, and half of them go (in the Cloiſter walk) about the Temple, on the Weſt and South ſides of the Court, and the other half along the North and Eaſt ſides, and both Companies met at the *Paſtry mans Chamber*, which was on the left hand of *the gate of Nicanor*: and being met there they asked one another, *Is all ſafe and well? Yes, all is well:* And then they called the *Paſtry man* up to go about his buſineſs, to make the חביתין cakes for the High-prieſts meat offering.

SECT. I.

The manner of their caſting lots, for every mans ſeveral imployment.

THEN did the Preſident call upon them to go and caſt lots, to decide and appoint what work every one muſt go about. The place where they were to do this, was in the building *Gazith*, namely in that room of it that ſtood within the Court: for ſome part of it ſtood within the Court, and that part upon ſome occaſions was as the Chappel of the Temple, and ſome part of it ſtood out into the *chel* חל and in that there ſate the great *Sanhedrin*.

* *Maym. in Tamid. per. 4.*

* Being come together into the place, they all ſtand round, and conclude upon a number that they will count, as threeſcore, fourſcore, or a hundred, or what they thought good. Then the Preſident of the lottery takes off ſome one of their caps, and puts it on again, and *Here* (ſaith he) *will I begin to count: Now put up your fingers:* They put up their fingers, one, or two, or three, as they pleaſed: and he begins at him whoſe cap he had taken off, and tells the fingers that were held up round: He at whoſe fingers the tale or ſum agreed upon is up, he is the man on whom the lot is faln, and to him doth that particular ſervice accrew, for which the lot was caſt.

‖ *Joma. per. 2.*

‖ The firſt lotting was to determine who ſhould firſt cleanſe the burnt offering Altar of its aſhes. They had uſed to run and ſcramble for this ſervice, and firſt come to the Altar, firſt do it: But (beſides the roughneſs and irreverence this manner of doing carried with it) a ſpecial occurrence and inconvenience that befel at one time, (which was, that one of the Prieſts thus ſhuffling for this buſineſs, was thruſt down by his fellow from off the riſe off the Altar, and brake his leg) did cauſe the *Sanhedrin* to take order that the work ſhould be done with more reverence and calmneſs, and therefore they decreed that the lottery ſhould appoint who ſhould do it, and this was the firſt imployment that they lotted for, and he at whom the number agreed upon is up, muſt have it.

SECT. II.

The cleanſing and dreſſing of the burnt offering Altar.

* *Maym. in Tam. per. 1.*

HE * to whom it was allotted to cleanſe the burnt offering Altar (which was the firſt lot caſt, and the firſt work to be done) leaves his fellows in the room *Gazith*, and having firſt waſhed his hands and his feet at the laver, he goes about the work.

¶ *Maym. in Tamid. per. 2.*

‖ There were three fires continually made upon the Altar: the firſt was the great fire which was made for the burning of the ſacrifices. A ſecond leſs than it was made upon the ſide of it, from which they took coals to carry into the holy place to burn the incenſe. And a third was made for no other uſe, but to keep the fire in, that it might burn continually, and not go out: And they give their reaſon for this number of fires, which I ſhall not inſiſt upon: Now he that was to dreſs the Altar of its aſhes firſt, he takes a ſilver chafing diſh which uſually ſtood on the Weſt ſide of the Altar, and going to the Altar top, he ſcrapes the coals this way, and that way, and takes up his diſh full of burnt coals, and comes down with them to the pavement, and when he comes there, he turns his face towards the North, and goes ſo along, till he comes to the Eaſtſide of the Altar riſe, and there he lays down the coals on a heap, hard by the riſe, in a place where they alſo laid the garbage of the Birds, and the aſhes that were cleanſed off the golden Altar.

When his fellow Prieſts perceived that he was come down from the Altar, they haſted and waſhed their hands and feet; and taking the ſhovels and hooks that were for that ſervice, they turned the pieces of the laſt nights ſacrifice, if any were yet left unburnt, to the ſides of the Altar, and if the ſides would not hold them, they laid them upon the Altar riſe. Then do they ſcrape together the aſhes from all the ſides to the middle of the Altar, upon a great heap, and take from thence as much as filled a great veſſel of half an Homer (this veſſel was called פסכתר *Peſachtar*) and this they bring down with them, yet leaving a reaſonable big heap of aſhes ſtill, which they call *Tapuahh*. When they had brought this great veſſel of aſhes down, others of the Prieſts in leſſer veſſels carried them away,

away, even out of the City: and laid them in a calm place, that the wind might ſcatter them as little as poſſible: and theſe aſhes might not be put to any uſe.

This cleanſing of the Altar every morning, they began moſt commonly about the dawning: but on the three ſolemn Feſtivals they began much ſooner, and on the day of Expiation, they began from midnight. When therefore they had thus brought off the aſhes, they go about to make the fire: And firſt they begin with the great fire for the burnt ſacrifices, which they called מערכה גדולה *The great pile*, and this they made ſomething towards the Eaſt ſide of the Altar. The ſecond fire which was for the coals for the Incenſe, was made of the wood of figtree only, and that was made toward the South-weſt corner, as that place being neareſt to the Prieſts ſtanding upon the Altar riſe, and the coals there being the readieſt to be taken away. As for the third fire, which was for the keeping of the fire continually burning, it was made indifferently in any part of the Altar: Now beſides all the other wood which was laid on the great fire, they added two ſingular billets, (for which they produce ſingular Tradition) to it, when the ſacrifice came on; which at the morning ſacrifice was carried and laid on by one Prieſt, but at the Evening ſacrifice by two. Having thus made the fire, they lay the pieces of the laſt nights ſacrifice that were not burnt, upon it again; and ſo they come down, and return into the room *Gazith* again; and there the Preſident calls them to a lottery again.

There were thirteen particular ſervices more to be aſſigned to particular men; as killing the Sacrifice, ſprinkling the Blood, cleanſing the golden Altar, dreſſing the Lamps, bringing the parts of the Sacrifice to the riſe of the Altar, &c. The firſt of which was appointed by lot in the ſame manner as before, and the reſt fell in order to the perſons, as they ſtood in order beyond him: they therefore conclude again upon another ſum or number, hold up their fingers, and he counts again. The man at whoſe fingers the count is up, 1. He is appointed to kill the Sacrifice. 2. He that ſtands next beyond him muſt take and ſprinkle the Blood. 3. The next beyond him muſt cleanſe the incenſe Altar. 4. The next beyond muſt dreſs the Candleſtick and Lamps. 5. The next muſt bring the Head and Legs of the Sacrifice to the riſe of the Altar. 6. The next muſt bring his two Shoulders. 7. The next the Rump and the Feet. 8. The next the Breaſt, Weaſand and Plucks. 9. The next the two Loins. 10. The next the Inwards. 11. The next the meat Offering. 12. The next the High-prieſts meat Offering. 13. And the next the drink Offering. And thus theſe thirteen ſeveral imployments were diſtributed ſeverally to thirteen men, the firſt by the lottery, and all the reſt by the mens ſtanding, and this was the ſecond lot.

There were two lots for two ſervices more uſed, namely for the burning of the incenſe, and for the bringing of the pieces of the ſacrifice from the riſe of the Altar, to the Altar top, and laying them on, but thoſe two lots were not caſt till a little further in the day, then the time that we are now upon. Now the reaſon why they counted Fingers or Hands in their lotting, and not the perſons themſelves, was, becauſe they held it not convenient to number *Iſraelites* by their perſons, but by ſome other thing: the reaſon of which conceit they give, but it is out of the rode of our preſent purſuit, to follow the inquiry after it.

Thoſe who were miſſed, and were not either by the lot, or by their ſtanding appointed to any of theſe imployments, that are mentioned, they put off their Prieſts garments, all but their linnen breeches, and went about the more ſervile works; as to fetch out the veſſels, that were to be uſed, to carry away the aſhes, that were fetched off the Altars, and the like.

SECT. III.

The killing of the morning ſacrifice, dreſſing the lamps and incenſe Altar.

THEN * doth the Preſident ſay to them, *Go and ſee whether it be time to kill the dayly ſacrifice:* One or another went to the top of ſome of the buildings about the Temple, and when he ſees it fair day, he ſaith, ברקאי *It is fair day. I, but* (ſaith the Preſident) *is the Heaven bright all up to Hebron?* He anſwers, *Yes.* Then ſaith he, *Go and fetch the Lamb out of the Lamb room*; and ſo they do, and though he were ſearched before, whether he were right and faultleſs, yet do they now ſearch him again by candlelight, but they may not kill him but by daylight: yet once (as the *Talmud* relateth) they were deceived by the moonlight, and thought it had been day, and ſo ſlew the morning ſacrifice by night.

* *Talm. in Tamid. per. 3. & in Joma. per. 3.*

He that was alotted to kill the Lamb, and had fetched him out of the *Lamb room*, brought him to *the place of the rings*, where the ſacrifice was uſually ſlain; and the reſt that were to ſprinkle the blood, and to carry the parts to the Altar, go with him thither, and wait for their imployment till it come: others go into the room where the veſſels of the ſervice

ſervice lay, and from thence they bring ninety three ſilver and gold veſſels, which were all to be uſed that day; in one of them they give the Lamb water to drink, for that, they thought made him to flea the better.

The Seniors that carried the keys of the gates of the Court, when they ſaw their time they cauſed the gates to be opened, and at the opening of the laſt gates of the two Courts, the trumpets ſounded, and gave warning to the *Levites and Stationary men*, for their attendance: At laſt the gate of the Temple it ſelf was opened, for thoſe two to go in at, that were to dreſs the golden Altar and the Lamps, who took with them for that purpoſe, two golden veſſels, the one they called טני *Teni*, and the other כוז *Coz*.

As ſoon as the noyſe of the opening of the Temple door was heard, he that was to ſlay the Sacrifice ſlew him: and as near as might be, he that cleanſed the incenſe Altar, cleanſed it while the Sacrifice was in ſlaying. And when they ſprinkled the blood, he that was to dreſs the Lamps, dreſſed ſome of them at the time of ſprinkling.

The manner of cleanſing the incenſe Altar was thus. He took the golden diſh *Teni*, and ſet it before the Altar, and took his handful of coals and aſhes of the Altar, put them into it, and bruſhed the reſt into it; left it ſtanding there, and ſo came out.

The dreſſing of the Lamps was in this manner. There was a great ſtone that lay before the Candleſtick, in which there were hewed three ſteps; whereby, he that was to dreſs the Lamps, ſtepped up. What Lamps were out, he took out the yarn and oil, and put in new, and lighted them at ſome of the Lamps that were not out. Only that which they called *the Weſtern Lamp*, if that were out, it muſt not be lighted but by ſome fire fetched from the Sacrifice Altar.

The Weſtern Lamp נר מערבי was not that which ſtood moſt Weſtward of all the ſeven, but the middlemoſt of all, and it was ſo called, becauſe it was ſet bending Weſtward, towards the moſt holy place, and all the reſt of the Lamps ſtood bending towards this.

As for thoſe Lamps that he found burning, he ſnuft them, dreſt them, and ſupplied them with new oil. And thus he did only by five Lampt at this time, for he dreſſed not all the ſeven at once: and having thus done, he ſets down his golden diſh *Coz*, on the ſecond ſtep on which he had gone up, and ſo he came out.

In the mean while they without were ſprinkling the blood, flaying the ſacrifice, and dividing it into its pieces: which ſo divided, the ſeveral men, appointed to carry the pieces to the riſe of the Altar, brought them thither, ſalted them, and left them there, and now again go into the room *Gazith*, which was as their Chappel, to their prayers.

SECT. IV.

Their Publick Prayers, their Phylacteries.

* *Tamid. 4. per.* ‖ *Magm. in Tamid. per. 6. Seder Tephil. loth.*

THEN * the Preſident calls upon them to go to prayers; which they began thus, ‖ *Thou haſt loved us O Lord our God with an everlaſting love, with great and abundant compaſſion haſt thou campaſſionated us, O our Father our King: for our fathers ſakes who truſted in thee, and thou taughteſt them ſtatutes of life. So be gracious to us alſo, O our Father, O moſt merciful Father, O thou compaſſionate one, pity us. And put into our hearts, to know, underſtand, obey, learn, teach, obſerve, do and perform all the words of the Doctrine of thy Law in love, and enlighten our Eyes by thy Law, and cauſe our hearts to cleave to thy commandments, and unite our hearts to love and to fear thy Name, &c.*

After this Prayer they rehearſed the Ten Commandments, and after the Ten Commandments they ſaid over their Phylacteries.

There is mention of their Phylacteries in the Scripture, *Matth.* 23.5. and they were four Sections or Paragraphs of the Law, written in two Parchments, which Parchments they wore about them continually, as *Memorandums* of their obſervance of the Law, and evidences of their devotion: and therefore they were called in the Greek Tongue *Phylacteria*, or *Obſervatories*, and in the Hebrew *Tephillin*, or *Oraiſons*.

The portions of the Law that were written in theſe Parchments were theſe:

I. *Exod. chap.* 13. *verſ.* 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.
II. *Exod. chap.* 13. *verſ.* 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.
III. *Deut. chap.* 6. *verſ.* 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.
IV. *Deut. chap.* 11. *verſ.* 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

* *Vid. Magm. in Tephillin. per.* 1. & 2. & *Buxtorf. Lex. Tal. in* מלה

The manner and curioſity of writing theſe ſentences * in their ſeveral columns, and in what Parchment, and with what ink, is largely diſcourſed by the Author cited in the margin, with which I ſhall not trouble the Reader at this time: only I may not omit the reaſon why theſe were uſed, rather than any other ſentences of the Law, which was this, becauſe

becauſe in every one of the Sections there is mention, either of *Thoſe words being Totaphoth, or frontlets between their eyes*, or *a memorial between their eyes*, or that they ſhould *bind them upon their hands*. And accordingly the place where they wore theſe two parchments was, the one upon their foreheads downwards, towards between their eyebrows, and the other upon their left arm: whereupon * *Tanchuma* hath taken occaſion to expound *Gods ſwearing by his ſtrong arm*, of his ſwearing by the *Phylacteries*. * *Tanchuma. fol. 6. col. 3.*

I doubt whether all the Nation uſed theſe *Phylacteries* indifferently, or only thoſe who were called, *The Scholars of the wiſe*, who pretended more knowledge, devotion, and ſtudy of the Law than the common people: [a] It is recorded by the Jewiſh writers, that the *Sadduces* though they could not away with the *Phariſees* traditions, yet that they uſed *Phylacteries* as well as they, but only that they differed from them in opinion, about the place where they ſhould wear them: but whether Husbandmen, Tradeſmen, and the reſt of the common people wore them, as well as Scholars, and the learned of the Nation; this one paſſage of *Maymony* amongſt other arguments, may give ſome occaſion to ſuſpect: He ſpeaking of thoſe things, for which a man might be allowed, to paſs by a Synagogue whilſt they were at prayers there and not come in; among other things he ſaith thus, [b] *Were his Phylacteries ſeen upon him, then that was a ſign that he neglected not the Law*, and ſo though he had occaſion to paſs the Synagogue at that time, yet his Phylacteries appearing, ſpake for him, that it was not for want of devotion, that he paſſed the Synagogue, but was called away by ſome buſineſs or occaſion. [a] *Juchaſin.* [b] *Maym. ubi ſup.*

Howſoever the common people did not wear theſe Phylactery parchments, as the learned did, yet both learned and unlearned were bound alike to the rehearſing or ſaying over the Phylactery ſentences contained in them morning and evening every day. [c] *Yea workmen that were on the top of a tree, or on the top of a piece of timber*, (rearing or repairing a houſe) *they were bound to this reherſal there*, when the time of the day for it was come. [c] *Talm. in Beracoth. per. 2.*

This rehearſal is commonly called by the Hebrews קריאת שמע *Keriath Shema*, *the ſaying over of Shema*, becauſe one of the Sections began with *Shema Iſrael, Hear O Iſrael, &c. Deut. 6. 4.* which though it were not the firſt of the four, as they ſtand written in the book of the Law, nor the firſt written in their parchments which they wore, yet was it ever the firſt in their rehearſal; and the reaſon is given, becauſe it containeth the firſt and the foundation of all other duties, and that is, *to love the Lord*.

The time of their *Keriath Shema*, or rehearſal of their Phylactery ſentences in the morning, is thus determined in their Traditions. [d] *At what time of day do they ſay over their Phylacteries in the morning? Namely, from ſuch time as a man can ſee to diſtinguiſh between blew and white:* Rabbi Eliezer ſaith, *between blew and green, even until ſun riſing*, Rab. Joſhua ſaith, *until the third hour. And at what time do they ſay them over at Evening? Namely, from the time that the Prieſts go in to eat their offerings until the end of the firſt watch, &c.* [d] *Ibid. per. 2.*

Now beſides this dayly rehearſal of theſe ſentences morning and evening, to which they were all bound by their traditions, they alſo held it a great piece of piety to ſay them over at the hour of death: ſo it is related of one of the ten Martyrs of the Kingdom, (for ſo let me Tranſlate תרגומי מלכות) that as he was ſaying over his Phylacteries, he was ſlain and caſt unto the dogs. And to ſpeak from more later times, *Joſeph the Prieſt* [e] in his various Hiſtory of the *Turks*, *Jews*, and *Chriſtians* (a book very rare to be had) deſcribing a maſſacre raiſed by the red Croſs Souldiers that went under *Godfrey* of *Bulloine*, and the reſt to the holy war, againſt the Jews in *Germany*: he recordeth it ſeveral times over, that when ſuch and ſuch murdered Jews were ready to expire, yea even children in their mothers arms, they ſaid their *Keriath Shema*, or their *Phylactery* ſentences over, and with thoſe in their mouths they gave up the Ghoſt. [d] *Lib. 1. ad ann. 1096.*

SECT. V.

The burning of Incenſe, and the reſt of their Prayers.

COncerning the time of the burning of Incenſe, they have this Tradition קטורת של שחר ויתרה קרבה בין דם לאיברים של בין הערביים בין איברים לנסכים * *That the Incenſe of the morning was offered between the ſprinkling of the blood, and the laying of the pieces upon the Altar: and of the Evening, between the laying on of the pieces on the Altar, and the drink offering.* Now for this imployment of offering the Incenſe, they go to lotting again, to be reſolved who ſhould do it; and ſo there was another lot likewiſe caſt, to determine who ſhould bring the pieces from the riſe of the Altar and lay them on. * *Joma per. 3.*

He that was alotted to burn the Incenſe, took a ſilver diſh in which there was a Cenſer full of Frankincenſe; another took another diſh and went to the top of the Altar, and thence took ſome burning coals and came down. Theſe two muſt go into the Temple; now as they go, there was a great veſſel or inſtrument, or what ſhall I call it? (they call it מגרפה *Migrephah*) which being rung or ſtruck upon, made an exceeding great found; and ſo great, that they ſet it out by this hyperbole אין אדם שומע קול חבירו בירושלים מקול חמגריפה *One man could not hear another in Jeruſalem, when the* מגרפה *Migrephah ſounded:* It was as a Bell that they rung to give notice of what was now in hand. And the ringing of it, as ſaith the Treatiſe *Tamid*, ſerved for theſe three purpoſes. * 1. *Any Prieſt that heard the ſound of it, knew that his brethren were now ready to go in and worſhip, and he made haſte and came.* 2. *Any Levite that heard it, knew that his brethren the Levites were going in to ſing, and he made haſte and came.* And 3. *the head or chief of the Station hearing the ſound of it, brought up thoſe that had been unclean and had not yet their atonement made, into the gate of Nicanor to have them there atoned for.*

* Tam. per. 5.

The two men then, that are going into the Temple to burn Incenſe, ring upon this Migrephah as they go by it, (for it lay between the Altar and the porch) to give notice to all who were to attend, that now the ſervice was in beginning, and to chime them in. As they go up the ſteps, they two that had been in before, to cleanſe the Incenſe Altar, and to dreſs the Lamps, go up before them: He that had cleanſed the Altar goeth in, and taketh up his diſh *Teni*, and worſhippeth, and cometh out. He that had dreſſed the five Lamps before, dreſſeth now the other two, and taketh up his diſh *Coz*, and worſhippeth, and cometh out. He that went in with the Cenſer of coals after a little office done towards the diſpoſing of the Incenſe, leaves the other there, and he alſo comes out.

Now he that is left there alone for the burning of the Incenſe, he offers not to kindle it, till the preſident from without with a loud voice give him notice when he ſhall begin: yea though it were the High-prieſt himſelf that offereth the Incenſe, yet he begins not to do it, till the Preſident have called to him, *Sir offer:* and aſſoon as he hath given the ſignal to the Incenſe offerer that he ſhall begin and offer, all the company in the Court withdraws downward from the Temple, and fall to other of their Prayers.

SECT. VI.

The reſt of their Prayers.

BEſides the Prayers and Rehearſal of the Decalogue and of their Phylacteries mentioned before, they had three or four Prayers more which they uſed at the morning Service, and they were theſe; * The firſt they called אמרת ויציב *Emeth* and *Jatſib*, becauſe it began with thoſe two words, and it referred to their Phylacteries, and it was of this form. *Truth and ſtability, and firm and ſure, and upright and faithful, and beloved and lovely and delightful, and fair and terrible and glorious, and ordered and acceptable and good and beautiful is this word for us for ever and ever. The truth of the everlaſting God our King, the Rock of* Jacob, *the ſhield of our ſalvation for ever and ever. He is ſure and his Name ſure, and his Throne ſetled, and his Kingdom and Truth eſtabliſhed for evermore, &c.*

* Tam. ubi ſupr.

|| The ſecond is called by the *Talmud* Text עבודה *Avodah*, but by *Maymony* רצה *Retſeh*, yet they both agree in one as to the prayer it ſelf, only the one names it after the firſt word in it, and the other after one of the chiefeſt words in it. The tenor of it was thus, *Be pleaſed O Lord our God with thy people Iſrael, and with their prayer, and reſtore the ſervice to the Oracle of thy houſe, and accept the burnt offering of Iſrael and their prayer in love, with well pleaſedneſs; and let the ſervice of Iſrael thy people, be continually well pleaſing to thee.* And they conclude thus, *We praiſe thee who art the Lord our God, and the God of our Fathers, the God of all fleſh, our Creator, and the maker of all the Creation, bleſſing and praiſe be to thy great and holy Name, becauſe thou haſt preſerved and kept us; ſo preſerve and keep us, and bring back our captivity to the Courts of thy holineſs, &c.*

|| Ib. & Maym. ubi ſupr.

A third prayer ran thus, שים שלום *Appoint peace, goodneſs, and bleſſing, grace, mercy, and compaſſion for us, and for all Iſrael thy people: bleſs us O our Father, even all of us as one man, with the light of thy countenance, for in the light of thy countenance thou O Lord our God haſt given us the Law of life, and loving mercy and righteouſneſs and bleſſing and compaſſion and life and peace, let it pleaſe thee to bleſs thy people Iſrael at all times. In the book of life, with bleſſing and peace, and ſuſtentation let us be remembred and written before thee, we and all thy people the houſe of Iſrael, &c.*

And a fourth prayer was uſed on the Sabbath as a bleſſing, by the Courſe that went out, for a farewel, upon the Courſe that came in, in theſe words, *He that cauſed his name to dwell in this houſe, cauſe to dwell among you love, and brotherhood, and peace, and friendſhip.* Compare 2 *Cor.* 13. 11.

Now

Now whereas there is ſome ſeeming doubtfulneſs among the Talmudical writers, about the time of theſe prayers, they leaving it ſomewhat uncertain whether they were uttered immediately before the offering of the Incenſe, or in the very time of its offering, the Evangeliſt *Luke* hath determined the queſtion, and reſolved us, that the *multitude was praying at the very time of the Incenſe*, *Luke* 1. 10. and even the Gloſs upon the *Talmud* it ſelf, doth tell us, that theſe prayers were the *peoples prayers*, the laſt only excepted.

When thoſe prayers were done, he whoſe lot it was to bring up and lay the pieces of the Sacrifice upon the Altar, did that buſineſs in that manner as hath been mentioned before, namely, firſt flinging them into the fire, and then taking them up again, and laying them in order.

After which things performed, the Prieſts, eſpecially thoſe that had been in the holy place, (with the holy veſſels in their hands that they had uſed) ſtanding upon the ſtairs that went up into the porch, lifted up their hands and bleſſed the people. Compare *Luke* 1.22.

Not to inſiſt upon the large diſputes and diſcourſes * that are among the Jews about their lifting up their hands, the bleſſing they pronounced was that in *Numb.*6.24,25,26. *The Lord bleſs thee and keep thee, the Lord make his face ſhine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee; the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.* And the manner was thus, they lift up their hands above their heads, with their fingers ſpread, and one of them ſaith over this bleſſing word by word, and they ſay after him, and they make it all one bleſſing (but in the Synagogues they made it three) and when they have ended it, the people anſwered, *Bleſſed be the Lord God, the God of Iſrael, from everlaſting to everlaſting.*

* *Taanith per.*4 *Maym. in Tephil.& Bircoth cohanim per.*14. & 15.

After this bleſſing the meat offering was offered, and after that the חביתין meat offering of the High-prieſt, and laſt of all the drink offering; and then began the ſong and muſick, of which we have ſpoken before; and upon every ſtop of the ſong, the trumpets ſounded and the people worſhipped; and having done ſo at the laſt cloſe they departed.

Thus was the ordinary and common ſervice of the Temple Morning and Evening, ſave that at the Evening ſervice there was ſome ſmall difference from this Rubrick, which was not very material: as that then they caſt not lots for their ſeveral imployments, but thoſe that the lot had aſſigned them in the Morning, they retained in the Afternoon: only about the matter of burning the Incenſe they caſt lots anew amongſt thoſe of the houſe of the Father that ſerved that day, that had never burnt Incenſe in their lives: but if all of them had at one time or other been upon that imployment, then he that had had it by lot at the Morning Service, did alſo perform it at the Evening: likewiſe at the Evening Sacrifice the burning of Incenſe was a little later than at the Morning, as was toucht before; for it was between the laying on of the pieces of the beaſt upon the Altar, and the offering of the drink offering: ſo that then the burning of Incenſe and the publick Prayers fell in juſt with the time of the *Minchah* or meat offering. The Prieſts alſo lifted not up their hands in bleſſing the people at the Evening Service on ſome days, as they did in the Morning, and the reaſon why they did not, is given, and the matter diſcuſſed in the beginning of the fourth chapter of the Treatiſe *Taanith*, but it may ſeem more tedious to the Reader than either uſeful or delightſom to inſiſt upon it.

CHAP. X.

The manner of their worſhipping at the Temple.

THE holineſs of the place, and the equity of that Law, *Ye ſhall reverence my Sanctuary*, did juſtly challenge all ſolemn and holy behaviour of them that came to worſhip there: for which, as the Law had prohibited all uncleanneſs from that place, ſo did the great Maſters of Traditions prohibit other things which the Law had not named, in which proviſion they did, as they did generally in all other things, they ſtrained at a Gnat and ſwallowed a Camel: not ſticking to make and permit *the houſe of Prayer* to be a houſe of Merchandiſe, and a den of Thieves, and yet ſtrict in prohibiting what was of far leſs faultineſs and ſcandal. According to which their punctual preciſeneſs in leſſer matters.

I. לא יכנס אדם להר הבורז בסקלו * *No man might go into the mountain of the houſe with his ſtaff.* It being reputed as a thing unfit, to bring in weapons of ſtriking into that place of peace, or to uſe that place as a journey, which was to be a reſt, or to lean upon any ſtaff there, but only on God. From this cuſtom it was that our Saviour drove not

* *Beracoth. per.*9 *Zavim. per.*1. *Gemara. Maym. in Beth Habbechir. per.*7.

not out the buyers and ſellers out of the Temple with a ſtaff, but with a whip of cords, no ſtaff being permitted to be brought in thither. And here it was a ſtrange contradiction in Religion, that they might bring cattel to market into the *Mountain of the houſe*, but they might not drive them in thither with a ſtaff. Yet did *the man of the Mountain of the houſe* walk up and down the Mountain with his ſtaff, and uſe it to ſtrike too, for חכט כמקלו as *Maymonides* tells us, he cudgelled or punched with his ſtaff, thoſe Levites that lay ſleeping upon the guards.

II. או כמנעל שברגליו * *Nor might any man enter in thither with his ſhoes on his feet.* This prohibition they took from thoſe words of God to *Moſes* and *Joſhua*, *Put off thy ſhoes from thy feet, &c. Exod.*3. *Joſh.*5. Under which prohibition and practice was couched that doctrine, which the *Targum* uttereth on theſe words in *Eccleſ.* 5. *Take heed to thy feet when thou entereſt into the houſe of God.* ‖ *Thou ſon of man take heed to thy feet when thou entereſt into the ſanctuary of the Lord to pray, that thou go not in thither full of thy ſins unrepented of, &c. And be not as fools, which offer ſacrifices for their ſins, and yet turn not from their evil works.*

* *Ibid.*

‖ *Targ. in Eccleſ.* 5.1.

They might go into the *Mountain of the houſe* in their ſandals though they might not in their ſhoes, * but the Levites might not go into their desks to ſing, nor their Prieſts into the Court to ſerve, no not ſo much as in their ſandals, but bare footed.

* *Erach. ptr.*2. *in Gemar.*

III. או באפונדתו *Nor might any man enter into the mountain of the houſe with his ſcrip or bag purſe about him.* The word אפונדה or פונדה is taken by ſome to ſignifie a little upper garment that they wore, which in Greek (from which language they conceive this word is taken) is called Ἐπινδύτης *Joh.*21.7. but I have ventured to render it a *ſcrip* or *bag purſe*, for the clearer ſenſe of the prohibition that we are about, upon ſome grounds and reaſons which I ſhall give, when I have named one or two of their prohibitions more.

IV. או באבק שעל רגליו *Nor might he come in with the duſt upon his feet*, but he muſt waſh or wipe them, *and look to his feet when he entred into the houſe of God.* How under this might be couched the doctrine of ſhaking off all worldly thoughts and affections when they were to go about the ſervice of God, is ready for every one to obſerve, and needeth no intimation.

V. או במעות הצרורין לו בסרינו *Nor with mony tyed to him in his purſe.* The words of our Saviour to his Diſciples when he was ſending them to preach, are ſo parallel to theſe prohibitions, that it is more than probability that he ſpeaketh in alluſion to theſe things. *Provide neither gold, nor ſilver, nor braſs in your purſes, nor ſcrip for your journey, neither ſhoes nor ſtaves, Matth.* 10. 9, 10. And therefore I have the rather tranſlated אפונדה *a ſcrip*, and סרין *a purſe*, becauſe thoſe two words in our Saviours ſpeech do not only fitly tranſlate theſe two, but that they ſeem to do ſo purpoſely. And for the rendring of the former word ſo, there is this double warrant: 1. Becauſe the word תרמלא which the Syriack hath uſed to render the Greek word πήρα by in the place cited, is ſometimes uſed by the Talmud in conjuction with the ſame words that אפונדה is uſed with here; as במקלו ותרמילו (*a*) *with his ſtaff and his ſcrip*, מקלו מנעלו ותרמילו (*b*) *his ſtaff, his ſhoes, and his ſcrip:* and 2. from the ſignification that *Rabbi Nathan* giveth of אפונדה in theſe words, (*c*) *It was a kind of veſture which was a little upper garment in which were many places ſewed, in which they put any thing they met with*, that they had occaſion to uſe: So that this was a kind of an apron with divers purſes, or pockets made in it, in which they put their neceſſaries, as we do in our pockets; which apron they could readily put on or off, wear or lay aſide as they ſaw occaſion. And as in ſuch an apron they had their pockets, ſo in the ſcarf or girdle wherewithal they girded ~~their under coats~~, they had their purſes, *Matth.*10.9. Their girdles ordinarily were of linnen, which the word before us סרין meaneth, (and it was extraordinary in *Elias* and *John* the Baptiſt to go in leathern girdles) and in theſe their girdles they had a way to keep the money that they carried about with them when they travelled or went upon their occaſions, but into the Mountain of the houſe they might bring no money in it. And thus might they not come thither, with any thing of worldly notion or incumbrance about them, but muſt lay aſide for their time of being there, (as a lecture of devotion retired from worldly thoughts or employments) their money, their worldly implements and utenſils, and whatſoever in their common imployments and occaſions they uſed, and uſed to carry with them: Sure then (it will be thought, that) the poor Creeple that lay at the *Beautiful* gate begging, *Act.*3. had but a very poor and comfortleſs trade of it, to beg there where no money was, or might be ſtirring: and when *Peter* and *John* ſay to him, *ſilver and gold have I none*; it may ſeem that that was the tune of all that came by him: But money was brought into the Temple in abundance, though they brought it not in their purſes, for they gave money to the Prieſts, who helpt them to offerings for their money, and they gave money to the Treaſury for the poor, but they brought their money in their hands. And it may be that phraſe ſo ordinary in the Hebrew did allude to this cuſtom, He ſhall bring an offering *as his hand ſhall find.*

(*a*) *Shabbath. ptr.*2. *fol.*31. (*b*) *Jebamoth. fol.*122. (*c*) *Aruch in* אפנדת

VI. Being

VI. Being come into the Mountain of the Houſe, he muſt be careful of theſe four things. 1. אסור לרוק בכל הר הבית (*h*) *He may in no wiſe ſpit there: but if he be neceſſitated to ſpit, he muſt do it in ſome corner of his garment:* Yet did they not ſtick to ſpit in the face of him that was greater than the Temple, *Mat.*26.67. (*i*) There was a ſtreet in *Jeruſalem* which was called the *Upper Street*, and in this Street ſpittle was unclean, and ſo it was in no ſtreet of *Jeruſalem* beſides. (h) *Maym. ubi ante.* (i) *Shek. per.*8

2. לא יקל את ראשו כנגד שער מזרחי *He may not uſe any irreverent geſture*, eſpecially *not before the Gate of Nicanor*, for that was juſt before the face of the Temple: and this irreverence forbidden was, that they might not laugh, ſcoff, nor talk idely, much leſs do any thing of a higher irreverence.

3. לא יעשה הר הבית קפנר ריא *He may not make the Mountain of the Houſe a thoroughfare:* (*k*) no more might they do one of their Synagogues: As if he had occaſion to go frome one ſide of the City to another about his occations, he might not go through the Mountain of the Temple, though that were the nearer way, but he muſt go about: for thither he might not come אלא לדבר מצוה, *but only upon occaſion of Religion.* (k) *Maym. in Tephillah. per.*1.

4. הנכנס לעזרה יהלך בנחת He that went into the Court muſt go leaſurely and gravely into the place where he was to ſtand, and there he muſt demean himſelf as in the preſence of the Lord God, in all reverence and fear.

VII. אין מתפלל אלא מעומד (*l*) Being now come in, to pray and to attend the ſervice in the Court, 1. *He muſt ſtand*, and neither ſit, nor lean, nor lie: for beſides that caution which we ſhall obſerve by and by, that none might ſit in the Court, it was not only their cuſtom, but they held it their duty to pray ſtanding whereſoever they prayed: Our Saviour ſaith, *they loved to pray ſtanding in the Synagogues, and in the corners of the ſtreets*, *Mat.*6. Their own traditions do bear witneſs to theſe words, both as to the poſture, and to the place. *There are eight things* (ſaith *Maymony* in the place cited above in the Margin) *that he that prayeth muſt take notice of to do them: namely, to ſtand, to ſet his face toward the Temple, to compoſe his body, to compoſe his cloaths, to fit his place, to order his voice, to bow and to worſhip: He is not to pray but ſtanding* (unleſs ſick or weak) *and if he be in a ſhip or a cart, if he can let him ſtand.* And in the eleventh Chapter of the ſame Book, he ſpeaks of praying in the ſtreets at their Faſts, and ſome other days when the Synagogues would not hold them. 2. As for the compoſure of their bodies in prayer, the rule that their tradition gives, is this, *He is to ſtand, with his feet one even by another, and muſt caſt his eyes downward, and his heart upward, and he muſt lay his hands upon his breaſt, the right hand upon the left, and he muſt ſtand as a Servant before his Maſter, with all reverence and fear.* Their looking down in prayer, they took from thoſe places in Scripture that ſpeak of being aſhamed to look up towards Heaven, and of being unable to look up becauſe of ſin, and to this poſture of looking down, and laying his hands upon his heart, that demeanour of the *Publican* in the Parable ſeemeth parallel. *He would not ſo much as lift up his eyes towards Heaven, but ſmote upon his breaſt*, *Luke* 18.13. And even the Prieſts when they pronounced the bleſſing upon the People, neither looked up towards Heaven, nor level upon the People, but down upon the ground, and the People might not look upon them. (l) *Id. ib. per.*5.

VIII. אין ישיבה בעזרה אלא למלכי בית דויד בלבד Were they never ſo weary with ſtanding, or had they ſtood never ſo long, yet might they not ſit down in the Court, either People or Prieſts: For this is a moſt known and received *Maxime* amongſt the moſt *Jewiſh* Writers, *That no man whoſoever might ſit in the Court, but only the Kings of the Houſe of* David. (*m*) Though *Kimchi* alledg ſome, that excepted the Kings from this privi-ledge, and allowed it only to the High-prieſt. (*n*) *Midras Tillim* doth wittily apply this ſitting of the King alone, and all the reſt ſtanding, to the poſture of the Congregation in Heaven, *where the great King ſits, and all the company there, ſtandeth attending on him:* But ſome other of the *Jews* do as unwittily apply it, when they make this to be one of *Jeroboams* greateſt fears for the Peoples withdrawing from him, and perſonate him ſpeaking thus. (*o*) *It is certain that there is no ſitting in the Court, but only for the Kings of the Houſe of* David: *therefore as ſoon as they ſhall ſee* Rehoboam *ſitting, and me ſtanding, they will conclude, that if I were a King, I ſhould ſit down, &c*, (*p*) From this received tradition, of *not ſitting in the Court*, the great *Sanhedrin*, who ſate in the room *Gazith*, which was in the South Wall of the Court, would not preſume to ſit in that ſide of the building that ſtood in the Court, but they ſate in the other ſide that ſtood in the חל *chel.* In its due place we have at large deſcribed the ſituation of that building, and their ſitting there. (m) *Kimch. in* 1 Sam. 1. & *Lev. Gerſom ib.* (n) *Midr. Till. in* Pſ. 1. *ab initio* (o) *R. Sol. & D. Kimch. in* 1 King. 12. (p) *Maym. in Beth habbech. per.* 5.

IX. לא יעמוד בראש מגולה. (*q*) *They might not pray with their heads uncovered: And the wiſemen and their ſcholars* (ſaith my Author) *never prayed but being varled.* So (*r*) *Rabbi Nathan* relating a ſtory of *Nicodemus*, how he prayed, and begged for rain in a great exigent, and mentioning his twice going in to pray upon that occaſion, he doth particularly expreſs this circumſtance חחעטף *That he put on his vail*, and went in, and prayed. (q) *Id. in Tephillah ubi ſup.* (r) *Avo h. R. Nathan. per.*6.

prayed. And the *Jews* compare the appearing of the Lord upon Mount *Sinai* in a cloud, to the *Angelus Eccleſiæ*, or Miniſter of the Congregation, *having on his Vail.* (s) כשליח צבור עטוף. The Prieſts wore their Caps or Bonnets conſtantly all the time they were about the ſervice, and yet it ſeems they did not account that covering of their heads ſufficient when they went to pray, but they put on ſome other covering alſo. This Cuſtom and Practice of theirs the Apoſtle taketh to task, 1*Cor.* 11.4.

(s) *Maym. in Jſodei torah. per. 8.*

X. Their bodily geſture in bowing before the Lord, was either כריעה *bending of the knees*, or קדח *bowing of the head:* or השתחויה *falling proſtrate upon the ground.* Now this laſt is moſt ſpoken of, and yet according to its ſtrict propriety it was leaſt in uſe: they uſed indeed ſometime to fall down upon the floor in proſtration, but ordinarily this was changed among them from a flat falling upon the ground, to a very low bending of the body towards it: for they had this poſition, (t) *That proſtration was not fit for every man, but only for ſuch as knew themſelves righteous men, like* Joſhua.

(t) *Id ubi ante.*

XI. (v) Having performed the ſervice, and being to go away, they might not turn their backs upon the Altar, therefore they went backward till they were out of the Court: and when they came into the *mountain of the Houſe*, (w) they might not go out at the ſame Gate, at which they came in, about which matter we have diſcourſed elſewhere.

(v) *Id in Beth. habbech. per. 7.*

(w) *Talm. in Middoth per. 2.*

CHAP. XI.

Of the appearance of the People at the three Feſtivals.

THE great *Sanhedrin* was as an Almanack to all the Nation to give them notice of the New Moons, by which they might fix their monthly Feaſts, and know when to celebrate their Solemnities. Now although the *Sanhedrin* had the skill to know the night when the New Moon ſhould appear (for from its appearing they began the Month) yet they did not determine of the thing, till they had the teſtimony of two men, which gave in evidence that they had ſeen the New Moon: And hereupon it was, that very many couples repaired to *Jeruſalem* for this purpoſe, who having ſeen the firſt New Moon, ſet away thither to give teſtimony of it, and there were entertained in a place of the City called בית יעזק (b) *Beth Jaazek*, (c) a Court walled in with ſtone, and examined about the buſineſs and feaſted, that men might be encouraged to come to witneſs upon ſo needful an occaſion: it is beſides our preſent purpoſe to inquire curiouſly after the quality of the perſons whoſe teſtimony was to be accepted, or how, or how far they came, or why they ſhould come, when the Perſons of the great Council might ſee the Moon themſelves, and how they of the *Sanhedrin* that ſaw the Moon, did witneſs among themſelves about it, and therefore we will let theſe diſquiſitions alone, and content our ſelves with obſerving this, that (d) as that Court held it ſelf bound to fix and give notice of the New Moons, ſo they held themſelves bound to determine upon this matter by the mouth of two Witneſſes, as they did alſo in other Judicial matters.

(a) *Maymon. in kidd. hhodeſh. per. 1.*

(b) *Roſh. haſh. per. 2.*

(c) *Aruch. in* עזק.

(d) *Gloſs. in Maym. in loc. citat.*

The two firſt witneſſes that came, if their teſtimony were current did ſerve the turn, and they looked no further (yet had they ſomething to ſay to all the couples that came, becauſe they would encourage the work:) or if thoſe two did not ſerve the turn, when any other two did, then they took courſe that all the Country might know of the day with what ſpeed might be.

For that purpoſe their courſe at the firſt was this: At night (after they had concluded by day, by ſuch witneſs, that the New Moon was ſeen the Night before) they cauſed one to go to Mount *Olivet*, with a bundle of moſt combuſtible wood, and other ſtuff, and there he ſet it on fire, and waved it up and down, and this way, and that way, and never left, till he ſaw another do ſo upon another hill, and ſo another on a third: and thoſe that took at him, they waved their blazes up and down, till they were anſwered with the like from another Hill, and ſo the intelligence was quickly diſperſed through the whole land: Nay, ſaith the *Talmud*, (e) *it went from* Mount Olivet *to* Sartaba, *from* Sartaba *to* Gryphena, *from* Gryphena *to* Hhevaron. *from* Hhevaron *to* Beth Baltin: *and he that ſtood there never left waving his blaze, till he ſaw all the place of the Captivity full of the like.*

(e) *Roſh. haſh. ibid.*

The Country thus ſeeing theſe flames and blazes, knew that the New Moon had appeared the night before, and that the *Sanhedrin* had concluded the day paſt, for the firſt day of the Month, and ſo they knew how to count forward: But it ſeems experience taught them in time, that by ſuch kind of intelligence, they might be, and ſometimes were deceived משקלקלו האפיקורוסים והכותים by the *Samaritans* or prophane perſons, or ſome of their enemies, that made ſuch flamings for the very nonce, that they might deceive them:

them: (*f*) Therefore they fell to a ſecond way of diſperſing their intelligence, and that was by ſending Meſſengers up and down the Country for this purpoſe: What a toil would a good Almanack have ſaved, nay an indifferent one would have given as much, or more certainty about this matter, than this way did, or could do, becauſe of the ſlipperineſs of it in ſeveral particulars. (*f*) *Ibid. per.* 1.

Theſe Meſſengers were ſent abroad upon this errand only ſeven moneths in the Year: As,

1. In the Month *Niſan*, that the People might know the right day of the Paſſeover.
2. In the month *Ijar*, becauſe of the ſecond Paſſeover, or the Paſſeover in the ſecond month.
3. In the month *Ab*, becauſe of the Faſt, on the ninth day.
4. In the month *Elul*, becauſe of the beginning of the year, the next month after: for *Elul* was moſt ordinarily *menſis vacuus*, or a month of nine and twenty days only, and ſo they knowing the firſt day of *Elul*, they might obſerve the thirtieth day, for the firſt of *Tiſri*, or the beginning of the year: And if on the thirtieth day they found not either by the ſight of the Moon, or by ſome intelligence from the *Sanhedrin*, that that proved the firſt day of the month; they kept the next after alſo for it, that they might make ſure.
5. In *Tiſri*, becauſe of the day of Expiation, and feaſt of Tabernacles.
6. In *Ciſleu*, becauſe of the Feaſt of Dedication.
7. In *Adar*, becauſe of the Feaſt of *Purim*.

The knowledge of the certain day of the three Feſtivals, Paſſeover, Pentecoſt and Tabernacles, being thus imparted to all the Country, they were by the Law to reſort to *Jeruſalem*, at the times appointed, and to keep the Feaſt, and to rejoice there. Their appearance there was called ראיה *Raaiah*, and their feſtivating and rejoycing, was called חגיגה *chagigah*. Their appearance was made in the Court of the Temple, the firſt holiday in the feſtival Week, and they were to bring their ſacrifice for their appearance, and peace offerings for the *Hagigah*, or for the ſolemnity of the Feſtivity, and their peace offerings for their rejoycing, and theſe were called שלמי שמחה *Peace offerings of joy.*

(*g*) There were ſome that were acquitted and excuſed from this appearance; as Men-ſervants that were not made free, the deaf, dumb, ſilly, lame, unclean, uncircumciſed, thoſe that were very old, the ſick, tender and unable to travel afoot, and infants till they were able to walk up to the Mountain of the Houſe, holding their Fathers by the hand. (*g*) *Hagigah per.* 1.

And as miraculous providence did preſerve their Families in the Country, when they were gone up to theſe ſolemnities (and had left at home none but Women, Children, and ſome Men-ſervants, which were not free,) ſo it was little leſs than a Miracle, that all theſe vaſt multitudes of People, ſhould find proviſion and accomodation for them, when they came to *Jeruſalem*. And this the *Talmudicks* do juſtly take notice of as a ſpecial wonder, and remarkable work of God, of which they have this obſervation.

(*h*) *Ten wonders*, ſay they, *were ſhewed to our Fathers at the Sanctuary. No Woman ever proved abortive by the ſmell of the fleſh of the Sacrifices. And no man ever ſtumbled in* Jeruſalem *: Neither did any man ever fall in* Jeruſalem. *Nor was there ever abortion in* Jeruſalem: *Nor did any man ever ſay to his fellow, I have not found a fire where to roſt my Paſchal in* Jeruſalem: *Nor did any man ever ſay to his fellow, I have not found a Bed in* Jeruſalem *to lie in: Nor did ever any man ſay to his fellow, My lodging is too ſtrait in* Jeruſalem, &c. (*h*) *Aboth. R. Nathan. per.* 34.

CHAP. XII.

Of the manner of the celebration of their Paſſeover.

THE great and myſterious Sacrament of the *Paſſeover*, is ſo copiouſly related, and the Hiſtory of it given, in *Exod.* 12. that it is needleſs to ſpeak any thing of it, as to its ſtory: But the celebration of the Paſſeover in after times, eſpecially in the times of our Saviour, when traditions were come to their height, did ſo far differ in various circumſtances from that, that was ordained in *Egypt*, and had ſo various Rites put upon it by their Traditions above that, that the diſcovery of the manner of it in thoſe times, deſerveth ſome copious diſcourſe and ſcrutiny from their own Traditions and Antiquities, that put thoſe circumſtances upon it. It will therefore not be amiſs to trace theſe particulars ſtep by ſtep, out of ſuch Writing and Writers, as ſpeak purpoſely and largely of this matter; and that the rather, becauſe the New

New Teſtament in ſeveral places and paſſages doth refer to ſome of the circumſtances which we call additional.

Firſt therefore we will begin with the difference which the *Jewiſh* Doctors hold out, between the Paſſeover in *Egypt*, and the Paſſeover in ſucceeding ages, which (*a*) *Toſaphta* on the Treatiſe *Peſſachin* holdeth out thus.

(*a*) *Toſaphta in Peſſach. per.* 8.

The Paſſeover in Egypt, *the taking of it up, was on the tenth day, and the killing of it was on the fourteenth, and they were not guilty for it of cutting off. The Paſſeover in ſucceeding generations they are liable concerning it to cutting off.*

Of the Paſſeover in Egypt *it is ſaid, Let him and his neighbour next to him take a Lamb, but it is not ſo ſaid of the Paſſeover in ſucceeding generations: But I ſay, ſaith* R. Simeon, *it is ſo ſaid of the Paſſeover in future times: And that becauſe a man ſhould not leave his neighbour whoſe houſe is near unto him, to keep his Paſſeover with his companion; for it is ſaid, Better is a neighbour that is near, than a Brother that is far off.*

The Paſſeover in Egypt *was not charged with ſprinkling the blood and fat upon the Altar; but it is otherwiſe with the Paſſeover in after times.*

Of the Paſſeover in Egypt *it is ſaid, Ye ſhall put of the blood upon the two poſts, and the upper door poſt: but it is not ſo with the Paſſeovers afterward.*

At the Paſſeover in Egypt *it is ſaid, None of you ſhall go out of the door of his houſe till morning: but it was not ſo in after generations.*

The Paſſeover in Egypt *was ſlain by every one in his own houſe, but the Paſſeovers afterward, all* Iſrael *ſlew them in one place.*

Where they eat the Paſſeover in Egypt, *there alſo they were to lodge: but in after times, they might eat it in one place, and lodge in another.*

Yet was the Paſſeover in Egypt, *and ſucceeding Paſſeovers all one: whoſoever had ſervants that were not circumciſed, and maidens that were not baptized, they reſtrained them from eating the Paſſeover. But I ſay, ſaith* Rabbi Eliezer *the ſon of* Jacob, *the Scripture ſpeaks only of the Paſſeover in* Egygt.

In theſe things the Paſſeover in Egypt, *and in ſucceeding times was alike.*

The Paſſeover in Egypt *was in three Houſes, ſo alſo was it with future Paſſeovers.*

The Paſſeover in Egypt *was of the flock, a male without blemiſh, of the firſt year: After Paſſeovers were ſo likewiſe.*

Of the Paſſeover in Egypt *it is ſaid, ye ſhall not leave ought thereof till morning: the like was it alſo with after Paſſeovers.*

Rabbi Joſi *the* Galilean *ſaith, I ſay that leaven in* Egypt *was forbidden but for one day.*

The Paſſeover in Egypt *required a ſong: ſo did the Paſſeovers in after times require a ſong.*

Thus is the *Jewiſh* differencing and parallelling the firſt Paſſeover, and thoſe ſucceeding: in which paſſage before we leave it, theſe things are obſervable:

1. That whereas it is ſaid, that as to the Paſſeover in *Egypt*, there was no liableneſs to *cutting off*, it is ſpoken in comparing the relation of the inſtitution of the firſt Paſſeover in *Egypt*, *Exod.* 12. with the renewing of the command of the Paſſeover in the Wilderneſs, *Numb.* 9. For when God firſt ordains the Paſſeover, there is *cutting off* mentioned indeed in ſome reference to it; for it is ſaid that *whoſoever eateth leavened bread from the firſt day to the ſeventh day, ſhall be cut off*, *Exod.* 12. 15. but it is not expreſly ſaid, *he that keeps not the Paſſeover ſhall be cut off*, but when God comes to renew the Command and to give the Law for it, for after times, he then ſaith expreſly, *that the man that is clean and is not in a journey, and forbeareth to keep the Paſſeover, that ſoul ſhall be cut off, &c. Numb.* 9. 13.

2. Whereas it is ſaid that the *Paſſeover in Egypt was in three houſes, and ſo alſo the Paſſeover in after times*; it is not to be underſtood as if the Paſchal Lamb might be ſo divided as that part of him might be eaten in one houſe, and part of him in another, for that was expreſly againſt the Command, *Ye ſhall bring nothing of him forth out of the houſe*, *Exod.* 12. 46. but it meaneth that ſeveral families might joyn together in one ſociety to the eating of one Lamb; and ſo it was in *Egypt*, and ſo alſo was it in after times.

The firſt command toward this ſolemnity was, *the taking up of the Lamb on the tenth day, and ſo keeping him up till the fourteenth*, *Exod.* 12. 3, 6. Which whether it were a perpetual command, or only for that Paſſeover in *Egypt* is diſputed: *Aben Ezra* ſaith it is a matter of doubtfulneſs; but *Rabbi Solomon* plainly determines that it was a command of practiſe only confined to that one time in *Egypt*; which though it may be true in ſome circumſtances, yet may it be queſtioned whether it held univerſally true or no. It is not to be doubted but every one in after times took up their own Lambs, as they did in *Egypt*, but it is ſomewhat doubtful whether they did it in the ſame manner. It is exceeding probable, that as the Prieſts took up the Lambs for the dayly ſacrifice four days before they were to be offered, as we have obſerved elſewhere; ſo alſo that they provided Lambs for the People at the Paſſeover, taking them up in the Market four days before,

(*b*) *Ezra in* Exod. 12.
(*c*) *R. Sol. ib.*

and

and picking and culling out thoſe that were fit, and agreeable to the command. For whereas the Law was ſo punctual that *they ſhould be without blemiſh*, and their Traditions had ſummed up ſo large a ſum of blemiſhes, as that they reckon (*d*) ſeventy three, it could not be, but the Law and their Traditions which they prized above the Law, ſhould be endleſly broken, if every one took up his Lamb in the Market at *Jeruſalem* at adventure. The Prieſts had brought a Market of Sheep and Oxen againſt ſuch times as theſe into the Temple, (for had it not bin their doing, they muſt not have come there) where they having before-hand picked out in the Market, ſuch Lambs and Bullocks as were fit for Sacrifice or Paſſeover, they ſold them in the Temple at a dearer rate, and ſo ſerved the Peoples turn and their own profit, for which amongſt other of their Huckſteries our Saviour ſaith, *they had made the houſe of prayer a den of thieves.* (*e*) Thus he that would, might bring up his Lamb with him, and he that did not might buy a Lamb at *Jeruſalem* when he came there; and whether of theſe our Saviour did at his laſt Paſſeover, the Goſpel is ſilent; it is moſt probable he did the latter; See *Luke* 22. 8. *John* 13.29.

(*d*) *Maym. in Iſſure Mizbeah. per.* 2.

(*e*) *Id. in Corb. Peſſah.*

It is the opinion of ſome of the *Jewiſh* Nation, (*f*) that thoſe that took up the Lamb on the tenth day, and kept him till the fourteenth, did tie him all that while at one of their beds feet, that he might be in their eye to view him oft whether he were right and lawful, and to mind them of what they were to go about; but howſoever it was in this, or the other particulars that have been mentioned, it muſt not be omitted to obſerve how the *Lamb of God*, the true Paſchal, by whoſe bloud is everlaſting deliverance, did anſwer this figure of the Lambs being taken up on the tenth day, when on that very day he rode upon an Aſs into *Jeruſalem*, and offered himſelf to be taken up for that Sacrifice, which within ſix days after, he was made for ſin and offered up. See *John* 12.1.12.

(*f*) *Vid. Abarbinel in* Exod. 12.

SECT. I.

Their ſearching out for Leaven.

THE next care they were to have in reference to the Paſſeover, was to refrain from the eating and uſe of Leaven at Paſſeover time, and that at the time when the Paſſeover was ſlain it ſhould not be found within their houſes. The Law in this point was exceeding ſtrict. *In the firſt month on the fourteenth day of the month at Even, ye ſhall eat unleavened bread, until the one and twentieth day of the Month at Even. Seven days there ſhall be no leaven found in your houſes, for whoſoever eateth that which is leavened, even that ſoul ſhall be cut off from the Congregation of Iſrael, whether he be a ſtranger or born in the land, Exod.* 12.18,19. *&* 13. 7. *and ſo in Lev.* 23.6. *Numb.* 28.17.

Now what analogy there was between this Law and their redeeming out of *Egypt*, and what relation the one could have to the other, *Abarbinel* diſputing, concludeth thus, (*a*) that it lay in this, becauſe it ſignified unto them the haſtineſs of their coming out of *Egypt*, inſomuch that they had not time to leaven their bread, as *Exod.* 12 39. and he addeth withal, *that in thoſe hot Countries, bread will not keep above a day, unleſs it be leavened*: ſo that the command of unleavened bread might read unto them in that reſpect a Lecture of dependance upon Providence, when they were enjoyned to forſake the common and known way of preſerving their bread, and to betake themſelves to a way extraordinary and unſafe, but only that they had the Command of God, and his Injunction for that way, and they muſt learn to live by the word of God.

(*a*) *Abarbinel in* Exod. 12. *fol.* 151.

The *Jews* to meet with this Command that was ſo exceeding ſtrict, and to make ſure to provide for its obſervance ſoon enough, אור לארבעה עשר בודקין את החמץ לאור הנר (*b*) *Did on the fourteenth day while yet there was ſome light; make ſearch for leaven by the light of a Candle.* Thus is the Tradition, in which by the light of the *fourteenth day* their Gloſſaries tell us that we muſt underſtand (*c*) *the thirteenth day at even, when it began to be duskiſh and candle-lighting.* The rubrick of the Paſſeover in the *Hebrew* and *Spaniſh* tongues renders it in Hebrew Letters, but in the *Spaniſh* Language thus, אין אינטראדה די קאטורסי דיל מיז די ניסן *En entrada di quatorze del mez de Niſan*, (*d*) *At the entrance of the fourteenth day of the Month Niſan, they ſearched for leaven in all the places where they were wont to uſe leaven*, (in Barnes, Stables, and ſuch out houſes they needed not to ſearch) *even in holes and cranies, and that not by light of Sun and Moon, or Torch, but by the light of a wax candle*, הנר של שעוה *i.e.* קון קנרילה די סירה *con candela di cera.* And the reaſon why they uſed a Candle rather than any other light, was (*e*) becauſe it is the fitteſt for ſearching holes and corners, (*f*) and becauſe the Scripture ſpeaketh of ſearching *Jeruſalem* with Candles.

(*b*) *Talm. in Peſachim per.* 1.

(*c*) *R. Sol. & Gloſſ. R. Alphes. in Peſach. per.* 1.

(*d*) *Maym. in Hhamets amatſah. per.* 2. (*d*) *Seder Haggadah Shel. Peſach. fol.* 1.

(*e*) *R. Alphes ubi ſupr.* (*f*) *Haggadah. in Peſach. per.* 1.

(*g*) After the evening of the fourteenth day was come in, (which was after Sun ſetting) they might not go about any work (no not to the ſtudy of the Law) till they had gone about

(*g*) *Seder Haggadah ubi ſupr.*

about this ſearch; therefore (*h*) there was not ſo much as Divinity Lectures that evening, leſt they ſhould hinder that work.

(*h*) *Maym. ubi ſupr.*

(*i*) Before he began to ſearch he ſaid this ſhort ejaculation, *Bleſſed be thou O Lord our God, the King everlaſting, who hath ſanctified us by his commandments, and hath enjoyned us the putting away of leaven.* And he might not ſpeak a word betwixt this praying and ſearching, but muſt fall to work, and what leaven he found he muſt put it in ſome box, or hang it up in ſuch a place as that no Mouſe might come at it. And he was to give it up for nul in theſe words כל חמירא דאיכא ברשותי דחמיתיה ודלא חמיתיה ליבטל ולהוי כעפרא דארעא. *All the leaven that is within my Poſſeſſion, which I have ſeen, or which I have not ſeen, be it null, be it as the duſt of the earth.*

(*i*) *Id. ibid. cap. 3. & Stder Haggad. ubi ſup.*

SECT. II.

The paſſages of the forenoon of the Paſſeover day.

WHen the Paſſeover day it ſelf was now come (which the New Teſtament commonly called the *firſt day of unleavened bread*, from their cuſtom newly mentioned, but the *Jewiſh* Writers do ordinarily call it ערבי פסח *the Paſſeover eve*) ſome part of the People made it a Holiday by ceaſing from bodily labour all the day long, and others made it but half holiday, by leaving work at noon; (*a*) the *Talmud* relates that in *Galilee* they left work all the day long from morning till night, but in *Judea* that they wrought till noon, and then gave over: which may ſeem ſomewhat ſtrange that thoſe further off were ſo obſervant of the Paſſeover, and thoſe nearer hand were ſo much leſs; but the reaſon is this, becauſe in *Galilee* thoſe that were at home on that day, had nothing elſe to do towards the Paſſeover, but only to meditate upon it, and reſt from labour in honour of it; but thoſe in *Judea*, it may be they travelled all forenoon to get up to *Jeruſalem*, or had ſome work to do towards the forwarding of the Paſſeover, or to diſpatch, that they might follow their Paſſeover work the better.

(*a*) *Talm. in Peſach. per. 4. &c.*

It is in diſpute in the place cited immediately before, concerning reſting from labour on this day that we have in hand, and it proves a controverſie between the ſchools of *Shammai* and *Hillel*, whether they ſhould not alſo reſt from labour the night before: but at laſt the determination comes ſo low, as that it gives liberty to works that were begun on the thirteenth day to be finiſhed on the fourteenth; nay yet lower, that where the cuſtom was to leave off work for all day, there they ſhould leave work; and where it was the Cuſtom to work till Noon, there they ſhould do according to the Cuſtom.

But whatſoever they did in this caſe, ceaſe from their labour in the forenoon, or ceaſe not, one work they muſt not fail to do, and that was to caſt out and put away leaven out of their houſes, this day (as they had ſearched for it the night before) and that it might not be ſeen nor found amongſt them. The Law indeed concerning this work, doth pitch upon the fifteenth day for the doing of it, as if it were ſoon enough to do it on the fourteenth day at Even, *Exod.* 12. 18, 19. but the *Jews* do not impertinently obſerve that the expelling of leaven was by the Law to be before the time wherein the eating of it was forbidden: (*b*) *For whereas it is ſaid, on the firſt day you ſhall put leaven out of your houſes, their tradition taught them, that by the firſt is meant the fourteenth day: And a proof for this there is from what is written in the Law. Thou ſhalt not kill the bloud of my ſacrifice with leaven, that is, Thou ſhalt not kill the Paſſeover, whileſt leaven is yet remaining; now the killing of the Paſſeover was on the fourteenth day in the afternoon.*

(*b*) *Maym. in Hbamets umatſ. per. 2.*

On this fourteenth day therefore, for a good part of the forenoon, they might eat leaven or leavened bread, and (*c*) might give it to any Bird or Beaſt, or might ſell it to a ſtranger, but the fixing of the certain time is not without ſome debate. (*d*) *Rabbi Meir* ſaith, *they may eat it all the fifth hour, and were to burn it at the beginning of the ſixth. Rabbi Judah* ſaith, *they may eat it all the fourth hour, and they were to ſuſpend all the fifth, and at the ſixth hour they were to burn it.* Which diſpute *Maymonides* ſifteth into this reſolution, (*e*) *It was lawful to eat leaven on the fourteenth day till the end of the fourth hour, but they might not eat it the fifth hour, yet they might uſe it; but he that eateth it the ſixth hour, was beaten with the Rebels beating, and he that eat it from the beginning of the ſeventh, was to be whipt.*

(*c*) *Peſach per. 2. in Mihu.* (*d*) *Ibid per. 1. in Gmara.* (*e*) *Maym. ubi ſupr. per. 1.*

Twelve a clock or thereabouts, therefore being come, it had been a ſtrange ſight to have ſeen every one of them either firing, or drowning, or ſcattering their leaven into the wind (for any of theſe ways ſerved for the expelling of it, and this command and practice reached over all the Country) and you might have ſeen them do it with this Valediction. (*f*) *All the leaven that is within my poſſeſſion, which I have ſeen, or which I have not ſeen, which I have caſt out, or which I have not caſt out, be it null, be it as the duſt of the earth.*

(*f*) *Stder Haggadah ubi ſup.*

SECT.

SECT. III.

The time of killing the Paſſeover.

ABout the day of celebrating the Paſover, there needeth no diſcourſe to fix it, it is ſo plainly pointed out to be the fourteenth day of the firſt Month that nothing can be plainer, therefore when we ſpeak of the time of killing the Paſover we ſpeak not of the day of the month, which is ſo well known, but of the time of the day which is not ſo clearly pointed out.

The *Toſaphta* indeed upon the Treatiſe *Peſachin*, relateth that (*a*) the *Cuthæans ſometimes kept their Paſſover a day before the Iſraelites did, and ſometimes a day after*, (where the word *Cuthæans* might breed ſome diſpute, for in the *Talmudicks* language, it means ſometimes *Samaritans* and ſometimes Chriſtians, but we ſhall not inſiſt upon it.) And there have been ſome Chriſtians that have held, that Chriſt and his Diſciples kept their laſt Paſover one day before the *Jews* kept theirs, conceiting this from that which is ſpoken in *John.*18.28. where it is related that when Chriſt was brought into *Pilate*'s Judgment Hall (which was when he had eaten the Paſover, as all the other Evangeliſts declare abundantly) the *Jews* durſt not go into *Pilates* Hall, *leſt they ſhould be defiled, but that they might eat the Paſover.* To which miſtake I ſhall only give ſome words of *Maymony* at this preſent for anſwer, for the ground of the miſtake we ſhall have occaſion to look after in the enſuing diſcourſe. (*b*) *It is an affirmative command* (ſaith he) *to kill the Paſover on the fourteenth day of the Month Niſan in the afternoon, and they kill it not but only of Lambs or Kids, a male of the firſt year, and both men and women are alike liable to this command; and he that breaks this command preſumptuouſly, and paſſeth the fourteenth day and offereth not, if he be not unclean or in a long journey, he is guilty of being cut off; but if he tranſgreſs the command ignorantly, he is quit. They kill not the Paſover but in the Court even as the reſt of the holy offerings, yea even in thoſe times, when high places were permitted, they offered not the Paſover in a private high place, but in the publick*, (that is, the Temple) *and he that offered it in a private high place was to be whipt.* From which words, it being obſerved what penalty lay upon him that paſſed the fourteenth day, and what tie there was to ſlay the Paſchal Lamb in the Court, it will appear extream abſurd to imagine that any *Iſraelite* ſhould keep his Paſover before the fixed day. What the *Cuthæans* or *Samaritans* might do at their Mount *Gerizim*, it is no matter, but for any *Jews* to celebrate the Paſover at *Jeruſalem*, (for no where elſe it might be done) before the proper and fixed time, could not have been without evident danger to them that did it; it being ſo diametrically contrary both to the Law and to their Traditions, and yet we find not Chriſt was ever toucht with the leaſt accuſation about his Paſover as if he kept it on the wrong day.

(*a*) *Toſaphta in Peſach. per.* 1. *ad med.*

(*b*) *Maym. in Corban. Peſach. per.*1.

But to let this paſs, which indeed is too plain to be diſputed (for the Evangeliſt moſt plainly tels us *that on the day of unleavened bread when the Paſover muſt be killed, Jeſus ſent Peter and John to prepare his Paſover*, *Luke* 22.7,8.) and now to come to look after the time of the day when the Paſover was killed, we muſt take theſe two *maximes* with us. (*c*) 1. *That the Paſover was not lawful if it were killed before noon*; and the reaſon of this is eaſie to give, namely becauſe the Law doth expreſly appoint, *that they ſhould kill it between the two evenings*, *Exod.*12.6. And 2. *that the daily evening Sacrifice was to be killed before they began to kill the Paſover*; and the reaſon of this is alſo readily to be given, namely, becauſe an extraordinary ſervice muſt not prevent one ordinary and conſtant. (*d*) *After they had burnt the incenſe of the evening ſacrifice, and after they had dreſſed the Lamps, then they began to kill the Paſover, and ſo continued till the end of the day.* The times they divided thus, (*e*) *they ſlew the daily Sacrifice at the eighth hour and an half, and they offered it up at the ninth hour and an half: but on the Eve of the Paſover, they ſlew it at the ſeventh hour and an half, and offered it up at the eighth hour and an half, whether the day were a common day or the Sabbath: and if the Eve of the Paſover fell on the Eve of the Sabbath, the daily Sacrifice was killed at the ſixth hour and half an hour paſt, and offered it up at the ſeventh hour and half an hour paſt, and the Paſſover after it.*

(*c*) *Id. ibid.*

(*d*) *Id. ibid.*

(*e*) *Talm. in Peſach. per.* 5.

It was the command both for the Paſover and for the daily Evening Sacrifice, that they ſhould be ſlain and offered בין הערבים *between the two Evenings*, *Exod.*12.6. & 29. 39. מלה קשה (*f*) *A very hard expreſſion* (ſaith *Aben Ezra*) and he gives as very hard an interpretation of it; for he judgeth the two Evenings to be theſe, the one when the Sun ſets and goes out of ſight, and the other when the day cloſes in and all the light is clean gone, which he ſaith is ordinarily about an hour and three quarters after Sun ſetting; and ſo he will have the daily Sacrifice to be offered up at this time, and though all the Paſovers could not be killed in this ſpace, yet he conceiveth that it is commanded they ſhould be killed *between the two Evenings*, becauſe moſt of them were ſlain in this ſpace, though all

(*f*) *Ab. Ezra in Exod.*12.

all could not. I ſhall not inſiſt to ſhew the improbability of this *Tenet*, he himſelf that holds it, is in a manner glad at laſt to betake himſelf to the general and common received Opinion, which was, that *the two Evenings* were theſe, the firſt from that time of the day that the Sun began to decline from his vertical or noon-tide point toward the Weſt, and the other from his going down and out of ſight. And according to this conſtruction did they go in killing and offering up their Evening Sacrifice, taking up an hour for that buſineſs juſt in the middle of the afternoon (counting at Æquinox time) namely, from half an hour paſt two, to half an hour paſt three, and ſo there were two hours and an half from the Suns beginning to decline, to the time they killed, and two hours and an half from the time they offered it up, till the Sun went down.

Now occaſional Sacrifices did ſometimes cauſe an alteration of the time of the daily, for that being to be ever offered the firſt, as being the fixed and appointed ſervice of the day, that the others might have room to be offered up in due time, that removed out of its place, to ſomewhat earlier in the day, ſometimes an hour, and ſometimes two, as in the Traditions alledged, and eſpecially this was for the ſake of the Paſsover, when Lambs were exceeding many: The common time therefore to begin to kill the Paſsover was, from about half an hour paſt two a clock, and little more, and ſo continued all afternoon: and if the Paſsover lighted on the Eve of the Sabbath, (that is, on the day preceeding the Sabbath) they began an hour ſooner, that they might the better diſpatch their buſineſs by the time that the Sabbath began.

SECT. IV.

The Paſchal Societies.

(a) *Maym. in Corban. Peſach. per. 2.*

BEfore the Paſchal Lamb was ſlain, they firſt agreed and concluded upon the Company that ſhould eat him: for אין שוחטין את הפסח אלא למנויין, (*a*) *They might not ſlay the Paſsover but for perſons numbred before*, or a number agreed on before for his eating. And this caution was not unwarrantably taken up, from that command in *Exod.* 12.4. *Every man according to his eating: Ye ſhall make your count for the Lamb:* So that while the Lamb was yet alive, it was to be crtainly concluded, who, and how many would join together for his eating, and he might not be ſlain but for ſocieties ſo agreed and numbred. (*b*) If any of the ſociety, after the number was agreed on, ſaw occaſion to withdraw from that company, and to go to another, he muſt do it before the Lamb was ſlain, for after he might not. Theſe ſocieties were called every one of them חבורה Σύναξις, or Φρατρία, and the number of the perſons in them was not certain, but ſometime more, ſometime leſs, according to their proportionableneſs of eating, becauſe of the command, *Every one according to his eating*: were there among the company thoſe that were ſickly and aged, and little eaters, then they might take the more into the company, but if they were healthy and lively, and like to eat more freely, then was the number leſs: He that was to eat the leaſt, was to eat as much of him, as came to the quantity of an olive, and if he could not eat ſo much, they counted not him in the number: And they might number ſo many in a ſociety, as if there were the quantity of an olive for every one to eat, it was enough.

(b) *R. Sol. in Exod. 12.*

1. Although Women were not directly bound to appear three times a year before the Lord, as the males were, yet were they bound to ſome particular ſervices that attended the three appearances, and ſo that brought them in: but eſpecially to the Paſsover, for to the obſervation of that they were obliged by thoſe expreſs words of the Commandment, *The whole aſſembly of the Congregation of* Iſrael *ſhall kill it* ואוד איש ואוד אשה חייבי במצוה זו (*c*) *And men and women were bound to this command alike:* Now in forming up theſe ſocieties that were ſeverally to eat the Lambs, they ſuffered not any companies to conſiſt of ſervants and women only, nor of ſervants and children only, leſt there ſhould be ſome lightneſs among them, and not that gravity that became ſo great a ſolemnity: nor to conſiſt of old or ſickly perſons only, leſt they ſhould leave any of them, and ſo tranſgreſs the command, *Ye ſhall leave nothing of him till the morning*: Nor to conſiſt of Proſelites only, or of children only, becauſe they were unlikely to ſpeak of thoſe memorable things that were to be ſpoken of at the Paſsover. But a ſociety might be only of women, or only of ſervants, but ordinarily they were of whole families, one or more united, Husbands, Wives, Children, Servants, all together. Our Saviours ſociety was himſelf and the twelve, *Mat.* 26.20. *Luk.* 22. 14.

(c) *Maym. ibi ſup.*

SECT.

SECT. V.

The killing of the Paſsover.

THE *Paſsovers were ſlain in three companies* * : הפסח נשחט שלש כתורת And the ground of this practiſe and tradition they make to be thoſe words of the inſtitution, *The whole aſſembly of the Congregation of* Iſrael *ſhall kill it:* where ‖ becauſe, there are three words, *Aſſembly*, *Congregation*, and *Iſrael*, applied to the killing of the Paſsover, they divided the killing of it into three companies according to that number.

* There were not to be leſs than thirty men in every company: yet found they out a ſhift to make fifty men (if there were no more) to make thirty men three times over, for the three companies; and their way was this. Thirty of the fifty went into the Court, (for there only might the Paſsover be killed) and when they had killed their Lambs, ten of them went out, and ten of thoſe, that ſtood without, came in and killed theirs, and then ten others went out, and the other ten that ſtood without came in and killed theirs, and ſo there were thirty in the Court continually, while the Lambs were killing.

But this was only a proviſion for a pinch; namely, if ſuch an exigent ſhould occur, as that there ſhould be but fifty Lambs preſented, or at leaſt but fifty perſons preſent, (for ordinarily every one of the numbred Paſchal ſocieties that have been ſpoken of, ſent their Lamb by one of their company only, and under fifty there was no Paſsover killing) but commonly every one of theſe three companies we are ſpeaking of, were as many as ever the Court could hold.

The firſt company came in, till the Court was filled, and then the doors were locked, and they fell to killing the Lambs, and while they were about this work, the Levites ſang, and the trumpets ſounded: *It is a tradition*, * ſaith the *Jeruſalem Talmud*, *The dayly ſacrifice which hath a drink offering, they blew the trumpets at the time of the drink offering: but at the Paſsover which hath no drink offering, they blew the trumpets at the killing of it.* Which the Gloſs upon the *Babylon Talmud* doth utter more punctually, ‖ *At the killing of the Paſsover there were ſeven and twenty ſoundings with the trumpets: for the Paſsover was killed in three companies one after another, &c.*

Now the ſong that was ſung at this time while they were killing the Paſsovers, was called the *Hallel* הלל ſo ſaith the ſame Gloſs in the ſame place. *Every company ſaid over the Hallel three times: for their Paſchals were many, and they were bound to the ſaying over of the Hallel at the ſlaying of them.* And *Maymony* more largely. * *All the time that they were killing and offering the Levites ſaid over the Hallel: if they had finiſhed the Hallel, and the company had not yet done, they ſaid it over again: And if they had finiſhed ſaying it over again, and the company had not yet done neither, they ſet to it a third time.* And both theſe ſpeak this, from the *Miſhneh* in the treatiſe *Peſachin* where it is ſaid, ‖ *They ſaid over the Hallel, and when they had finiſhed they ſaid it over a ſecond time, and when they had done that, they ſaid it over a third time.*

The Jews do make exceeding frequent mention in their writings of the *Hallel* or the *Hymne*; (for ſo we may tranſlate it from *Matth.*26.30.) And they diſtinguiſh it into the *common* or *leſſer Hallel*, and the *greater*: The *leſſer Hallel* they alſo call the *Egyptian Hallel*, becauſe it was ſung more eſpecially in remembrance of their delivery out of *Egypt*: and it was the 113, & 114, & 115, & 116, & 117, & 118, Pſalms. Concerning the choice and uſe of which it may not be amiſs to take up two or three of their traditions.

1. The *Jeruſalem Talmud* in the Treatiſe *Peſachin* hath this relation. * *R. Jacob Bar Aha* in the name of *Rabbi Joſa* ſaith, *Strength was given to Moſes his voice, and his voice went through all Egypt forty days journey: And what ſaid he? One company from ſuch a place to ſuch a place, and another company from ſuch a place, to ſuch a place. And wonder not at it: for if of duſt whoſe nature is not to go, it be ſaid, it ſhall become duſt through all the land of Egypt,* (Exod. 9. 9.) *much more might a voice go abroad, whoſe nature is to go.* Rabbi Levi ſaid, *As ſtrength was given to Moſes his voice, ſo ſtrength was given to Pharaohs voice; and his voice went throughout all Egypt forty days journey. And what ſaid he? Ariſe, get ye out from among my people: For, as for the time paſt ye have been the ſervants of Pharaoh, but from henceforth ye muſt be the ſervants of the Lord. From that hour they ſaid, Praiſe ye the Lord, praiſe him ye ſervants of the Lord,* Pſalm 113. *and now no more the ſervants of Pharaoh.*

2. *Maymony* in his Treatiſe of *Megillah*, and *Chanuchah*, or of the Feaſt of *Purim* and of *Dedication*, ſaith * *The cuſtom of ſaying over the Hallel in the days of the former wiſemen, was thus, The chief among them that was to read the Hallel after he had ſaid a prayer, began thus, Hallelujah; and all the people anſwered Hallelujah. He goes on and ſays, Praiſe ye*

* *Peſachin* pr. 5.

‖ *Vid. Gemar. ib. in Talm. utroq; R. Sol. in* Exod. 12.

* *Maym. in Corban. Peſach.* per. 1. *Gemara Bab. in Peſach. fol.* 64.

* *Talm. Jer. in Peſach* per. 5.

‖ *Gloſs. in Succah. fol.* 54.

* *Maym. ubi ſup.*

‖ *Peſa* pr. 5.

* *Talm. Jeruſ. in Peſach. per.* 5.

* *Maym. in Megillah. &c.* per. 3. & *Gloſs. in Succ. fol.* 38.

ye the ſervants of the Lord; and all the people anſwered Hallelujah. He proceeds and ſays, Praiſe the Name of the Lord; and all the people anſwered Hallelujah. He ſays further, Bleſſed be the Name of the Lord from this time forth, even for evermore; and all the people anſwered Hallelujah. And ſo at every paſſage, till they anſwered Hallelujah, an hundred and three and twenty times over, and of that number were the years of Aaron.

Now when he that read it, came to the beginning of any Pſalm, as when he read, When Iſrael came out of Egypt, the people repeated and ſaid, When Iſrael came out of Egypt; but when he ſaid, And the Houſe of Jacob from a ſtrange people, then the people anſwered Hallelujah: and ſo forward, till he came to, I love the Lord becauſe he hath heard my voice, and there the people repeated, I love the Lord becauſe he hath heard my voice, And ſo when he ſaid, Praiſe the Lord all ye Nations, they repeated, Praiſe the Lord all ye Nations: And when he came to, Save now Lord I beſeech thee, the people repeated, Save now Lord I beſeech thee; though it were not the beginning of a Pſalm: And when he ſaid, I beſeech thee now ſend proſperity, they rehearſed and ſaid, I beſeech thee now ſend proſperity. And when he ſaid, Bleſſed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord, all the people anſwered, Bleſſed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord.

3. This ſaying over of the *Hallel*, * is acknowledged by the Jews to be an Inſtitution of the Scribes; and the reaſon of the picking out of theſe Pſalms for that purpoſe, was ‖ because of their beginning or ending with *Hallelujah*; and partly becauſe they contain, not only ſo high and eminent memorials of Gods goodneſs and deliverance unto *Iſrael*; as is intimated by that paſſage alledged in the *Jeruſalemy*; *From that time they ſaid, Praiſe ye the Lord, ye ſervants of the Lord, and no more of Pharaoh*; but alſo ſeveral other things of high and important matter and conſideration; for the * *Hallel*, ſay they, *recordeth five things: the coming out of Egypt, the dividing of the Sea, the giving of the Law, the Reſurrection of the dead, and the lot of Meſſias.*

* *Maym. ubi ſup.*

‖ *Vid. Kimc. in* 1 Chron. 16.

* *Tal. in Pſ. fol.* 118.

4. ‖ *This Hallel was ſaid over eighteen days in the year and one night; namely, at the killing of the Paſſover, at the Feaſt of Pentecoſt, on the eight days of the Feaſt of Tabernacles, and on the eight days of the Feaſt of Dedication, and on the Paſſover night.* With the manner of its ſaying over, the people ſtill anſwering *Hallelujah:* compare the redoubled *Hallelujahs*, in *Rev.* 19. 1, 3, 4. 6.

‖ *Maym. ubi ſup. & Talm. utramque in Succab. per. 5.*

Beſides this *Hallel*, which they called the *Egyptian Hallel*, there is frequent mention of the *great Hallel* הלל גדולה as the Treatiſe *Taanith* telleth a ſtory * *that they appointed a Faſt at Led* (or *Lydda*, *Act.* 9. 35. and this Faſt was for rain, which they wanted exceedingly) *And rain came down for them before midday.* Rabbi Tarphon *ſaith to them, Go eat, and drink, and keep holiday: They went and eat, and drank, and kept holiday, and came at Even, and ſaid over the great Hallel:* and we ſhall obſerve anon, that at the eating of the Paſſover, as they uſed conſtantly to ſay over the *Hallel* commonly ſo called, ſo did they ſometimes add the *great Hallel* to it; and when we come to ſpeak of the time when this was rehearſed, we will then obſerve what this *great Hallel* was.

* *Taan. per. 3.*

So that (now to return where we were again) the firſt company being come into the Court, and having filled it, and the doors locked upon them, and they falling to kill the Paſſovers, this *Hallel* or theſe Pſalms were begun to be ſung, the people anſwering as hath been related. And when they had ſung them over once, and the work not yet done, they ſet to them again, and a third time, and by that time they had gone over the third time, the work was commonly done, and they began not again. And therefore thoſe words which are very uſual with thoſe Jews which treat upon this ſubject, אם שנו שלשו אף על פי שלא שלשו מימיהם are to be conſtrued, *that when they had ſung it over a ſecond time, they began a third, although they went not through a third time in all their days:* for before they had gone through, the work was done, and then they had done alſo.

* The firſt company being thus diſpatched, went out of the Court with their ſlain and flead Paſſovers (how they flead them, was obſerved erewhile) and they ſtood in *the mountain of the Houſe:* And now there comes in the ſecond company, as many as the Court would hold, and while they are killing, ſprinkling the blood, and burning the fat, the *Hallel* is begun again, and ſung even as it was before, and when that company had done they went out, and the third came in, and they did as the others before, till all was finiſhed.

* *Peſach. per. 5. Sect. 3.*

They did not only ſlay the Paſſovers whilſt they ſtood thus in the Court, but the blood was alſo ſprinkled by the Prieſts, they ſtanding in rows from the ſlaughter place to the Altar, conveying the blood from hand to hand, and ſo they crowded not, nor troubled not one another, which they would have done had they run ſingly from every ſlain Lamb to bring the blood to the Altar. The blood brought thither in ſuch handing rows was poured at the foundation of the Altar. The owners flead their Lambs, the moſt of them hanging him upon a ſtaff on their ſhoulders, and he hanging between them, and they helping

helping one another: They took out his entrails, cleanſed away his ordure, ſeparated his inwards, put them in a diſh, ſalted them, and laid them on the fire on the Altar: and when the three companies were ſo diſpatched, the Prieſts (as there was no ſmall need) did waſh the Court.

If the Paſsover killing did fall upon the Sabbath, yet did they not abate of any of this work, no not of waſhing the Court; for they had a traditional warrant which bare them out שאין אסור שבות במקדש which was, that *there was no prohibition concerning reſting in the Sanctuary:* and that which was prohibited elſewhere, and obliged others, about reſting from work upon the Sabbath, did not oblige the Prieſts at the Temple: and to this our Saviour ſpeaketh, *Matth.* 12. 5. *On the Sabbath days the Prieſts in the Temple prophane the Sabbath and are blameleſs.* Now although they killed, and fleaed, and opened the Paſsovers on the Sabbath, yet did they not carry them home to their lodgings at *Jeruſalem* till the Sabbath was out: But when the firſt company had diſpatched in the Court, they went and ſtood in the *mountain of the Houſe*, and the ſecond being diſpatched, went and ſtood in the *chel*, and the third continued in the Court till the Sabbath ended: and when it was done, they went away with their Lambs to their ſeveral companies. And the reaſon of this was, becauſe the killing and offering of the Paſsover was by the expreſs commandment of the Law, bound to its time, which they might not tranſgreſs, but muſt do it, though it were on the Sabbath, but the taking of the Lamb home, was not ſo bound but that it might very well be delayed till the Sabbath was ended.

CHAP. XIII.

Their manner of eating the Paſsover.

IT is indeed beyond our line and compaſs to follow the people with their ſlain Paſchals from the Temple to their own homes, to ſee what they do with them there, for the virge of the Temple confineth our diſcourſe: yet becauſe the eating of theſe Lambs was ſo high and holy a rite, and ſince the ſtory of our Saviours laſt Paſsover hath turned the eyes of all men to look at the cuſtom and demeanour uſed in this ſolemnity, the Reader I doubt not will be facile to excuſe ſuch a digreſſion, as ſhall relate the particulars of this great buſineſs, which were many, and which we will take up one by one.

1. To omit their curioſities in roaſting the Paſchal Lamb, (which they commonly did upon a ſpit or ſtaff of Pomegranate tree, running him in with it at the mouth and out behind) the firſt obſervable circumſtance towards the eating of him, we may take up in this tradition. * *Talm. in Peſach. per. 7.*

ערבי פסחין סמוך למנחה לא יאכל אדם עד שתחשך * *On the evening of the Paſsover a man may not eat, from near the Minchah, till it be dark.* * *Ib. per. 10.*

In which they inform us of two things, firſt, that they went not about the Paſsover meal till it was night; and the reaſon of this cuſtom is apparently grounded in the Law, becauſe that commanded, *they ſhall eat the fleſh in that night*, *Exod.* 12. And accordingly are theſe words of the Evangeliſts in the relation of our Saviours Paſsover to be underſtood, *when the Even was come*, he ſat down with the twelve. Secondly, That they faſted ſome ſpace before. *Near the time of the Minchah* (* ſay the Gloſſaries upon that Tradition) *meaneth, a little before the Evening ſacrifice; and from that time they might eat nothing, that they might eat the unleavened bread which was commanded, with appetite, for the honour of the command.* * *R. Alphes. & R. Sol. & R. Sam. in loc.*

II. They eat not the Paſsover but ſitting, עני שבישר אל לא יאכל עד שיסב * *No not the pooreſt in Iſrael might eat it till he was ſet down.* ‖ R. Simeon (in the *Jeruſalem Gemara*) *in the name of* R. Joſhua *the ſon of* Levi *ſaith, that olive-quantity that ſuffiseth to diſcharge a man that he hath eaten the Paſsover, he muſt eat it ſitting down*, מיסב and ſo it is ſaid *Jeſus ſat down* with the twelve. Now this ſitting at their Paſsover eating, was not after the manner of our ſitting at the Table, nor after the manner of their ordinary ſitting at other times, but a ſpecial poſture by it ſelf. And ſo they themſelves uſed to obſerve and to ſpeak of it as they ſat. * *How different* (ſaid they) *is this night from all other nights, for all other nights we eat* בין יושבין בין מסובין *either ſitting or leaning, but this night we all ſit leaning:* where the two words יושבין & מסובין which both ſignifie *ſitting at meat*, are uſed with ſo much diverſity, as that they are oppoſed one to another. And they are ſet in the like oppoſition in the Treatiſe *Beracoth* in this paſſage ‖ *Did they ſit down to meat? Every one gave thanks for himſelf*, היסבו *Did they ſit leaning? Then one gave thanks for them all.* *Rabbi Nathan* conceives that the difference between the two words conſiſteth in one of theſe two things; * that היסבו meaneth that they ſat cloſe round * *Talm. ubi ſup.* ‖ *Gemar. Jeruſ. in Peſac. in loc.* * *Maym. in Nofabh Hagg.* ‖ *Beracoth. per. 6* * *Aruch in* סב

round about their meat, but ישבו importeth as if every one of them had sitten single. *Or this other interpretation*, saith he, *may be given that they sat down for some other business*, (and not purposely to eat) *and meat was set before them, then every one gave thanks for himself. But* היסבו *means that they sat down purposely to eat and not for other business, and then one gave thanks for them all.* But it appeareth by *Maymony*, and by other Talmudists, that the difference lay in the manner of sitting, and not in the occasion of sitting down. His words are these, * *The kind of sitting called* היסבה *Hesibbah, is not required of a woman; but if she be a woman of fashion then it is required of her. And this kind of sitting is required of a Son* (at the Passover) *before his Father, and of a Servant before his Master; but a Scholar before his Teacher must not thus sit down unless his Teacher give him leave: And leaning upon the right side is not this posture, nor leaning on the neck, nor on the face.* But it was leaning on the left side, as he intimateth in another place, when he saith *he must drink off his cups of wine leaning upon his left side.* And the Talmudick Gloss defines that kind of leaning, briefly thus, במיטה ועל השולחן *It was upon the bed and upon the Table.*

* *Maym. in Hhamets umatss. per. 7.*

Their sitting at meat was commonly upon beds or couches made for that purpose, with the Table before them: Now at other meals they either sat as we do with their bodies erect, or when they would enlarge themselves to more freedom of feasting and refreshing, they sat upon the beds and leaned upon the Table on their left elbow, and this or the other posture they used indifferently at other times as they were disposed. But on the Passover night they thought they were obliged to use this leaning posture, and you may take their reason for it in some of their own words. * *They used this* היסבה *leaning posture as free men do, in memorial of their freedom. And* || R. Levi *said, because it is the manner of servants to eat standing, therefore now they eat* מסובין *sitting and leaning to shew that they were got out of servitude into freedom.* And again, * *In every generation a man is bound to behave himself at the Passover, as if he himself had been delivered out of the bondage of Egypt, &c. Therefore at meat that night a man is bound to eat, and to drink, and to sit in a posture of freedom.*

* *R. Sol. in Pesach. per. 10.*
|| *Talm. Jerus. ibid. in Gemer.*
* *Mishneh. ibid. & Maym. ubi supr.*

Upon this principle and conceit of freedom, they used this manner of discumbency at their meat frequently at other times, but indispensably this night, so far different from the posture injoined and practised at the first Passover in *Egypt*, when they eat it *with their loins girded, their shoes on their feet, their staves in their hands, and in haste, Exod.* 12. 11. And as the thought of their freedom disposed them to this leaning, reposed, secure composure of their elbow upon the Table, and their head leaning on the hand, so to emblem out the matter the more highly, they laid their legs under them, sitting upon them, and their feet lying out behind, as *Luke* 7.38. removing and acquitting their legs and feet as far as possible from the least shew of standing to attend, or readiness to go upon any ones imployment, which might carry the least colour of servitude, or contrariety to their freedom with it. Now according to this manner of sitting and leaning, are we to construe that passage of the Evangelist, about the beloved Disciple's *leaning in the bosom of Jesus, Joh.* 13.23. and *on the breast of Jesus, Joh.* 13. 28. & 21. 20. for so the words are clearly differenced, Ἀνακείμενος ἐν κόλπῳ, & Ἐπιπεσὼν, or Ἀναπεσὼν ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος· which some translations not having observed, or at least not expressed, they have intricated the reader in such gross conceptions about this matter [* *quasi in ipsius sinu contra omne decorum sterteret, ut ab imperitis pingi accubitus ille consuevit*] as that some have thought and some have pictured *John* reposing himself, or lolling on the breast of *Jesus*, contrary to all reason and decency. Whereas the manner of their sitting together was only thus; *Jesus* leaning upon the Table on his left elbow, and so turning his face and breast away from the Table on one side; *John* sat in the same posture next before him, with his back towards *Jesus* breast or bosom; not so near as that *Johns* back and *Jesus* breast did join together and touch one another; but at such a distance as that there was space for *Jesus* to use his right hand upon the Table to reach his meat at his pleasure, and so for all the rest as they sat in the like manner. For it is but a strange fancy that some have satisfied themselves withal about this matter, conceiving either that they lay along upon the beds before the Table one tumbling upon the breast or before the breast of another; or if they sat leaning on the Table, that they sat so close, as that ones back joyned to anothers bosom, which did utterly deprive them of the use of their hands to feed themselves. But their sitting was so, as that indeed they sat the back of one to the breast of another, but with such distance between, that the right hand of every one of them had liberty to come and go betwixt himself and his fellow to reach his meat as he had occasion. In such a manner and distance did the beloved Disciple lean before our Saviour, and yet is said very properly to lean in his bosom, because he leaned before his breast, so as that whensoever *Christ* put up his arm he was in a manner within his embrace. But when *Peter* beckned to him to enquire who it was that should be the Traitour, then Ἀνέπεισεν ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος he leaned back so far, as that his back or shoulders rested upon *Jesus* breast, and he lay in a sitting posture to whisper with him.

* *Vid. Bez. in Joh. 21.*

III. They

III. They being thus ſet, the firſt thing towards this Paſover ſupper that they went about, was, that every one drank off a cup of Wine. So do their own Directories and Rituals about this matter inform us. *The order of the performing of the things commanded for the fifteenth night* (* ſaith Maymony) *was thus, they firſt mingled a cup for every one of them, and one gave thanks and they drank it off.* And herein he doth follow the Talmud Text, which in the Treatiſe of the *Paſover* in the place cited in the Margin before, relateth the very ſame thing in the very ſame order. * *Maym. ubi ſupr. per.8.*

Among the ſeveral viands, or victuals, or concomitants, or what you will call them, which accompanied the Paſchal Lamb at its eating, of which we ſhall ſpeak in their courſe, there were two which they held to be moſt eminent, and moſt honourable; and thoſe were *Bread and Wine:* And amongſt other expreſſions of reſpect and honour that they ſhewed to theſe, this was not a ſmall one, that howſoever they diſpoſed of their poſture of ſitting all the reſt of the meal, they might not fail to betake themſelves to the leaning compoſure (already deſcribed, the emblem of their liberty) when they eat their unleavened Bread and drank their Wine. And ſo my Author laſt cited holdeth out in this Tradition אימתי צריכין הסיבה כשעת אכילת כזית מצה ובשתי ירת ד כוסות * *When is it neceſſary that they uſe the leaning poſture? Even at that time that they are eating an Olive-quantity of unleavened Bread and drinking their four cups of Wine; and as for the time of eating or drinking of any thing elſe all the meal, if they ſat leaning it was the more commendable, but if they did not it was not ſo very material.* Which matter the *Gemariſts* and Gloſſaries do clear and diſtinguiſh upon, thus; || *The unleavened bread requires the leaning poſture, but the bitter herbs require it not: Of the wine it is ſaid that it doth require the leaning poſture, and it is ſaid that it doth not require it,* אמרי לה חרי כסי קמאי צריך הסיבה חרי כסי בחרא לא צריך *For they ſay of it, that the two former cups require this leaning compoſure, but the two latter require it not.* * *Id. ibid p.r.7.* || *Gloſs. ibid.*

The eating of unleavened bread at this time, they were enjoyned by a ſpecial and expreſs command, *Exod.* 12.18. but as for the uſe of Wine, they took it upon this general ground, * *becauſe a man muſt chear up his wife and children to make them rejoyce at the Feſtival. And what do they chear them up withal? With Wine.* And they were ſo punctual and exact in this matter that || *the pooreſt man in Iſrael was bound to drink off four cups of Wine this night, yea though he lived of the alms basket.* † *And if he had no other way to compaſs ſo much Wine, or if the Almoners gave him not enough for four cups, he muſt ſell or pawn his coat, or hire out himſelf for four cups of Wine.* The *Gemariſts* do debate the matter, why four cups of Wine rather than any other number, and the reſult is held out by the *Jeruſalem Talmud* to this purpoſe; * *Whence is the ground for four cups?* Rabbi Jochanan *in the name of* Rabbi Benajah *ſaith, in parallel to the four words that are uſed about Iſraels redemption,* והוצאתי והצלתי ונאלתי ולקחתי *bringing out, delivering, redeeming, and taking.* R. Joſhua *the ſon of* Levi *ſaith, in parallel to the four cups of Pharaoh, in theſe Texts, Pharaohs cup was in my hand, and I ſqueezed them into Pharaohs cup. And I gave the cup into Pharaohs hand, and thou ſhalt give Pharaohs cup into his hand.* R. Levi ſaith, *in parallel to the four Monarchies,* Dan. 7. *And our Rabbins ſay, in parallel to the four cups of vengeance that the holy bleſſed God will make the Nations of the World drink off,* (for which there are theſe four Texts) *Thus ſaith the Lord God of* Iſrael *to me, take the Wine cup of this fury at mine hand,* Jer.25.15. Babel *is a golden cup in the hand of the Lord,* Jer.51.7. *For in the hand of the Lord there is a cup,* Pſal. 75.8. *And this is the portion of their cup,* Pſal. 11.6. *And anſwerably the Lord will make* Iſrael *drink four cups of conſolation* (in theſe four Texts) *The Lord is the portion of my cup,* Pſal.16. 5. *My cup runneth over,* Pſal.23.5. *I will take the cup of ſalvation,* Pſal. 116.13. *which was two.* * *Talm. Jer. ubi ſupr.* || *Peſach.per.10.* † *R. Sam. ib.* * *Talm. Jer. ubi ante.*

In theſe four cups of Wine that they were to drink, they were curious about the meaſure and about the mixture, * the proportion of Wine in every cup might not be leſs than רובע רביעות the fourth part of a quarter of an hin, beſides what water was mingled with it, for if they did not drink it ſo mingled, they held they miſſed of the right performance of that ſervice, ארבע כוסות האלו צריך למזוג *Theſe four cups,* ſaith the Author cited in the margin, *muſt needs be mingled.* And the Talmudick Rubrick for this night ſervice, whenſoever it ſpeaketh of any of theſe cups of Wine brought to him that officiated in the *Haggadah,* it uſeth this expreſſion מזגין לו || *They mingled it for him.* And it is received among them as a current *Maxim,* what was delivered by *Rabh* in the *Gemara,* שתאן חו ידי יין יצא ידי חובות לא יצא *That whoſoever drank theſe four cups of pure Wine, he indeed had done his duty about drinking Wine, but he had not done his duty about ſetting forth their freedom:* for this mingling of their Wine, was not ſo much in reference to ſobriety, as it was to make the Wine the more delightſom. And that is the reaſon that *Maymony* giveth when he ſaith *the Wine muſt needs be mingled, namely, that the drinking of it may be the more delightſom, and all according to the quality of the Wine, and the mind of the drinker.* Therefore they accounted it ſomewhat towards the expreſſion of their freedom which they ſo much affected to expreſs at this time, to drink their Wine mingled, which heightned the drinking of it to the more delight. * *Maym. in Hhamets umatſ. per.7. & Gloſſ. ibid.* || *Peſachin. ubi ſupr.*

The firſt cup of theſe four being brought to them as they were now ſet, one of the Company, (the Maſter of the family, if there were but one family in the ſociety: or if there were more, ſome fit man choſen out for that purpoſe, whom they called קורא הגדה *the rehearſer of the office of the Paſſover*) gave thanks over the Wine, and then they drank it off. The thankſgiving was in reference to the Wine, and in reference to the Day. The Schools of *Hillel* and *Shammai* differ about the precedency of theſe two, or whether of them ſhould firſt take place; but whether ſoever went firſt, (for it is not worth labour to trace the diſpute) the tenour of his thankſgiving was to this purpoſe; over the Wine he ſaid * *Bleſſed be thou O Lord who haſt created the fruit of the Vine:* and as concerning the day he uſed ſuch words as theſe, || *Bleſſed be thou for this good day, and for this holy convocation, which thou haſt given us for joy and rejoycing: Bleſſed be thou O Lord, who haſt ſanctified Iſrael and the times.*

* *Talm. in Beracoth. per.6.*

|| *Maym. in Birk. Mazon.*

IV. * Then did they every one of them waſh their hands: over which action, the Officiator (for ſo let us call him) uttered this ejaculation, *Bleſſed be thou O Lord our God who hath ſanctified us with his commandments, and hath commanded us concerning the waſhing of our hands.* They uſed on this night to waſh their hands twice, whereas at other Suppers they waſhed but once, and this different and extraordinary ſo doing, it was their courſe to take notice of, and to ſpeak of as they were at ſupper, uſing this paſſage amongſt others that they uttered at that time, *How different is this night from all other nights! for all other nights we waſh but once, but this night we waſh twice.* They uſe the word טבל ילין to expreſs the waſhing of their hands by, which betokeneth *dipping*, for in that way they waſhed them at this time. The Treatiſe || *Jadajim* and the *Toſaphta* there do intimate unto us that they had a twofold way of waſhing their hands; *Netilah* and *Tebhilah*, either by pouring water upon them, or by putting them into the water; and they difference theſe two waſhings by theſe circumſtances (beſides the different application of the water) *that he that put his hands into the water needed not to dry them, but he that poured water on them needed: He that had water poured on them, muſt lift up his hands, yet ſo as the water might not run above his wriſt, nor return upon his hands for making them unclean* (but there drop off; πυσμῇ νίψαι, *Mark* 7.3.) *But he that puts his hands into water needed not to lift them up, &c.* He that puts his hands into the water is ſaid to טבל את ידיו dip his hands, and he that had water poured upon them was ſaid to be נוטל את ידיו to waſh his hands, and yet both of theſe kinds of waſhing were indifferently called נטילת ידים *Netilath Jadajim, waſhing of the hands.*

* *Id. in Hhamets &c. ubi ante.*

|| *Talm. in Jadajim per.2. Toſapht. ibid.*

V. They having waſhed, the table was then furniſhed with what proviſion they held requiſite for that ſupper, and that was of ſeveral ſorts: For beſides the Paſſover Lamb, and unleavened Bread, and bitter Herbs, for the uſe of which they had an expreſs command, they had at the leaſt two diſhes beſides, and ſometimes three, which they had taken up the uſe of, upon tradition. Let us view all their diſhes particularly.

1. There were two or three cakes of unleavened bread * (for the number is under ſome diſpute,) and the eating of this bread, they held ſo undiſpenſable a command that infants and ſick perſons were to be brought to it: and if they were not able to eat it dry, they had it ſopt and macerated in ſome liquid thing, that ſo they might eat of it at leaſt to the quantity of an Olive. And as for perſons of health and ſtrength, they were to eat very little meat of all day, that they might eat unleavened bread with hungring and appetite at night: and many of them would faſt all day for that purpoſe. Eſpecially they might not eat unleavened bread of all day, becauſe there ſhould be a diſtinct appetitive eating of it at the Paſſover, and he that eat any unleavened Bread that day before that time he was beaten with the *Rebels ſtripes.*

* *Vid. Gloſs. ad Maym. ubi ante.*

2. The herbs they uſed were five kinds חורת *Lettice*, עולשין *Endive*, תמכא *Succory*, חרהבינה *Beets*, מרור *Horehound*, or ſome ſuch herbs as theſe, ſome of them ſallet herbs, and ſome bitter, and theſe either green or dried, but neither boiled nor pickled. And the general and the proper reaſon that is given for the uſe of this rite of eating bitter herbs is, * that they might hereby remember the bitter affliction that they underwent in *Egypt.* But the fancy of a *Spaniſh Jew* cited by *Aben Ezra*, is ſomewhat ſingular in this point, which let me produce in his words.

* *R. Sol. in Exod. 12.*

* *Ab. Ezr. in Exod. 12.* * *One of the wiſe men of Spain* (ſaith he) *ſaith, it is well known that moiſture is predominant in the land of Egypt, becauſe of the waters of the river, and becauſe they have no rains there, therefore the air is continually moiſt. Hereupon it was their cuſtom at all their Tables to eat divers kinds of bitter herbs and muſtard. And though an Egyptian had but one bit of meat, yet had he ever bitter herbs at his Table to dip his meat in, which was a help for their air. But we will adhere to the judgment of our ancients of bleſſed memory, which have expounded to us that the bitter herbs were a memorial of that paſſage, They made their lives bitter,* Exod. 1.

3. The body of the Paſchal Lamb was alſo ſet upon the Table, roſted whole and ſo brought up, * the Legs and Inwards, as Heart, Liver, &c. held by ſome to have been put and roſted within him, but by others to have been faſtned by ſome means upon his body, and

* *Peſach. ubi ſupr.*

and ſo roſted on the outſide of him: Now beſides theſe three diſhes, of Bread, Fleſh, and Sallet, ſo poſitively appointed by the Law.

4. They uſed to eat ſome other meat before they began to eat of the Paſchal. And the reaſon of this was, becauſe they would eat of that to ſatiety. * For it was held a *choice command that a man ſhould eat the fleſh of the Paſsover with an eating to ſatiety; therefore if he had offered his fourteenth days peace offerings, then he eat of them firſt, and afterward he eat of the fleſh of the Paſsover that he might ſatiate himſelf with it. Yet if he eat no more than what amounted to the quantity of an Olive, he diſcharged the obligation of his duty.* Theſe *fourteenth days peace offerings* were ſo called, to diſtinguiſh them from the peace offerings of his *Hagigah* and *rejoycing* at the feaſt: for thoſe were offerings to which he was obliged of duty, and were to be offered after the eating of the Paſsover moſt ordinarily; but theſe were ſome thanks offerings, or vows, or free will offerings, which being reſerved to be offered at their coming up to the Feſtival, they commonly did ſo offer them as that when the Altar and Prieſts had had their parts, they had the other ready for this occaſion, to begin the meal on the Paſsover night. And ſo here was one diſh more than we find appointed for this time by the Law. Now the Talmudicks ſpeak of two more, which if they were uſed in the time when the Temple ſtood, may well be ſuppoſed to have been to ſupply the want of peace offerings in ſuch companies as had not offered any, nor had any ready for this occaſion. And they call them שני חבשולין *the two boiled meats.* The *Miſhuch* in that Chapter of *Peſachin* that hath been cited ſo oft, delivering the Rubrick of the Paſsover, ſaith, *they ſet before him unleavened Bread, and bitter Herbs, and charoſeth, and the two boiled meats,* making no difference of time between theſe and the other particulars named with them, which undoubtedly were in thoſe times of which we ſpeak. The *Gemara* thereupon hath theſe words. *It is a command to ſet before him unleavened Bread, and the bitter Herbs, and the two boiled meats. And thoſe two boiled meats, what are they?* Rab. Hona ſaith, *Broth and Rice.* Ezekiah ſaith, *Fiſh and Eggs.* Rab. Joſeph ſaith, *two ſorts of fleſh were required, one in the memorial of the Paſsover, and the other in memorial of the Hagigah.* And with this laſt doth *Maymony* concur, for he uſeth the very ſame words, but he uſeth alſo the term בזמן הזה *At this time they ſet upon the Table two ſorts of fleſh, &c.* as making it queſtionable whether this cuſtom were in uſe when the Temple ſtood, or taken up afterward. I ſhall not be ſollicitous to diſpute the caſe; it ſeemeth for ought I yet ſee in the *Talmuds*, or their Schoolmen, that it was in the Temple times, and that the Author cited doth not (by the Phraſe he hath uſed) ſo much intimate that the cuſtom was taken up after the Temple was fallen, as he doth, that after the Temple was fallen they were glad to take up with theſe two diſhes only. For whileſt that ſtood, peace offerings were in uſe, and ſerved for that occaſion on the Paſsover night, and theſe two boiled meats were only in requeſt where no peace offerings were to be had, which was but rare; but after the Temple fell there were no peace offerings to be had at all, and ſo they were conſtrained to take up only with theſe two diſhes. Let the Reader ſcan his meaning from his own words. * *They ſet before him* (the Officiator) *bitter Herbs and unleavened Bread, and Charoſeth, and the body of the Lamb, and the fleſh of the fourteenth days Hagigah. But at this time they ſet upon the Table two ſorts of fleſh, one in memorial of the Paſsover and the other in memorial of the Hagigah.* And whether way ſoever he turneth the ſcales it is not much material.

* *Maym. in Corban Peſach. per. 8.*

* *Id. in Hhamets, &c. per. 8*

5. They had alſo a diſh of thick ſawce which they called חרוסת *Charoſeth*, ‖ made of ſweet and bitter things grown and pounded and mingled together, † as Dates, Figs, Raiſins, Vinegar, &c. * And this was a memorial to them of the clay in which their Fathers laboured in the Land of *Egypt.* They uſed *Charoſeth* (ſaith the Talmud) *although it were not commanded.* Rabbi Eliezer *from* Rabbi Zadok *ſaith, it is a command. A command! for what?* Rabbi Johanan *ſaith, it is a memorial of the clay, therefore they make it of all kinds of ſweet and bitter things, with vinegar, like clay in which there is a mixture of every thing.* The diſh in which our Saviour dipped the ſop which he gave to *Judas* is held by exceeding many to have been this diſh of the thick ſawce *Charoſeth*; which might be very well belived, if it might be believed that that ſupper was the Paſsover ſupper, which hath been much aſſerted, but never yet proved.

‖ *Aruch in* חרוסת.
† *Maym. Corban. Peſach. per. 8.*
* *Haggadah. Sbel. Peſach.*

VI. The Table thus furniſhed, * the Officiator takes ſome of the ſallet of the Herbs and after he hath bleſſed God for the creating the fruit of the ground, he dips it in ſomething (but whether in the thick ſawce *Charoſeth*, or in Wine, or in Vinegar, is diſputed, and ſo we will leave it in diſpute) and he eateth the quantity of an Olive at the leaſt of them, and ſo do all the reſt of the company the like. ‖ Now this dipping and eating of Herbs was not under the notion of eating bitter Herbs, which the Law enjoyned, but is was ſome other of the Herbs, as *Lettice, Endive*, or the like, and it was for this and meerly, that the children might begin to wonder at this ſtrange beginning of a meal, and might be incited to enquire about the matter. And to put them on to this the more, the company had no ſooner eaten of this bit of the ſallet, but preſently the diſhes were all removed

* *Maym. in Hhamets ubi ſupr.*

‖ *Gloſſ. ibi.*

from before the Officiator, and a ſecond Cup of Wine was filled and brought unto him. (14) And here the Children began to enquire about the matter; and if he had no Children, the Wife enquired; and if there was no Wife, the company enquired one of another. And if none enquired, yet he unasked began thus, *How different is this night from all other nights! For on all other nights we eat leavened or unleavened bread indifferently, but on this night unleavened bread only. On all other nights we eat any herbs whatſoever, but this night bitter herbs: On all other nights we eat fleſh either roaſted, or ſtewed, or boiled, but on this night we eat fleſh only roaſted. On all other nights we waſh but once, but on this night we waſh twice. On all other nights we eat either ſitting or leaning indifferently, on this night we all ſit leaning.* And according to the capacity of the Child, he would addreſs his ſpeech to him; if he were very young and ſlender of underſtanding, he would tell him, *Child, we were all ſervants, like this maid-ſervant, or this man-ſervant that waiteth; and as on this night the Lord redeemed us, and brought us into liberty.* But to the Children of capacity, and to the reſt of the company, he would tell particularly of the Wonders done in *Egypt*, and of the manner of their deliverance, and of Gods various goodneſs towards them: and as the *Talmud* briefly relates it, מתחיל בגנות ומסיים בשבח ודורש מארמי אובד אבי עד כל הפרשה כולה *He began with their diſgrace, and ended with their glory; and expounded from that Text*, A Syrian ready to periſh was my Father, *even through out to the end of the Section:* which as the Gloſſaries give the ſenſe, meaneth thus; that he began his diſcourſe with the Idolatry of *Terah*, and their fathers beyond the flood, and he led on the ſtory to their bondage in *Egypt*, and the wonders done for their deliverance, and the Lords giving them his Law, and making them his People; and particularly he took up that Text in *Deut.* 26. 5, 6, &c. and enlarged himſelf upon it, and the more the more commendably.

(14) *Pſanh. ubi ſupr.*

Then are the Diſhes that were taken away from before him, ſet before him again, and then he ſaith (15) *This is the Paſſover which we eat, becauſe that the Lord paſſed over the houſes of our Fathers in Egypt.* And holding up the bitter herbs in his hand, he ſaith, *Theſe are the bitter herbs that we eat in remembrance that the Egyptians made the lives of our fathers bitter in Egypt.* And holding up the unleavened bread likewiſe in his hand, he ſaith, *This is the unleavened bread, which we eat, becauſe the dough of our fathers had not time to be leavened, before the Lord revealed himſelf, and redeemed them out of hand. Therefore are we bound to give thanks, to praiſe, to laud, to glorifie, to extol, to honour, to praiſe, to magnifie him that hath done for our fathers, and for us, all theſe wonders, who hath brought us from bondage to freedom, from ſorrow to rejoycing, from mourning to a good day, from darkneſs to a great light, from affliction to redemption; therefore muſt we ſay before him* Hallelujah, *praiſe ye the Lord, praiſe ye ſervants of the Lord, praiſe the name of the Lord, &c.* And ſo he ſaid over the hundred and thirteenth, and the hundred and fourteenth Pſalms, and concludeth with this prayer, *Bleſſed be thou O Lord our God, King everlaſting, who hath redeemed us, and redeemed our Fathers out of Egypt, and brought us to this night to eat unleavened bread and bitter herbs.* And then he and all the company with him drank off the ſecond cup of Wine.

(15) *Ibid.*

VII. (16) And now he waſheth his hands again, uſing the ſame ejaculation or ſhort prayer that he had done at waſhing before: And then taking the two cakes of unleavened bread, he breaketh one of them in two, and layeth the broken upon the whole, and giveth thanks to God, who *bringeth bread out of the earth.* Not ἐυλογήσας ἔκλασε firſt giving thanks, and then breaking (as was the order of our Saviour, *Mat.* 26. 26. *Mark* 14. 22. *Luke* 22. 19. 1 *Cor.* 11. 24. for that action of Chriſt was farther in the ſupper than we are yet come) but κλάσας ἐυλόγησε he firſt brake and then gave thanks; and the *Jews* do make a buſineſs of the method. For he might not give thanks by their Tradition, either over both or either of the Cakes whileſt they were whole, but over it when it was broken: And they give this reaſon, becauſe it was the bread of poverty and affliction, and the poor have not whole Cakes to give thanks over, but are glad to do it over bits and pieces. Hence the phraſe and practice of *breaking of bread* ſeemeth to have its original.

(16) *Maym. ubi ſupr.*

I ſhall not here follow the Diſpute that is taken up by the *Hebrew* Writers, about the number of theſe Cakes, whether they were two or three, for ſome aſſert the one number, and ſome the other; and I believe both the Opinions are true applied to different and ſeveral times; for before the fall of the Temple, or in thoſe times to which our diſcourſe pointeth, (17) there were but two uſed, as may be collected by the beſt records of thoſe times, but in after times they uſed three, (18) either in reference to the threefold diviſion of the Nation into Prieſts, Levites and People; (19) or parallel to the three cakes that a delivered captive was to offer for his deliverance, for *Iſrael* was delivered out of ſlavery at a Paſſover. It is more of import to look a little after that which they called אפיקומן *Aphicomen*; about which one would think they had two poſitions, one contrary to another. The *Miſhuch* of the *Talmud* hath this Tradition אין מפטירין אחר

(17) *Vi. Maym. ubi ſupr.*

(18) *Vid. Buxt. Lex. Talm. in* אפיקו מן.

(19) *Gloſs. in Maym. in loc. citat.*

אחר הפכח אפיקומן (20) *they diſmiſs not the company after the Paſsoever with an Aphicomen.* (20) *Piſach. per. 10. halac. 8.*
And yet this is a current ſaying amongſt them אחת פורס לשנים ושאר חציה לא פיקומן (21) *He breaketh one of the cakes in two pieces, and leaveth one half for the Aphicomen.* (21) *Gloſs. in Maym. ubi ſupr.*
Now the ſeeming difference of theſe two poſitions is reconciled by referring them to ſeveral times as the number of the cakes was before. The word *Aphicomen* in their ſenſe, doth mean the laſt diſhes they uſed at meals, namely of Nuts, Apples, or Sweet-meats, wherewithall they cloſed up their meals when they ſaw good; but ſuch a cloſure they might not make at the Paſsover ſupper, and the reaſon was, becauſe they would eat ſome of the Paſchal Lamb laſt, and cloſe up the meal with that as the chiefeſt diſh. *Laſt of all* (ſaith *Maymony*) *he eateth of the fleſh of the Paſchal at the leaſt the quantity of an Olive, and he is to taſte no other meat after it at all. But now he eateth to the quantity of an Olive of unleavened bread, and taſteth nothing at all after that*; that is, while the Temple ſtood, and they had a Paſchal Lamb to eat, that was ever the laſt meat they ate, but in after times when they uſed no Lamb, they cloſed the meal with unleavened bread in ſtead of it, aud after that might eat nothing. And ſo the ſame Author relateth again, when he ſaith, *It is from the words of the Scribes that they ate nothing after the unleavened bread, nor crackнels, nor nuts, or the like, but if he eat unleavened bread, and eat other meats after, or fruits, he muſt return and eat unleavened bread laſt, to the quantity of an Olive, and ſo he concludes.*

Now when they ate unleavened bread for a cloſure of all, in this manner the cake that was broken in two that we are ſpeaking of, was half of it after the breaking of it given to ſome one in the company to reſerve for the *Aphicomen*, or for the laſt bit ונותנה תחת המפה *and he laid it under his Napkin*: but the other half, and (if that were not enough) the other cake alſo, and if they reſerved not an *Aphicomen*, the two parts of the broken cake they uſed thus: (22) The Officiator took a bit, and wrapt it together with the bitter herbs, and dipped them into the thick ſawce, and gave thanks and ſaid, *Bleſſed be thou O Lord our God, King everlaſting, who hath ſanctified us by his commandments, and commanded us concerning the eating of unleavened bread*, and ſo he eats, and the reſt do likewiſe. (22) *Maym. ubi ante.* There is ſome queſtion moved amongſt their Traditionaries, whether the bread and the herbs were to be eaten apart or wrapped together, and they ſpeak of a difference betwixt *Hillel* and his fellows about this matter, but the determination is ſo indifferent, that if he eat them apart, he gave thanks for them apart, and if together, the thankſgiving ſpecified was ſufficient.

VIII. (23) Then fell they to the eating of the fleſh that was before them, having hitherto eaten nothing but bread and herbs: and firſt he gave thanks, *Bleſſed be thou O Lord our God, King everlaſting, who hath ſanctified us by his command, and commanded us concerning the eating of the Sacrifice*; and ſo they fell to, and ate of the fourteenth days *Hagigah*, or thoſe peace offerings that they had offered on that day; and of theſe they made the moſt of the meal. And then giving thanks again, *Bleſſed be thou O Lord our God, King everlaſting, who hath ſanctified us by his command, and commanded us concerning the eating of the Paſſover*, they eat of the fleſh of the Lamb, every one at the leaſt the quantity of an Olive; which when they had done, he waſheth his hands again (now after meat) and ſaith Grace after meat (for ſo let me expreſs it) over the third cup and ſo they drink it off. And here comes in the mention of the firſt action of Chriſt at his laſt Paſſover: *Matthew* and *Mark* indeed record his words as they were eating, *One of you ſhall betray me, &c. Even one of the twelve that dippeth with me in the diſh, &c. Mat.* 26.21,22,23,24,25. and *Mark* 14.18,19,20,21. (This was moſt probably at the time when they dipped the unleavened bread and bitter herbs in the thick ſawce *charoſeth*) and *Luke* relateth alſo thoſe words, *With deſire I have deſired to eat this Paſſover with you, &c. Luke* 22. 15, 16. But the firſt ſpecial action that is ſpecified is, *that he took the cup and gave thanks, and ſaid, Take this, and divide it amongſt your ſelves, Luke* 22.17. This was the the third cup at the ſupper, for there is but one more mentioned after it in that ſtory.

(23) *Id. ibid.*

The Traditions of the *Jews* expreſs the paſſage at this time of the meal thus: ואחר נוטל ידיו ומברך ברכת המזון על כוס שלישי ושותהו (24) *And after* (he hath eaten the fleſh of the Paſchal Lamb) *he waſheth his hands and bleſſeth the bleſſing of the meat* (or ſaith grace after meat) *over the third cup and drinkes it off*: or briefly thus, מזגו לו כוס שלישי ומברך על מזוגו *They mingle him the third cup, and he giveth thanks over it.*

(24) *Id. ibid.*

Now this cup was called by them *the cup of bleſſing*, as appeareth by theſe and ſuch like expreſſions that we meet withal in their Traditionaries: (25) *Many of our Schoolmen* גאונים *think, that every one of theſe four cups required bleſſing or thankſgiving over it; but ſome again of the Schoolmen think, that they were not bound to thankſgiving, but only over the firſt cup, and over the cup of bleſſing*: thus the Marginal Gloſs upon *Maymony* in the Tract we have ſo much occaſion to uſe in this Paſchal Ritual, on chap. 8. in the beginning; and towards the latter end of the ſame chapter he produceth ſome words of one of their Schools, which helps to tell which of the four cups this *cup of bleſſing was*: The Words are theſe, אסור

(25) *Gloſſ. in Maym. ubi ante.*

(26) *Ibid.* אסור למיכל מידעם אחר מצה ולא למשחי לבר כסא דברכה וכסא דחלילא (26) *It is forbidden to eat any thing after the unleavened bread, (viz.* when no Lamb was eaten) *but not to drink any thing beside the Cup of bleſſing, and cup of Hallel:* which words he clears ſomewhat more by theſe words a little after שתי ב כוסות של יון אחר המצה כסא דברכת המזון וכסא דהלילא *He drinketh two cups after the unleavened bread, the cup of bleſſing after meat, and the cup of the Hallel, and a third cup if he will, of the great Hallel.* And ſo *Rabbi Alpheſi* ſpeaks of כמה מעלות טובות כוס של חברכה (27) *divers ſingular excellencies in the cup of bleſſing*: And (28) *Rabbi Mordecai* כוס הברכה צריך טיעור *of the cup of bleſſing having its meaſure.*

(27) *R. Alph. in Peſach. in fol.* (28) *R. Mord. in Peſach. ptr.* 10.

Now the reaſon why the third cup beareth this name of the *cup of bleſſing* above all the reſt, is partly becauſe the ברכת המזון *the bleſſing, or grace after meat* was ſaid over it, as terminating the Meal; and chiefly to diſtinguiſh it from the firſt cup, for over that and this eſpecially was bleſſing or thanſgiving uttered. It is a great Diſpute among the *Talmudical* Schoolmen, whether there was thankſgiving uſed over all the four cups alike, and the debate ends moſt to this vote, that מברך על כסא קמא ואכסא דברכתא (29) *He gave thanks moſt eſpecially over the firſt cup, and over the cup of bleſſing* (which otherwiſe is ſometime expreſſed על ראשון ועל שלישי) *over the firſt cup, and over the third.* The *Gemara* in the Chapter oft cited hath this Parable. *What is written; and the Child grew and was weaned: the holy bleſſed God will make a feaſt for the righteous in the day that his mercy ſhall be ſhewed to the ſeed of* Iſaac. *After they had eaten and drunk, they gave* Abraham *our father the cup of bleſſing to bleſs; he ſaid, I cannot bleſs it, becauſe* Iſmael *came from me: He gave it* Iſaac *to bleſs, he ſaid, I cannot, becauſe* Eſau *came from me: He ſaid to* Jacob, *take it and bleſs it, he ſaid, I cannot, becauſe I married two ſiſters, which the Law forbids: He ſaid to* Moſes, *take it, and bleſs it, he ſaid, I cannot, becauſe I was not counted worthy to go into the Land of* Iſrael, *neither alive nor dead. He ſaid to* Joſhua, *take it and bleſs it, he ſaid, I cannot, becauſe I have no ſon: He ſaith to* David, *take it and bleſs it, he ſaid to them, I will bleſs it, and it is fit for me to bleſs it; as it is ſaid, I will take the cup of Salvation, I will call upon the Lord.*

(29) *Piſk. Peſachin. fol.* 137. (30) *Ibid. fol.* 138.

The Apoſtle uſeth this term *the cup of bleſſing*, concerning the Sacramental Cup in the Lords Supper, 1 *Cor.* 10. 16. in which he doth not only allude to their cuſtom and expreſſion that we have now in ſpeech, but by this, and by what he ſpeaketh in the next Chapter following, it ſeemeth that the *Judaizing Chriſtians* in the Church of *Corinth* did very much imitate this Paſchal Cuſtom at the receiving of the Sacrament, as that they had a ſupper before, and ſo much Wine ſtirring before, as that ſome were drunk, 1 *Cor.* 11. 21, 22. And that for concluſion of the Meal, they had the Bread and Wine of the Lords Supper, as they at the Paſſover had the unleavened bread, and the Cup of Bleſſing.

And as the Apoſtle in this Phraſe alludeth to their expreſſion and cuſtom, ſo doth our Saviour alſo ſpeak ſuitably to their practice when he taking this third cup, or *the cup of bleſſing*, bids them *divide it among themſelves.* For the four cups that were uſed at the Paſſover ſupper, were enjoyned to Men, Women and Children, all alike. (31) *Our Rabbins deliver it for a Tradition*, ſay the *Gemariſts*, *that theſe four cups ought to have in them a fourth part of a hin, all alike for Men, Women and Children.* And becauſe we are fallen upon mention of their being drunk at their Supper, before the Sacrament in the Church of *Corinth*, let us take notice of a *Talmudick* paſſage or two, that may give ſome light about ſuch a matter, though it ſeems in pretence to be of a contrary tune. They have a Tradition that runneth thus, בין כוסות הללו אם רוצה לשתות ישתה *If any will drink between theſe cups he may, ſo that he drink not between the third cup and the fourth.* The *Jeruſalem Gemara* debating the caſe why between the firſt and ſecond cup, or between the ſecond and third, but not between the third and fourth; it reſolves it thus, that this was *to prevent their being drunk*; but they raiſe hereupon again, a very juſt objection, what prevention could be in this? And they give this poor anſwer to it, (32) *Becauſe Wine at Meat maketh not a man drunk, but if Wine after Meat doth.* If Religion did not prevail with them to withhold them from tryal of the truth of this *Aphoriſm*, more than the vertue of the *Aphoriſm* would prevail to keep them from drunkenneſs; I doubt not but there were drunken heads to be found at their Paſchal Cups, as well as at the Sacramental Suppers in the Church of *Corinth.* And the Caution which the Tradition giveth a little after thoſe words alledged but now, doth make the matter ſomewhat ſuſpicious, when they provide thus: *Doth any one ſleep at the Paſſover meal and wake again? he may not eat again after he is awaked. Do more of the company ſleep? they may eat again when they awake; do they all ſleep? they may not eat.* Rabbi Joſe ſaith, *if they nod or ſlumber only, they may eat upon their waking, but if they have been found aſleep, they may not.*

(31) *Peſach. ubi ante in Gemara.*

(32) *Jer. Ibid. in Gemara.*

IX And

IX. And now we are come to the fourth cup, which was called כסא דחלילא *the cup of the Hallel:* גומר עליו את ההלל ואומר עליו ברכת השיר (33) *for he finiſhed the Hallel at it, and at it he ſaid the bleſſing of the Song.* He had begun the *Hallel* over the ſecond cup, for he concluded the *Haggadah* or ſhewing forth of their deliverance, (as 1 *Cor.* 11.26.) with the rehearſal of the hundred and thirteenth, and hundred and fourteenth Pſalms. And now he begins with the hundred and fifteenth and rehearſeth that, and the hundred and ſixteenth, and hundred and ſeventeenth, and hundred and eighteenth, for theſe ſix Pſalms were the *Hallel*, as was obſerved even now.

(33) *Pſach. ubi ante in Miſhnah.*

Now the ברכת השיר *Bleſſing of the Song* was a Prayer or Bleſſing that they uttered after the *Hallel* or the *Hymn* was finiſhed (34) about which there is ſome diſpute between *R. Judah* and *R. Johanan* in the *Gemara* what it ſhould be: the one naming one Prayer, and the other another: but the *Scholiaſts* thereupon do conclude that the difference between them, is not ſo much about the Prayers themſelves, as about the order of them, or which was uttered firſt, and they determine theſe two, to be they, and that they were uttered in this order:

(34) *Ibid. in Gemara.*

O Lord our God, let all thy works praiſe thee, and thy Saints and the righteous ones that do thy will, and thy People the houſe of Iſrael, all of them with ſhouting. Let them praiſe, and bleſs, and magnifie, and glorifie, and ſing out the name of thy glory with honour and renown, for remembrance of thy Kingdom; for it is good to praiſe thee, and it is lovely to ſing unto thy name. For ever and ever thou art God. Bleſſed be thou O Lord the King, who art to be lauded with praiſes, Amen.

And he concludeth thus: *Let the ſoul of all living bleſs thy name, O Lord our God, and the ſpirit of all fleſh glorifie and exalt thy memorial for ever, O our King. For, for ever thou art God, and beſides thee we have no King, Redeemer, or Saviour,* &c.

And here ordinarily the meal was quite ended, and they ate nor drank no more that night. (compare *Mat.* 26.29.) Yet they have a Tradition (35) that if they were minded, they might drink off a fifth Cup of Wine, upon this condition, that they ſhould ſay over the *great Hallel* over it. But what was the great *Hallel*? *Rabbi Judah* ſaith from *O give thanks*, to *By the Rivers of Babylon*, that is, the hundred ſix and thirtieth Pſalm.

(35) *Ibid.*

Rabbi Johanan ſaith, from *A Song of degrees*, to *By the Rivers of Babylon*; that is, from *Pſal.* 120. to *Pſal.* 137. *Rabbi Ahabar Jacob* ſaith, from *For the Lord hath choſen Jacob to himſelf, Pſal.* 135. *ver.* 4. to *By the Rivers of Babylon, Pſal.* 137. 1. Thus they debate it in the *Gemara*, in the Treatiſe *Peſachin*; and in the Treatiſe *Erachin* they ſeem yet to go further, and to add the hundred and fifth Pſalm to this *Hallel*; and ſo they make it of a doubtful meaſure (as is obſerved well by the learned *Buxtorfius*) ſometimes larger, ſometimes leſs, according as they ſaw good.

And now to take up the whole Rubrick of this Sacramental Supper in a ſhort ſumm, they ſate them down in a leaning poſture, began with a Cup of Wine, over which they hallowed the day; waſhed their hands; the table is furniſhed, they firſt eat ſome Sallet, have a ſecond Cup of Wine filled, over which is the rehearſal of the *Haggadah*, and of *Pſal.* 113, 114. and then the Wine drunk off. They waſh their hands again, unleavened bread is broken and bleſſed, and ſome of it eaten with bitter herbs dipt in the thick ſawce; then eat they the fleſh of the peace offerings, and then the fleſh of the Lamb; after which they waſh; have a third cup of Wine filled, or the *cup of bleſſing*, over which they firſt ſay grace after meat, and then give thanks for the Wine, and ſo drink it off. And laſtly, they have a fourth Cup of Wine filled, over which they ſay the *Hallel* out, and a prayer or two after it, and ſo they have done.

Thus was the Rubrick and Ritual of this great ſolemn Supper, with which the Reader comparing the action of our Saviour at his laſt Paſsover, he will eaſily perceive, that the mention of the firſt thing he did, is coincident with the third cup, or the *cup of bleſſing*, which he biddeth them to *divide among themſelves*; And then he taketh ſome of the unleavened bread again, and bleſſeth, and breaketh, and giveth to be eaten for his body, from henceforth, in that ſenſe that the fleſh of the Paſchal Lamb which they had newly eaten had been his body hitherto: And that which was commonly called the *cup of the Hallel*, he taketh and ordaineth for the Cup of the New Teſtament in his Bloud, and after it they ſung the *Hymn* or the *Hallel* out, and ſo he went out into the Mount of Olives.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

SECT. I.

Of the Solemnity and Rites of the first day in the Paſsover Week of the Hagigah, and Peace Offering of rejoycing.

THE next day after the Paſsover was eaten was holy, and no ſervile work to be done in it, but it was accounted and kept as a Sabbath, and ſo it is called, *Lev.* 23. 6, 7, 15. (a) On this day all the Males were to appear in the Court of the Temple, and to bring with them a burnt offering for their appearance, and a double peace offering, one for the ſolemnity, and another for the joy of the times The offering for their appearance was called *Corban Raajah*, and they conclude it due from theſe words, *None of you ſhall appear before me empty*, *Exod.* 23.15. Yet if any one failed of bringing ſuch a gift, his ſhame and his conſcience go with it, but there was no penalty upon him, becauſe though he had broken a Negative Precept, yet there was no work nor action done by him in it.

(a) *Talm. in Hagigah per.* 1. *Maym. in Hagig per.* 1.

The peace offerings for the ſolemnity of the time were called the *Hagigah*, and they were to be of ſome Beaſt, Bullock or Sheep. Hereupon in 2 *Chron.* 30.24. & 35.7.8. there is mention of *Bullocks and Oxen for the Paſsover*; and in *Deut.* 16. 2. there is ſpeech of *ſacrificing the Paſsover of the herd*; which cannot be underſtood of the Paſsover that was to be eaten on the fourteenth day at Even, for that was punctually, and determinately appointed to be of Lambs or Kids, *Exod.* 12.5. but it is to be conſtrued of theſe peace offerings which were for the ſolemnity of the time. And this is that which the Evangeliſt *John* calleth the *Paſsover*, when he ſaith, *The Jews went not into Pilates judgment Hall, leſt they ſhould be defiled, but that they might eat the Paſsover*, *Joh.* 18. 28. For they had eaten the Paſchal Lamb the night before.

They held themſelves obliged by the Law, as to appear at the three ſolemn feſtivals, and to pay their offerings and their ſervices then due, ſo to make merry and to rejoyce, and cheer up one another, becauſe it is ſaid, *Thou ſhalt rejoyce before the Lord*, *Deut.* 16.11, 14, &c. And hereupon they took up the uſe of Wine at the Paſsover Supper, as was obſerved before; and hereupon they took up other peace offerings beſides the *Hagigah* at the Paſsover ſolemnity, and called them שלמי שמחה *The peace offerings of rejoycing* And by the offering of theſe two ſorts of peace offerings, it is like they thought themſelves the better diſcharged though they brought not the offering of their appearance; for if they brought theſe, they might the better think they appeared not empty. And ſo *Levi Gerſhom* conſtrueth that paſſage concerning *Elkanah*, that *he went up yearly from his City to Shiloh, to ſacrifice to the Lord*, in application to theſe ſorts of peace offerings, rather than any other offering, *for it meaneth* (ſaith he) that (b) *he ſacrificed his peace offerings of rejoycing, and his peace offerings for the Hagigah.*

(b) *R. Lev. Gerſom. in* 1 *Sam.* 1.

The time for the offering of theſe they accounted the firſt day of the Feſtival to be moſt proper, and they ſtrove to diſpatch upon it that they might return home the ſooner, but if theſe Sacrifices were offered in any day of the Feſtival, it ſerved the turn.

On this firſt day of the Feaſt, when theſe great matters were to be in hand, namely their appearing in the Court and offering theſe their Sacrifices of ſolemnity and rejoycing at the laſt Paſsover of our Saviour, they ſhewed themſelves otherwiſe employed, for on this day they crucified the Lord of Life.

In reference to whoſe judging, condemning, and executing, though it be ſomewhat beſide the bent of the preſent diſcourſe, let the Reader ſcan two or three of their Traditions.

1. אין מתחילין את דינין בלילה (c) *They might begin no judgments in the night, nor received they any witneſs in the night, but the judgments were to be in the day only:* yet were they in the examination and judgment of our Saviour all night long.

(c) *Maym. in Sanhedr. per.* 6.

2. (d) *The judging of a falſe Prophet was only to be by the great Sanhedrin of ſeventy and one:* Under this notion they blaſphemouſly accuſed and arraigned our Saviour, *Joh.* 18. 19. *Luke* 23.2. and unto this, thoſe words of his refer, *Luke* 13. 33. *It cannot be that a Prophet periſh out of Jeruſalem.*

(d) *Talm. in Sanhedr. per.* x.

3, (e) *They put not an Elder that tranſgreſſeth againſt the determination of the great Sanhedrin to death, neither at the Sanhedrin that was in his own City, nor at the Sanhedrin that was at Jabneh, but they bring him up to the great Sanhedrin at Jeruſalem, and keep him till a ſolemn feſtival, and execute him at the Feaſt; according to what is ſaid, That all the People may hear and fear*, &c.

(e) *Ib. per.* xi

SECT.

SECT. II.

The second day in the Passover Week. The gathering and offering of the first fruits Omer.

THE first and last days of the solemn festival Weeks were called ימים טובים *Holy days*, or *good days*; and the observation of them differed little in strictness from the observation of the Sabbath. See *Lev.* 23. 7, 8, &c. Now the days between them were called מועד קטן *Moed Katon*, or the *lesser solemnity*; (*a*) in which, although there were not the like strictness of observance that there was of the *Holy days*, yet was there a distinction made betwixt them and other ordinary times: and divers things were prohibited, especially by their Traditions, to be done in them, which were permitted to be done on other days. And as for the service and imployment in the Temple, there was commonly more work and sacrificing on these days than on other ordinary days, because the peace offerings due or reserved to that time, could not all be dispatched on the other days, but did take up much of these days, and did find the Priests more than ordinary attendance and imployment about the Altar.

(*a*) *Talm. in Moed Katon. per.* 1, *&c.*

On this day that we have in hand, namely, the second day of the Passover week, whatsoever else of extraordinary offering was on it, there never failed to be the offering and waving of the first fruit sheaf before the Lord: The Law for this is given in *Lev.*23.10,11. *When ye be come into the Land which I give unto you, you shall reap the Harvest thereof, then ye shall bring a sheaf of the first fruits of your Harvest unto the Priest; and he shall wave the sheaf before the Lord, to be accepted for you: the morrow after the Sabbath the Priest shall wave it:* Where by the word *Sabbath* is to be understood, not the Sabbath day in the proper sense, but the first day in the Passover Week, of which we have spoken, which was so solemn an holy day: And so the *Chaldee* Paraphrast, and several other *Jews* do well interpret it.

The Rites about gathering and offering this first fruits sheaf are largely described by *Tosaphta ad Menachoth* to be after this manner (*a*): *Rabbi Ismael* saith, *The Omer or first* fruits sheaf, *if it came on the Sabbath day,* (properly so called, as it did that very day that our Saviour rested in the grave) *it came in three Seahs, but if on another day it came in five: but the wisemen say, whether Sabbath or other day all was one, it came in three Seahs:* Abba Saul *said, On the Sabbath it was reaped by one man, and with one sickle, and in one Basket: but on another day it was reaped by three men, and in three baskets, and with three sickles: But the wise men said, Sabbath or other day it was all one, it was by three men, and in three baskets, and with three sickles: The first fruits sheaf came out of the vale of the ashes by the brook* Kidron, *&c. The day of waving it lighting on the Sabbath, the Sabbath was dispensed with for the reaping of it: And how was it done? Those that the* Sanhedrin *sent about it, went out, at the Evening of the holy day,* (the first day of the Passover Week) *they took baskets and sickles, &c. They went out on the holy day when it began to be dark, and a great company went out with them: when it was now dark one said to them, On this Sabbath, on this Sabbath, on this Sabbath; In this Basket, in this Basket, in this Basket;* R. Eliezer *the son of* Zadock *saith, With this Sickle, with this Sickle, with this Sickle, every particular three times over. And they answer him, well, well, well, I will reap, and he bids them reap. And why do they thus? Because of the* Baithusæans (the Sadduces) *who said that the reaping of the first fruit sheaf is not on the end of the holy day. They reap it and put it into the basket, and bring it into the Court: and pass it through the fire; that they might answer the command about parched corn. The words of* Rabbi Meir, *But the wise men say, That is not to be meant so, but there was a hollow vessel full of holes, so that the fire might go quite through it in the Court, and the wind blew on it,* (in which they put the Corn suddenly to dry it that it might grind) *and they put it on a Mill to get out a tenth deal, &c. One takes the tenth deal and puts its oil and frankincense on it, and mingles them, and waves it, and takes out a handful and puts it on the Altar, and the rest is for the Priest to eat. As soon as the Omer is offered, they go out and find* Jerusalem *streets full of Meal and parched Corn: which was not according to the mind of the wise men. The words of* R. Meir: *But the wise men say; that it was according to the mind of the wise men, for as soon as the Omer was offered, new Corn was permitted.*

(*a*) *Tosaphta ad Menachoth. per.* 10.

SECT. IV.

The Feaſt of Pentecoſt, עצרת.

FRom this day and occaſion, namely from the offering of the firſt fruits *Omer* they began to count the Weeks to Pentecoſt, even ſeven Weeks forward. This day was the firſt of the number, and the next day after the expiring of ſeven Weeks, being the fiftieth day from hence, was Pentecoſt day, as is imported in the very word. It was dated from the offering of the firſt Corn, becauſe that Solemnity and this Feſtival had ſome relation one to another: The preſenting of the firſt ſheaf, was an introduction to Harveſt, and the Feaſt of Pentecoſt was a return or offering of their Harveſt; by that they had liberty to begin to put the ſickle into the Corn and to reap, and at this they offered an offering of their Corn now reaped and inned. Therefore this Solemnity is ſometimes called in Scripture *the Feaſt of Harveſt*, *Exod.* 23.16. and ſometimes *the Feaſt of weeks*, *Deut.* 16. 10. becauſe of the reckoning of the ſeven Weeks from that day to it, and ſometimes *Pentecoſt*, *Act.*2.1. becauſe it was the fiftieth day from that: and ſo the *Jews* themſelves call it יום חמשים (*a*) *the fiftieth day*, or *Pentecoſt*.

(*a*) *Maym. in Talmud per.* 8. *R. Sol. in Lev.* 23.

But the *Jews* in their Writings do moſt commonly call this Feaſt by the name עצרת *Atſereth*, and ſo do the *Chaldee Paraphraſts* uſe it in *Numb.* 28. 26. although (*b*) *Abarbonel* doth obſerve that this Feaſt alone, of all the three, is not called עצרת *Atſereth* in the Scripture. The word doth properly ſignifie a *reſtraining* or a *ſhutting up*, and from that ſignification it is taken to ſignifie a *ſolemn holy day*, or aſſembling, as being interdicted and reſtrained from work, 2 *King* 10.20. *Joel* 1.4. *Amos* 5.21, &c. But whether this Feaſt were ſo called by them in ſo ſingular a manner, becauſe that was the time of *the reſtraining of rains*, it being the very middle of Harveſt, or becauſe the offering of their *firſt fruits was reſtrained* till this time, or becauſe the feſtival *joy of Harveſt was yet reſtrained*, and not as yet full, or for what cauſe elſe, I ſhall not be much ſollicitous to determine; but certainly ſome of the *Rabbins* give ſuch intimation as might ſeem to give ſome ſtrength to the ſuppoſal upon one of the two latter. For *Maymony* relateth (*c*) that *they brought not any firſt fruits before* עצרת *Pentecoſt*, *becauſe it is ſaid*, the Feaſt of Harveſt, the firſt fruits of thy labours: *And if they brought any*, *they received them not from them*, *but laid them by till Pentecoſt*. And *Baal Hatturim* hath this ſaying, (*d*) *There is no rejoycing ſpoken of at the Paſſover*, *becauſe the fruits were yet in the field: But at* עצרת *Pentecoſt*, *when Corn is now reaped*, *and Wine is now in the Grapes*, *there is one rejoycing ſpoken of*, Deut.16.11. *But at the Feaſt of Tabernacles*, *when all is inned*, *then rejoycing is twice mentioned*, Deut.16.14,15.

(*c*) *Maym. in Biccurim.per.*2.

(*d*) *Baal. Turim in Deut.*16.

The ſolemnity of this day and feaſt was: 1. (*e*) That all the Males were to appear at it, as at the Paſſover and Feaſt of Tabernacles. 2. (*f*) They were to offer two cakes bak'd with leaven, of the Corn of the Harveſt now reaped, or of new Corn: and if it be queſtioned why with leaven now, ſeeing there was ſo expreſs commands againſt leaven at the Paſſover, ſome of the *Jews* do give this pertinent reaſon: (*g*) becauſe theſe loaves or cakes were an offering in behalf of the bread which they were ordinarily to eat, (for theſe were firſt fruits of their Wheat) but their bread at the Paſſover was commemorative of their haſty departing out of *Egypt*, when they could not ſtay to have their bread leavened: Their Paſſover bread was for a memorial, their Pentecoſt cakes were not. *At Paſſover they could only ſay*, חילך מצה *Here is unleavened bread* ובעצרת חילך מצה וחמץ. *But at Pentecoſt*, *Here is unleavened bread* (for the meat offering) *and leavened too* (for the two cakes) (*h*) as the *Gemariſts* deſcant upon this matter. Theſe cakes were made ſquare, each cake ſeven hand-breadth long, four broad, and four high.

(*e*) Exod. 23. 16.

(*f*) *Jer.* 23. 16, 17.

(*g*) *Abarb. ubi ſupr.*

(*h*) *Talm. Jeruſ. in Succab. per.* 5.

3. With theſe cakes were alſo offered ſeven Lambs, and one Bullock, and two Rams for a burnt offering, a Kid for a ſin offering, and two Lambs for a peace offering. And theſe two Lambs were the only peace offerings that the Congregation offered: and theſe peace offerings only were reckoned in the rank of the moſt holy offerings.

Now theſe Lambs being *Peace offerings*, were to be waved up and down with the two cakes, for ſo is the command expreſs, *Lev.*23.20. and the manner of that action was thus: (*i*) The Prieſt firſt waved the Lambs up and down whilſt they were yet alive, and then ſlew them: and having ſtead them, he took out the breaſt and ſhoulder of either of them, and laid them cloſe beſides the two cakes, and putting his hand under them he waved them all together, upwards and downwards, and this way and that way, and all towards the Eaſt; and afterwards burnt their inwards, and the Prieſt ate

(*i*) *Maym. ubi ſupr.*

ate the reſt of the fleſh. And as for the Cakes the High-Prieſt took the one, and the other was divided among all the Courſes who were then preſent.

It was not ſo much the ſolemnity or multitude of the Sacrifices of this day that challenged the appearance of all the People in the whole Land, though the offerings were many and ſolemn, but it was the Memorial which the Feaſt carried with it, namely of the Law, being given to *Iſrael*, at that time of the year from Mount *Sinai*.

On this day was the *Hallel* ſung, as was intimated before, and on this day was the great gift of tongues viſibly beſtowed upon the Diſciples.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Service on the day of Expiation.

THE inſtitution of this ſolemn day, of which there is a large mention, *Lev.* 16. was firſt occaſioned from this, that *Moſes* on that very day, after three ſeveral forty days Faſts came down from the Mount, having obtained *Iſraels* full peace with God and reconciliation, and brought now with him the renwed Tables, and a full commiſſion to build the Tabernacle, and to ſet up the ſolemn Worſhip in the midſt of them.

(*a*) Seven days before the day of Expiation, they put the High-Prieſt apart from his own Houſe into the Chamber פרהדרין *Parhedrin*: (*b*) leſt his Wife proving to be in her ſeparation ſhould bring upon him an uncleanneſs of ſeven days, and ſo prevent him of being fit for that days ſervice.

(*a*) *Ioma per.* 1. (*b*) *Maym. in Iom. haccippurim. per.* 1.

They alſo appointed another Prieſt as his ſubſtitute, to perform the ſervice of that day, if it ſhould fall out, that any uncleanneſs did befal him that he could not officiate, that ſo the ſervice ſhould not fall to the ground.

Every day of theſe ſeven they cauſed him to ſprinkle the bloud of the daily Sacrifice, to burn the parts of it, to offer the Incenſe, and dreſs the Lambs, that he might be the better inured to thoſe ſervices on that day when it came.

On the third day, and on the ſeventh, they beſprinkled him with the aſhes of the red Cow, for fear he might have been defiled by the dead, and not aware of it.

They delivered to him ſome of the Elders of the *Sanhedrin*, who read before him the rubrick and order of that days ſervice, and they ſaid unto him, *Sir High-Prieſt, read thou thy ſelf, it may be thou haſt forgotten, or it may be thou haſt not learned.*

On the Eve of the day of Expiation, that is, on the day before in the morning they brought him to the Eaſt-gate of the Courts, and there they made Bullocks, and Rams, and Lambs to paſs before him, that ſtill he be the better acquainted with every thing that he had to do.

Afterward the Elders of the *Sanhedrin* delivered him over to the Elders of the Prieſthood; who brought him into the Chamber of *Abhtenes*, that there he might learn to hand the incenſe: And there they gave him this Oath: *Sir High-Prieſt we are the Meſſengers of the* Sanhedrin, *and thou art our Meſſenger and the* Sanhedrins, *we adjure thee by him that hath cauſed his name to dwell in this Houſe, that thou alter not any thing of what we have ſpoken to thee:* and ſo they part weeping.

Now the reaſon of this ſolemn adjuration was becauſe of the *Sadduces*, who had vented a Doctrine, and ſome of them had ventured a practice contrary to the Tradition of the Elders, namely, to kindle the Incenſe, and to make it ſmoke without the Vail, and to bring it ſmoking within: *They ſwore him*, ſaith (*c*) the *Jeruſalem Talmud, becauſe of the* Baithuſæans, *who ſaid, Let him kindle the Incenſe without, and then bring it in: And there was one that did ſo, and when he came out, one ſaid to his Father: Ye have been ſearching all your days, yet did ye never the thing to purpoſe till this man came and did it, he anſwered him: although we have been ſearching all our days, yet have we done according to the will of the Wiſe Men. And I ſhall much wonder if this man that hath done ſo live long after. And they ſay he died ſhortly:* namely within three days.

(*c*) *Talm. Ieruſ. in Ioma per.* 1. *Iuchaſin. fol.* 19.

The Even being come, they ſuffered him to eat but ſparingly, becauſe fulneſs would make him drouſie: for ſleep he might not, for fear of Nocturnal Pollution, but all the night, he, if he were learned, read and expounded the Scripture to them that were with him, if he were not learned, ſome other did, eſpecially out of (*d*) *Job*, *Ezra*, *Daniel* and *Chronicles*, places that might moſt affect and prepare him for the ſervice.

(*d*) *Vid. Gloſſ. in Ioma in Talm. Babyl. per.* 1.

(*e*) *Kerithuth. per.* 1.

The day being come, (which was ſo ſtrict a Faſting day, (*e*) as that to eat any thing, or to do any work on it, fell under the penalty of *being cut off*) the High-Prieſt is now to prepare himſelf for the buſineſs. And firſt he puts off his ordinary wearing Cloathes, bathes himſelf in water (*f*) his bathing this day was on the roof of the room of *Happarbah*, a fine Sheet hanging betwixt him and the ſight of the People) wipes himſelf dry with a Towel, and puts on the rich Garments of the High-Prieſthood, waſheth his Hands and Feet, killeth the daily Sacrifice, burns the pieces, offers the Incenſe, dreſſeth the Lamps, and doth all the ſervice belonging to the ordinary daily ſervice: And ſo he doth by the Bullock, and ſeven Lambs of the extraordinary Sacrifice: And when he had done with theſe, he waſhed his hands and his feet again.

(*f*) *Mid. per.* 5.

(*g*) Then put he off his rich Robes again, and bathed himſelf, and put on the white Linnen Garments, appointed *Levit.* 16. 4. and performed the peculiar ſervices of that day, as firſt he goeth to his own Bullock, *Levit.* 16. 6. (which ſtood between the Temple and the Altar) laid his two hands upon his head, and made this confeſſion: *Ah Lord, I have ſinned, done perverſly and tranſgreſſed before thee, I and mine houſe, I beſeech thee O Lord, expiate the ſins, perverſities and tranſgreſſions, whereby I have ſinned, done perverſly and tranſgreſſed, I and mine houſe, as it is written in the Law of* Moſes *thy ſervant, ſaying, for on this day he will expiate for you to purge you from all your ſins before the Lord that ye may be clean.*

(*g*) *Maym. ubi ſupra per.* 4.

(*h*) Then went he to caſt the Lots upon the two Goats, on the North-Eaſt part of the Court below the Altar: The two lots were ordinarily of Gold, pieces juſt of one and the ſame bigneſs, on the one of them was written, *for the Lord*, and on the other *for Azazel*: theſe were put into a Box into which the Prieſt could put both his hands: this Box was called קלפי The two Goats were ſet before him; one before the right hand and the other at the left; and on his right hand ſtood the *Sagan*, and on his left hand ſtood chief of his Fathers houſe: He put his hand in the box and took out the lots: and opening his hands, if the lot for the Scape-goat came in his right hand the *Sagan* ſaid to him, *Sir, lift up your right hand*, and ſo the right hand Goat was the Scape-goat: And if that lot came in his left hand, the chief of his Fathers houſe ſaid to him, *Sir, lift up your hand*, and then that was the Scape-Goat that was on the left hand: And he tied a Scarlet liſt upon that Goats head, and ſet him there from whence he was to be ſent away, and the other Goat he ſent where he muſt be killed.

(*h*) *Id. ibid. per.* 3.

This Scarlet liſt is called commonly by the *Rabbins* לשון זהורית *Lingula coccinea*, the *Scarlet tongue*, becauſe it was broad and faſhioned like a tongue. And they expected that when it was tied upon the Scape-Goats head, (*i*) it ſhould turn white. And ſo they ſay it did, (*k*) in the time of *Simeon the juſt*, and that the lot for the Scape-Goat came ſtill up in his right hand: and this they ground upon *Eſay* 1. 18.

(*i*) *Ioma per.* 4. *in Gemara.*

(*k*) *Iuchaſin. fol.* 15. *col.* 1.

Having thus ſet the two Goats ready againſt their time comes, he returned again to his own Bullock where he left him ſtanding, and lays his hand upon his head a ſecond time, and makes a ſecond confeſſion, in the very ſame words that he had done the former, ſave that when he had ſaid, *wherein I have ſinned, done perverſly, and tranſgreſſed before thee, I and my fathers houſe*, he added, *and the ſons of* Aaron *thy holy people, as it is written in the Law of* Moſes, *&c.*

Then killed he the Bullock, took the blood and gave it one to ſtir that it ſhould not congeal: He himſelf took a Cenſer full of Coals from the Altar, and ſet them down upon a Bench in the Court: and from a Veſſel brought him, he took his hands full of Incenſe and put it into a Diſh: The Cenſer of Coals he took in his right hand (becauſe it was hot and heavy, otherwiſe he ſhould have carried it in his left) and the Diſh of Incenſe in his left hand, and ſo he went into the Holy of Holies, and came up to the Ark, and there he ſets his Coals down, empties the Incenſe into his hands again, and ſo lay it on the coals, and ſtays till all the room be full of ſmoak, and then comes backward out from within the vail, having his face ſtill toward the Ark: Being come out he made this ſhort Prayer, *O Lord God let it be thy good pleaſure, that this year may have ſeaſonable rains*, (if it have been droughty:) *And let not thy Scepter depart from* Judah, *and let not thy people* Iſrael *want ſuſtenance, and let not the prayer of wicked tranſgreſſors come before thee:* and ſo he came out.

Then took he the blood of the Bullock which had been ſtirred about all this while, for con-

congealing; and brought it within the moſt holy place, and ſprinkled of it eight times, once upward and ſeven times downward between the bars of the Ark, and having ſo done he came out thence, ſet the reſt of the blood in the baſon in the Holy place and came forth.

Then ſlew he the Goat, took the blood of it into the moſt holy place, and ſprinkled it there eight times, as the other; came forth and ſet it down in the holy place, took up the Bullocks blood and ſprinkled it eight times before the vail, and ſo he did by the Goats blood; then mingled he them together and ſprinkled therewith the golden Altar going round about it: He began firſt with the North-eaſt corner, ſo to the North-weſt, and to the South-weſt and ended at the South-eaſt; then ſprinkled he the body of the Altar it ſelf ſeven times, and ſo came out; and poured the remainder of the blood at the foot of the burnt offering Altar on the Weſt-ſide.

And now he goes about to ſend the Scape-goat away; he firſt laid his hands upon his head and made this confeſſion, *Ah Lord, thy people the houſe of Iſrael have ſinned and done perverſly, and tranſgreſſed before thee, I beſeech thee now O Lord expiate the ſins, perverſities, and tranſgreſſions, which the houſe of Iſrael thy people have ſinned, done perverſly, and tranſgreſſed before thee; as it is written in the Law of Moſes thy ſervant, For this day he will expiate for you, to purge you from all your ſins that you may be clean before Jehovah.* As ſoon as the Prieſts and people that were in the Court heard him utter the name *Jehovah*, they bowed, worſhipped, and ſaid, *Bleſſed be the Name of his glorious Kingdom for ever and ever.* And then they ſent the Goat a going.

* There was from *Jeruſalem* about ſome twelve eaſie miles off, a very ſteep and high promont, which they expreſs by the name צוק *Tſock*, ‖ (ſome take this to be the proper name of that Hill, † ſome for the common name of any high rock whatſoever.) Between *Jeruſalem* and this hill there were ten Booths ſet up at an equal diſtance one from another, namely, about a mile aſunder, and the neareſt about a mile from *Jeruſalem*. Having delivered the Goat to him that was to bring him into the Wilderneſs, they accompanied him to the firſt Booth, and from thence there were ſome ready there to accompany him to the next, and ſome at that to go with him to the third, and thus through all: and at every Booth they asked the man that led him whether he would eat or drink.

* *Joma ptr. 6. in in Miſhn.* ‖ *Ramb. ibi.* † *Bartenor. ib. & Aruch. in voce.*

From the laſt Booth they went not quite through with him to the high Rock, but ſtood at diſtance to ſee what he did. When he came there, he took the crimſon liſt from between the Goats horns and pulled it in two pieces; the one half of it he tyed upon the rock, and the other half upon his horns again. Then took he the Goat and puſhed him backward from off the rock, and by the time he came to the bottom he was daſh'd all in pieces. And ſo the man returns to the next Booth, and there ſtaies till it be dark.

In the mean time the High-prieſt after the ſending away of the Goat, had returned to the ſervice again, and cut in pieces the Bullock and Goat that he had ſlain, and whoſe blood he had brought within the vail, and laid their inwards upon the Altar to be burnt, but their pieces he delivered to ſome, to be carried forth without *Jeruſalem*, there to be burnt, *Levit.* 16. 27.

At laſt they ſay to the High-prieſt, *Sir, by this time the Goat is gotten into the Wilderneſs.* And then he went into the Court of the women, and there in a Pulpit read a Section or two in the Law, as namely, all *Levit.* 16. and *Chap.* 23. *verſ.* 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32.

Now if it be queſtioned how they could gueſs the very time when the Goat arrived in the Wilderneſs, there are three ſeveral ways of this conjecture held out by them, and they are theſe, 1. The *Miſhuch* of the *Talmud* ſaith, there were ſeveral high piles or pillars of ſtone ſet up in the way thither, and men ſtood upon them with linnen cloaths in their hands, and when the Goat was got into the Wilderneſs, he that ſtood on the pillar there, waved his Napkin up and down, and the next took at him and did the like, and the next at him, and ſo they conveyed the intelligence into the City in a trice. 2. *Rab. Iſmael* ſaith, a crimſon liſt was tyed on the Temple door, and aſſoon as ever the Goat arrived in the Wilderneſs, it grew white.

And that paſſage in the *Gemara* of the *Babylon Talmud* is remarkable (whether it ſpeak of this liſt, or of that betwixt the Goats horns it is not much material, they were both of the ſame nature, and reference) when it ſaith * *That all the forty years before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem the red liſt did never turn white:* for whereas this change of it was a ſign of the remiſſion of their ſins, as they themſelves conſtrue it from *Eſay* 1. 18. they had now ſo died themſelves with the blood of Chriſt, ſlain juſt forty years before the deſtruction of the City, that we may well take their own evidence and teſtimony for their guilt, and unpardonableneſs for that fact. *R. Judah* ſaith, it was three miles to בית חדודו *Beth Haduda*, which was the edge of the Wilderneſs that way that the Goat went,

* *Roſh. Haſhanah. fol. 31.*

went, and for the measuring out of the space of time that the man might be going thither with the Goat, some men walked out a miles space from the City, and walked back that mile again without any stay, and when they were come back, they stayed so much time as one might walk another mile, and then concluded that by that time the man with the Goat was come into the Wilderness.

The High-priest having read his Lessons in the Law, and prayed eight several Prayers after, he washes his Hands and Feet, puts off his linnen cloaths, baths himself, puts on his rich garments, washes his Hands and Feet again; offereth a Ram for himself and another for the people, and seven Lambs for the additional offering of the day. And then he offered the daily Evening Sacrifice.

This done he washed his Hands and Feet again, put off his rich garments, bathed himself, and put on the linnen garments, washed his Hands and Feet, went into the most Holy place and fetched out the Censer and Dish that he had left there.

After this he washed his Hands and Feet, put off those linnen cloaths, bathed himself in water, put on his rich garments again, washed his Hands and Feet, went into the Holy place, offered the Evening Incense, mended the Lamps, and so came out.

Then washed he his Hands and Feet again, put off his rich garments and put on his own ordinary wearing cloaths, and went to his house, all the people accompanying him: and he held it a joyful day because he was come out of the most Holy place in safety.

CHAP. XVI.

The manner of their celebrating the Feast of Tabernacles.

THE day of expiation was not so solemn, and serious, and painful, especially to the High-priest, but the *Feast of Tabernacles* was as jocund, pleasant and mirthful to all the people. It was but five days after that, beginning on the fifteenth day of the same month *Tisri*, and lasting eight days together, *Levit.* 23. 34, 35, 36. *Numb.* 29. 12, 35. 2 *Chron.* 7. *vers.* 8, 9, 10. *Nehem.* 8. 17, 18. In which feast there was more rejoycing than in any of the other, and more parcels and varieties of solemnity.

The first particular of its solemnity and celebration was their dwelling in booths, (from which custom the Feast took its name) which they began to do on the first day of the Feast, and so continued all the time, and out of those booths they might neither eat, nor drink, nor sleep, so long as the Feast lasted. Their booths were of boughs of Trees, in the making of which, for height, and breadth, and place, and fashion, it were endless to trace their Curiosity and Traditions, and it is somewhat excentrick to our discourse which is confined to the virge of the Temple. Within which confinement we are to take up four remarkable ingredients to the solemnity of this Feast, and they are these.

1. The variety of their Sacrifices.
2. Their Palm and Willow branches.
3. Their Pomecitrons.
4. Their pouring out of Water and rejoycing.

SECT. I.

The several Sacrifices at the Feast of Tabernacles.

THE *Jerusalem Talmud* doth give this brief summary of the progress of their proceedings in the service of the Temple every day of this Feast. * *They went first to offer the daily Sacrifice in the morning; then the additional Sacrifices; after that the vows and free offerings; from thence to eat and drink* (or to dinner) *from thence to the study of the Law; and after that, to offer the Evening Sacrifice, and from thence they went to the joy of the pouring out of the water.*

* *Talm. Jer. in Succ. per. 5.*

Now the constant or daily Sacrifices of these days of the Feast were unalteredly the same that they were on all other days, a Lamb in the Morning, and a Lamb at Even: but the additional Sacrifices for the time, were not only remarkable for their number (they and the daily Sacrifices of this time amounting to two hundred and fifteen the number of the years of *Israels* being in *Egypt*) but they were most remarkable for this alteration, because a Bullock less was offered every day than had been offered on the day before; and yet the very same number of Rams, Lambs, and Goats, retained every day alike: For on the first day of the Feast were thirteen Bullocks offered, on the second

second day twelve, on the third day eleven and so downward, as may be seen in *Numb.* 29. and yet on every day two Rams, fourteen Lambs, and one Goat, without any alteration, as is apparent in the same place.

The reason of which decrescency of the Bullocks, may be better guessed at, then surely given, and variety of conjecture sooner produced of others, then any certainty determined by our selves. Whether it were to reduce the whole number of the Bullocks to Seventy, * *in parallel to the Seventy Nations which should be abating and decaying, while Israel like the number of the Rams, Lambs, and Goats, remained fixed:* || or according to the seventy years of mans age, which is daily decaying; or whether it were to shew the decay of Sacrifice in time to come; or to match seven Bullocks with the seventh day; or to reduce the number of Beasts on that day to an equality with the number of the four and twenty courses; or whether this abatement were because the people abated daily, and withdrew to their own homes; or what else was the cause of it, we shall not be sollicitous to enquire further after, only we cannot but observe the manner of offering of these Sacrifices which were so numerous and so various, and the service with them.

* R. Sol. in Numb. 29.

|| Abarb. ibid.

The daily Sacrifice was offered according to the Ritual that hath been already observed by the Course appointed for that week, and according as every one obtained his imployment by the lottery. And at the offering of it the Levites sung the *Hallel*, of which mention and description hath been made before.

But as for additional Sacrifices, they found a way that every Course of the four and twenty, who were now all present, should have a share in offering of one beast or other, and they proportionated the business after this manner.

* On the first day there were thirteen Bullocks, two Rams, and one Goat, sixteen beasts in all, and these were offered by sixteen of the Courses; there remained then fourteen Lambs for eight Courses, six whereof offered two Lambs apiece, and the other two Courses one Lamb apiece.

* *Succah. per. 5.* & *Maym. in Tam. per. 10.*

On the second day there were twelve Bullocks, two Rams, and one Goat, fifteen beasts offered by fifteen of the Courses; and then their remained fourteen Lambs for nine Courses to offer; five whereof offered two Lambs apiece, and four one apiece.

On the third day eleven Bullocks, two Rams, and one Goat, fourteen beasts offered by fourteen of the Courses: and then fourteen Lambs remained for ten Courses, of which four Courses offered two Lambs apiece, and six Courses one apiece.

On the fourth day ten Bullocks, two Rams, and one Goat, thirteen beasts offered by thirteen Courses: the fourteen Lambs remained for eleven Courses, three Courses offered two apiece, and eight Courses one apiece.

On the fifth day nine Bullocks, two Rams, and one Goat, offered by twelve Courses: the fourteen Lambs remained for the other twelve Courses to offer, two Courses offered two a piece, and ten Courses one a piece.

On the sixth day eight Bullocks, two Rams, and one Goat, offered by eleven Courses: the fourteen Lambs remained for thirteen Courses to offer, one Course offered two Lambs, and twelve Courses offered one Lamb a piece.

On the seventh day seven Bullocks, two Rams, one Goat, and fourteen Lambs, four and twenty in all were offered by the four and twenty Courses, every Course offering one beast.

SECT. II.

Their Palm and Willow branches. ערבה ולולב.

IT was enjoyned by the Law, *Ye shall take you on the first day* (of the Feast of Tabernacles) *fruit of goodly Trees, branches of Palm trees, boughs of thick Trees, and Willows of the brook, and ye shall rejoyce before the Lord your God seven days,* Lev. 23. 40. Upon which Text there was * a dispute between the *Pharisees* and the *Sadduces*, for what end these boughs and branches should be appointed: The *Sadduces* held that they were for the making of their Booths, but the *Pharisees* determined (and they carried it) that these were branches, and fruit of Trees, which at this Feast were to be carried in their hands.

* *Ab. Ez. Lev.* 23.

* On the first day of the Feast therefore they prepared them branches of Palm, Willow, and Mirtle, and tied them together with gold or silver twist, or with other strings or twigs, and these they carried continually in their hand all the first day of the Feast throughout. In the morning did a man go out of his house, he had his *Lulabb* in his hand, for so they called this bundle of branches. If he went to the Synagogue, if he prayed, if he went to visit the sick, he kept it still in his hand, and he might not leave it out of his hand all that day long. And all the rest of the days of the Feast they went not

(b) *Maym. in Succah velul. per.* 7.

not to the Temple without theſe branches, and every day they went to the Temple purpoſely with them.

* *Talm. in Succab per.* 4. * There was a place a little below *Jeruſalem*, which was called *Motſa*, thither they went and got Willow branches, (it ſeems upon the banks of *Kidron*) and every one got two, namely || one for his *Lulabb*, or to tye up with his Palm and Myrtle branches to carry in his hand, and one for the Altar. And once every day of the Feaſt, they went with theſe in their hands about the Altar, and ſtuck one of them there. At firſt it was their cuſtom upon the firſt day of the Feaſt, to bring their branches into the Temple, and there to leave them till the next morning, ſticking about the Cloyſter that incompaſſed the mountain of the houſe, and the next morning to come and take them in their hands again. But this bred ſcuffling and ſcrambling and difference among them about which was which, ſo that the *Sanhedrin* ſaw cauſe to decree that every one ſhould take his branch with him home, and bring it from home the next day.

|| *Toſapht. in Succab per.* 3.

Having therefore provided a *Lulabb*, or *bundle* to hold in their hands, and another Willow branch for the Altar, they came once every day into the Court, and went about the Altar, and ſet their boughs bending toward the Altar, and cryed *Hoſanna*, or *ſave now I beſeech O Lord*; *O Lord I beſeech thee ſend now proſperity*, *Pſal.* 118. 25. the Trumpets in the mean while ſounding; and on the ſeventh day they walked about the Altar ſeven times, and this was called the *great Hoſanna*: and every day when they went away they ſaid יופי לך מזבח יופי לך מזבח *Beauty be to thee O Altar, Beauty be to thee O Altar.*

The conſideration of this cuſtom giveth light to that paſſage, *John* 12.12,13. *Matth.* 21.8,9,15. and to that in *Rev.*7.9,10.

SECT. III.

Their Pomecitron apples. אתרוג.

THere ſeemeth not to be either mention or footing of this matter that we have now in hand in all the Scriptures, yet have the Traditionaries drawn it into being and practiſe from that expreſſion in the Text alledged even now, *Ye ſhall take unto you* פרי עץ הדר *the fruit of goodly trees*, (as our Engliſh renders it, and the Seventy differ but little from it) which the Talmudiſts deſcant upon in this variety. * *It is written* פרי עץ הדר *that is a tree whoſe fruit is goodly, and whoſe wood is goodly. And what is that, but a Pomecitron? And if thou ſay a Pomegranate; his fruit is goodly, but his wood is not goodly. If thou ſay a Charob; his wood is goodly, but his fruit is not goodly.* R. Simeon ben Jochai ſaith, *A Tree whoſe fruit is goodly, and its wood goodly; the taſte of its fruit like the taſte of its wood, its wood like its fruit, and its fruit like its wood, and what is this? A Pomecitron. It is called* עץ חדר *ſaith* Rabbi Levi שדר *becauſe it ſtayeth upon the tree from one year to another.* Rabbi Tauchuma *ſaith* Aquila *rendreth* הדר *by* הודר *for it is a tree that groweth by the waters.* R. Abhu *ſaith, read it not* הדר *but* הדור *for ſo in the Greek Tongue they call water* הודור ὑδωρ: *Now what Tree is that that groweth beſides all waters? It is a Pomecitron.* And according to this received conſtruction doth the Chaldee Paraphraſt roundly render that clauſe in the Text alledged, *Ye ſhall take unto you the fruit of the Pomecitron tree*, which conſtruction is generally received of all the Jews.

* *Talm. Jer. in Succab fol.* 53. *col.* 2. & *Talm. Rab. in Succab f.* 35. & *Aruch. in* הדר *R. Sol.* & *Baal. turim. in Lev.* 23.

And ſo generally received, that as they carried a branch or bundle of branches in the one hand at the Feaſt of Tabernacles, and held that an undiſpenſable command, ſo did they alſo carry a Pomecitron in the other hand, and held that as ſtrict a command and duty as the other. About which Ceremonial Pomecitron (for ſo I may well call it) it would be tedious to produce the curioſities that are diſcuſſed, about the growth, quantity, quality, and complexion of it; I ſhall only relate one ſtory about it, which is ſomewhat remarkable; and that is, of a **Baithuſæan*, or *Sadduce*, who failing of the performance of a piece of ſervice at the Altar, at the Feaſt of Tabernacles (of which ſervice we ſhall ſpeak anon) and not doing it as he ſhould, all the company fell upon him, and pelted him (the Talmudick expreſſion is *they ſtoned him*) with their Pomecitrons. || Whereupon King *Jannai* being himſelf a *Sadduce*, called for a ſword and ſlew divers of the wiſe men. Whether this were that King *Jannai* † of whom there is the remarkable ſtory in the Treatiſe *Sanhedrin*, in the place alledged in the margin, (a ſtory that it may be hath ſome reference to this fact) it is not time and place to examine here.

* *Succah ib. Toſapht ib. per.* 3

|| *Juchaſ. fol.* 15 † *Talm. Bab. in Sanhedr. per.* 2. *in Gemar. Halacah.* 2.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

Their pouring out of water נישוך חמים *and the Rubrick of every days Service.*

THE Ceremonies and Customs used at this Feast, which have been mentioned already, were somewhat strange, but the strangest rite is yet behind, and that is their *drawing and pouring out of water*, and their great rejoycing for it, which pouring out of water was used every day of the Feast, and their rejoycing upon it, was so great, that in all this Feast, nay in all their Feasts throughout all the year, they had not the like. For the fuller view of which and of the whole Festivity of this solemn time, having now shewn you the men in their Festival garbe, with their Branches in the one hand, and their Pomecitrons in the other, we will now take up in order, the several and particular services and passages of every day as they did occur.

First, They came with their Branches and Pomecitrons in their hands to the morning dayly Sacrifice, and stood so attending while that was offered. * And when the parts of this Sacrifice were laid on the Altar, then was there this pouring out of water upon the Altar, but mingled with Wine, and the manner thus: ‖ One of the Priests with a golden Tankard went to the Fountain or Pool of *Siloam*, and filled it there with water: He returned back again into the Court through that which was called *the Water gate*, (which we have taken the survey of it in its place:) and when he came there, the Trumpets sounded: He goeth up the rise of the Altar where stood two Basins, one with Wine in it, and into the other he put the water: and he pours either the Wine into the water or the water into the Wine, and then pours them out by way of libation: which action whilest he was going about the people cried to him, *Hold up thy hand:* And the reason of this admonition was, because of that *Baithusæan* or *Sadduce* that we have newly mentioned, who when he was about this libation, and should have poured the Wine clear from him, he poured it upon his own feet, and this caused the multitude to pelt him with their Pomecitrons.

* *Tosaphta in Succah. per. 3.*

‖ *Talm. ibid. per. 4.*

At the time of this Libation did the musick and the song begin, and * that song which they sung all the days of the Feast, at the daily Sacrifice was the *Hallel* (which we have described before) *that being renewed daily*, (saith the *Jerusalem Talmud*,) *as their Lulabh* or branches *were renewed daily:* † Now when they came, in the *Hallel*, to the beginning of the hundred and eighteenth *Psalm*, *O give thanks unto the Lord*, all the company shook their branches: and so did they when they came to these words, *Hosanna*, or *save now Lord I beseech thee:* and again at the saying of that clause, *O Lord I beseech thee send now prosperity:* and so likewise at the saying of the last verse of that *Psalm*, which was the last verse of the *Hallel*, *O give thanks unto the Lord*, &c.

* *Talm. Jerus. in Succab. per. 5.*

† *Succah. in Mishnah per. 3.*

After the service of the daily Sacrifice was done, then fell they to the offering of the additional Sacrifices which have been mentioned of so many Bullocks, Rams, Lambs, and a Goat: at which service the Songs-men sang again some peculiar and appointed part of a Psalm:

As on the first day, *Psal.* 105.
* On the second day, *Psal.* 29.
On the third day, *Psal.* 50. at *vers.* 16.
On the fourth day, *Psal.* 94. at *vers.* 16.
On the fifth day, *Psal.* 94. at *vers.* 8.
On the sixth day, *Psal.* 81. at *vers.* 6.
On the seventh day, *Psal.* 82. at *vers.* 5.

* *Maym. in Tamid. in per.* 10.

When these additional Sacrifices were also finished, the people departed home to dinner (having first sung their *Hosanna* about the Altar, as hath been related, with their palms in their hands) unless there were any that had vows or freewil offerings to offer, who stayed for that occasion. After dinner they went severally to the Divinity Schools or to the Study of the Law for a while; and when the time came, to the Evening Sacrifice, where the service was much answerable to what was in the mornig.

Towards night they began the שמחת בית תשואבה *Rejoycing for the pouring* out, or drawing *of the water*, which mirth they continued far in the night every night of the Feast, and this their rejoycing was of so high a jollity, that they say, מי שלא ראה שמחת בית השואבה לא ראה שמחה מימיו * *That he that never saw the rejoycing of the drawing of water, never saw rejoycing in all his life.* At the time when the water was drawn or fetcht from the pool of *Siloam*, and poured out upon the Altar, they had not the liberty of their jollity, because of the seriousness and solemnity of the service that was then

* *Succah. per. 5.*

then in hand; but when all the service of the day was over and night was now come, they fall to their rejoycing for that matter, which rejoycing is equally strange both for the manner and the cause of it: The manner was thus,

* *Ib. & Maym. in Succah. Vetulabh. per. 8.*

* They went into the Court of the women, and there the women placed themselves upon balcones round about the Court, and the men stood upon the ground. There were four Candlesticks (or Beacons rather I might call them) of an exceeding great bigness, and mounted of an exceeding great height, overtopping and overlooking the walls of the Court, and of the mountain of the house at a great elevation: By every Candlestick (which stood on every side of the Court one) there was a ladder, by which four young men of the Priests, did severally go up to the Candlesticks with plenty of Oil and Yarn, which was ravelled of the Priests old coats and girdles, and they set them a burning.

The Pipe of the Temple began to play, and many Levites with their instruments in great abundance, standing upon the fifteen steps that went down out of the Court of *Israel* into the Court of the Women, and whosoever of them and of the Priests was musical either with Instrument or with Voice, joined his Musick: In the mean while the greatest Grandees of the people, as the members of the *Sanhedrin*, Rulers of the Synagogues, Doctors of the Schools, and those that were of the highest rank and repute for Place and Religion, fell a Dancing, Leaping, Singing and Capering, with torches in their Hands, with all their skill and might, whilest the Women and the common people looked on: and thus they spent the most part of the night. And the more they abased themselves (like *David* before the Ark) in this activity, the more they thought they did commendably, and deserved praise.

At last, far in the night two Priests, standing in the Gate of *Nicanor*, do sound their Trumpets; and then they come down to the tenth step and they sound there again; they come down into the Court of the Women, and there sound a third time, and so they go sounding all along the Court till they come to the East-gate of it, and there they turn themselves and look back up toward the Temple, and they say thus, *Our Fathers which were in this place, turned their backs upon the Temple of the Lord, and their faces towards the East, towards the Sun, but as for us, we are towards him, and our eyes towards him.*

* *Talm. Jerus. in Succah. f. 55 & Talm. Bab. ibi. fol. 5.*

* As the Grandees danced, some of them would say thus, *Blessed be thou O my youth which hast not shamed my old old age,* (אילו אנשי מעשה These were called men of performances) *And others would say, Blessed be thou O my old age which hast gainsaid my youth.* (These were *Chasidin* and men of repentance.) *And both of them would say, Blessed is he that hath not sinned, and he that hath sinned and his sin is pardoned.*

At length weariness, sleepiness, and satiety with their mirth, concludes the jollity till another night, and so they part, some to their own homes, and others stay the night out in their places still, מנמנמי אכתפא דהדרי nodding and sleeping sometimes as they stood or sat, upon one anothers shoulders, even while the sport was in hand.

And now to come to search after the reason of this strange and extraordinary jucundity at this time, it were no great difficulty to shew some cause why they might be more merry at the Feast of Tabernacles than at other Festivals, namely because they had now inned and gathered all their fruits, and therefore this Feast is called *The Feast of ingathering in the end of the year, Exod.* 23. 15, 16. But why they should take up so great joviality, upon the pouring out or drawing of the water mentioned, is somewhat strange to observe, and not easie to resolve.

* *Tosaphta ubi ante.*

* *Rabbi Akibah* giveth this reason of the pouring out the water: *The Law saith,* (he saith) *Bring an Omer of Barly at the Passover, for that is the season of Barly, that the Corn may be blessed. Bring wheat and the first fruits at Pentecost, which was the season of trees, that the fruit of trees may be blessed to thee. Bring* נסוך המים *the libation of water at the Feast of Tabernacles, that the showres may be blessed to thee. And accordingly it is said that whosoever will not come up to the Feast of Tabernacles shall have no rain.* For now was the time of the latter rains, *Joel* 2.23.

* *Maym. ubi ante.*

* *Maymony* giveth this as the cause of the rejoycing, Because it was the rejoycing for the keeping of the Law, to which no joy can be comparable: And therefore saith he, *The common people, and every one that would, were not actors in this rejoycing,* for they neither sang nor danced, *but were only spectators, but the actors were the great men of Wisdom and Religion.*

* *Talm. Jerus. ubi supr.*

But remarkable is that passage in the *Jerusalem Talmud*, upon this question, * *Rabbi Levi* saith, *Why is the name of it called* בית השואבה *The drawing of water?* שמשם שואבים רוח הקדש *Because of the drawing or pouring out of the Holy Ghost: according to what is said, With joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of Salvation,* Esay 12.3.

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Whatsoever was the reason, this was the manner of their carriage at this Feast, and upon this occasion: the observation of which helpeth to illustrate that passage in *Joh.* 7. 37,38. which seemeth plainly to allude to this custom. For our Saviour in the last and great day of this Feast, (as *vers.*2.) when they had all the seven days kept this great mirthfulness in reference to the drawing and libation of water, out of the Pool *Siloam*, (which by some of their own confession referred to the pouring out of the Holy Ghost) *he stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst let him come to me and drink: He that believeth on me, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water: speaking this of the spirit, &c.* As if he had said to this purpose to them in more large expressions. Is it so much rejoycing to you to draw water out of *Siloam*, and pour it out, which doth but typifie the pouring out of the Holy Ghost? I tell you I am he that can give you living water, and on him that believeth in me, shall the Holy Ghost be so abundantly poured out, as if streams of living water were alway flowing out of his belly. And to confirm this his saying by a miracle, he doth presently after give sight to a man born blind, by sending him but to wash in the pool of *Siloam*, *Joh.*9.7.

Thus was the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles day after day. Every day they came with their branches to the Temple, had the *Hallel* sung, drew water out of *Siloam*, and poured it and Wine upon the Altar, incompassed the Altar, and sung their *Hosanna*, and at night had the rejoycing for the drawing of the water. Only there was this difference among the days; that on the night before the Sabbath that fell within the Feast, and on the night before the eighth day, which was a holy day, they used not their dancing, singing and rejoycing, but on the seventh day they went about the Altar seven times, missed their dancing that night, and on the eighth day had the same solemnities with the days before, ate their Pomecitrons which they might not do before: and at night had the great rejoycing in the Court of the Women, and so concluded the Feast: And therefore this by the Evangelist is called not only *the last day*, but also *the great day of the Feast*, both because it was a holy day, and because it was the conclusion.

SECT. V.

Of the Feast of Trumpets, and Feast of Dedication.

OF the Feast of Trumpets and Dedication we have not much to speak, because they had not much peculiar at the Temple more than they had all over the land: save that there was with the sounding of Trumpets at the Temple, some additional Sacrifices the first of *Tisri*, which was the first day of the year: for which there is the injunction and the story, *Num.* 29.1,2, 3. Only this Tradition crept into that practise, (*a*) That whereas in other places the beginning of the year was sounded with a Trumpet of Rams or Sheeps horn: at the Temple there was that and two silver Trumpets also used, (*b*) and the Levites on that day sung the 81 *Psalm.*

(*a*) *Maym. in Succah. per.* 1.
(*b*) *Talm. in Rosh. hashanah. fol.* 31.

The Feast of Dedication of which there is mention, *Joh.*10.22. had its original, from the regaining and restoring of the Temple Altar and Service from the hands of the *Syrogrecian* Tyrants, who had defiled, spoiled and ruined them. The institution of the Feast was by victorious *Judas Machabeus and his brethren and the whole Congregation* appointing it (*c*) from the five and twentieth day of the month *Cisleu*, eight days forward: which fell about the former part of our *December*. The greatest owning of this Feast at the Temple in the service there was by singing over the *Hallel* every day of the eight, as hath been mentioned heretofore. (*d*) And the greatest Ceremony of this Feast in all other places was, the lighting of Candles every evening, and setting them up at the doors of their houses to burn in the night: And to such supererogation in this point, did some grow in time, that they used to light up a Candle for every one that was in their Family. Nay some yet would go so high, as to double that number every night: as if there were ten in his house, he lighted up ten Candles the first night of the Feast, and twenty the second, and thirty the third, and so still encreasing that on the eighth night he lighted up eighty Candles.

(*c*) *1 Macab.*4. 52. 59.

(*d*) *Maym. in Chanuchab per.* 3.

The reason of the Celebration of this Feast in this manner, is given by the Author cited next above in the Margin, in these words: (*i*) *When Israel prevailed against their enemie, and destroyed them, it was the five and twenticth day of the month Cisleu, and they went into the Temple, and found not there any pure oil, but only one Bottle: And there was no more oil in it, than to keep the Lamps burning for one day only: yet, did they light them with it:*

(*i*) *Id. ibid.*

* *Gloss. ibid.* * And a miracle was *shewed there withal* (saith his Glossary there) *for it maintained the Lamps burning eight nights: whereupon the wise men of that generation, did on the next year appoint these eight days for days of rejoycing and praise and for lighting up of candles at the doors of their houses.*

CHAP. XVII.

Certain peculiar parcels of Service.

SECT. I.

The King reading the Law.

* Deut. 13.10, 11.

MOSES had commanded, saying * *At the end of every seven years, in the solemnity of the year of release in the Feast of Tabernacles when all Israel is come to appear before the Lord thy God, in the place which he shall choose, thou shalt read this Law, before all Israel in their hearing:* The circumstances of time, place, and person, for this reading, the *Jews* do determine thus. || The reader was to be the King, the place, in the Court of the women, and the time, towards the end of the first holy day in the Feast of Tabernacles weeks. There was then a pulpit of wood set up in the midst of the Court of the women, for thither might women and children come to hear, as they were injoyned, *per.* 12. which they might not do into the upper Court: And the King goes up into the Pulpit and sits him down. *The Minister of the Congregation* חזן הכנסת takes the Book of the Law and gives it to the chief of the Congregation or Head of the Congregation, ראש הכנסת) The chief of the Congregation or Head of the Synagogue (for now they were in a Synagogue model) gives it to the *Sagan*, the *Sagan* gives it to the High-priest, and the High-priest to the King. The King stands up to receive it, and standing uttereth a Prayer, as every one did that was to read the Law in publique before he read: and then if he thought good he might sit down and read, but if he read standing, it was thought the more honorable, and so it is recorded that King *Agrippa* did when he was upon this imployment.

|| *Talm. in Sotah. per.* 7. *R. Sol. in* Deut. 31. *Maym. in Hagigah. per.* 1.

He began to read at the beginning of *Deuteronomy*, and read to *vers.* 10. of the 6. *Chap.* Thence he skipt to the thirteenth *verse* of the eleventh *Chapter*, and read to the two and twentieth *verse* of the same *Chapter*. There he skipt again to the two and twentieth *verse* of the fourteenth *Chapter*, and read to the second *verse* of the nine and twentieth *Chapter*. For they thought it was enough if he read those portions only, that were most pregnant and pertinent for the stirring of them up, to the observing of the Commandments, and for the strengthening of their hands in the Law of truth. And the *Talmud* relates of King *Agrippa*, that when he was upon this Service, and came to read that passage in *Deut.* 17.15. *One from among thy brethren thou shalt set King over thee: thou mayest not set a Stranger over thee which is not thy brother*, his eyes trickled down with tears, in remembrance that he was not of the seed of the *Jews*, so that the people were glad to chear him up, and cried out three times to him, *Fear not* Agrippa, *thou art our brother.*

The reading is called, פרשת המלך *The lection of the King*, and it is reckoned by the *Jews* to be one of those eight things that must undispensably be uttered in the Hebrew Tongue: Those eight things are these,

1. The words of him that presented his first fruits, *Deut.* 26. 5.
2. The words of the woman that pull'd off the shoe, *Deut.* 25. 7, 8, 9.
3. The blessings and the curses, *Deut.* 27. & 28.
4. The blessing of the Priests, *Numb.* 6. 24, 25, 26.
5. The blessing of the High-priest on the day of Expiation.
6. This lection of the King.
7. The words of the Priests incouraging to battel, *Deut.* 20. 3.
8. The words of the Elders over the beheaded Heifer, *Deut.* 21. 7, 8.

SECT.

SECT. II.

The Priests burning of the red Cow.

THE Law about burning a red Cow to ashes, and the use of those ashes for the purifying of those that were unclean by the dead, is given and described at large in *Num.* 19. and the significancy of that rite and other sprinklings is touched upon *Heb.* 9.13. The manner of their going about and performing this great business) for so it was not unjustly held, because it was for the cleansing from the greatest uncleanness) was exceeding curious, and their circumspection about the matter was so nice and great, that in none of the Ceremonious performances, they shewed more Ceremony than in this.

Not to trace their great curiosities in choosing out a Cow that was exactly fit for this business, and how many exceptions and cautions, and scrutinies they had about her, which are nicely discussed in the two first Chapters of the Treatise *Parah*: Nor to dispute whether (*a*) this work of burning her, belonged only to the High-Priest, or whether another might do it as well as he: the managing of that business when it came to it, was after this manner.

(*a*) *Vid. Iuchas. fol.* 13. *R. Sol. in Numb.* 19.

(*b*) Seven days before a Cow was to be burnt, the Priest that was to burn her, was put apart into a Chamber of the Temple, which stood in the North-east Angle of the Court of *Israel*, which was called בית האבן *The house of stone*, meaning *The house of stone vessels*, as we have cleared it, in the survey and description of it: And the reason of this his separation was, that he might be sure to be free for all that time from any Pollution by a Grave or Corps: For since the ashes of this burnt Cow was the great and only purger from that defilement, it was their choise, care and heedfulness, that they should be clear from that defilement, that went about the burning of her, or sprinkling her ashes.

(*b*) *Talm. in Parah per.* 3. *in Mishuch. & Ioma per. in Gemarah.*

When the day of her burning came, the Priest that was to do it, and they that were to accompany him in that work, (*c*) marched out at the East-gate of the Mountain of the Temple, which Gate was also called *Shushan*, and went over the Valley of *Cidron* to Mount *Olivet*, to a pitch of the Hill just over against the Gate where they had come out, and in the face of the Temple: (*d*) all the way over the Valley was a Causey made upon double Arches, that is, one Arch still standing upon two Arches, and so levelled on the surface as made a plain and even way all along: And the reason of this great cost and curiosity was, that all the way might be secure against unseen or unknown graves (by which these passengers might have been defiled) the stone Arches not permitting to interre a Corps. The like Arches for the like prevention, we have observed in its due place, were all under the Courts of the Temple, and the like Archedness was there on Mount *Olivet*, under the very place where the Cow was to be burnt, for the same security.

(*c*) *Middoth. per.* 1.

(*d*) *Maym. in Parah. per.* 3. *Sheka im. per.* 4. *& Talm. in Parah. ubi supr.*

The Elders of the People marched before the Priest and his company all along this Causey, to the place of the burning, and there when the Priest came up, they laid their hands upon him, and called upon him to bath himself, for there was a place for that purpose, and so he did. Then was the Pile made of Wood in and on which she was to be burnt; and tying her legs with Cords, they lay her on, her head lying toward the South, and her face turning to the West. The Priest standing on the East side of her, and his face toward the West, kills her with his right hand, and takes the bloud with the left.

Now it was commanded by the Law, that the sprinkling of her bloud should be *directly before the Tabernacle of the Congregation seven times*, *Numb.* 19.4. For the answering of which command, the Priest having slain her, and taken her bloud, did sprinkle it so many times towards the Temple, looking directly over the Gate *Shushan* upon the Porch of the Temple: the Battlements of which Gate were for this very purpose made lower than the Battlements of any other of the Gates about the Sanctuary; that over it he might see the face of the Porch which through it he could not reach to do.

Having sprinkled her bloud, he sets his Pile of Wood afire, and sets her a burning, and as she was burning he takes Cedar Wood and Hysop, and Scarlet Wool, and shews them and saith to the standers by, *This is Cedar wood, this is Cedar wood, this is Cedar wood*, three times over, and they answer him three times over, *well, well, well*: so likewise he saith, *This is Hysop, this is Hysop, this is Hysop*; *This is Scarlet wool, this is Scarlet wool, this is Scarlet wool*, and they answer him as before, three times to either of them, and then he casts those things into the fire, and they burn all together.

When all was burnt, they took up the ashes, and pounded and sifted them, and one part

part of them they laid up in ſome place of Mount *Olivet* for the ſprinkling of the People: Another part was delivered to the four and twenty Courſes for the ſprinkling of the Prieſts, and a third part was laid up in the *Chel*, or incloſure of the Court, to be kept for a Memorial. Nine of this Kine were burnt between the firſt giving of the Law about this Rite, and the fatal fall and deſtruction of the Temple. One in the time of *Moſes*, one burnt by *Ezra*, two by *Simeon the juſt*, two by *Jochanan* (c) the father of *Matthias*, one by *Elioenai* the ſon of *Hakkoph*, one by *Hanameel Hammizri*, and one by *Iſmael* the ſon of *Fabi*; and the *Jews* look for a tenth in the days of the *Meſſias*; where, by the way, we cannot but obſerve how their traditions had increaſed their defilements: for two of theſe Kine ſerved till *Ezra*'s time, which was near upon a thouſand years, and the time after, which was not half the ſpace, took up ſeven.

(c) *Inchaſin fol.* 16.

Now whereas the Law enjoined that for the cleanſing of the unclean, *theſe aſhes were to be ſprinkled by a clean perſon*, *Num.* 19.18. their Tradition ſtrained it to a perſon that had never been defiled by a dead Corps in all his life; therefore that ſuch perſons might be had, there were Arches wrought in a Rock in *Jeruſalem* after the manner forementioned, and houſes built over thoſe Arches. And thither as to a place ſecure from Graves, certain Women with Child were brought when they were near the time of their Delivery, and there they were brought to bed. And their Children were there brought up continually for this very imployment, that they might be ready, as they were capable, and and as there was occaſion, to ſprinkle theſe aſhes. Which when any of them went to do, he rode on a ſeat on Oxens backs, firſt to the Pool of *Siloam*, where he lighted in the water (for there he might preſume there was no Grave to defile him) filled his Pitcher, and got up again, rode to Mount *Olivet*, beſprinkled the party that was to be cleanſed, and rode in like manner to his Cell again.

SECT. III.

The tryal of the ſuſpected Wife.

THE Law concerning jealouſie, and about the tryal of a Wife ſuſpected, given in *Num.*5. was underſtood and practiſed by the *Jews* according to theſe Conſtructions and Traditions.

(a) A man before two witneſſes had charged his Wife, ſaying, *See thou ſpeak not to ſuch a man*; though ſhe did, yet ſhe was ſtill free to her Husband: but if ſhe went with that man into private, and there ſtaid with him ſuch a ſpace, then ſhe was forbidden her Husbands company, and he was to bring her to the *Sanhedrin* that was next to him; and they ſent with him and her two *ſcholars of the wiſe* to the great *Sanhedrin* at *Jeruſalem*, leſt he ſhould lye with her by the way. Being there they terrified her with terrible and dreadful words, to bring her to confeſs her fault. If ſhe confeſſed that ſhe was defiled, ſhe tore her Matrimonial Writing in pieces and departed, and ſo was divorced. But if ſhe ſtood to juſtifie her innocency, *they brought her through the Eaſt Gates* (ſaith the Talmud) *which are before the door of the Gate of* Nicanor. Which *Rambam* upon the place expoundeth to mean, *that they tugged and toyled her up and down the ſtairs of thoſe Eaſt Gates, to bring her by wearineſs and faintneſs to confeſſion.* If ſhe yet confeſſed not, but ſtill pleaded innocent, then ſhe was ſet in the Gate of *Nicanor*, which was the Eaſt Gate of the Court. And the Prieſt that was to put her to her tryal, laid hold upon her boſom and rent her cloaths open, till he had laid her breaſts bare as low as her heart: if ſhe were arrayed in white, black was put upon her, her hair was diſhevelled to hang about her ſhoulders, and if ſhe had Rings or Jewels on, they were taken from her, and he tyed a Cord about her, over her Paps. And whoſoever would might come and behold her, unleſs it were her ſervants. And here the *Talmudick* Obſervation is not impertinent; (b) *With what meaſure one meteth* (ſay they) *they meaſure to him again. She deckt her ſelf to tranſgreſs, but God defiles her deckinge; She uncovered her ſelf for ſin, God diſcovers her ſhame; She ſtood in the gate to ſhew her ſelf, ſhe is now ſet in the Gate to ſhew her reproach; She ſpread a vail on her head, the Prieſt lays it under her feet; She platted her hair, the Prieſt diſhevels it; She girded her ſelf in a fair girdle, the Prieſt girds her with the girdle of affliction; She deckt her face, her face is ſpit on; She deckt her eyes, her eyes ſtare forth; She made ſigns with her fingers, her nayls are pared; Her thigh firſt began to tranſgreſs and then her belly, therefore her thigh is firſt puniſhed, and then her belly, and her whole body eſcapeth not.*

(a) *Talm. in Sot. per.* 1.

(b) *Ibid. & Rab Abhubabh. in menorah. Ner.* 1.

Her offering which was in a Wecker Basket the Prieſt put into her hand according to the injunction of the Law, *Num.*5.15,18. Then took he an earthen Pot and put a little water into it out of the Laver, and going within the Temple door, he took up ſome duſt from

from under a ſtone that was left looſe for that purpoſe, (where it lay we have obſerved in its proper place) and this duſt he ſtrewed upon the water. Then denounced he the curſe and wrote it in a Book, even thoſe words, *Num.*5.19,20,21,22. *If no man hath lien with thee, and if thou haſt not gone aſide to uncleanneſs, &c. But if thou haſt gone aſide, &c. the Lord make thee a curſe, &c. And this water which cauſeth the curſe, ſhall go into thy bowels, and make thy belly to ſwell, and thy thigh to rot.* And the Woman anſwered *Amen, Amen.* Then blotted he the curſes out of the book with the bitter water, and gave her the water to drink. If upon the donuncing of the curſes ſhe were ſo terrified that ſhe durſt not drink the water, but confeſſed ſhe was defiled, the Prieſt flung down the water, and ſcattered her offering among the aſhes; but if ſhe confeſſed not, and yet would not drink, they forced her to drink; and if ſhe were ready to caſt it up again, they got her away that ſhe might not defile the place. *The operation of theſe waters* (ſay the Rabbins) *followed after, though ſometimes it appeared not of two or three years, for ſhe bare no children, ſhe was ſickly, languiſhed, and died of that death.*

SECT. IV.

The atoning for a cleanſed Leper.

IN (*a*) the North-weſt corner of the Court of the Women, there was a piece of Building which was called לשכת המצורעים *the chamber*, or *room of the Lepers*, whither the Leper reſorted after his cleanſing in the Country, or at his own houſe. And now I am ſenſible of a miſtake and inadvertency which fell from me in another place, and which I here retract, and crave the Readers patience, and that was in that I aſſerted (in the Notes on *John* 2.15.) that the Lepers were tryed in this room by the Prieſts, and had acceſs to the Mountain of the Houſe, and to the Publick Service of the Temple. It is true indeed (*b*) that the Lepers had acceſs to the Publick Service in thoſe Synagogues that were not in walled Towns, being placed there apart by themſelves, ſo that they came not near others, but their offering to come into the Temple did fall under a very ſharp penalty, as was ſhewed before, nay they were excluded even out of Walled Cities. Their tryal therefore was in the Country, and there they were cleanſed by the Prieſt, (*c*) with variety of Ceremony in the buſineſs: and on the ſeventh day of their cleanſing he ſhaved himſelf again, for he had done ſo before, and waſhed himſelf in water, and then he might come within *Jeruſalem*. On the eighth day he came up into the Mountain of the Houſe, and brought three Lambs with him, for a burnt offering, ſin offering, and treſpas offering, (*d*) and bathed himſelf in that room in the corner of the Court of the Women, that was from hence called the *Room of the Lepers*,

(*e*) When the *Migrephah* or the Bell, (for ſo let it be called) was rung by thoſe that went into the Temple to burn the incenſe, the Preſident or chief man of the ſtation then ſerving went and fetched him, and whoſoever elſe had been unclean and came now for their purifying, (*f*) and ſet them in the *gate of Nicanor*. (*g*) But here two contrary exigents were to be provided for; for neither might the Leper tread on the ground of the Court, becauſe he yet wanted his atonement, nor might the bloud of the treſpaſs offering which was to be his atonement, be brought out of the Court, and yet it was to be put upon his thumb, great toe, and tip of his ear, *Lev.*14.14. A temper therefore for theſe two repugnacies was this, that he went into the Gate as far as poſſibly he might, ſo that he trod not within the Court. Thither did the Prieſt bring the treſpaſs offering to him, and he ſtretched out his hands into the Court, and laid them upon him. And when he was ſlain, the Prieſt brought the bloud, himſelf ſtanding within the Court, and the Leper ſtretched out his neck, and thruſt his head within the Virge of the Court, and he put ſome of the bloud upon the tip of his right ear; and likewiſe he ſtretched out his hand and his foot within the Virge of the Court, and he put the bloud upon his thumb, and his great toe, and ſo he was cleanſed. The cleanſing of other unclean perſons, as thoſe that had iſſues, and Women after Child-birth, was in the ſame place, and much after the ſame manner, ſave that the blouding of the ear, thumb and toe was not uſed, ſo that they need not a particular diſcourſe by themſelves.

(*a*) *Talm. in Middoth. per.*2.

(*b*) *Maym. in Tephil.*

(*c*) *Id. in Tum. iſor.* 11.

(*d*) *Talm. in Neg. per.* 11.

(*e*) *Tam. per.* 5.

(*f*) *Ib. & Sot. per.* 1.

(*g*) *Maym. in Machaſ. capp. per.* 4. *& Gloſ. in Sotah.*

SECT.

SECT. V.

The manner of bringing and preſenting their firſt fruits.

NOT to inſiſt upon the ſeveral ſorts of things out of which the firſt fruits were to be paid, nor upon the manner of ſetting them apart for firſt fruits at their own homes, of which the *Talmud* doth debate at large; this being ſomewhat out of the Virge of our diſcourſe, becauſe ſo far out of the Virge of the Temple; their cuſtom and Ceremony in bringing of them up thither and preſenting them there, cometh nearer within our compaſs, and that was thus, (*a*) All the Cities that belonged to ſuch or ſuch a ſtation, met together at the chief City of the ſtation, and there lodged all night in the ſtreets; and the reaſon of this their gathering thus together, was becauſe they would go together by multitudes, according to what is ſaid, *the multitude of People is the Kings honour*; and the reaſon of their lodging in the ſtreets was, leſt going into houſes they ſhould be defiled. In the morning the Preſident or chief among them, called them up betime with this note, *Ariſe and let us go up to Sion to the Lord our God*, and they ſet away: Before them there went an Ox with his horns gilded, and a Garland or Crown of Olive branches upon his head: and a Pipe playing before them, till they came near to *Jeruſalem*, and they often rehearſed that ſaying, *I was glad when they ſaid, Let us go up to the houſe of the Lord*, compare *Eſay* 30.29. They travelled not all day when they travelled, but only two parts of it, becauſe they would not ſpoil their ſolemnity with toyling: when they were come near *Jeruſalem*, they ſent in a Meſſenger to give notice of their coming, and they flowred and deckt their baskets, and expoſed ſome of the freſheſt fruits to ſight: upon notice of their coming, the chief men of the Prieſthood went out to meet them; and when they were come within the City, they rehearſed theſe words, *Our feet ſhall ſtand within thy gates O Jeruſalem:* and all the Tradeſmen in their ſhops ſtood up as they came by, and ſaluted them, *O our brethren of ſuch a place you are welcome.* The Pipe went playing before them, till they came to the Mountain of the Houſe, and when they came there, every one (אפילואג ריפס המלך) yea, *though it were King Agrippa himſelf*, (ſaith the Tradition) was to take his Basket upon his ſhoulder, and ſo to walk up till he came to the Court; and all the way as they went, they ſaid over the hundred and fiftieth Pſalm, *Praiſe ye the Lord, praiſe God in his Sanctuary, &c.*

(*a*) *Talm. in Bicc. per.* 3. *& Maym. ib. per.* 4.

Being come into the Court, the Prieſts began and ſung the Thirtieth Pſalm, *I will extol thee O Lord, for thou haſt lifted me up, and haſt not made my foes to rejoyce over me.*

With his Basket on his ſhoulder, the man begins and ſays, *I profeſs this day unto the Lord thy God, that I am come into the Country which the Lord ſware unto our fathers for to give us*, Deut.26.3. and then beginning to ſay, *A Syrian ready to periſh was my father, &c.* he takes down the Basket from his ſhoulder, and holds it by the edges, and the Prieſt putting his hands under it, waves it up and down, and he goes on and ſays, *A Syrian ready to periſh was my father, and he went down into Egypt, and ſojourned there with a few, &c.* even to the middle of the tenth verſe; and ſo he ſets down his Basket by the ſide of the Altar, and boweth and goeth forth. They uſed by their Baskets as they brought them, to hang Turtles or Pigeons, which were to be for an offering, and the fruits themſelves went to the Prieſts of the Courſe that then ſerved; and the party that brought them muſt lodge in *Jeruſalem* all night after he had preſented them, and the next morning he might return home. They might not offer their firſt fruits before the Feaſt of Pentecoſt (compare *Act.*2. and *Rom.*8.23.) nor after the *Feaſt of Dedication.*

SECT. VI.

Their bringing up wood for the Altar.

IT was a ſingular and a ſtrict command, that the fire of the Altar ſhould never go out, *Lev.*6.13. And as the *Jews* obſerve, that Divine Providence did comply with the keeping of it in, for they ſay, (*a*) *that Rains from Heaven never put the fire out*, ſo did the Nation provide for the continual burning of it, by a (*b*) penalty of whipping decreed, agreed againſt him that ſhould extinguiſh it, and by a conſtant ſupply of wood brought up to the Temple for the maintaining of it. *Joſephus* ſpeaketh of their *Xylophoria*,

(*a*) *Talm. in Avoth per.* 5. (*b*) *Maym. in Tamanim per.* 2.

lophoria, or certain set and solemn times, on which the People brought up Wood for this purpose: his words are these, (*c*) Τῶν ξυλοφορίων ἑορτῆς ἔσης ἐν ᾗ πᾶσιν ἐθος ὑπῆν τῷ βωμῷ προσφέρειν ὅπως μήποτε τεφρὰ τῷ πυρὶ λίποιτο, διαμένει γὰρ ἄσβεστον ἀεί. *It was a feast of the wood carrying, at which it was the custom for all to bring up wood for the Altar, that it might not want fewel for the fire, which might never go out.* The *Talmudick* Treatise *Taanith*, reckoneth nine special days in the year used for this solemn imployment, and alotteth the work to nine special Families of those that are mentioned to have returned out of captivity. (*d*) *The wood-carrying times* (saith it) *for the Priests and the People were nine. On the first of* Nisan, *the sons of* Arah *a son of* Judah. *On the twentieth of Tammuz, the sons of* David *a son of* Judah. *On the fifth of* Ab, *the sons of* Parosh *a son of* Judah. *On the seventh of the same, the sons of* Jonadab *the son of* Recab. *On the tenth of the same, the sons of* Senaah *a son of* Benjamin. *On the fifteenth of the same month, the sons of* Zattu *a son of* Judah, *and with them the Priests and Levites, and whosoever knew not their own Tribe, &c. On the twentieth of the same month, the sons of* Pahath Moab *a son of* Judah. *On the twentieth of Elul, the sons of* Adin *a son of* Judah. *And on the first of Tebeth, the sons of* Parosh *came a second time. And on the first of Tebeth there was no station* (made by the stationary men) *because on that day the Hallel was sung, and there was an additional offering, and an oblation*, or bringing up of *wood*.

(*c*) *Joseph. de Bell. lib. 2. cap.* 31.

(*d*) *Tam. in Taanith per.* 4.

The wood thus brought up to the Temple, it was first laid up in that building in the North-east corner of the Court of the Women, which was called (*e*) לשכת בית העצים *The wood room, where it was searched by those of the Priests lineage that had blemishes*, and so were uncapable of serving at the Altar, *whether it had worms or no in it. for any wood that had any worms in it was unclean* and unfit for the Altar fire: that that was found free from worms, (*f*) and so reputed fit for the Altar, was brought up into another room, called (*f*) also the *wood room*, and the *room Parhedrin*, on the South side of the Court of *Israel*, and there it lay near and ready when there was occasion for its use. That wood that had worms in it, and so might not touch the Altar, was used either for boyling, baking, or frying of the offerings that were boyled, or baked, or fryed, or for keeping fires for the Priests and Levites in their attendance and guards in cold weather.

(*e*) *Talm. in Middoth. per.* 2.

(*f*) *Ib. per.* 5.

FINIS.

ERUBHIN

OR

MISCELLANIES CHRISTIAN

AND

JUDAICAL,

And Others.

Penned for RECREATION

AT

VACANT HOURS.

By *JOHN LIGHTFOOT* D.D.

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J. L. Wiſheth all preſent and future felicity.

Ever Honoured,

MY creeping and weak Studies neither able to go, nor ſpeak for themſelves, do (like *Pyrrhus* in *Plutarch*) in ſilence crave your Tuition. For they deſire, when they now come to light, to refuge to you, who next to God firſt gave them life. Your incouragement and incitation did firſt ſet me forward to the Culture of holy Tongues, and here I offer you the firſt Fruits of my barren Harveſt. Your tried Learning and tried Love, aſſure me that you both can judge ſoundly, and yet withal will not judge too heavily of my weak endeavours; and ſuch a Patron my Book deſireth. This hath cauſed to you, this preſent trouble, and in me this preſent boldneſs. I know it had been more ſecure to have been obſcure, and not to have come thus to publick Hazzard; for as the Roman ſaid well, *It is hard when the World ſhall ſhew me mine infirmities under mine own hand:* yet have I had ſome reaſon, to manifeſt my ſelf thus openly to the view of all. Some there be that have hardly cenſured of me for idleneſs and ſloth (as they make it) becauſe (it ſeems) I intrude not every moment into the ſupply of other mens Miniſtries, ſince it hath not yet pleaſed God, to prefer and promote me to a Charge of mine own. I know well the ſaying of the Apoſtle *Rom.* 1. 14. belongs to all Miniſters, *To Greeks and Barbarians, to the wiſe and fooliſh they are all debtors*, and (as the *Syrian* adds) *leakrez*, they are *debtors to Preach:* And whoſo is neceſſarily called, and refuſeth, is as bad as the falſe Prophets were, that would run before they were ſent, nay, he may ſeem rather worſe, that when he is ſent will not go. From this cenſure how far I am free, my Conſcience tells me; though I muſt confeſs that I am not ſo haſty as many be, to intrude my ſelf, where is no neceſſity: This hath among ſome purchaſed me the ſkar of ſlothfulneſs: to vindicate which I have here ventured as Children do, to ſhoot another arrow to find one that is loſt:

The Syrian to that verſe adds a word which may well ſerve for a Comment mehhatobh leakrez, *I am a debtor, or I ought to Preach*

loſt: ſo have I hazarded my Credit one way to ſave it another. I know mine own weakneſs, and that this my pains, to Scholars, may ſeem but idle: yet had I rather undergo any cenſure, than the blot of the other Idleneſs, the begetter of all Evil, and of Unthankfulneſs, the hinderer of all Good. This is the cauſe that brings me to a Book, and my Book to you. That by the one I may teſtifie to the World that I love not to be Idle, and by the other witneſs to you, that I love not to be Unthankful. Accept I beſeech you of ſo ſmall a Preſent, and ſo troubleſom a Thankfulneſs, and what I want in Tongue and Effect, I will anſwer in Deſire and Affection: ſuing always to the Throne of Grace, for the preſent proſperity of your Self and your Noble Lady, and the future Felicity of you both hereafter.

From my Study at Hornſey,
near LONDON,
March 5. 1629.

Yours devoted in

all Service

JOHN LIGHTFOOT.

TO THE
READER.

Courteous Reader (for ſuch a one I wiſh or none)

I *May well ſay of writing Books as the wiſe Greek did of marriage,* For a young man it is too ſoon, and with an old man his time is out. *Yet have I ventured in youth to become publick, as if I were afraid that men would not take notice of my weakneſs and unlearnedneſs ſoon enough. If I fall far ſhort of a Scholar (as I know I do) my youth might have ſome plea, but that mine attempt can have no excuſe but thy Charity. To that I rather ſubmit my ſelf than to thy Cenſure. I have here brought home with me ſome gleanings of my more ſerious ſtudies, which I offer to thee, not ſo much for thy Inſtruction, as for thy harmleſs Recreation. I bear in mind with me the ſaying of* Rabbi Joſihar Jehudah *in* Pirke Abhoth. He that learns of young Men, is like a man that eats unripe Grapes, or that drinks Wine out of the Wine-preſs: but he that learneth of the Ancient, is like a Man that eateth ripe Grapes, and drinketh Wine that is old. *For fear thy Teeth ſhould be ſet on edge, I have brought ſome Variety: I have not kept any Method, for then I ſhould not anſwer my Title of* Miſcellanies. *I have upon ſome things been more Copious, than other, and (as* Rab. Salomon *obſerves of* Ruth) *I have ſometime but ſtood to Glean, and ſometime ſitten down. I hope thou wilt not cenſure me for Judaizing, though I cite them, for it is but (as the Muſician in* Plutarch *did) ſetting a Diſcord firſt, that you may better judge of the Conſort: and ſeeing Error, you may the more embrace the Truth. If this my Youthful attempt ſhall provoke any one that is Young to Emulation in the Holy Tongues, I ſhall think I have gained. Adjourn thy ſevere Cenſure till either future Silence, or ſome ſecond Attempt either loſe all, or make ſome Satisfaction. For the preſent,* Quiſquis hæc legit, ubi pariter certus eſt, pergat mecum, ubi pariter hæſitat, quærat mecum, ubi errorem ſuum cognoſcit, redeat ad me, ubi meum revocet me. *Aug. de Trinit. Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 3.

Thine ready and willing,

but unable

J. Lightfoot.

OF

OF KNOWLEDGE OF GOD.

CHAP. I.

OMNE *tempus te puta perdidiſſe*, &c. ſaith one; *All time is loſt that is not ſpent in thinking of God.* To be full of thoughts of him is a lawful and holy prodigality: And to ſpend time in ſuch meditations a gainful laviſhing. For this end were the Scriptures given to lead us to meditate of God, *by meditating in them day and night*, *Pſal.* 1.2. Herein thoſe fail that never think of God at all, and thoſe alſo that think not of him aright. The Prophet makes this the mark of wicked men, that *God is not in all their thoughts.* That like the *Jews* they *murder (Zechariah) the remembrance of God even between the Temple and the Altar.*

Commendable in ſome ſort was the devotion of the Philoſopher, that in ſo many years ſpoke more with the Gods than with Men. Had his Religion been towards the true God, what could have been asked of him more? I would Chriſtians hearts were ſo retired towards their Creator, that ſo he that made the heart might have it.

The Heathens thought there was a God, but knew not what to think of him. They prayed and ſacrificed, and kept a ſtir to ſomething, but they might well have marked their Churches, Altars and Prayer, with the *Athenian Altar Motto* Ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ *to the unknown God*, *Act.* 17.

Plato attained to the thought of one only God, the *Perſians* thought he could not be comprehended in a Temple, and *Numas* thought he could not be repreſented by an image: and for this (ſaith *Clem. Alex.*) he was helped by *Moſes*: yet came all theſe far ſhort of the knowledge of God. Nature when ſhe had brought them thus far was come to a *non ultra*, and could go no further. Happy then are we if we could but right prize our happineſs, to whom *the day ſpring from an high hath riſen, and the Son of Righteouſneſs with healing in his wings*, upon whom the noon-tide of the Goſpel ſhineth, and the knowledge of God in its ſtrength. *Even ſo O Lord let it be ſtill told in Gath, and publiſhed in the ſtreets of Aſcalon, to the rancour and ſorrow of the uncircumciſed, that God is known in Britain, and his Name is great in England.*

Νῦμας ἐκ τῶν Μωσέως ὠφεληθεὶς διεκώλυεν ἀνθρωποειδῆ, &c. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* 1. p. 131.

CHAP. II.

Of the Names of GOD, *uſed by* Jews *and* Gentiles.

NO *Nation ſo barbarous* ſaith *Tully*, *that hath not ſome tincture of knowledge that there is a Deity.* And yet many, nay moſt People of the World fall ſhort of the right apprehenſion of God, through three reaſon. Firſt, when they cannot carry their minds further than their ſenſes; and ſo think God hath a Body as they have, that is coloured, *&c.* Secondly, when they meaſure God by themſelves, and ſo make him paſſionate like man. *For men not able to conceive what God is, what his Nature, what his Power, &c. fall into ſuch opinions, that they frame Gods of themſelves: and as is their own humane nature, ſo they attribute to God the like, for his will, actions and intentions, ſaith Arnobius.* Thirdly, when they mount above Nature and Senſe, and yet not right, feigning that

Aug. de Trin. lib. 1. *cap.* 1.

Arnob. con. lib.

God begat himself, *&c.* Hence came the multitude and diversity of Deities among the Heathen, minting thousands of Gods to find the right, and yet they could not. Hence their many names, and many fames made by them, that it seems, thought it as lawful to make Gods, as it was for God to make them.

At first they worshipped these their Deities without any representation, only by their Names: *Cælites, Inferi, Heroes, Sumani, Sangui*, and thousands others, the naming of which is more like conjuring than otherwise. Nature it self taught men there was something they must acknowledge for supream superintendent of all things. This light of Nature, led them to worship something, but it could not bring them to worship aright. Hence some adored bruit Beasts, some Trees, some Stars, some Men, some Devils. Some by Images, some without, some in Temples, some without. Thus was *Gideons* fleece, the Heathen piece of the World all dry: set in the darkness of the shadow of death: But *in Jury was God known, and his Name great in Israel:* By his name *Jehovah* he exprest himself when he brought them from *Egypt*, and his glory he pitched among them. They knew him by his Names and Titles of *Elohim, Adonai, El, Shaddai, Elion*, and his great Name *Jehovah*, as the *Jews* do call it. There the Scriptures of the Law and Prophets did teach them, yet they thus nearly acquainted with the true God, forsook him, *so that wrath came upon Israel.*

The *Rabbinical Jews* beside Scripture words have divers Phrases to express God by in their Writings. As frequently they call him *Hakkadhosh baruch hu, the holy blessed he*, in short with four letters, הקב״ה. Sometime they use *El jithbarech, the Lord who is*, or *be blessed.* Sometimes *Shamaiim*, *Heaven*, by a *Metonymy*, because there he dwelleth. The like Phrase is in the Gospel, *Father I have sinned against Heaven*, Luke 15. 18. The like Phrase is frequent in *England*, *The Heavens keep you.* *Shekinah* they use for a Title of God, but more especially for the Holy Ghost. So saith *Elias levita in Tishbi. Our Rabbins of happy memory call the Holy Ghost Shekinah gnal shem shehu shaken gnal hannebhiim, because he dwells upon the Prophets.* Accordingly saith our *Nicene* Creed, *I believe in the Holy Ghost who spake by the Prophets. Shem, a name* or *the name* they use for a name of God, and *Makom a place* they place for the same, because he comprehendeth all things, and nothing comprehendeth him. *Gebhurah Strength* is in the same use. They are nice in the utterance of the name *Jehovah*: but use divers Periphrases for it, *Shem shel arbang, the name of four letters. Shem hammejuhhad the proper name*, and others. One in *Eusebius* hath eloquently expressed it thus:

Ἕπτα με φωνήεντα θεὸν μέγαν ἄφθιτον αἰνεῖ
Γράμματα τῶν πάντων, ἀκάματον πατέρα.
Εἰμι δ' ἔγω πάντων χελὺς ἄφθιτος ἡ τα λυρώδη.
Ἡρμασάμην δίνης ὀυρανιοιο μέλη·

Seven sounding Letters ring the praise of me
Th' Immortal God, th' Almighty Deity:
The Father of all, that cannot weary be.
I am th' Eternal Viol of all things
Whereby the melody so sweetly rings
Of Heavens Musick which so sweetly sings.

What these seven Letters are, that do thus express God, is easie to guess that they be the Letters of the name *Jehovah*, which indeed consisteth but of four Letters, but the Vowels must make up the number. Of the exposition of this name *Jehovah* thus saith *Rabbi Salomon* upon these words, *I appeared to them by the name of God Omnipotent, but by my name Jehovah I am not known to them*, Exod. 6. 3. *He saith unto him* (saith the Rabbin) *I am Jehovah, faithful in rendring a good reward, to those that walk before me: and I have not sent thee for nothing, but for the establishing of my words which I spake to their fathers: And in this sense we find the word [Jehovah] expounded in sundry places, I am Jehovah faithful in avenging, (when he speaks of punishing) as, and if thou profane the name of thy God, I am Jehovah. And so when he speaketh of the performing of the Commandments, as, And you shall keep my Commandments and do them, I am Jehovah faithful to give to you a good reward:* thus far the Rabbin.

The *Alchymistical Cabalists*, or *Cabalistical Alchymists* have extracted the name קפו or number whether you will, out of the word *Jehovah* after a strange manner. This is their way to do it:

י׳ פעמים יק ה׳ פעמים ה׳ כה׳ הרי קכה
ו׳ פעמים ו׳ לו׳ הרי קס״א ה׳ פעמים ה׳ כה
הרי קפו

which

Which great Myſtery is in Engliſh thus. *Ten times ten is an hundred, five times five is twenty five, behold* 125. *Six times ſix is thirty ſix, behold* 161; *and five times five is twenty five, behold* קפו or 186. Thus runneth their ſenſeleſs multiplication, multiplying numberleſs follies in their fooliſh numbers, making conjectures like *Sybils leaves*, that when they come to blaſt of trial, prove but wind. *Irenæus* hath ſuch a myſtical ſtir about the name *Jeſu*: which I muſt needs confeſs I can make nothing at all of, yet will I ſet down his words, that the Reader may skan what I cannot. *Nomen Jeſu* (ſaith he) *ſecundum propriam Hebræorum linguam*, &c. *The name Jeſu according to the proper ſpeech of the Hebrews, conſiſteth of two letters and an half, as the skilful amongſt them ſay: Signifying the Lord which containeth Heaven and Earth: For Jeſu according to the old Hebrew ſignifieth Heaven, and the Earth is called Sura uſſer.* Thus that Father in his ſecond Book againſt *Hereticks*, Cap. 41. on which words I can critick only wit hdeep ſilence. Only for his two letters and half, I take his meaning to be according to the *Jews* writing of the name *Jeſu*: ישו who deny him the laſt letter of his name ע, becauſe they deny him for a Saviour. So the Dutch Jew *Elias Levita* ſaith in expreſs words. *The Chriſtians ſay that their Meſſias was called* ישוע *by the commandment of the Angel Gabriel, becauſe he ſhould ſave all the world from Gehinnom, but becauſe the Jews do not confeſs that he is a Saviour, therefore they will not call him* ישוע *Jeſhuang, but they leave* ע *the laſt letter out, and call him* ישו *Jeſu.* After this kind of writing, as *Irenæus* ſaith, the word conſiſteth of two letters שו and half a letter, that is ר, which may be ſo called, becauſe it is ſo little.

The *Chaldee* writes the name of God with two *Iods* above, and a Vowel under thus יְ. From hence ſome have picked an expreſſion of the Trinity: In the two letters, the Father and the Son, and in the vowel the Holy Ghoſt proceeding from both: And from the æquidiſtance of the Letters and Vowel, they gather the diſtinction of the Perſons, and by the nearneſs of all, the unity of Eſſence. Such another conceit hath *Bonfinius* in his *Hungarian* Hiſtory. *When the Hereſie of Arrius* (ſaith he) *had got head almoſt over all the world, and was dilated as well by perſecution as by diſputation: a Town in Gaul was beſieged, becauſe it held the Orthodox Faith of the Sons coequality with the Father: God to confirm this their faith ſhewed this Miracle. As the Prieſt was at high Maſs at the Altar, behold three drops of bloud fell from Heaven upon the Altar; lying a while in an equal diſtance one from another, to ſhew the diſtinction of the three Perſons, at laſt, in ſight of all the People, they met together, to ſhew the Unity of Eſſence*, ſo the ſtory. But we have a more ſure word of Prophecy: *That there are three that bear record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the holy Spirit, and theſe three are one.*

The *Chaldee* ſometimes uſeth the word דחילא *Dehhila* and דחלא *Dahhalah*, *fear* or *terrour* for God; becauſe of the fear that is due to him. So *Jacob* coming from *Syria*, and being to ſwear to a *Syrian*, ſwears according to the *Syrian* or *Chaldee* Phraſe, *By the fear of his father Iſaac*, Gen. 31.53. or *by the God that Iſaac feared*: as *Onkelos* and *Jonathan* render it.

CHAP. III.

Of the Phraſe The Sons of God, *Gen.* 6. *and Job* 1.

ALL take this Phraſe in *Job*, to mean the Angels, and truly: in which ſenſe while they have taken it in the ſixth of *Geneſis*, they ſpoil all: For hence they think, that Angels lay with Women and begat Children. So can *Jarchi* almoſt find in his heart to think, and ſo *Tertullian*, *Lactantius* and others. Some tell what evil Arts theſe Angels taught Women, and how they begat mighty Children of them. How far this conceit is from true Philoſophy, let *Ariſtotle* cenſure. *Merlin* in *Geffry Monmouth* is recorded to be ſuch another hatch, believe it who liſt. His vein of Prophecying can make *Alanus de Inſulis* think it is ſo, but I muſt needs confeſs, it comes not into my Creed. As ſome conceit that the fallen Angels or Devils here begat Children of Women; ſo the *Jews* moſt wickedly fable, that *Adam* begat Children of Devils. *Thoſe hundred and thirty years ſay they, that Adam was ſeparated from Eve, Devils came to him, and he engendered with them, and begat Devils, and Spirits and Fiends.* And again; *Four women are the mothers of Shedhim or Devils, Lilith, Naamah, Ogereth and Mahlath.* I believe both theſe alike, for I believe that neither is likely. Both the *Chaldees Onkelos* and *Jonathan* render the *ſons of Elohim* the *ſons of the Potentates* or *Judges*, taking the word *Elohim* in the ſame ſenſe that it is taken, in the middleſt verſe of the book of *Exodus*, cap. 22.28. *Thou ſhalt not curſe Elohim*, or the *Judges*. This opinion is far better than the former, but Chriſtians have a better than this. That the Houſe and Progeny of holy *Seth*, are the Sons of God, or the Church: and the brood of *Cains* females were the Daughters of Men. *Cypriano di valera*, in his *Spaniſh* Tranſlation of *Gen.* 4. and the laſt verſe, tranſlates it thus, *Entonces commenciaron llamarſe. Then begun men to be called by the name of God*, or *by the name of*

the Lord: And in the Margin he explains himſelf thus, that then the Men of *Seths* Houſe began to be a Publick Church, and to be diſtinguiſhed from *Cains* Family, and to be called the ſons of God, *Gen.*6.2.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Phraſe Sons of Man.

THis Phraſe is frequent in Scripture and *Rabbin Hebrew*, but moſt frequent in *Chaldee* and *Syrian*. *Bene Anaſha, & Bar noſho:* In the latter of which the *Syrian* uſually writeth אנשא but leaveth out the firſt letter: as that tongue doth frequently in other words uſe the like ecclipſis, writing not as they read, as it is ſaid of the *French:* *Ezekiel* in his Prophecy in Scripture *Hebrew* is frequently called *ſon of man.* Why ſo often he and no other Prophet ſhould be ſo ſtiled, reaſons are given by divers: To me (though far inferiour to all them) the ground work ſeemeth to be, becauſe his Prophecy was written in *Chaldean* Captivity, he uſeth the *Chaldean* Phraſe, *Son of man*, that is, *O man.* The ſame Phraſe *Daniel* uſeth in *Chaldea*, *Dan.*10.16.

CHAP. V.

Of Japhets *Plantation by his ſon* Javan.

JAvan is generally held to be *Greece.* And the *Greek* Tongue is by all *Hebrews* called the ſpeech of *Javan.* The *Arabians* do ſo ſtile the ſame language. The *Syrian* in *Romans* the firſt Chapter, verſe 16. calls the *Græcians* אדמיא upon what reaſon I cannot imagine. *Javan* the ſon of *Japhet* is held to have planted or peopled this Country, in memory of whoſe name the *Iones* are famous Monuments: *Moſes* ſaith he had four ſons, *Eliſha*, *Tarſhiſh*, *Cittim* and *Dodonim*: which it is likely planted all the Country of *Greece* as far as into *Italy*. *Eliſha* and *Dodonim* dwelt at firſt near together, and ſo did *Tarſhiſh* and *Cittim*, but their Poſterity ſcattered far and near. The *Jeruſalem* and *Babilon Targums* do almoſt reſolve us of theſe four Mens Plantations: For *Jonathan* reads the fourth verſe of the tenth of *Geneſis* thus. *And the ſons of Javan, Eliſha, Eliſ, Tarſus, Acacia* and *Dardania. Jeruſelamy* thus: *And the ſons of Javan, Eliſha, and the names of their Provinces, Alaſtaraſom and Dodonia.* Which laſt word *Alaſtaraſom* I take to be miſtaken, by joyning two words together, and miſſing the laſt letter ם Mem for ס Samech, which is eaſily done they be ſo like. The word *Alaſtaraſom* ſhould without doubt be *Alas* or *Elis Tarſus*. *Elis* frequent in all Authors: *Eliſion* in *Homer in Bæot. Elenſine in Plutarch in Theſeo*, are places in *Greece* bearing the name of their old Planter *Eliſha*. *Dodonim* is regiſtred in the name of old *Dodona*. *Tarſhiſh* left a memorial of himſelf in *Cilicia* in the City of *Tarſus*. Which was as *Pliny* ſaith *urbs libera* a free City, *nat. hiſt. lib.* 5. and Saint *Paul* is free of that City, *Act.*22.

Tarſhiſh in *Gen.*10. is the name of a man, in *Jonah* 1.3. in *Chald. Paraphraſe* it is uſed for the Sea. In *Exod.*28. for a * Pearl; in *Act.*22. the name of a Town. I think I may ſafely ſuppoſe that the Town took the name from the Man, the Sea from the Town, and the Pearl from the Sea.

Cittim got into the Iſle *Cyprus* near his brother *Tarſhiſh:* from him that Iſland in old time was called *Cethin* as *Ant. di Guevara* nameth it in *Relox de los princip.* And the Men of *Cyprus* acknowledged *Cythnon quendam*, one *Cythnus* (or *Cittim*) for their Predeceſſor as ſaith *Herodotus lib.* 7, That Iſland ſet out Colonies further to repleniſh the Weſtern World: who bare the memory and name of their Father *Cittim* with them all along as they went. *Macedon* or *Macetia* is called *Cittim*, 1 *Mac.*1.1. At laſt they arrived in *Italy* which is called *Cittim*, *Num.*24.24. and ſo rendered by the *Chaldees.* Thus *Javans* poſterity grew great in *Greece* and *Italy*, and at laſt ſent us men over into theſe Iſles of the Gentiles.

* The Pearl *Tarſhiſh* in *Ex.* 28.20. is rendred in *Engliſh* a *Beryl*: in the *Chalde* Tranſlations it is *kermum iamma*, a *Pearl of the Sea*: *Pliny* ſpeaks of *keramides* a Pearl near that name *Terus*: *Targum* thinks *Tarſhiſh* was *Aſhers* ſtone: but *Jonathan* that it was *Zebulons*: And more likely for a Pearl of the Sea is not unfit for *Zebulon* a dweller by the Sea, *Gen.*49.13.

CHAP. VI.

Of Jewiſh Learning.

THE *Jews* chief Studies are about the Scriptures or about the *Hebrew* Tongue, but ſome have dealt in other matters. Their Tongue is their chief Learning, which is indeed the ground of all ſacred knowledge. In it ſome are moſt ignorant, and ſome again as accurate. They value it ſo highly, that the miſtaking of a Letter in it ſay they, deſtroys the world. He that in this verſe *En kadoſh caihovah*, readeth *Beth* for *Caph*, makes it, *there is no holineſs in Jehovah, and deſtroyeth the world.* He that will

אק קיוש
חוויב אק
קיוש ביחוה

will may ſee moſt copious work of this nicety in *Tauch*, on *Gen.* 1. How nimble Textualiſts and Grammarians for the Tongue the Rabbins are, their Comments can witneſs. But as in *Chaucer the greateſt Clarks are not the wiſeſt men*, ſo among them, theſe that are ſo great Textualiſts, are not beſt at the Text. In humane Arts ſome of them have practiſed. *Kimchi* and *Levita* for Grammar, *Rabbi Simeon* for Logick, and others in other things, as *Buxdorfius* in his collection of Jewiſh Authors will fully ſatisfie.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Talmud.

WHO ſo nameth the *Talmud*, nameth all Judaiſm, and who ſo nameth *Miſhneh*, and *Gemara*, he nameth all the *Talmud:* And ſo ſaith *Levita Hattalmudh nehhlak*, &c. *The Talmud is divided into two parts, the one part is called Miſhneh, and the other part is called Gemara, and theſe two together, are called the Talmud.* This is the Jews Councel of Trent, the foundation and ground work of their Religion. For they believe the Scripture as the *Talmud* believes, for they hold them of equal authority: *Rabbi Tanchum the ſon of Hamlai ſaith, let a man always part his life into three parts. A third part for the Scriptures, a third part for Miſhneh, and a third part for Gemara.* Two for one, two parts for the Talmud for one for the Scriptures. So highly do they, Papiſt-like, prize the vain Traditions of Men. This great Library of the Jews is much alike, ſuch another Work upon the Old Teſtament, as *Thomas Aquinas* his *Catena aurea* is upon the New. For this is the ſum of all their Doctors conceits and deſcants upon the Law, as his is a Collection of all the Fathers Explications and Comments upon the Goſpels. For matter it is much like *Origens* Books of old, *ubi bene nemo melius*, &c. and where they write well, none better, and where ill, none worſe.

The word *Talmud* is the ſame in Hebrew, that * *Doctrine* is in Latine, and Doctrinal in our uſual ſpeech. It is (ſay the Jews) a Commentary upon the written Law of God. And both the Law and this (ſay they) God gave to *Moſes*, the Law by day, and by writing, and this by night and by word of mouth. The Law was kept by writing ſtill, this ſtill by Tradition. Hence comes the diſtinction ſo frequent in Rabbins, of *Torah ſhe baccathubh*, and *Torah ſhe begnal peh, the Law in writing and the Law that comes by word of mouth*, * *Moſes* (ſay they) *received the Law from Sinai*, (this Traditional Law I think they mean) *and delivered it to Joſhuah, Joſhuah to the Elders, the Elders to the Prophets, and the Prophets to the men of the great Synagogue.* And thus like ſame in *Virgil*, *crevit eundo*, like a ſnow-ball it grew bigger with going. Thus do they father their fooleries upon *Moſes*, and Elders, and Prophets, who (good men) never thought of ſuch fancies, as the Romaniſts for their Traditions, can find Books of *Clemens*, *Dionyſius*, and others who never dreamed of ſuch matters. Againſt this their Traditional, our Saviour makes part of his Sermon in the mount, *Matth.* 5. But he touched the Jews freehold, when he touched their Talmud, for greater Treaſure in their conceits they had none: like *Cleopatra* in *Plutarch*, making much of the Viper that deſtroyed them.

* *Elias Lev. in Tisbi.*

* *Pirk. Abhoth Per.* 1.

CHAP. VIII.

Talmudiſme.

TO omit the time when it was written, and the diſtinction of *Jeruſalem* and *Babilon Talmud:* the chief end of them both (as they think) is to explain the Old Teſtament. The Titles of the Books ſhew their intents. *Peſachin* about the Paſsover, *Sanhedrin* about the high Courts: *Beracoth* about thankſgiving. Sometime they Comment, ſometime they Allude, ſometime Controvert, ſometime Fable. For this Book contains their Common Law and Civil, and commonly ſome things above all Law and Civility. To inſtance in one or two, that by *Hercules* foot ye may gueſs his body.

Judges 9. 13. It is ſaid by the Vine, *ſhall I leave my Wine which chearath God and Man? How doth Wine chear God? Rabbi Akibhah ſaith, becauſe men give God thanks for it.*

There alſo they queſtion or controvert, *whether a man ſhould give thanks, or ſay grace for his meat and drink before he taſte it?*

And otherwhere, *whether a man may bleſs God for the ſweet ſmell of Incenſe which he ſmells offered to Idols?*

Whether a man may light a candle at another candle that burns in a candleſtick that hath Images on it.

Whether

Whether a man at his Devotions, if a Serpent come and bite him by the heel, may turn and ſtoop to ſhake her off, or no? Which queſtion *Rabbi Tanchum* anſwers very profoundly, that *they muſt not ſo much as ſhake the foot to get a Serpent off*, and gives a huge ſtrong reaſon: *For* (ſaith he) *ſuch a one was praying, and a Serpent comes and catcheth him by the heel: He holds on his Devotion, and ſtirs not, and preſently the Snake falls away ſtark dead, and the man not hurt: Legenda aurea* hath not the Art of this coining beyond them.

For their alluſions, take a piece out of the book *Mincha*, which I have tranſcribed and tranſlated into our own Tongue full of true *Talmudiſme.*

Our Rabbins teach, Iſrael is beloved, becauſe God hath favoured them with the Commandment of Philacteries, upon their heads and upon their arms, fringes upon their garments, and marks upon their doors. And concerning them, David ſaith, Seven times a day do I praiſe thee, becauſe of thy righteous Judgments: At the time that David went into the bath, and ſaw himſelf ſtand naked, he ſaid, wo is me that I ſtand naked without the * *Commandment, but when he remembred the Circumciſion in his fleſh, his mind was at quiet. Afterward when he went out, he made a ſong of it, as it is ſaid: To him that excelleth upon Sheminith* (or an eight) *a Pſalm of David: becauſe of the Circumciſion that was given on the eighth day. Rabbi Eliezer the ſon of Jacob ſaith, whoſoever hath Philacteries upon his head, and Philacteries upon his arm, and fringes upon his garments, and a mark on his door, all this will keep* † *him from ſinning, as it is written, A threefold cord is not eaſily broken. And he ſaith, the Angel of the Lord pitcheth round about thoſe that fear him to deliver them,* &c. *Qui Bavium non odit, amet,* &c.

* Heb. Mitſuah or without my Philacterits.

† From this conceit it appears they were called Philacteries, that is keepers.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Cabaliſts.

THESE ſhould be men of great account, for their Trading is chiefly in numbers: but the effect of their Studies prove but fetches *nullius numeri*, of no reckoning. Their ſtrange tricks and ſleights of invention, how to pick out a matter of nothing, out of a thing of no matter, is ſo intricate, that I do not much care if into theſe ſecrets my ſoul do not come. Their *Athaſh* is a ſtrange crotchet beyond the moon: it is deſcribed by the great *Buxdorfius* in his *Abbreviaturæ.*

Their *Raſhe & Sophe tebhoth*, their *Notericon*, and *Geometria*, whether to call them Cabaliſtical, Maſoretical, or Phantaſtical I know not: they have paid the margin of the Bible with ſuch conceits. I could give examples by hundreds, but it were but Δώρον ἄδωρον a preſent worſe than none at all.

CHAP. X.

Gideons Army. Joſh. 7.

Gideons Army repreſents the Church viſible and inviſible: for as in his Army all the company marched alike, and uſed the ſame Military Diſcipline, and yet two and twenty thouſand were cowards, and returned from him for fear, at the well *Harodh*, which it may be was called *Harodh*, or fear, from their fearfulneſs; ſo in the Church viſible, men uſe the ſame Word, the ſame Sacraments, and the ſame outward Profeſſion, yet are many of them but cowards in Chriſts warfare when it comes to the trial. *Gideons* trial of his Souldiers by lapping water, and kneeling to drink was a good piece of Military Diſcipline: for thoſe that lapped in their hands, ſhewed their nimbleneſs in march, who could drink and not ſtay, but thoſe that kneeled down, made a ſtop in their marching.

Gideons fight is much like *Jerichoes* ſiege, that with Trumpets, this with Trumpets and Lamps, his conqueſt like *Abrahams*, with three hundred men he overthrows an Army as *Abraham* did with three hundred and eighteen. Saint *Auſten* keeps a deplorable ſtir about allegorizing this number three hundred by the Greek letter T *tau*, to make it reſemble the ſign of the croſs: And ſo he runs both beſides the language and the matter: charity to the good man makes me ambiguous and doubtful whether that fancy be his or not.

CHAP. XI.

A Jeruſalem Tenet, ex Kimchio in Præfat. *to the ſmall Prophets.*

OUR Rabbins of happy memory ſay, (ſaith he) that every Prophet whoſe name and his fathers name is ſet down in his Prophecy, it is certain that he was a Prophet, and the ſon of a Prophet. He whoſe name, and not his fathers name, it is certain that he was a Prophet, and not the ſon of a Prophet. He whoſe name and the name of his City is ſet down, it is certain that he was of that City. He whoſe name and not the name of his City, it is certain that he was a Prophet of Jeruſalem. *And they ſay, that he whoſe father and fathers fathers name is ſet down in his Prophecy, was a greater man of Parentage, then he whoſe father is only named. As in Zephaniah, Chap.*1. *verſ.*1.

CHAP. XII.

Nun inverſum. Numb. 10. *&* 11.

IN the *tenth* of *Numbers* and the *thirty fifth* verſe, in theſe words, ויהי בנסוע *And when the Ark went forward*, the letter Nun is written wrong way, or turned back thus ɔ, *to ſhew* (ſay the Hebrews) *the loving turning of God to the people:* And in the *eleventh Chapter* and *firſt verſe*, in theſe words, ויהיתעם כמתאננים *And the People became as murmurers, &c.* The letter Nun is again written wrong or turned back thus, ɔ *To ſhew* (ſay they) *the perverſe turning of the People from God:* and thus are theſe two Places written in every true Bible in the World. If the Jews do not here give any one ſatisfaction, yet do they (as *Eraſmus* ſpeaks of *Origen*) ſet Students on work to look for that which elſe they would ſcarce have ſought for. Such ſtrange paſſages as theſe in writing ſome words in the Bible out of ordinary way (as ſome letters above the word, ſome letters leſs, and ſome bigger than other) obſerved conſtantly by all Copies and Books, cannot ſure be for nothing: If they ſhew nothing elſe, yet this they ſhew us, that the Text is punctually kept, and not decayed, when theſe things (that to a haſty ignorant beholder might ſeem errors) are thus preciſely obſerved in all Bibles.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Maſſorites.

THESE men are held to be the Authors of the Vowels and Accents: which opinion received by ſome (and thoſe no ordinary men neither) I muſt needs confeſs, I am not ſo fully ſatisfied for, as to believe it. I do indeed admire the Maſſorites pains in obſervation of them in the Bible, but I cannot gueſs by that, that they have done more than obſerved: when a word, either in Letter or Vowel, goes from ordinary rules of Grammar, they have marked, that it does ſo, which a mean Hebrician may do, but why it does ſo, there is either a right Jewiſh reaſon, or none at all given. To exemplifie in one, *Gen.* 14. 5. the word *kederlaomer*, is ſo ſtrangely pricked, that one cannot paſs it: I my ſelf obſerved it before ever I ſaw the *Maſſoreth:* and when I came thither to them for a reaſon, they have done no more but obſerved it, *viz. Tebhah bhatha*, &c. that Camets is written with two ſchevaes: and ſo of others they ſeldom ſay more. Admirable is their pains, to prove the Text uncorrupt againſt a gainſaying Papiſt. For they have ſummed up all the letters in the Bible to ſhew, that one hair of that Sacred Head is not periſhed. Eight hundred eight and forty marginal notes are obſerved and preſerved for the more facility of the Text. The middle verſe of every Book noted, the number of the verſes in every Book reckoned: and (as I ſaid before) not a Vowel that miſſeth ordinary Grammar which is not marked. So that if we had no other ſurety for the Truth of the Old Teſtament Text, theſe mens pains (me thinks) ſhould be enough to ſtop the mouth of a daring Papiſt.

כדרלעמר

CHAP. XIV.

Of the marginal Readings.

THAT the margin ſhould ſo often help the Text (as I may ſo ſay) as in 848 places, may ſeem to tax the Text of ſo many errors. But the Learned can find a reaſon why it is ſo. I hope I may ſatisfie my ſelf without any hurt, with this reaſon, till my Learning will afford me a better: Namely, that when they took in hand to review the

the Bible, after the Captivity (as all hold *Ezra* did) that they did it by more copies than one: which when they thus varied, they would not forſake, either becauſe they were loath to add or diminiſh: therefore they took even their varying, one in the Text, and the other in the Margin. Yet do I not think it was done only thus, without ſome more ſpecial matter in ſome places: for the writing of *Nagnarah* ſo often *Nagnar*, does make me think (if I had nothing elſe to perſwade me) that theſe Marginals are not only humane corrections.

CHAP. XV.

Ex Kimchio *in Jonah* 1.

KImchi queſtioning why the Book of *Jonah* ſhould be Canonical, &c. gives one moſt comfortable reaſon, which upon reading I could not but muſe on. His words are obſervable, and they are theſe. *It is queſtionable why this Prophecy is written among the Holy Scriptures, ſince it is all againſt Niniveh, which was Heatheniſh: and in it there is no remembrance* (or mention) *of Iſrael, and among all the Prophets beſides this, there is not the like. But we may expound it, that it is written to be a* * *check to Iſrael, for lo a ſtrange People which were not of Iſrael, was ready to repent, and even the firſt time that a Prophet reproved them, they turned wholly from their evil: But Iſrael whom the Prophets reproved early and late, yet they returned not from their evil. Again* (this Book was written) *to ſhew the great miracle, that the bleſſed God did with the Prophets, who was three days and three nights in the belly of the fiſh, and yet lived, and the fiſh caſt him up again. Again to teach us, that the bleſſed God ſheweth mercy to the repentant of what Nation ſoever, and pardons them though they be many. Hæc Kimchi.* Upon whoſe laſt words I cannot but enter into theſe thoughts. Could we look for a Truth from a Jew, or Comfort from a Spaniard? And yet here the Spaniſh Jew affords us both: comfortable Truth, and true Comfort. God will pardon the Repentant, there is a comfortable Truth, and he will pardon them of what Nation ſoever if they repent, there is moſt true Comfort. When a Jew thus Preaches repentance, I cannot but hearken, and help him a little out with his Sermon. That as God is ready to forgive the Repentant of what Nation ſoever, ſo for what Sins ſoever, if they be truly Repented. Here, I except the unpardonable Sin, the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt: which what it is, the Scripture conceals in cloſe words, partly becauſe we ſhould not deſpair, if we fall our ſelves, and partly becauſe we ſhould not cenſure damnably of our Brethren, if they fall into a ſin that is nigh this, ſo that not into it. To maintain the Jews words and mine own, for pardon of Nations and of ſins, I have as large a field as all the Countries and all the Sins of the World to look over. I will only for Countries confine my ſelf to *Niniveh*, and for Sins to *Mary Magdalen*. *Niniveh* a Heathen Town, built by a Wicked Brood, inhabited by a Wicked Crew, yet Repenting *Niniveh* is Pardoned. *Mary Magdalen* a manifold Sinner, a cuſtomary Sinner, a moſt deadly Sinner, yet Repenting *Mary Magdalen* is Forgiven. The Jew brings me into two Chriſtian Meditations about *Niniveh*, or into two wholſom Paſſions: Fear and Hope. God ſees the Sins of *Niniveh*, then I know mine are not hid, this breeds in me Fear of puniſhment: But God forgives the ſins of *Niniveh*, then I Hope mine are not unpardonable: this breeds hope of forgiveneſs *Col debhaurau ſhe amar lehareang libhne Adam* (ſaith the Rabbin) *bithnai im lo jaſhubhu. All the evils that God threatens to men, are threatned with this condition, if they do not Repent.* As before the Jew ſpake Comfort and Truth, ſo here he links Comfort and Terror. God threatens Evil, there is Terror, but it is with Condition, there is Comfort. *Niniveh* finds both in the ſtory, *Forty days and* Niniveh *ſhall be deſtroyed*, there is a threatned Terror: *But the Lord repented of the Evil that he ſpake to do unto them, and did it not*, there is a Comforting Condition. So that as *David* does, ſo will I hopefully and yet fearfully ſing of Mercy and Judgment: Firſt Mercy, then Judgment: Mercy upon my Repentance, leſt I be caſt down: and Judgment upon my Sins, leſt I be lifted up. Mercy in Judgment, and Judgment in Mercy. Is there any one that deſperately rejects *Ninivehs* exhibited Mercy? Let him fear *Ninivehs* threatned Judgment, or is there any that trembles at *Ninivehs* threatned Judgment? Let him comfort himſelf by *Ninivehs* obtaining Mercy. But in the mouth of two witneſſes, let the Mercy be confirmed. Let me take *Mary Magdalen* with *Niniveh*, and as I ſee in it the forgiveneſs of a multitude of Sinners, ſo I may ſee in her, of a multitude of Sins. Thoſe many Sinners pardoned as one Man, thoſe many Sins made as none at all. Saint *Bernard* ſpeaking of her waſhing of Chriſts feet, ſays, ſhe came thither a Sinner, but ſhe went thence a Saint: She came thither an Æthiope and a Leopard, but ſhe went thence with changed Skin, and cancelled Spots. But how was this done? She fell at the feet of Chriſt, and with ſighs from her heart, ſhe vomited the Sins from her ſoul. *Proſternere & tu anima mea*, as ſaith the ſame *Bernard*.

And

* Heb. Muſar. Inſtruction.

And caſt thou thy ſelf down, oh my ſoul, before the feet of Chriſt, wipe them with thine hairs, waſh them with thy tears, which tears waſhing his feet may alſo purge thy ſoul. Waſh his feet, and waſh thy ſelf with *Mary Magdalen*, till he ſay to thee as he did to *Mary Magdalen*, thy ſins are forgiven.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Sacrifice.

SAcrifice is within a little as old as ſin, and ſin not much younger than the world. *Adam* on the day of his creation (as is moſt probable) ſinneth and ſacrificeth: and on the next day after meditates on that whereunto his ſacrifice aimeth, even Chriſt. *Cain* and *Abel* imitate the matter of their fathers piety, Sacrifice; but *Cain* comes far ſhort in the manner. *Abel* hath fire from Heaven to anſwer him, and *Cain* is as hot as fire becauſe he hath not. *Noah* takes an odd clean beaſt of every kind into his Ark for this purpoſe, to ſacrifice him, after his Delivery. And ſo he does: but for the Chaldee Paraphraſts fancy, that he *ſacrificed on the very ſame Altar, whereon Adam and Cain and Abel had ſacrificed ſo long before.* I refer it to the belief of a Jew, who by the Poet ſeems to be of a large faith, *Credat Judæus apella.* Decency and order was obſerved of the Fathers before the Law, for this holy piece of worſhip. God makes *Moſes* in his *Leviticus* to bring it into writing. While the Jews Temple ſtood, or while they might ſtand in the Temple, they had their dayly ſacrifice, till the great Sacrificer offering himſelf, cauſed ſacrifice and oblation to ceaſe. Now are the Jews content, and as it appears in their Common Prayer book, they beſeech God to be ſo too, with prayers without ſacrifice, becauſe they have not now acceſs to their ſacrificing place. Their diſtreſs (as they think it) for this very thing, might teach them that *Meſſias Nagidh* or *Chriſt the Prince* hath done what *Daniel* to them, and an Angel to *Daniel* had prophecied of him.

Whether the Heathens borrowed their cuſtom of ſacrificing from the Jews or from nature, it is not material. Sure I am, that the Jews borrowed ſome of their abominable ſacrifices from the Heathen: Sacrificing of men is Heatheniſh, in *Moſes* his language: yet was this too frequent among the Jews, uſed alſo in old time by the *Athenians* and *Carthaginians*, as witneſs *Plutarch*, *Lactantius* and others: and in theſe times by the *Indians*, as in *Cortes*, *&c.* Of this bad uſe (that the Heathen had got) I cannot tell what ſhould be the reaſon, unleſs they thought that cruelty was the beſt offering, or that their gods were more cruel than merciful. Or this reaſon may be given. They had learned either from the Jews, or from their Oracles, or from the Devil himſelf (who cares not to give men ſome light, thereby to lead them to the more darkneſs) that a man ſhould once be offered, who ſhould appeaſe the wrath of God (as Chriſt was) and therefore they in remembrance of this man, did ſacrifice men, either to ſee whether they could light on this man, or elſe in remembrance of him till he ſhould come.

Some condemn *Jeptha* of this cruelty of ſacrificing his own daughter; who yet in *Heb.* 11. is commended for his faith: *Auſten* doubts whether it is to be counted Gods Commandment, that he ſlew his own child. But I think no ſuch doubt is neceſſary, ſince there is no ſuch ſtrictneſs of the words in the Text. A Heathen man in *Plutarch* when he was told that he muſt either ſacrifice his own child to ſuch a Goddeſs, or elſe his affairs and enterpriſes would not proſper, could anſwer, *that he would offer with all his heart ſuch ſacrifice as the Goddeſs would accept, but that ſhe would deſire or would be pleaſed with the blood and murder of his child, he could not be perſwaded.* I am ſure *Jephta* had reaſon to be far better inſtructed in ſuch things as theſe, than any Heathen in the world.

Varro holds that it was not fit that any ſacrifice at all ſhould be offered. His reaſon in *Arnobius* is: *Quia Dii veri neque deſiderant ea, neque depoſcunt; ex ære autem facti, teſta, gypſo, vel marmore multo minus hæc curant.* For ſaith he, *The true Gods deſire not, nor exact any ſuch matter, and thoſe falſe gods that are made of braſs, mortar, marble, &c. care leſs for them.* The Heathen man in his own ſenſe ſaith only, for his meaning doubtleſs is, that the Gods that are true Gods are not delighted with this cruelty of ſlaying beaſts, nor do they for their own ſuſtentation or proviſion deſire men to be at this charge. And ſo the true God which is truth it ſelf, though he commanded ſacrifice, yet was it not meerly in reſpect of himſelf, that he did it, any further than this, that men ſhould by this manner of worſhip, acknowledge their ſubmiſſion and humility and obedience to him. For what cares he for beaſt or bullock, *ſince the World is his and all that is in it,* Pſal. 50. 12. And *Lyranus* does ſet down the ſpecial ends wherefore God doth command *Iſrael* ſo many ſacrifices.

As firſt to wean them from Idolatry: for their ſervice of the true God required ſo much, that they could have hardly any time to think of Idols. And the very beaſts they ſacrificed, might teach them the vanity of the Idols of *Egypt* which they once ſerved:

ved: Slaying of a bullock, a ram, a goat, might tell them that the Egyptians *Apis* and *Hammon* which they worſhipped in theſe forms, were but vanity.

Secondly, By their ſacrifices they acknowledged that they had nothing but what they had received from God, and therefore of their beaſts, corn, wine, &c. they offered him in thankfulneſs ſome of his own.

Thirdly, Theſe ſacrifices were to bear Chriſt in their minds till he ſhould come and make a ful attonement for them. And ſo ſays *Lyra*, The very beaſts ſacrificed, repreſent Chriſt, an Ox for Patience, a Sheep for Innocence, and an ill ſmelling Goat, for his likeneſs to ſinful Fleſh.

A fourth reaſon might be given, That the people ſtanding and ſeeing theſe beaſts ſlain and fired, might remember their own deſervings, and call to mind their ſins for which this beaſt was thus uſed. Their putting of their hands (the right hand ſaith the Chaldee) upon the head of the beaſt, ſeems to import ſome ſuch a matter as their acknowledgment, of their deſerving of that which the beaſt was ready to ſuffer, death and fire. Whoſoever deſires to be taken up with Allegories about this piece of Gods ſervice, *Flaviacenſis* will furniſh him: and if he will not do, the Fathers are copious enough, and it may be too much this way.

The Heathen Mariners in ſhip with *Jonah*, are ſaid to ſacrifice and vow vows; which the Chaldee helps out (as thinking the ſhip and a tempeſt unfit time and place for ſacrifice) thus, *they promiſed they would ſacrifice*, viz. when they ſhould come aſhore, and vowed vows to become Proſelytes, ſaith *Jarchi*, or to give Alms to the poor, ſaith *Kimchi*. Endleſs it were to trace the Heathens, and to ſee how near or how far they be to or from the ſacrifices of the Jews.

CHAP. XVII.

A juſt Judgment.

CRantzius the *Denmark* Hiſtorian as he hath many delightſom paſſages of ſtory, ſo this eſpecially, I could not but copy out at my reading of it, wherein I ſee God juſt, and murder heavy. One was hired for a ſum of money to murder an innocent *Dane*. He does the bloody fact, and preſently receives in a purſe his wages of iniquity. A heavy purſe of gold for a while, makes a light heart, but where the guiltineſs grones heavy too, the gold is worth nothing. At laſt the murderers conſcience accuſeth and condemns him like both witneſs and Judge for his bloody fact. His heart and eyes are both caſt down, the one as far as Hell, whither the fact had ſunk, and the other to the Earth, whither the blood. He is now weary of his own life, as erewhile he was of anothers. He ties his purſe of gold (which had hired him to kill the other) about his neck, and offers it to every one he meets as his reward if he would kill him. At laſt he is paid in his own coin, and hires his own murderer with that price wherewith he himſelf was hired. And ſo periſh all ſuch whoſe feet are ſwift to ſhed blood, and he that ſtrikes with an unlawful ſword, be ſtrucken with a lawful again. This mans caſe makes me to think of *Cain* the old grandſire of all murderers. Of his heavy doom and miſery, and burden and baniſhment. *David* once groaned under the burden of blood guiltineſs, but God at his repenting eaſed him: *Pſal.* 51. *Judas* takes a worſe courſe than even *Cain* did to be releaſed of the ſting of bloodſhed, *Matth.* 27. God grant I never know what it is to be guilty of ſhedding of blood, but only by reading.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the name of the Red Sea.

IN Hebrew it is called *Suph*: the Sea of weeds: *Becauſe* (ſaith *Kimchi*) *there grew abundance of weeds upon the ſides of it.* In Greek, Latine and Engliſh, and other Weſtern Tongues, it is commonly called *the Red Sea:* Divers reaſons are given by divers perſons why it is ſo called, the beſt ſeems to me to be, from the redneſs of the ground about it. And ſo *Herodotus* ſpeaks of a place thereabout called *Erythrobolus* or the red ſoil. It is thought our Country took the name of *Albion*, from the like occaſion, but not like colour. As from the white rocks or clifts upon the Sea ſide. The Jews hold that Whale that ſwallowed *Jonah*, brought him into the Red Sea: and there ſhewed him the way that *Iſrael* paſſed through it, for his eyes were as two windows to *Jonah*, that he looked out and ſaw all the Sea as he went. A whetſtone, yet they will needs have ſome reaſon for this loud lie, and this is it, becauſe *Jonah* in *Chap.* 2. 5. ſaith *Suph hhabhuſh leroſhi*, which is, *the weeds were wrapped about my head:* which they conſtrue, the *Red*

Read Sea was wrapped about my head. And to help the Whale thither, *Rabbi Japhet* saith, that the Red Sea meets with the Sea of *Japho*, or the *Mediterranean*: unless the Rabbin means that they meet under ground, guess what a Geographer he was: and if he find a way under ground, guess what a deep Scholar. A long journey it was for the Whale to go up to *Hercules* pillars into the Ocean, and from thence to the Red Sea in three days and nights: but the fabling Jews must find some sleight to maintain their own inventions.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the word Raca. *Matth.* 5. 22.

WHosoever shall say unto his brother Raca, shall be worthy to be punished by the Councel. The word is a Jewish nick-name, and so used in the *Talmud* for a despiteful title to a despised man, as *Our Rabbins shew a thing done with a religious man that was praying in the high way, by comes a great man, and gives him the time of the day: but he saluted him not again: He stayed for him till he had finished his prayer; after he had done his prayer, he said to him Reka, is it not written in your law, that you shall take heed to your selves? Had I struck off thy head with my sword, who should have required thy blood, &c.* And so goes the angry man on. *Irenæus* hath a Phrase nigh to the signification of this word, *qui expuit cerebrum*, a man that hath no brains, and so *Raka* signifies a man empty, whether of understanding or goodness: so the Greek word κενὸς is frequently taken.

CHAP. XX.

Wit stollen by Jews out of the Gospel.

Gospel.	*Jews.*
OUR Saviour saith to his Disciples, the harvest truly is great, but the labourers are few, Matth. 9.38.	*RAbbi Simeon* saith: to day is the harvest, and the work is much and the labourers are idle, and the reward great, and the Master of the house urgent, *Pirk Abhoth Per.* 2.
Whosoever heareth these sayings, and doth them, I will liken him to a man that built his house upon a rock: And the rain descended, and floods came, &c.	He that learneth the Law, and doth many good works, is like a man that built his house, the foundation of stone and the rest of brick, and the waters beat, and the stone stood, &c.
And every one that heareth these sayings, and doth them not, shall be likened to a foolish man that built his house upon the sand. Matth. 7.24, 25. &c.	But he that learneth the Law, and doth not many good works, is like a man that built his house, the foundation of brick and the rest of stone, &c. and the brick wasted, &c. *Abhoth Rabbi Nathan.*
Of every idle word that men speak, they shall give account thereof at the day of Judgement. Matth. 12.36.	The very same words almost in *Orehhoth hhajim.*
With what measure you meet, it shall be measured to you again. Matth. 7.2.	*Rabbi Mair* saith, With the measure that a man measureth, they measure to him again, *Sanhedrin.*

The whole Lords Prayer might almost be picked out of their works, for they deny not the words though they contradict the force of it. The first words of it they use frequently, as *Our Father which art in Heaven*: in their Common Prayer book, *fol.* 5. and *Humble your hearts before your Father which is in Heaven* in *Rosh hashava.* But they have as much devotion toward the Father while they deny the Son, as the Heathens had which could say Ζεῦ πατὲρ ἡμέτερε κρονίδη. * *Our Father Jupiter, and worshipped an unknown god, Act.* 17. They pray almost in every other Prayer, *Thy Kingdom come,* and that *Bimherah bejamenu* quickly, even in our days, but it is for an earthly Kingdom they thus look and pray. They pray, *Lead me not into Temptation, fol.* 4. *Liturg.* while they *tempt him that lead them in the Wilderness, as did their Fathers, Psal.* 95. By this Gospel which they thus filch, they must be judged.

* Frequent in Homer.

CHAP. XXI.

Saint Cyprians *nicety about the last Petition in the Lords Prayer.*

SAint *Cyprian* it seemeth is so fearful of making God the Author of evil, that he will not think that God leadeth any man into temptation. The Petition he readeth thus: *Ne nos patiaris induci in tentationem, Suffer us not to be lead into temptation, but deliver us from evil,* leaving the ordinary current and truth of the Prayer, because he will not be accessary to imagine that God should lead man into temptation: whereas all men as well as he do think, that God doth not lead man into evil temptations as Sathan doth, and yet that God doth tempt men. So he is said in plain words to have tempted *Abraham:* And *Rabbi Tanchum* wittily observes that *Abrahams* two great temptations begin both with one strain, לך לך *Get thee gone.* The first, *Get thee gone out of thy Country from thy kindred and fathers house,* Gen. 12. The second, *Get thee gone to the land of Moriah, and offer thy son Isaac upon one of the mountains,* Gen. 22.

May we not safely say here that God lead *Abraham* into temptation? But as it follows, *liberavit a malo,* God delivered him from the evil of the temptation, which is being overcome. And Saint *James* saith sweetly, (though at first he may seem to cross this Petition) πᾶσαν χάραν: *Brethren account it all joy when ye fall into diverse temptations,* Jac. 1.2. to be in temptation is joy, *for God chastiseth every son that he receiveth,* and yet pray *lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil:* let the latter comment upon the first, lead us not into the evil of temptation, which in the Apostles Phrase is, *suffer us not to be tempted above our strength.*

CHAP. XXII.

Septuaginta Interpreters.

I Will not with *Clemens, Josephus, Austen, Epiphanius,* and others, spend time in locking them up severally in their closets, to make their Translation the more admirable: I will only mind that, They did the work of this Translation against their will, and therefore we must expect but slippery doing: And that appears by them. Their additions, variations, and (without doubt) oversights, may well argue with what a will they went about this business. It were easie to instance in thousands of places. How they add men and years, *Gen.* 5. & 10. & 11. & 46. How they add matter of their own heads: as how they help *Jobs* wife to skold, *Job* 2. adding there a whole verse of female passion. *I must now* (saith she) *go wander up and down, and have no place to rest in:* and so forth: And so *Job* 1.21. *Naked came I out of my mothers womb, and naked shall I return thither: the Lord hath given and the Lord hath taken away, even as pleaseth the Lord, so come things to pass, blessed be the Name of the Lord,* which clause (*even as pleaseth the Lord so come things to pass*) is not in the *Hebrew* but it is added by them, and so is it taken from them into our Common Prayer Book, in that part of the manner of burial. To trace them in their mistakes is pretty, to see how their unpricked Bible deceived them. As to instance in one or two for a taste.

Hebrew.	*Septuag.*
Gen. 15.11. It is said, that the birds light upon the carcasses, and *Abraham* drove them away: in Hebrew וישב *vaijashhebh.*	They read in stead of וישב *vajashhebh* he drove them away, וישב *vajeshhebh, he sat by them:* and of this Saint *Austen* makes goodly Allegories.
Judges 5. 8. The Hebrew saith, they choose new gods, then לחם שערים *lahhem shegnarim,* was war in the gates.	They say, they chose new gods, as לחם שערים *lehhem segnorim,* * *barly bread.*
Judges 7.11. The Hebrew saith, and he and *Phurah* his servant, went down to the quarter (or side) of חמשים *Hhamushim* the armed men.	They say, he and his servant *Pharah* went down to the quarter of חמשים *Hhamishim,* fifty men.

* Ἄρτος κεῖθινος.

Thus do they vary in a world of places, which the expert may easily see and smile at. I omit how they vary names of men and places. I will trouble you with no more but one, which they comment as it were to help a difficulty.

1 *King.*

1 *King.* 12. 2. It is ſaid of *Jeroboam* that he dwelt in *Egypt*, וישב במצרים *vaiješhhebh bemitzraijm.*

2 *Chron.*10.2. It is ſaid that he returned from *Egypt*, וישב ממצרים *vaijaſhobh mimmitzraijm.*

The Septuagint heals this thus, Tranſlating 2 *Chron.* 10. 2. Καὶ κατώκησεν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου· *And he* (had) *dwelt in Egypt, and he returned out of Egypt.*

Such is the manner of that work of the Greek: Now to examine the Authority of this we ſhall find it wonderful: That ſome of the Jewiſh Synagogues read the Old Teſtament in Greek and not in Hebrew, *Tertullian* ſeemeth to witneſs. But thoſe were Jews out of *Canaan*: for they were not ſo skilful in the Greek Tongue in *Canaan*, for ought I can find, as to underſtand it ſo familiarly: if they had been, I ſhould have thought the Septuagint to be the Book that was given to Chriſt in the Synagogue, *Luke* 2. 17. Becauſe his Text that he reads, does nearer touch the Greek than the Hebrew: But I know their Tongue was the *Meſſadoed Chaldee.*

The greateſt authority of this Tranſlation appeareth, in that the holy Greek of the New Teſtament doth ſo much follow it. For as God uſed this Tranſlation for a Harbinger to the fetching in of the Gentiles, ſo when it was grown into Authority by the time of Chriſts coming, it ſeemed good to his infinite Wiſdom to add to its Authority himſelf, the better to forward the building of the Church. And admirable it is to ſee with what Sweetneſs and Harmony the New Teſtament doth follow this Tranſlation, ſometime even beſides the letter of the Old, to ſhew that he that gave the Old, may and can beſt expound it in the New.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Septuagint over-authorized by ſome.

SOME there were in the Primitive Church, like the Romaniſts now, that preferred this Tranſlation of the Greek (as they do the Vulgar Latine) before the Hebrew fountain: Of theſe Saint *Auſten* ſpeaks, of their opinion herein, and withal gives his own in his fifteenth book *de Civitate Dei*, Cap. 11. 13, 14. where treating of *Methuſhelahs* living fourteen years after the Flood, according to the Greek Tranſlation: *Hence came* (ſaith he) *that famous queſtion, where to lodge* Methuſelah *all the time of the Flood: Some hold* (ſaith he) *that he was with his father* (Enoch) *who was tranſlated, and that he lived with him there, till the flood was paſt. They hold thus, as being loath to derogate from the authority of thoſe books,* quos in autoritatem celebriorem ſuſcepit Eccleſia, *which the Church hath entertained into more renowned Authority: And thinking that the books of the Jews rather than theſe, do miſtake and err. For, they ſay that it is not credible that the ſeventy Interpreters, which tranſlated at one time, and in one ſenſe, could err, or would lie or err, where it concerned them not: But that the Jews, for envy they bear to us, ſeeing the Law and Prophets are come to us by their interpretation, have changed ſome things in their books, that the Authority of ours might be leſſened.* This is their opinion. Now his own he gives *Chap.* 13. in theſe words, *Let that Tongue be rather believed, out of which a tranſlation is made into another by Interpreters.* And in *Chap.*14. *The truth of things muſt be fetched out of that Tongue, out of which, that that we have, is interpreted.*

It is apparent by moſt of the Fathers both Greek and Latine, how they followed the Greek, though I think, not ſo much for affectation as for meer neceſſity, few of them being able to read the Bible in Hebrew.

I will conclude with *Clemens Alex.* his reaſon, why God would have the Bible turned into Greek. Διὰ τοῦτο Ἑλλήνων φωνῇ ἑρμηνεύθησαν αἱ γραφαί, ὡς μὴ πρόφασιν ἀγνοίας περιβάλλεσθαι δύνασθαι] viz. Ἕλληνας ἢ τοὺς ἀπ' ἐθνῶν] ὕντας τε ὄντας ἐπακοῦσαι θεῖ παρ' ἡμῶν ἣν μονὸν ἐθέλησαν. *Strom.* 1. *Pag.* 124. That is, *For this were the Scriptures interpreted, in the Grecians Tongue, that they might have no excuſe for their ignorance, being able to underſtand our* (Scriptures) *if they would.*

CHAP. XXIV.

Phraſes taken from Jews in the New Teſtament.

THESE Phraſes are by the great *Broughton* called Talmudick Greek, when Jewiſh and Talmudical Phraſes are uſed in Holy Writ: Such is *Gehenna* frequent in all Rabbins. *Maranatha* 1 *Cor.*16.22. the bitter excommunication. *The world to come*, ſo often uſed in the Goſpel, and nothing more often among the Jews and Chaldees. *Raka Matth.*5.22. of which ſee Chap.19. *Jannes* and *Jambres*, 2 *Tim.*3.8. whoſe names I find in

in the Chaldee Paraphraſt with very little difference, and a goodly legend of them. As in *Exod.*1.15. *Pharaoh ſlept and ſaw in his dream, and behold all the land of Egypt was put in one ſcale and a* * *young lamb in the other ſcale, and the lamb weighed down the ſcales of himſelf,* * *out of hand he ſends and calls all the Sorcerers of Egypt, and tells them his dream: Out of hand Janis and Jimbres chief of the Sorcerers opened their mouths and ſaid unto Pharaoh: there is a child to be born of ſome of the Congregation of Iſrael, by whoſe hands all the land of Egypt ſhall be waſted, therefore the King conſulted with the Jewiſh midwives,* &c. And in *Exod.*7.11. He calls them *Janis* and *Jambres*. And that you might the better underſtand who theſe two were, the Hebrew comment upon the Chaldee Text ſaith, *They were Scholars for their art of enchanting to the noble wizard Balaam:* and ſo he fetches *Zophar* for authority to maintain them: And to prove *Janis* and *Jambres* either very conſtant enemies and oppoſers to *Moſes*, or elſe very good dutiful Scholars to *Balaam*; the Chaldee ſaith, that *theſe two were the two ſervants that went with Balaam, Numb.* 22. 22. when he went to curſe *Iſrael*.

* Chal. Talia bar imera. *Chal. Miiadh. *out of hand a Phraſe moſt uſual in Jews Authors, and the very ſame in* Eng. *out of hand.*

Beelzebub, or as the New Teſtament Greek calls it *Beelzebul*, is a wicked phraſe uſed by the Jews of Chriſt, *Mark* 3.22. and elſewhere. Now whether this change of the laſt letter were among the Jews accidental or of ſet purpoſe, I cannot determine. Such ordinary variation of letters, without any other reaſon, even uſe of every Country affords. So *Reuben* is in the Syrian called *Rubil*, *Apoc.* 7.5. So the Greek and Latine *Paulus*, is in the Syrian *Phaulus*, in Arabian *Baulus*. But ſome give a witty reaſon of *l* in *Beelzebul*, that the Jews in deriſion of the Ekronites god *Baalzebub* (which was a name bad enough, *the god of a flie*) gave him a worſe, *Baalzebul*, the god of a *Sir-Reverence*, for ſo זבל ſignifies in *Chaldean*.

To omit any more Jewiſh Phraſes honoured by the New Teſtament uſing them, this very thing does ſhew, the care is to be had for the right reading of the Greek, ſince ſo many idioms and ſo many kinds of ſtile are uſed by it.

CHAP. XXV.

Niniveh's converſion: Jonah 3.

THE book of *Jonah* is wholly compoſed of wonders. Some hold *Jonah* to be wonderful in his birth. As that he ſhould be the ſon of the *Sarepta* widow, whom *Eliah* raiſed to life: And becauſe the mother of the child ſaid, *Now I know that the word of God in thy mouth is true*, therefore he is called *Ben Amittai, the ſon of my truth:* whether the ſtory may be called *Ben Amittai*, or a true ſtory, let the Reader cenſure, by the two Towns of *Sarepta* and *Gath-hepher*. Howſoever *Jonah* was wondrous in his birth, I am ſure he was wondrous in his life. A Prophet, and a runnagate, before his ſhipwrack, a man drowned, and yet alive, in his ſhipwrack, and a Preacher of Repentance, and yet a Repiner at Repentance, after. The leaſt wonder in the book is not the converſion of *Niniveh*. It was *a great wonder* (as D. *Kimchi* ſays) *that* Jonah *was in the belly of the fiſh three days and three nights and yet lived. And it was another wonder that he was not ſtupid but continued in his ſenſes and intellectuals and prayed:* And do but well conſider it, and it will appear almoſt as great a wonder, that *Niniveh* ſo great a Town, ſo long wicked, in ſo ſhort time ſhould be converted. To ſay as *Rabbi Joſhuah* doth, *That the men of the Ship were got to* Niniveh, *and had told all the occurrence about* Jonah, *how they had thrown him over hatches, and yet he it was that was among them, and therefore they believed the ſooner*, as it is without Authority, ſo doth it leſſen the wonder of the Towns converſion.

* Aben Ezra *gives* 2. *Reaſons of poor force to prove, that* Niniveh *feared God in old time.* 1. *Becauſe otherwiſe he would not have ſent his Prophet to them, and ſo he leſſens the wonder of Gods mercy.* 2. *Becauſe we read not that they brake their images, therefore they had not any. How far the* Rab. *is beſides the cuſhion both for conſtruction and reaſon one of ſmall skill may judge.*

Jonah an unknown man, of a forraign people, to come into ſo great a City with a *Fourty days and* Niniveh *ſhall be deſtroyed*, was ſtrange. But for the King upon ſo ſhort a time, to ſend a cryer to proclaim Repentance, is as ſtrange if not ſtranger. *Jonah* proclaims the Town ſhall be deſtroyed, the King (in a manner) proclaims, the Town ſhall not be deſtroyed, by proclaiming the means how to ſave it, Repentance. To ſay as * *Aben Ezra* does, *That becauſe the City is called Gnir gedholah leelohim, a great City of God, that therefore they feared God in old time, but now in Jonahs time began to do evil*, is ſtill to leſſen the wonder, about their converſion: a ſtranger repentance than which the world never ſaw. The old world had a time of warning, of years, for *Ninivehs* hours, and *yet eat and drunk till the flood came, and then in the floods of many waters, Repentance and Prayers would not come near God, Pſal.* 32. Fair warning had *Sodom* by the preaching of *Lot*, whoſe righteous ſoul they vexed, and would not repent, till their Hell (as it were) began from Heaven, and fire and brimſtone brought them to the lake of fire and brimſtone: and when the wicked ſeed of him that derided his fathers nakedneſs, periſhed for their naked beaſtlineſs, and their flames of luſt brought them to flames on Earth and

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in Hell. The men of *Niniveh* ſhall riſe up in Judgment againſt the generation of the Jews, and condemn them, becauſe theſe at the Preaching of *Jonah* Repented, and they not for the Preaching of a greater than *Jonah*, that was among them. When the Maſter of the Vineyard ſent his Servants, nay his own Son, they put him to Death. In the Converſion and Delivery of *Niniveh* I cannot but admire a double mercy of God, who (to uſe a Fathers words) *Sic dedit pœnitentibus veniam, qui ſic dedit peccantibus pœnitentiam:* Who was ſo ready upon their Repentance to grant them Pardon, who was ſo ready upon his Threatning to give them Repentance.

Other kind of entertainment (than *Jonah* had) had he, that came from *Gregory* Biſhop of *Rome*, to Preach to our Realm of *England*. The paſſage of which ſtory our Countryman *Bede* hath fully related. That when *Auſten* had Preached the Goſpel to the King, and Dehorted him from his Irreligious Religion; your words (ſaith the King) are good, but I have been trained up ſo in the Religion I now follow, that I cannot forſake it to change for a new. This Argument too many Superſtitious Souls ground upon in theſe days, chooſing rather to Err with *Plato*, than to follow the Truth with another. Deſiring rather to be, and being as they deſire, of a falſe Religion, than to forſake the Profeſſion of their Parents and Predeceſſors. Not refuſing (like good fellows) to go to Hell for company, rather than to Heaven alone. Such a boon companion was *Rochardus* King of the *Phriſons*: of whom it is Recorded, that whereas a Biſhop had perſwaded him ſo far towards Chriſtianity, as that he had got him into the water to Baptize him: the King there queſtions, which way his forefathers went, which died Unbaptized, whether to Heaven or Hell? The Biſhop anſwers, That moſt certainly they were gone to Hell. Then will I go the ſame way with them (ſaith the wicked King) and pulls back his Foot out of the water, and would not be Baptized at all. *Hoc animus meminiſſe horret luctuq; refugit.*

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Jews Sacraments, Circumciſion, and Paſſover.

BOTH theſe Sacraments of the Jews were with Blood: both in Figure: the one to carry the Memory of Chriſt till he came, and the other the Paſſion of him being come. *Abraham received the ſign of Circumciſion, the ſeal of the Righteouſneſs of Faith which he had when he was Uncircumciſed, Rom.* 4. The Iſraelites received the Inſtitution of the Paſſover in *Egypt*, *Exod.* 12. I will not ſtand to Allegorize theſe matters, of the time and manner of receiving theſe two, but only of the things themſelves.

Circumciſion given in ſuch a place is not for nothing; but in the place of Generation, it is given *Abraham*, as a Seal of his Faith, that *he ſhould be the Father of all thoſe that believe*, *Rom.* 4. And eſpecially a Seal to him of Chriſts coming from thoſe Loins near to which his Circumciſion was. And appertaining to this I take to be the Oath that *Abraham* gives his Servant, and that *Jacob* gives *Joſeph*, with their Hands put under their Thighs * not to ſwear by their Circumciſion, but by Chriſt that ſhould come from thoſe Thighs. Circumciſion was alſo uſed for diſtinction of an Iſraelite, at the firſt: and hence were they diſtinguiſhed; but in time, *Iſmael* had taught his race ſo much, and *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, *Arabians*, and the Countries about them grew Circumciſed. So was *Pythagoras* Circumciſed, that he might have acceſs to the recluſe Miſteries of the *Egyptians* Religion.

* *As the Jews think.*

Circumciſion was alſo uſed with the Jews as Baptiſm with us, for admiſſion into the Church of *Iſrael*. And it was Gods expreſs command that the Child on the eighth day ſhould be Circumciſed. *And on that day more than any other* (ſaith Saint *Auſten*) *to ſignifie Chriſts reſurrection, who reſted the weeks end in the grave, and roſe on the eighth day:* And if *Ariſtotle* ſay true, one may give a reaſon, why not before the eighth day: *becauſe a Child for the ſeven days is moſt dangerous for weakneſs.* A ſtranger was ſo admitted to their Congregation, *Exod.* 12.48. And of this does *Rabbi Eliezer* fantaſtically expound that verſe in *Jonah* 1.16. *Then the men feared the Lord exceedingly, and offered ſacrifice:* whereupon the wandring Jew ſaith thus. *As ſoon as the Mariners ſaw (when they drew near to Niniveh) all the wonders that the bleſſed God did to Jonah, they ſtood and caſt every one his gods into the Sea. They returned to Joppa, and went up to Jeruſalem, and Circumciſed the fleſh of their fore-skin, as it is ſaid. And the men feared the Lord exceedingly, and ſacrificed Sacrifices: what Sacrifice? But this Blood of the Circumciſion which is as the Blood of a Sacrifice: And they vowed to bring every one his Wife and Children, and all that he had, to fear the Lord God of Jonah: and they vowed and performed.*

This was indeed the way to admit Proſelytes, by Circumciſion, but in *Salomons* time, when they became Proſelytes by thouſands, they admitted them by *Baptiſm* or Waſhing as ſome Jews do witneſs.

Whether

Whether the neglect of Circumciſion (as I may ſo term it) in the Wilderneſs, were meerly Politick, becauſe of their more fitneſs, for any moments removal, and march, or whether ſome Myſtery were in it I will not decide. Nor need I relate how the Jews uſe to Circumciſe their Children, for the great *Buxtorfius* hath punctually done it: Nor can I relate how highly the Jews priſe their Circumciſion, for one might gather volums out of them upon this ſubject. For they conſider not, *that he is not a Jew, which is one outward: neither is that Circumciſion which is outward in the fleſh. But he is a Jew which is one within, and the Circumciſion is of the Heart in the Spirit, not in the Letter, whoſe Praiſe is not of Men but of God.*

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the Paſsover.

THE Paſsover was a full repreſentation of Chriſts paſſion: though to the Jews the Paſsover was more than a meer ſhadow. To run through the parts of it might be more than copious: A word and away.

At the Paſsover the beginning of the Year is changed. } So { At Chriſts Paſsover the beginning of the Week is changed.

The Paſsover was either of a Lamb, to ſignifie Chriſts innocency, or of a Kid, to ſignifie his likeneſs to ſinful Fleſh: as *Lyranus.*

The Lamb, or Kid was taken up and kept four days, to ſee whether he were ſpotleſs: and (it may be) to ſcoure and cleanſe himſelf from his Graſs.

The Paſsover ſlain at Even.		CHRIST ſlain at Even.
His Blood to be ſprinkled with a bunch of Hyſop.	So	CHRISTS Blood ſprinkled: And of this I think *David* may be underſtood, *Pſal.* 51. *Cleanſe me with Hyſop.* That is, beſprinkle me with the Blood of the true Paſchal Lamb Jeſus Chriſt.
He was to be roaſted with Fire.		So Chriſt tried with Fire of Affliction.

Theſe parts were to be roaſted.

His Head	So was	His Head with Thorns.
His Legs	CHRIST	His Hands and Feet with Nails.
His Inward parts.	Tortured	His Inwards, with a Spear.

Their Eating of him, as it concerned the Iſraelites in their eſtate, ſo may it inſtruct Chriſtians for the eating of the true Paſsover, the Lords Supper.

The Paſsover Eaten	Without Leaven	So the Sacrament of the Supper to be Eaten	Without Leaven of Malice.
	With bitter Herbs		With bitter Repentance.
	With Loins girt		With reſolution of Amendment.
	With Feet ſhod		With preparation to walk Better.
	With Staff in Hand		Leaning on the Staff of true Faith.
	In Haſte.		Haſting to leave this worldly *Egypt.*

Thus was the Paſsover firſt Eaten in *Egypt*: after which all *Egypt* is ſtruck, with death of the Firſt Born, and the Egyptians are now puniſhed with death of their Children for murthering *Iſraels* Children. This night was ill to them, but the night in the Read Sea was worſe.

At the Death of a Lamb	*Egypt* is Deſtroyed	So by the Death of a Lamb	Hell is Deſtroyed.
	Iſrael Delivered.		Mankind Delivered.

When *Iſrael* comes out of *Egypt*, they bring up with them *Joſephs* bones, and ſo as he brought them down thither, ſo they bring him up thence.

So when Chriſt comes up out of his Grave, he brings dead bones with him, by raiſing ſome out of their Graves: I cannot think it idle, that the Paſsover was at night, and that S. *Paul* ſaith, *The Iſraelites were Baptized in the Sea*, which was alſo by night, and

in

in the cloud: but to shew that these Sacraments of *Israel* looked for a dawning when the true light, which they foresignified should appear.

The Jews do find thirteen precepts Negative and Affirmative about the keeping of the Passover.

1. The slaying of it.	*Exod.* 12. 6.
2. The eating of it.	8.
3. Not to eat it raw or boiled.	9.
4. Not to leave ought of it.	10.
5. The putting away of leaven.	15.
6. The eating of unleavened bread.	18.
7. That leaven be not found with them.	19.
8. Not to eat ought mixt with leaven.	20.
9. An Apostate Jew not to eat it.	43.
10. A stranger not to eat it.	45.
11. Not to bring forth the flesh of it.	46.
12. Not to break a bone of it.	46.
13. No uncircumcised to eat of it.	48.

How variously they Comment upon these as they do upon all things, and how over-curious they be in observing these as they do all things, their writings do witness. Their folding of their bitter herbs, their three unleavened cakes, their water, and salt, their searching for leaven, their casting forth of leaven, and their cursing of leaven, their Graces over their tables, their Prayers over their hands as they wash them, their Words over their unleavened bread, their remembring how they lived in *Egypt*, and came out, their words over their bitter herbs, their Passover Psalms the 113. & 114. all these and their other Ceremonies are set down accurately in their Common Prayer Book, which I would not have denied to the Reader in English, both for his recreation, satisfaction, and some instruction, but that I know not whether I should *actum agere:* do that which some one hath done before. And besides I write these things not as ἔργα but πάρεργα, not set studies, but stoln hours, employing my idle hours to the writing of these studies, that I may witness to some, that my whole time is not idle. But it may be I may seem more idle in thus writing, than if I had been idle indeed; to them that think thus, I can only answer; It is youth: Age may do better.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the Confusion of Tongues.

THAT the World from *Babel* was scattered into divers Tongues, we need not other proof, then as *Diogenes* proved that there is motion, by walking: so we may see the confusion of Languages by our confused speaking. *Once all the Earth was of one Tongue, one Speech, and one Consent, for they all spake in the Holy Tongue wherein the World was created in the beginning* (to use the very words of the Chaldee Paraphrast and Targ. Jerusal. upon *Gen.* 11. 1. But *pro peccato dissentionis humanæ* (as saith St. *Austen*) *for the sin of men disagreeing, not only different dispositions, but also different Languages came into the World.* They came to *Babel* with a disagreeing agreement, and they come away punished with a speechless speech. They disagree among themselves, *cum quisque principatum ad se rapit*, while every one strives for dominion (as the same *Austen*) They agree against God in their *Nagnavad lan Siguda*, &c. *We will make our selves a Rendevouz for Idolatry* (as the same *Jerusalemy.*) But they come away speaking each to other, but not understood of each other, and so speak to no more purpose, than if they spake not at all. This punishment of theirs at *Babel*, is like *Adams* corruption, hereditary to us, for we never come under the rod at Grammar School, but we smart for our Ancestors rebellion at *Babel.*

Into how many Countries and * Tongues those *Shinaar* rebels were scattered is no less confused work to find out, than was theirs at the Tower. So divers is the speech of men, about the diversity of Speech, that it makes the confusion more confused. || *Euphorus and many other Historians say, that the Nations and Tongues are seventy five, listning to the voice of Moses, which saith, all the souls that came into Egypt out of Jacob were seventy five. But in truth the natural Dialects* (of Speech) *appears to be seventy two as our Scriptures have delivered.* Thus saith *Clemens Alexandrinus:* of whose conceit herein I must for my part say, as Saint *Ambrose* saith of *Aaron*, about the golden calf. *Tantum Sacerdotem*, &c. *So great a Scholar as Clemens I dare not censure, though I dare not believe him.* The Jews with one consent maintain, that there are just seventy Nations, and so many Tongues. So confident they are of this, that they dare say, that the seventy souls that went with *Jacob* into *Egypt* were as much as all the seventy Nations of the World. *Jerusalems*

* *One in* Epiphanius *saith, this is easie to find, but he doth little towards it.* Epiph. cont. Hæret. Tom. 2. lib. 6.

|| Εὐφορὸς καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ἱστορικῶν, &c. Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.

Schools rang with this Doctrine, and the Children learned to high-prize themſelves from their Fathers. A ſtately claim was this to *Iſrael*, but the keeping of it dangerous. Men of the ſeventy Nations would not be ſo undervalued by one people. Therefore when *Iſrael* wanted ſtrength to keep this challenge, they do it by ſleight. And ſo it is the thrice-learned Maſter *Broughtons* opinion, that the Septuagint when they were to Translate the Bible, and were to ſpeak of the ſeventy ſouls of *Jacobs* houſe, they durſt not put down the juſt number of ſeventy, leſt tales ſhould have been told out of their Schools (concerning their ſcornful Doctrine) and when the rumour and the number ſhould both come to the King of *Egypt*, the meet number might maintain the truth of the rumour, and by both they might incur danger, therefore they added five more, to ſpoil the roundneſs of the ſum, and Saint *Steven* follows their Tranſlation: *Then Joſeph ſent and called his father Jacob to him, and all his kinred, even ſeventy five ſouls*, Act. 7.14.

So in Gen.10. the Septuag. put in two Cainans: and ſo ſpoil the roundneſs of that ſeventy.

As the Jews ſeek to retain this their aſſumed dignity over the ſeventy Nations by this ſleight, ſo do they maintain their *Tenet* of juſt ſeventy Nations by a double reaſon. Firſt, They count polls in the plain of *Shinaar*, as *Moſes* did in the Wilderneſs, and they find in the tenth of *Geneſis* juſt ſeventy men, and therefore by neceſſary conſequence, juſt ſeventy Nations. The Chaldee upon theſe words of God, *Gen.* 11. 5. *Come let us go down:* * loſes the ſweet myſtery of the Trinity, but finds I know not how many ſtrange fancies: for thus he deſcants. *The Lord ſaid unto the ſeventy Angels that are before him, come now let us go down, and confound there their Tongue, that a man ſhall not underſtand his fellow.* And a little after he ſaith, *And with him*, (that is, with God) *were ſeventy Angels according to the ſeventy Nations.* I doubt not but the tenth Chapter was his ground for ſo many men, but I know not where he ſhould find ſo many Angels. Seventy men are indeed named in the tenth Chapter, but were all thoſe at *Babel?* And if they were, muſt thoſe ſeventy needs ſpeak ſeventy Tongues? A whole dozen of them, *Canaan* and his eleven ſons ſit down cloſe together, in, or (at leaſt) not far out of the ſmall compaſs of *Canaan:* where they all differed not, (if any at all did) in Language, being ſeated ſo nigh together. That Edomites, Moabites, Amalekites, and Ammonites ſpake not Hebrew, is * *Theodorets* opinion, but that all theſe, and *Canaan* differed in maternal Tongues, before *Iſrael* planted it, I cannot conceive. Nay, that *Canaan* ſpake Hebrew before *Joſhua* came there, I could be perſwaded to believe for three reaſons.

Julian the Heretick both denies the Trinity to be meant in this place, and ſaith God alone was unable for this work. Cyril. Tom.3.l.4.

** Quæſt.60. on Gen.*

Firſt, The old names of *Canaan* Towns are ſignificant in Hebrew: *Jebus, troden down*, by Heathens then, as it is now by the Turks, *Kirjath-arbang, the City of Arbang*, Joſh. 14. 15. *Jericho, he ſhall ſmell it*, the City of Palm-trees. The ſinful City *Zeboim* hath in the Text a fair Hebrew name, *Zebhiim*, that is, the *Roes*, a name too good for ſo bad a Town, therefore the margin gives it another name, *Zebhojim.* Infinite it is to trace all Hebrew Canaanitiſh names, who will may try at pleaſure and leaſure.

Secondly, Sure I am, that one chief Town in *Canaan* (if not then alſo as afterward the chiefeſt) that is *Jeruſalem*, was *Hebrew* when it was governed by *Melchizedek* or *Sem:* who were all one, as the * Chaldees, || Jews, and moſt Chriſtians do hold. Then did *Sem* make *Canaan* a ſervant [*Gen.* 9. 26.] under his rule, and I doubt not but under his Tongue alſo.

** See the Targums on Gen. 10.*

|| Vid. Mr. Broughtons Melchiz.

Thirdly, I ſee that a woman *Rahab*, underſtands the Hebrews at the firſt ſight, and ſpeaks to them (for ought we find) without interpreter.

I find the Amorites and Sidonians differing in the name of *Hermon*, one calling it *Sirion*, and the other *Shenir*, *Deut.* 3. 9. But I ſee not, but both the Hebrews, and ſome Canaanites agree in the name *Hermon.* This groundwork then of ſeventy mens being named in the tenth of *Geneſis* to import neceſſarily ſeventy Tongues in the eleventh Chapter, I cannot entertain: yet refer my ſelf to better judgement.

The ſecond reaſon for ſeventy Tongues they fetch out of *Moſes*, *Deut.* 32. 8. from theſe words, *When the moſt High divided to the Nations their inheritance, when he ſeparated the ſons of Adam, he ſet the bounds of the people, according to the number of the children of Iſrael.* What all Jews thought and gathered from that place, let two ſpeak for the reſt: Thoſe be *Jonathan ben Uzziel*, and *Raſi. Jonathan* reads the verſe in Chaldee thus, *When the Higheſt gave poſſeſſion of the World to the people that deſcended of the ſons of* Noah: *when he divided Letters and Tongues to the ſons of men, in the age of the diviſion, &c. at that time he ſets the bounds of the Nations, according to the number of the ſouls of Iſrael that went down into Egypt.* Thus the Chaldee. *Raſi* Comments to the ſame purpoſe in theſe words, *When the holy-bleſſed-He gave to thoſe that provoked him, the portion of their inheritance, he overwhelmed and drowned them. When he ſcattered the generation of the diviſion, it was in his power to have paſſed them out of the World, yet did he not ſo, but ſets borders of the people. He reſerves them, and does not deſtroy them. (According to the number) for the number of the children of Iſrael, which were to come of the ſons of Sem,*

and

and according to the number of the seventy souls of the sons of Israel that went down into Egypt: (He set bounds of the people) Seventy Tongues. Thus far the Rabbin: Who is so confident of this number of Seventy Languages, that he saith, there were men of the Seventy Nations in the Ship with *Jonah*, *Jonah* 1. Thus are the Jews current for Seventy, the * Greeks for seventy two, upon what ground I know not, unless the two Cainans in *Gen.* 10. in the Greek Bible, make up this number to them. Some Linguists have summed up the usual Tongues and Dialects, but seventy or seventy two maternals I never saw. Modern Tongues are like the old ship *Argo*, patched up with so many pieces, that it is hard to tell which is a piece of old *Argo*.

* Clem. Alex. Epiphanius, Comestor. &c.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of Letters.

THAT the Hebrew Tongue was from the foundation of the World, none deny, but whether the Letters be so ancient, some question. Some hold that those Letters that God wrote with his own Hand in the two Tables, were the first Letters that ever were written. The studious *Pliny* thinks, *that among the Assyrians, letters have been always*, but *Gellius* thinks they were invented in *Egypt* by *Mercury*, and others think among the Syrians. If we examine *Pliny* well, we shall find him true in the first and last, however in the middle. If the Assyrian Tongue were the Chaldee Tongue (as most like it was) then were those Letters from the beginning of the World: the Hebrew and Chaldee Letter, being all one, unless the Assyrian differed from both. If you take Syrian in the sence that *Theodoret* does for Hebrew, then *Pliny* speaks true, that Letters were first among the Syrians. For *Theodoret* calls the Hebrew Tongue Syrian, as the Gospel calls the Syrian Tongue Hebrew, *Joh.* 19.20. But *Pliny* concludes that *Cadmus* first brought Letters into Greece out of Phænicia. *Justin Martyr* saith, that Greece thinks so her self. *Athanasius* holdeth the Phænicians for the first inventors of Letters. That the Phænicians and Syrians first found out Letters, is a received opinion in *Clemens Alexandrinus*. *Eupolemus* thinks that the Phænicians received Grammar from the Jews, and the Greeks from the Phænicians. And *Euphorus* thinks that *Cadmus* was he that conveyed them. *Chærilus* in *Eusebius* makes Phænicians and Jews all one. For he nameth Jews in *Xerxes* army, and names their Tongue the Phænician, his words be these:

Τῶν δ' ὄπιθεν διέβαινε γένος θαύμαστον ἴδεσθαι
Γλώσσαν μὲν φοίνισσαν ἀπὸ στόματος ἀφιέντες
Ὤκουν δ' ἐν Σολύμοις ὄρεσι πλατέη παρὰ λίμνη.

In English thus.

A wondrous people marcht behind along:
Their Dialect was the Phænician Tongue.
On hill of Solymæ they dwelt: thereby
A spacious lake not far remote doth lie.

These Phænicians (if you will call them so) or Jews, were the first that had Letters. But the Jews were not Phænicians indeed nor their Tongue the same, yet for bordering of their Countries, the Poet makes them all one. The Phænician is not now to be had, unless the * Punick or Carthaginian, and Phænick or Phænician, were all one (which most like they were.) And then some few lines of the Tongue are to be found in *Plautus* his *Pænulus*, which as *Paræus* saith, can little or nothing be made of. *Eusebius* speaks of *Sancuniathon*, that wrote the Phænician History in the same Tongue, but more of the Language he saith not: But to the matter. That Letters were so long in use before the giving of the Law, I am induced to believe upon these reasons.

* *The Syrian translating of the word* Phænicia *in the New Testament, seems to confirm this for true.*

First, *Josephus* is of this mind, that Letters were before the Flood. And the Scripture cites *Enochs* Prophesie, which whether it were written by him or not, is uncertain: yet if there were any such thing, those many places which we find of it in *Tertullian*, *Clemens*, and others, do argue, that so much could not punctually be kept by word of mouth.

A second reason to move me to think of Letters before the giving of the Law is, to think of *Josephs* accounts in *Egypt*, which seem almost impossible without writing.

Thirdly, But omitting that, I cannot see how all Arts and Sciences in the World should then flourish, as (considering their infancy) they did without the groundwork of all Learning, Letters.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, Again for the Jews, upon the writing of the Law to be put to spelling (as they that had never seen letters before) and not to be able to read it, had been a Law upon the Law, adding to the hardness of it.

Fifthly, Nor can I think, that when *Moses* saith, *blot me out of thy book*, that he taketh the Metaphor from his own books (which it is probable he had not yet written) but from other books which were then abounding in the world.

Sixthly, The Egyptian Chronicles of so many thousand years in *Diodorus* and *Laertius*, I know are ridiculous; yet their carefulness of keeping Records I have ever believed. *The Greeks were boys to them*, as it is in *Plato*, and *Moses was Scholar to them* or their learning, *Act.* 7.

Now I cannot think that this their exceeding Humane Learning was kept only in their brains, and none in writing. Nor do I think that if it were written, that it was decyphered only in their obscure Hieroglyphicks, but that some of it came to ordinary writing of familiar letters.

CHAP. XXX.

Of the Hebrew Tongue.

WHO so will go about to commend the Hebrew Tongue, may justly receive the censure, that he of *Rome* did, who had made a long book in the praise of *Hercules: This labour is in vain, for never any one dispraised Hercules.* Other commendations this Tongue needeth none, than what it hath of it self, namely, for Sanctity it was the Tongue of God, and for Antiquity it was the Tongue of *Adam:* God the first founder, and *Adam* the first speaker of it. In this Tongue were laid up the Mysteries of the Old Testament. It begun with the World and the Church, and continued and increased in glory, till the Captivity in *Babel*, which was a *Babel* to this Tongue, and brought to confusion this Language, which at the first confusion, had escaped without ruine. At their return, it was in some kind repaired, but far from former perfection. The Holy Scriptures viewed by *Ezra*, a Scribe fit for the Kingdom of Heaven, in whose treasure were things New and Old. In the *Maccabean* times all went to ruine, Language and Laws and all lost: and since that time to this day, the pure Hebrew hath lost her familiarity, being only known by Scholars or at least not without teaching. Our Saviours times spake the *Syrian*, *Kepha*, *Golgotha*, *Talitha*, and other words do witness; In aftertimes the unwearied Masorites arose, helpers to preserve the Bible Hebrew intire, and Grammarians, helpers to preserve the Idiome alive; but for restoring it to the old familiarity, neither of them could prevail. For, the Jews have at this day no abiding City, no Commonwealth, no proper Tongue, but speak as the Countries wherein they live. This where of they were once most nice is gone, and this groat they have lost. As the man in *Seneca*, that through sickness lost his memory, and forgot his own Name; so they for their sins have lost their Language, and forgot their own Tongue. Their *Cain* like wandring, after the murther of their brother, according to the flesh, Christ Jesus, hath lost them this precious mark of Gods favour, and branded them with a worse mark: *Cauterio conspirationis antiquæ*, as saith Saint *Bernard* in another case. Before the confusion of Tongues all the world spake their Tongue and no other, but since the confusion of the Jews, they speak the Language of all the World, and not their own. And that it is not with them so, only of late, but hath been long; *Theodoret* beareth witness in these words, *Other Nations* (saith he) *have their children speaking quickly in their own mother Tongue. Howbeit, there are no children of the Hebrews who naturally spake the Hebrew Tongue, but the Language of the Country where they are born. Afterward when they grow up they are taught the letters, and learn to read the Holy Scripture in the Hebrew Tongue.* Thus *Theod. in quæst.* on *Gen.* 59.60.

About this their training up of their Children, and growth of Men, in their own Tongue and Learning: a Rabbin hath this saying in *Pirke Auoth.* Perek. 1. *Ben He* (*he saith*) *At five years old for the Scripture, at ten for Mishneh, at thirteen* * *for the Commandment, at fifteen for the Talmud. At eighteen for Mariage, at twenty for Service, at thirty for Strength, at forty for Understanding, at fifty for Counsel, at sixty for Old age, at seventy for Gray Hairs, at eighty* ‖ *for Profoundness, at ninety for Meditation, at one hundred he is as Dead and past and gone out of the World.* The Jews look for a pompous Kingdom, when *Messias* the Son of *David* shall come, whom they watch for every moment till he come, as it is in the twelfth Article of their Creed, in their Common Prayer Book. He shall restore them (as they hope) a temporal Kingdom (and of that mind, till they were better taught, were the Apostles, *Acts* 1. 6.) and then their Tongue shall revive again, as they surmise. But the divine Apocaliptick writing after *Jerusalem* was ruined, might

* Or Philacteries, &c.

‖ Or fortitude (of mind) or God.

might teach them what the ſecond *Jeruſalem* muſt be, not on Earth but from Heaven, *Apoc.* 21. 2. But to return to their Tongue.

The Characters, we now have the Hebrew Tongue in, *Scaliger* thinks are but of a latter hatch, and not the ſame that the Jews uſed from *Moſes*, till the deſtruction of the Temple. For, that they uſed the *Phœnician* or *Cananæan* Character, which now is called the *Samaritan*. How truly I refer to the Readers judgment.

The Character we now have is either a ſet or a running letter: the firſt, the Bible is ordinarily Printed in, in the latter the moſt of the Rabbins.

The whole Tongue is contained in the Bible, and no one book elſe in the World, contains in it a whole Language. And this ſhews that the Scripture ſpeaks to all ſorts of people, ſince it ſpeaks of all ſorts of things. This Language is (as God ſaid the Jews ſhould be, if they would keep his Law.) A lender to all, and a borrower of none. All Tongues are in debt to this, and this to none. The Eaſtern moſt eſpecially muſt acknowledge this. *Some men in the Eaſt* (ſaith *Origen*) *reſerve their old ſpeech*, (*meaning by likelihood the Hebrew*) *and have not altered it, but have continued in the Eaſtern Tongue, becauſe they have continued in the Eaſtern Countries.* No Eaſtern Tongue that I have heard of, is Hebrew now, ſo that what to ſay to *Origen* I cannot tell, unleſs he mean that thoſe that have continued in the Eaſt, have kept neareſt this holy Tongue, becauſe neareſt the holy Land: this to be true is known to the meaneſt Learned. In their ſpeech it is apparent, and by their writing confirmed. All of them have learned from the Hebrew, to write from the right hand to the left (or as we uſually call it in *England*, to write, and read backward: The *China* and *Japan* writing excepted, which is indeed from the right hand to the left, but not with the lines croſſing the leaf as other Tongues do, but the lines down the leaf. A ſtrange way by it ſelf.

Again, moſt of the Eaſtern Tongues do uſe the Hebrew Character for quick writing, or ſome other end. The Chaldee letter is the very ſame. The Syrian though it have two or three kinds of its own, yet is content ſometime to take upon it the Hebrew Character. The Arabian doth the like, eſpecially the Jews in *Turky* uſe in hatred of *Mahumetans*, to write down their matters of Religion; in the Hebrew Character, though in the Arabian Tongue. So do the Chriſtian Arabians for the ſame cauſe in their holy things, uſe the Arabian Tongue, but Syrian Letter. And I take a place in *Epiphanius* to be meant to this purpoſe, alſo about the Perſian Tongue. His words out of another are theſe, *The Perſians beſides their own Letters do alſo uſe the Letters of the Syrians: as in our times many Nations uſe the Greek, though almoſt every Nation hath a proper Character.* I refer to the Reader to judge whether he mean not that the Perſians (as other Countries about them did,) did uſe the Hebrew Character for their quick writing: which is called Syrian by *Theodoret*.

To ſpeak of the grace, and ſweetneſs, and fulneſs of the Hebrew Tongue, is to no purpoſe to relate, for even thoſe that cannot read this Tongue have read thus much of it.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of Vowels.

EAſtern Tongues, eſpecially the Hebrew and her three Dialects, Chaldee, Syrian, and Arabian, are written ſometimes with vowels, ſometimes without: with, for certainty, without, for the ſpeedier writing: we have Hebrew Bibles of both kinds. The Septuagint it ſeems tranſlated by the unpricked Bible, as St. *Hierome* in his Commentary upon the Prophets ſeemeth to import, and as to any one that examineth it is eaſie to find. Inſtead of all other places in *Gen.* 4. 7. it is apparent: where the ſeventy Tranſlators reſerving the Letters have ſtrangely altered the Vowels.

The Hebrew hath it thus, הלא אם תיטיב שאת ואם לא תיטיב לפתח הטאת רבץ *Halo imtetibh Seeth, weim lo tetibh, lappethahh hhatath robbets*, which is in Engliſh thus, *If thou do well ſhalt thou not be accepted? And if thou do not well, ſin lieth at the door:* they Tranſlate it as pointed thus, הלא אם תיטיב שאת ואם לא תיטיב לפתח חטאת רבץ *Halo im tetibh ſeeth, weim lo tetibh lephatteahh hhatatha rebhats.* Which is, *If thou do well in offering and do not well in dividing thou haſt ſinned, be quiet.* This, follow with one conſent, the Greek and many of the Latine Fathers: They could not thus tranſlate, becauſe they knew not the Text, or becauſe they wanted pointed Bibles, but on ſet purpoſe to hide Pearls from Swine (as the beſt Learned think.) But that they did always miſs on ſet purpoſe (where they miſſed) their many lapſes ſeem to deny: but ſometime they miſtook the unpricked Text, and ſo miſconſtrued. A vowelled Bible they might have had but would not.

Some

Some there be that think the vowels of the Hebrew, were not invented for many years after Chriſt. Which to mee ſeemeth to be all one, as to deny ſinews to a body: or to keep an Infant unſwadled, and to ſuffer him to turn and bend any way till he grow out of faſhion. For mine own ſatisfaction I am fully reſolved, that the Letters and Vowels of the Hebrew were as the Soul and Body in a Child, knit together at their conception and beginning: and that they had both one Author.

1. For, firſt a Tongue cannot be learned without Vowels, though at laſt, skill and practiſe may make it to be read without. Grammar and not Nature makes men to do this, and this alſo helped out with the ſence of the place we read.

2. That Maſorites ſhould amend that which the Septuagint could not ſee, and that they ſhould read righter, than the other (who were of far greater Authority) I cannot believe.

3. Our Saviour in his words of one *Iota* and one ſmall *kerai* not periſhing from the Law, ſeems to allude to the leaſt of the Letters, *Jod*, and the leaſt Vowel and Accent.

4. Laſtly, It is above the skill of a meer man to point the Bible; nay, ſcarcely a verſe as it is. The Ten Commandments may puzzle all the World for that skill.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of the Language of two Teſtaments.

THE two Teſtaments are like the Apoſtles at *Jeruſalem* (when the confuſion of Tongues at *Babel* was recompenſed with multiplicity of Tongues at *Sion*) ſpeaking in different Languages, but ſpeaking both to one purpoſe. They differ from each other only in Language and time: but for matter the New is veiled in the Old, and Old reveiled in the New. *Iſaiah* in his viſion, heard the Seraphins cry *Zeh elzeh*, one to another, *Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God of tſebhaoth.* So the two Teſtaments like theſe two Seraphins, cry *Zeh elzeh* one to another, the Old cries to the New, and the New ecchoes to the Old. The Old cries, *Holy is the Lord that hath promiſed*, the New anſwers, *Holy is the Lord that hath performed.* The Old ſays, *Holy is the Father that gave the Law*, the New ſaith, *Holy is the Son that preached the Goſpel*, and both ſay, *Holy is the Holy Ghoſt that penned both Law and Goſpel to make men holy.* The two Cherubins in *Salomons* Temple ſtood ſo that with their outmoſt wings they touched the ſides of the houſe, and their other wings touched each other. So the two Teſtaments, one way touch the two ſides of the houſe, and the other way touch each other. In their extent they read from the beginning of the World to the end, from *in the beginning*, to *come Lord Jeſus.* In their conſent they touch each other, with *He ſhall turn the Heart of the Fathers to the children*, Mal. 4. 6, and *He ſhall turn the heart of the Fathers to the children*, Luke 1. 17. Here the two wings joyn in the middle. *Tertullian* calls the Prophet *Malachi*, *the bound* or skirt of *Judaiſm and Chriſtianity*, a ſtake that tells that there promiſing ends, and performing begins, that Prophecying concludes, and Fulfilling takes place: there is not a ſpan between theſe two plots of holy ground, the Old and New Teſtament, for they touch each other. What do the Papiſts then when they put and chop in the Apocripha for Canonical Scripture, between *Malachi* and *Matthew*, Law and Goſpel? What do they, but make a wall between the Seraphins that they cannot hear each others cry? What do they but make a ſtop between the Cherubins that they cannot touch each others wing? What do they but make a ditch betwixt theſe grounds that they cannot reach each others coaſts? What do they but remove the Land mark of the Scriptures, and ſo are guilty, of, *Curſed be he that removes his neighbours mark*, Deut. 27. 17. And what do they but divorce the mariage of the Teſtaments, and ſo are guilty of the breach of, *that which God hath joyned together let no man put aſunder.* Theſe two Teſtaments are the two paps of the Church from which we ſuck *the ſincere milk of the Word.* One pap is not more like to another, than are theſe two for ſubſtance, but for Language they vary in colour. The Old (as all can tell) is written in Hebrew, but ſome forraign Languages are alſo admitted into Scripture, beſides the Hebrew, as forraign Nations were to be admitted alſo to the Church beſides the Hebrews. A great piece of *Ezra* is Chaldee, becauſe taken from Chaldee Chronicles. Thoſe parts of *Daniels* viſions that concern all the World, are written in the Chaldee, the Tongue then beſt known in the World, becauſe the Chaldeans were then Lords of the World. The eleventh verſe of the tenth of *Jeremy* is in the ſame Tongue, that the Jews might learn ſo much of their Language, as to refuſe their Idolatry in their own Language. Other words of this Idiom are frequent in the Scripture: as I take two names given to Chriſt (as Bar

Iſa. 6.2.

2 *Chron.* 3.

the

the ſon in *Pſal.*2.10. and *Hboter* the rod of *Jeſſes* ſtem, *Iſa.* 11.) to be natively Chaldee words, and for that they do ſhew the greater myſtery, *viz.* that this Son and this Rod ſhould belong to Chaldeans and Gentiles, as well as to Jew or Hebrews: Infinite it is to trace all of this nature and Language. The Arabian is alſo admitted into Scripture, eſpecially in the Book of *Job* a man of that Country: whether Philiſtin Phraſes, and other adjacent Nations Dialects, be not to be found there alſo, I refer to the Reader to ſearch, and (I think) he may eaſily find: of the eloquence of ſome pieces above others, and the difficulty of ſome books above others, thoſe that can even read the Engliſh Bible can tell. I would there were more that could read it in its own Language, and as it were talk with God there in his own Tongue: that as by Gods mercy *Japhet* dwells now in the tents of *Sem*, or the Gentiles have gained the preheminence of the Jews for Religion, ſo they would water this graffing of theirs into this ſtock, with the juyce of that Tongue, thereby to *provoke them the more to Jealouſie.*

Rhutra *uſed by all the Targums for a rod in divers places.*

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of the New Teſtament Language, or the Greek.

THE Greek Tongue is the key which God uſed to unlock the Tents of *Sem* to the ſons of *Japhet*. This glorious Tongue (as *Tully* calls it) is made moſt glorious by the writing of the New Teſtament in this Language. God hath honoured all the letters by naming himſelf after the firſt and the laſt: as *Homer* ſhews the receit of all the Grecian ſhips, by ſhewing how many the greateſt, and how few the leaſt contained. *Javan* is held both by Jews and Chriſtians to have planted the Country. The Tongue is likely to be maternal from *Babel*: The Jews upon *Geneſis* the forty ninth, think that *Jacob* curſeth his ſons *Simeon* and *Levies* fact, in one word of Greek *Macerothehem*, that is, μαχαίρας ἀυτῶν their ſwords: but all the Chaldees and other Tranſlations render it better, *their habitations*, *Gen.* 49. 5. The ancienteſt Heathen Greek alive is *Homer*, though the Tongue was long before, and *Homers* ſubject of *Ilias* treated of in Greek verſe by *Evanders* Wife of Arcadia, as ſome have related. *Homer* watered the Tongue, and in ſucceeding ages it flouriſhed till it grew ripe in the New Teſtament. The Dialects of it familiarly known to be five. The *Attick*, the *Ionick*, &c. The Macedonian was ſomething ſtrange, as appears in *Clemens Alexandrinus*, Strom. 5. Eſpecially their devout Macedonian, or about their oraiſons. How God ſcattered and divulged this Tongue of the Greeks over the World, againſt the coming of Chriſt, and writing of the New Teſtament, is remarkable. *Alexander* the great with his *Macedonians*, made the Eaſtern parts Grecian. The Old Teſtament at *Ptolomæus* his requeſt, tranſlated into Greek, was as an Uſher to bring in the New Teſtament, when *Japhet* ſhould come to dwell in the Tents of *Sem*. The Jews uſed to keep a mournful faſt for that Tranſlation, but as Jews mourn, ſo have Gentiles cauſe to rejoyce. In like ſort, for the preparation for the Goſpel of late (which as far as Antichriſt his power could reach, lay depreſſed, but not overwhelmed;) the Greek Tongue at the ſacking of *Conſtantinople* by the Turks, was ſent into theſe Weſtern climates; that we might hear Chriſt ſpeak in his own Language, without an *Egyptian* to interpret to us, as *Joſeph* had to his brethren: What need we now to rely upon a Latine foundation, when we have the Greek purity? Never did the Turk any good to Chriſtianity, but this, and this againſt his will, but God worketh all things for his own glory: And we may ſay of the poor inhabitants of *Grecia*, as of the Jews, *by their impoveriſhing we are inriched.*

Thucyd. lib. 1

As *Athens* in old time was called the *Grecia* of *Grecia*, ſo the New Teſtament for Language may be ſtiled the *Greek* of *Greek*. In it (as upon the croſs of our Saviour, in the title) are three Tongues, *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latine*. Greek the foundation, of the other two ſome few additions. In the Greek Maſter *Broughton* hath given learned rules and examples of the kinds of it, *viz. Septuagint*, *Talmudick*, *Attick* and *Apoſtolick*. The Hebrew or Syrian (for ſo that word Hebrew in the title of the croſs muſt be underſtood) is eaſily found out even in Tranſlations. Latine there is ſome in the Goſpels, but not much. Κῆνσος, *Cenſus* for tribute. Κουστωδία a ward or watch, *Matth.*28.11. Σπεκουλάτωρ *ſpiculator*, *Mark* 6. 27. which word is uſed by *Targum Jeruſelamy* in *Gen.* 37. of *Potiphar*, that he was *Rabh Sapulachtaria: Princeps ſpiculatorum.* And ſome other words of the Latine Tongue, which Language in our Saviours time the conqueſt of the Romans had ſcattered in *Jeruſalem:* and in the parts adjoyning, and ſo may one find ſome Latine in the Syrian Teſtament: and abundance of Greek.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of the Chaldee and Syrian Tongues.

THE Chaldee and Syrian Tongue was once all one, as appeareth in *Gen.* 31. 47. *Ezra* 4.7. *Dan.*2.4. In Character indeed they differed, they of *Babilon* uſing one kind of letter, they of *Syria* another: This was that that nonpluſt the Babilonian wizards about the writing of the wall, ſo that they could not read it, though it were in their own Language, becauſe it was not in their own letter. In after-times the very Languages themſelves began to vary: as the Chaldee in *Daniel*, and *Onkelos* and *Jeruſelamy* and *Jonathan*, and the Syrian in the Teſtament do witneſs. The Paraphraſts do much differ between themſelves for purity of ſpeech, and all far ſhort of the Bible Chaldee. They are very full of Greek words, and ſo the Syrian: a relick of *Alexanders* conqueſts: ſome think they find ſome Greek in *Daniel*. *Montanus* himſelf renders *Oſphaia* σφοι all along. Four kind of Characters is the Chaldee to be had in, or if you will the Chaldee in two, and the Syrian in two. Our Bible and Paraphraſts and Rabbins Chaldee is in the Hebrew letter, and the other kind of letter is the Samaritan. The Syrian hath either a ſet letter, ſuch as we have the New Teſtament imprinted in, or their running hand, ſuch as the Maronites uſe in their writing for ſpeed: there is no great difference betwixt them, as you may ſee by their Alphabet.

CHAP. XXXV.

Of the Arabian Language.

THIS is the moſt copious of the Hebrew Dialects, and a Tongue that may brag with the moſt of Tongues from fluency, and continuance of familiarity. This Tongue is frequent in Scripture, eſpecially in *Job*, a man of that Country: How other parts of the Bible uſe it, I think may be judged by the nearneſs of *Judea* and *Arabia*, and of the two Languages. In this one thing it differs from its fellow-Dialects and its Mother Tongue, that it varieth terminations in declining of Nowns, as the Greek and Latine do, and that it receiveth dual numbers, in forming Verbs, as doth the Greek. Of the largeneſs of the Alphabet, and difference from other Alphabets, and quiddits of the Tongue, or indeed any thing of the Tongue, I cannot ſay, which I have not received of the moſt Induſtrious and thrice Learned (both in this and other the noble Tongues) *Maſter William Bedwell*, whom I cannot name without a great deal of thankfulneſs and honour: To whom I will rather be a Scholar, than take on me to teach others. This Tongue was *Mahomads* Alcoran written in, and is ſtill read in the ſame Idiome under pain of death, not to miſtake a letter, which is as eaſily done in this Tongue as in any.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Of the Latine Tongue.

THIS is the firſt Idiom of our Grammar Schools: A Tongue next the ſacred Tongues, moſt neceſſary for Scholars of the beſt profeſſion. Whether Latine were a *Babel* Language I will not controvert *pro & contra*. Sure I dare ſay, that what Latine we read now, was not at *Babel:* if we may believe *Polybius*, who ſaith that *the Latine Tongue that was uſed in Junius Brutus time was not underſtood in the time of the firſt Punick War, but only by great Scholars.* So much in few years it had degenerated. The old Poets compared with ſmooth *Ovid* and *Tully* ſhew much alteration. This ſpacious Tongue once almoſt as big as any, and as large as a great part of the World, is now bounded in Schools and Studies. The Deluge of the North (the treaſury of Men) overwhelmed the Romane Empire, ſcattered the Men, and ſpoiled the Latine. Goths, Vandals, Lombards, and the reſt of the brood of thoſe frozen Climates, have beaten the Latine Tongue out of its own faſhion, into the *French*, *Spaniſh*, and *Italian*. But ſome ſparks of their hammering are flown into other Languages of the Weſt: So that moſt Countries hereabout may own *Rome* for a ſecond *Babel* for their ſpeech confuſed.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The Language of Britain near a thouſand years ago. Ex Beda lib. 1. de Hiſt. Angl. Cap. 1.

Britania in præſenti juxta numerum librorum, &c. Britain in my time (ſaith *Bede*) *doth ſearch and confeſs one and the ſame knowledge of the High Truth, and true ſublimity in five Tongues, according to the five Books wherein the Law of God was written: namely, in the Engliſh, Britain, Scotiſh, Pict and Latine Tongues:* And in the nineteenth Chapter of the ſame Book, he ſaith, that *when Auſten the Monk came from Gregory the great to Preach the Goſpel in England, he brought with him Interpreters out of France to ſpeak to the Engliſh:* That Language it ſeems was then uſual in *England*, but whether the French that *France* ſpeaks now, is a queſtion. *William the Conqueror* took great care and pains to have brought in his Tongue with his Conqueſt, but could not prevail.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Jonathan the Chaldee Paraphraſt his conceit of Levies choſing to the Prieſthood: tranſlated out of his Paraph. on Gen. 32. 24.

*AND Jacob was left alone beyond the foord, and an Angel in the likeneſs of a man ſtrove with him and ſaid, Didſt thou not promiſe to give Tithe of all that thou hadſt, and behold thou haſt * twelve ſons, and one daughter, and thou haſt not tithed them: Out of hand he ſets apart the four firſt born to their four mothers* (for ſaith the margin, they were holy becauſe of their primogeniture) *and then were eight left: He begins again to count from Simeon, and ended in Levi, for the tenth or tithe. Michael anſwereth and ſaith, Lord of the World this is thy lot,* &c. thus the Chaldee. On whoſe words, if they were worth Commenting on I could ſay more.

* He had but eleven ſons as yet: but the Hebrew Comment upon the Chaldee Text helps out at this dead lift, and ſaith, that Rachel was great with child of Benjamin, and ſo he is counted before he is born.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of the Jews abbreviature. עה

THIS ſhort writing is common in all their Authors. When they cite any of the Doctors of their Schools, they commonly uſe theſe words, *Amerù rabbothenu Ziceronam libhracah,* in four letters thus: ארזל *thus ſay our Doctors of bleſſed memory.* But when they ſpeak of holy men in the Old Teſtament, they uſually take this Phraſe *Gnalau haſhalom,* on him is peace, in brief thus, עה. Thus when they mention *Moſes, Solomon, David,* or others, this is the memorial they give them. The Arabians have the like uſe in their Abbreviation of *Gnalaihi alſalemo: on whom is peace.* The words in Hebrew want a verb, and ſo may be conſtrued two ways: *On him is peace,* or *on him be peace.* The learned Maſter *Broughton* hath rendered it the former way, and his judgement herein ſhall be my Law. To take it the latter way, ſeems to reliſh of Popiſh ſuperſtition, of praying for the dead: which though the Jews did not directly do, yet in manner they appear to do no leſs, in one part of their Common Prayer Book, called *Mazkir neſhamoth, the remembrancer of Souls:* which being not very long, I thought not amiſs to Tranſlate out of their Tongue, into our own, that the Reader may ſee their Jewiſh Popery, or Popiſh Judaiſm, and may bleſs the Creator, who hath not ſhut us up in the ſame darkneſs.

CHAP. XL.

Mazkir neſhamoth: *or the Remembrancer of ſouls: in the Jews Liturgy: Printed at Venice.*

THE Lord remember the ſoul (*or ſpirit of Abba Mr. N. the ſon of N. who is gone into his world: wherefore I vow* (*to give*) *Alms for him, that for this, his ſoul may be bound up in the bundle of life, with the ſoul of Abraham, Iſaac and Jacob, Sarah, and Rebecca, Rachel and Leah, and with the reſt of the righteous men and righteous women, which be in the garden of Eden.* Amen.

The Lord remember the ſoul of Mrs. N. the Daughter of N. who is gone to her World. Therefore I vow, &c. as in the other before. *Amen.*

The Lord remember the ſoul of my father and my mother, of my grandfathers and grandmothers, of my uncles and aunts, brethren and ſiſters, of my coſens and coſeneſſes, whether of my fathers ſide, or mothers ſide, who are gone into their world. Wherefore I vow, &c. Amen.

The Lord remember the ſoul of N. the ſon of N. and the ſouls of all my coſens and coſeneſſes, whether on my fathers or mothers ſide, who were put to death, or ſlain, or ſtabd, or burnt, or drowned, or hanged for the ſanctifying of the Name of God. Therefore I will give Alms for the memory of their ſouls, and for this let their ſouls be bound up in the bundle of life, with the ſoul of Abraham, Iſaac and Jacob, Sarah and Rebecca, Rachel and Leah, and with the reſt of the righteous men and righteous women which are in the garden of Eden. Amen.

Then the Prieſt pronounceth a bleſſing upon the man that is thus charitable, as it followeth there in theſe words.

He that bleſſed our father Abraham, Iſaac and Jacob, Moſes and Aaron, David and Salomon, he bleſs Rabbi N. the ſon of N. becauſe he hath vowed Alms for the ſouls whom he hath mentioned: for the honour of God, and for the honour of the Law, and for the honour of the day: for this the Lord keep him, and deliver him from all affliction and trouble, and from every plague and ſickneſs: and write him and ſeal him for a happy life, in the day of Judgment: and ſend a bleſſing and proſper him in every work of his hands, and all Iſrael his brethren, and let us ſay Amen.

Thus (courteous Reader) haſt thou ſeen a Popiſh Jew interceding for the dead: have but the like patience a while, and thou ſhalt ſee how they are Popiſh almoſt entirely, in claiming the merits of the dead to intercede for them: for thus tendeth a prayer which they uſe in the book, called *Sepher Min hagim ſhel col Hammedinoth*, &c. which I have alſo here turned into Engliſh.

Do for thy praiſes ſake. Do for their ſakes that loved thee, that (now) dwell in duſt. For Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacobs ſake. Do for Moſes and Aarons ſake. Do for David and Salomons ſake. Do for Jeruſalem thy holy Cities ſake. Do for Sion the habitation of thy glories ſake. Do for the deſolation of thy Temples ſake. Do for the treading down of thine Altars ſake. Do for their ſakes who were ſlain for thy holy Name. Do for their ſakes who have been maſſacred for thy ſake. Do for their ſakes who have gone to fire or water for the hallowing of thy Name. Do for ſucking childrens ſakes who have not ſinned. Do for weaned childrens ſakes who have not offended. Do for infants ſakes who are of the houſe of our Doctors. Do for thine own ſake if not for ours. Do for thine own ſake and ſave us.

Tell me gentle reader ἰπλαίτων φιλονίζει, &c. whether doth the Jew Romanize, or the Roman Judaize in his devotions. This interceding by others, is a ſhrewd ſign they have both rejected the right *Mediator between God and Man, Chriſt Jeſus.* The prophane Heathen might have read both Jew and Papiſt a lecture in his, *Contemno minutos iſtos Deos, modo Jovem propitium habeam*, which I think a Chriſtian may well Engliſh: let go all Diminutive Divinities, ſo that I may have the great Jeſus Chriſt to propitiate for me.

CHAP. XLI.

Of the Latine Tranſlation of Matth. 6. 1.

ALms in Rabbin Hebrew are called צדקה *Tſedhakah* righteouſneſs, which word the Syrian Tranſlator uſeth, *Matth.* 6. 1. *Act.* 10. 2. and in other places. From this cuſtom of ſpeech, the Roman vulgar Tranſlateth, *Attendite ne juſtitiam veſtram faciatis:* One Engliſh old manuſcript Teſtament, is in *Lichfield* Library, which hath it thus after the Latine: *Takith hede that you do not your rightwiſnes before men to be ſeyne of hem, ellis ye ſhullen have no mede at your fadir that is in hevenes.* Other Engliſh Tranſlation, I never ſaw any to this ſenſe; nor any Greek copy. It ſeems the Papiſt will rather Judaize for his own advantage, than follow the true Greek. The Septuagint in ſome places of the Old Teſtament, have turned *Tſedhakah* Righteouſneſs, ἐλεημοσύνην Almſdeeds, or little or to no ſenſe. As the Papiſts have in this place of the New Teſtament, turned ἐλεημοσύνην Almſdeeds, by δικαιοσύνην Righteonſneſs, to as little purpoſe. In the Hebrew indeed, one word is uſed for both: *Tſedhakah* for Almſdeeds, which properly ſignifies Righteouſneſs; upon what ground I know not, unleſs it be, to ſhew that * Alms muſt be given of rightly gotten good, or elſe they are no righteouſneſs: or they are called *Zadkatha* in Syrian, *Hu ger zadek le mehwo*, they are called righteouſneſs, becauſe it is right they ſhould be given, and given rightly. The Fathers of the Councel of *Trent* ſpeak much of the merit of Alms; whom one may anſwer in the very words of their vulgar, *Attendite ne juſtitiam veſtram faciatis.* Take heed you do not make them your Juſtification.

* *St.* Chryſoſtom *hath ſuch a touch.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XLII.

An Emblem.

A Wall in *Rome* had this picture. A man painted naked with a whip in one hand, and four leaves of a book in the other, and in every leaf a word written. In the firſt, *Plango, I mourn*; Is the ſecond, *Dico, I tell*; In the third, *volo, I will*; and in the fourth, *facio, I do.* Such a one in the true repentant. He is naked, becauſe he would have his moſt ſecret ſins laid open to God: He is whipped, becauſe his ſins do ſting himſelf: His book is his repentance: His four words are his actions: In the firſt he mourns, in the ſecond he confeſſes, in the third he reſolves, and in the fourth, he performs his reſolution. *Plango, I mourn*, there is ſight of ſin and ſorrow; *Dico, I tell*, there is contrition for ſin and confeſſion; *Volo, I will*, there is amending reſolution: *Facio, I do*, there is performing ſatisfaction.

CHAP. XLIII.

Mahhanaiim. Gen. 32. 2.

AND Jacob went on his way, and the Angels of God met him: And Jacob ſaid when he ſaw them, This is the Hoſt of the Lord, and he called the name of the place Mahanaim.

The word is dual, and tels of two Armies and no more, what theſe two Armies were, the Jews according to their uſual vein, do find ſtrange expoſitions. To omit them all, this ſeems to me to be the truth, and reaſon of the name. There was one company with *Jacob*, which afterwards he calls his army; and there was another company of Angels, which he calls *the Army of God.* Theſe are the two Armies that gave name to *Mahanaim*; two Armies, one heavenly, and the other earthly: and from this I take it, *Salomon* compares the Church, * *to the company of Mahanaim:* for ſo the Church conſiſteth of two Armies, one heavenly like theſe Angels, which is the Church triumphant, and the other travailing on earth like *Jacobs* Army, which is the Church militant. Cant. 6. 12.

CHAP. XLIV.

The book of Pſalms.

THE *Pſalms* are divided into five books, according to the five Books of *Moſes:* and if they be ſo divided, there be ſeventy books in the Bible; the unskilful may find where any one of theſe five books end, by looking where a Pſalm ends with *Amen*, there alſo ends the book. As at *Pſal.* 41. 72. 89. 106. and from thence to the end.

Theſe may even in their very beginnings be harmonized to the books of the Law.

Geneſis. The firſt book of *Moſes* telleth how happineſs was loſt, even by *Adams* walking in wicked counſel of the Serpent and the Woman.

Pſal. 1. The firſt book of Pſalms tells how happineſs may be regained, if a man *do not walk in wicked counſel*, as of the Serpent and Woman, the Divel and the Fleſh.

This alluſion of the firſt book *Arnobius* makes.

Exodus. The ſecond book of *Moſes* tells of groaning affliction in *Egypt.*

Pſal. 42. The ſecond book of Pſalms begins in groaning affliction, *Pſal.* 42. 43.

Leviticus. The third book of *Moſes* is of giving the Law.

Pſal. 73. The third book of Pſalms tells in the beginning, how good God is for giving this Law. This alluſion. *Rab. Tanch.* makes very near.

Numbers. The fourth book of *Moſes* is about numbring.

Pſal. 90. The fourth book begins with numbring of the beſt Arithmetick: numbring Gods mercy, *Pſal.* 90. 1. and our own days, *verſ.* 12.

Deuteronomy. The laſt book of *Moſes* is a rehearſal of all.

Pſal. 107. So is the laſt book of the Pſalms from *Pſal.* 107. to the end.

In the Jews diviſion of the Scripture, this piece of the Pſalms, and the books of the like nature, are ſet laſt: not becauſe they be of the leaſt dignity, but becauſe they be of leaſt dependance with other books, as ſome of them being no ſtory at all, and ſome, ſtories and books of leſſer bulk, and ſo ſet in a form by themſelves. The Old Teſtament books, the Jews acroſtically do write thus in three letters אנך or תנך, every letter ſtanding for a word, and every word for a part of the Bible. א or ת for *Aorajetha*, or *Torah*, the Law: נ for *Nebhiim* the Prophets: כ for *Cethubhim*, or books of Holy Writ: this diviſion is ſo old, that our Saviour himſelf uſeth it in the laſt of *Luke*, and verſ. 44. *All things written in the Law of Moſes, and in the Prophets and the Pſalms.* By the Pſalms meaning, that part of *Cethubhim*, in which the Pſalms are ſet firſt.

CHAP. XLV.

Of the Creation.

TWO ways we come to the knowledge of God; by his Works and by his Word. By his Works we come to know there is a God; and by his Word we come to know what God is. His Works teach us to ſpell; his Word teacheth us to read. The firſt are as it were his back parts, by which we behold him a far off: The latter ſhews him to us face to face. The World is as a book conſiſting of three leaves, and every leaf Printed with many Letters, and every Letter a Lecture. The leaves Heaven, the Air, and Earth with the Water. The Letters in Heaven, every Angel, Star, and Planet. In the Air, every Meteor and Soul. In the Earth and Waters, every Man, Beaſt, Plant, Fiſh, and Mineral: all theſe ſet together, ſpell to us that there is a God, and the Apoſtle ſaith no leſs though in leſs ſpace, *Rom.* 1.20. *For the* * *inviſible things of him, that is, his eternal Power and Godhead are ſeen by the creation of the World, being conſidered in his Works.* And ſo *David*, *Pſal.* 19. 1. It is not for nothing that God hath ſet the Cabinet of the Univerſe open, but it is becauſe he hath given us Eyes to behold his Treaſure. Neither is it for nothing that he hath given us Eyes to behold his Treaſure, but becauſe he hath given us Hearts to admire upon our beholding. If we mark not the Works of God, we are like Stones that have no Eyes, wherewith to behold. If we wonder not at the Works of God, when we mark them, we are like Beaſts that have no Hearts wherewith to admire. And if we praiſe not God for his Works, when we admire them, we are like Devils that have no Tongues wherewith to give thanks. Remarkable is the ſtory of the poor old man, whom a Biſhop found, moſt bitterly weeping, over an ugly Toad: being asked the reaſon of his Tears, his anſwer was, *I weep, becauſe, that whereas God might have made me as ugly and filthy a creature as this Toad, and hath not, I have yet never in all my life been thankful to him for it.* If the works of the Creation would but lead us to this one Lecture, our labour of obſerving them were well beſtowed. How much more when they lead us far further.

* *In the* Syrian *tranſlation it is* the hid *things of God.*

CHAP. XLVI.

The time and manner of the Creation.

MOSES in the firſt verſe of the Bible refutes three Heathen opinions: namely, theirs that thought the World was Eternal, for he ſaith, *in the beginning*, &c. Secondly, theirs that thought there was no God, for he ſaith, *Elohim created.* Thirdly, theirs that thought there were many gods, for he ſaith, * *Elohim* he created Heaven and Earth. The firſt word *in the beginning* may draw our minds and thoughts to the laſt thing, the latter end, and this thought muſt draw our affections from too much love of the World, for it muſt have an end as it had a beginning. I will not ſtand to comment upon the word *Beriſhith in the beginning*, for then I know not when to come to an end. To treat how the divers expoſitors labour about the beginning of the world, is a world of labour. How the *Jeruſ. Targ.* tranſlates it, *In wiſdom*, and is followed by *Rabbi Tanchum*, and many Jews: How *Targ. Jonath.* uſeth an Arabian word, *Min Awwala, a primo*; *Onkelos*, *in primis* or *in principio: Jarchi in principio creationis creavit.* How *Baſil* the great, Saint *Ambroſe*, and hundreds others do interpret this, is a work endleſs to examine. Satisfied am I with this, that the world and all things had their beginning from God, that in the beginning created Heaven and Earth. Some of the Jews do invert the word *Bereſhith*, and make it *Betiſri* that is in the month *Tiſri* was the world created. This month is about our *September*, and that the world was created in this month (to let

* *Even thoſe that have not Hebrew, can tell there is a myſtery of the Trinity in* Elohim, bara, *but few mark how ſweetly this is anſwered with the ſame Phraſe in manner, in the* Haphtara *which is read by the Jews to this portion of* Moſes, *viz.* Eſa. 42.5. Jehovah bore ha ſhamaiim, venotehem: Jehovah *being ſingular, and* notchem *plurall, which might be rendred*, Deus creans cœlos, & Deus extendentes eos.

other

other reaſons alone') this ſatisfies me, that the Feaſt of Tabernacles which was in this month, is called the end of the year, *Exod.* 23.16. And this I take to be the reaſon, why the Jews began to read the Bible in their Synagogues, at the Feaſt of Tabernacles, *viz.* that they might begin the lecture of the Creation, in *Gen.*1. at that time of the year that the world was created.

The manner of the Creation ſhews the workman powerful and wiſe. The making of the Angels concealed by *Moſes*, leſt men ſhould (like thoſe hereticks in *Epiph.*) think they helped God in the Creation. For if their day of their Creation (* which was in moſt likelihood the firſt) had been named, wicked men would have been ready to have taken them for actors in this work, which were only ſpectators. Therefore as God hides *Moſes* after his death, ſo *Moſes* hides the Creation of them, leſt they ſhould be deified, and the honour due to the Creator given to the creature. God in framing the world, begins above and works downward; and in three days he lays the parts of the world, and in the three other days, he adorns thoſe parts.

* Rab. Solom. holds they were made the ſecond day. Many Divines hold for the fourth.

The firſt day he makes all the Heavens, the matter of the Earth, and comes down ſo low as the Light.

The ſecond lower, and makes the Firmament or Air.

The third loweſt of all, and makes diſtinction of Earth and Water.

Thus in three days the parts, or body of the World is laid, in three days more, and in the ſame order they are furniſhed. For on

The fourth day the Heavens, which were made the firſt day, are deckt with Stars.

The fifth day the Firmament, which was made the ſecond day, is filled with Birds.

The ſixth day the Earth, which was laid fit the third day, is repleniſhed with Beaſts, and laſtly * Man.

Thus God in the ſix days finiſhed all his work of Creation. || For the ten things that the Chaldee Paraphraſt ſaith, God created on the evening of the Sabbath, after the World was finiſhed: I refer them to their Authors to believe them.

* The Seventy Interpreters on Gen. 2.2. inſtead of God had finiſhed on the ſeventh day, *read* he finiſhed on the ſixth day.

|| Chaldee Paraph. on Numb. 22. and Jarch. on Deut. 34. and Pirke Abboth.

R. Jarchi on *Gen.* 2. obſerves, that God created one day ſuperior things, and another day inferior: his words are to this purpoſe.

On the firſt day he created Heaven above and Earth beneath. On the ſecond day, the Firmament above. On the third, let the dry Land appear beneath. On the fourth day, Lights above. On the fifth day, let the Waters bring forth beneath. On the ſixth, he muſt create both Superiour and Inferiour, as he had done on the firſt, leſt there ſhould be confuſion in his Work, therefore he made Man of both, his Soul from above, and his Body from beneath.

R. Tanchumah ſhews how the making of the Tabernacle harmonizeth with the making of the World: The Light of the firſt day anſwered, by the Candleſtick, for Light the firſt work; and the ſpreading of the Firmament, like a curtain, anſwered by the Curtains the ſecond work, and ſo of the reſt.

Every one knows the old conceit of the worlds laſting ſix thouſand years, becauſe it was made in ſix days: and of *Elias* Propheſie among the Jews, of the world ending, at the end of ſix thouſand: which Propheſie of his is ſtat againſt the words of Chriſt: Many believe theſe opinions, yet few prepare for the end which they think is ſo near.

God hath taught us by the courſe of the Creation of the old world, what our proceedings muſt be, that we may become a new Creation, or new Heavens, and a new Earth, renewed both in Soul and Body.

1. On the firſt day he made the Light, ſo the firſt thing in the new Man muſt be Light of Knowledge, ſo ſaith Saint *Paul*, Heb. 11. *He that cometh to God muſt know that he is.*

2. On the ſecond day he made the Firmament, ſo called, becauſe of its * ſureneſs, ſo the ſecond ſtep in Mans new Creation muſt be *Firmamentum Fidei*, the ſure foundation of Faith.

* Χάλκεον ἔσσε in Heſiod. ἔσαν δὲ πολυχάλκω Hom. Odyſ. 3

3. On the third day, the Seas and Trees bearing fruit: So the third ſtep in the new Man is that he become Waters of repentant Tears, and that he bring forth Fruit worthy of theſe Tears. *Bring forth Fruit worthy of Repentance, ſaith the Baptiſt, Matth.* 3.

4. On the fourth day, God created the Sun: that whereas on the firſt day there was light but without heat; now on the fourth day, there is light and heat joyned together. So the fourth ſtep in the new Creation of a new Man is, that he joyn the heat of Zeal with the light of his Knowledge: as in the Sacrifices fire and ſalt were ever joyned.

5. The

5. The fifth days work, was of fiſhes to play in the Seas, and the fouls to flie toward Heaven: So the fifth ſtep in a new creature is, to live and rejoyce in a Sea of troubles, and to flie by prayer and contemplation to Heaven.

6. On the ſixth day, God makes man: and all theſe things performed, man is a new creature. To reckon them altogether then, as S. *Peter* does his golden chain of vertues, 2 *Pet.* 1. *Add to your light of Knowledge, the firmament of Faith, to your Faith, Seas of repentant Tears, to your Tears, the fruitful Trees of good Works, to your good Works, the hot Sunſhine of Zeal, to your Zeal, the winged fouls of Prayer and Contemplation*; Et ecce omnia facta ſunt nova. *Behold you are become a new Creature.*

As the Bible begins, ſo it ends with a new Creation, of a new Heaven and a new Earth, and a new Paradiſe, and a new Tree of Life, *Apoc.* 21. unto all which, *O thou whom my ſoul loveth, ſay come.*

CHAP. XLVII.

Of the fall of Adam.

Cypriano di valer.

THE fall of *Adam* was the death of himſelf, the death of us, and the death of Chriſt. At his fall were three offenders, three offences, and perſons offended. Three offenders, *Satan*, *Adam*, *Eve*: three offences, Ignorance, weakneſs, and malice: three perſons offended, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. *Eve* ſinned of Ignorance, and ſo ſinned againſt the Son, the God of knowledge, and ſhe was forgiven; and ſo S. *Paul* ſinned, and was forgiven, 1 *Tim.* 1. 13. *Adam* ſinned of weakneſs, and ſo ſinned againſt the Father, the God of power, and he was pardoned; and ſo S. *Peter* ſinned, and he was pardoned, *Matth.* 26. But Satan ſinned of ſet malice, and ſo ſinned againſt the Holy Ghoſt, the God of love, and he was not forgiven: *For he that ſpeaketh againſt the Holy Ghoſt, ſhall never be forgiven*, Mark 3. 29. And in Gods cenſuring of theſe three, *Gen.* 3. He queſtioneth *Adam* and *Evah* before he ſentenceth, becauſe he had mercy for them, nay more, he promiſeth Chriſt before he inflict puniſhment: but for the Serpent, he never queſtioned, becauſe he would ſhew him no mercy. God left *Adam* to his own free-will, and ſuffered him to fall, *quia ſciebat ſe, &c.* becauſe he knew how to turn that fall of his, to his ſalvation. When *Lazarus* died, Chriſt was not there, that the raiſing of *Lazarus* by Chriſt might be the more glorious; So when *Adam* fell (as I may ſay ſo) God would not be there (for he left *Adam* to his own free-will) that the repairing of *Adam* through Chriſt might be the more glorious. Hereupon one ſings, *O fœlix lapſus.* Unhappy was the fall of *Adam*, ſince by his fall we all fell, but yet happy was that unhappy fall, ſince it muſt be recured by Chriſt. *Joſeph* ſuffered his brother *Simeon* to go into priſon for a while, that at laſt he might bring him out with greater comfort. So God ſuffered *Adam* to go into *Satans* Newgate for a while, that at laſt he might bring him out with greater comfort. *The day thou eateſt hereof thou ſhalt dye*, there is the priſon; *And the man took and eat*, there *Adam* goes into priſon: *The ſeed of the woman ſhall break the head of the Serpent*, there *Joſeph* delivers *Simeon* out of priſon, God brings man out of Hell through Chriſt. Whereupon a Doctor in admiration, queſtions, *utrum mirabilius, homines juſtos creare, an injuſtos juſtificare*: whether is more admirable, that God created man righteous, or that he juſtified man, when he had made himſelf unrighteous? Whether was more miraculous, for God to make man of nothing, or to repair him from worſe than nothing? Wonderful he was in both, in his firſt and his ſecond creation, for *Juſtificatio eſt ſecunda hominis creatio*, mans Juſtification is his new creation.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Ophitæ Evia.

SOme Hereticks in *Epiphanius* think themſelves beholden to the Devil, for his pains that he took to overthrow *Adam*: for they uſed to worſhip a Serpent, becauſe (ſay they) he brought knowledge into the world. *Clemens Alexandrinus* doth partly think, this conceit was got among the Heathens: who at their Feaſts of *Bacchus* uſed to carry a Serpent, as it were in proceſſion, and to cry *Evia Evia.* Εὐία ὁ Διόνυσσον, &c. And *Evia* (ſaith *Clemens*) if it be aſperated *Hevia*, it ſignifies in the Hebrew Tongue, a female Serpent. Where the good man calls the Chaldee Tongue, the Hebrew: For in the Hebrew I do not find ſuch a word for a Serpent: But all the Chaldee tranſlations of the Bible in the third of *Geneſis* and diverſe other places, do uſe the word חויא *Hivia* for a Serpent: which I take to be the word he means.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIX.

Of the Greek Tranſlation of the fifth of Geneſis.

HOW the Septuagint does add hundreds of years to mens ages before and after the Flood, few Scholars but they know. This bred the difference of computation of the times, while ſome followed the Hebrew, ſome the Greek, Hence came two notorious doubts. About *Methuſelah* living after the Flood, who died a month or two before. And of *Sem* his death before *Abrahams* birth, who lived as long after *Abraham* came to *Canaan*, as *Abraham* was old when he came thither, *viz.* ſeventy five years. And ſo might well be *Melchizedek*. The Greeks had a great deal of ſtir where to put *Methuſhelah* all the Flood-time for fear of drowning: At laſt ſome laid him on the top of *Noahs* Ark, and there he was all that watry year. The Jews lay *Og* the Giant there alſo (as the Chaldee Paraphraſt upon the fourteenth of *Geneſis* ridiculouſly obſerveth:) Whoſe words (for your fuller ſport) I will not ſpare to ſet down. The thirteenth verſe he renders thus in Chaldee. *And Og came who was left of thoſe that died in the Flood: for he rode upon the Ark, and was as a covering upon it, and was nouriſhed with Noahs victuals, but he was not preſerved for his own ſake or merit, but that the inhabitants of the world might ſee the power of the Lord, and ſay: Did not the Gyants in old time, rebel againſt the Lord of the world, and he deſtroyed them from the earth, yet aſſoon as theſe Kings make war, behold Og is with them, Og ſaith with himſelf, I will go and ſhew Abraham, Lots caſe, that he is taken priſoner, that ſo he may come to reſcue him, and may himſelf fall into their hands: He goes and comes to him about the Paſsover day, and finds him making unleavened cakes, then he told Abraham the Hebrew, &c.* Thus far the Chaldee: of whoſe conceits here, and in one thouſand of places more, and ſo of his Nation the Jews; I know not whether to ſay, *Riſum* or *fletum teneatis amici?* But to return to my purpoſe. The Greek Bible makes *Methuſhelah* live fourteen years after the Flood, their reaſon of this their addition of years, many render, which I omit. But S. *Auſten* ſaith, ſome fall ſhort of this mans age. *In three Greek books*, ſaith he, *and one Latine, and one Syrian book, all agreeing one with another, Methuſalem is found to die ſix years before the flood.* So *Auſten* in *Civ. Dei, lib.* 15. *cap.* 13. Such differences may incite men to apply themſelves to the Hebrew Text, where is no falſifying nor error.

The Chaldee Paraphraſe of Jonathan, does alſo miſtake in the age of Methuſelah, but I think it only falſe Printing.

CHAP. L.

Upon the words: The ſeed of the woman ſhall break the Serpents head.

THE New Teſtament affords a rich Commentary upon theſe words, in the Goſpel of Saint *Luke*, who in his third Chapter, ſhews how through ſeventy five generations. Chriſt is this ſeed of the woman, and in the fourth Chapter, how through three temptations this ſeed began to bruiſe the head of the Serpent: where the Reader may obſerve, how the Devil tempts Chriſt, in the very ſame manner that he had tempted *Eve*, though not with the ſame ſucceſs. All the ſins of the world are brought by Saint *John* to theſe three heads, *Luſt of the fleſh, luſt of the eyes, and the pride of life*, 1 John 2. 15. By theſe three *Eve* falls in the garden: She ſees the tree is good for meat, and the luſt of the fleſh inticeth her; ſhe ſees it fair to look on, and the luſt of the eye provokes her; and ſhe perceives it will make her wiſe, and the pride of life perſwades her to take it. By theſe three the Devil tempts Chriſt; when he is hungry, he would have him turn ſtones into bread, and ſo tries him by the luſts of the fleſh: He ſhews, and promiſeth him all the pomp of the World, and ſo tries him by the luſt of the eyes, and he will have him to flie in the air, and ſo tempts him to pride of life. But as, by theſe three, the Serpent had broken the head of the woman, ſo againſt theſe three the ſeed of the woman breaks the head of the Serpent. *David* Prophecied of this conqueſt, *Pſal.* 91. 13. *The Dragon thou ſhalt tread under thy feet:* The very next verſe before this, the Devil uſeth to tempt Chriſt withal, but to this he dare not come, for it is to his ſorrow.

Jerus: and Babilon: targums do both apply theſe words to the Meſſias.

CHAP.

CHAP. LI.

Jewish hypocritical prayers, reproved by our Saviour, Matth. 6. 5. *Because they love to stand praying in the Synagogues and corners of the streets.*

THIS Sermon upon the Mount, is much in reproof of the Jews Talmudical traditions, by which they made the Word of God of none effect. This verse reproveth one of their tenets, for their high-way Oraisons: for which they have this tradition in their * *Talmud. Rabbi Josi, saith, On a time I was walking by the way, and I went into one of the deserts of Jerusalem to pray, then came Eliah,* || *of blessed memory, and watched me at the gate, and stayed for me, till I had ended my prayer: after that I had ended my prayer, he saith unto me, Peace be unto thee Rabbi; I said unto him, peace be upon thee Rabbi, and Master. Then said he to me, my son, wherefore wentest thou into this desert; I said unto him, To pray; He said to me, Thou mightest have prayed in the way. Then said I, I was afraid, lest passengers would interrupt me: He said unto me, Thou shouldest have prayed a short prayer. At that time I learned of him three things; I learned that we should not go into the desert; and I learned that we should pray by the way, and learned, that he that prayed by the way must pray a short prayer.* Thus far their Talmud maketh them these Letters Patents for Hypocrisie; fathering this bastard upon blessed *Elias*, who was not a high-way prayer, or one that practised his own devotions in publick: for he was *John Baptists* type for retiredness.

* In Sepher Beracoth.
|| *Heb.* Zacur. Iattobh *remembred for good. Heb.* Mori *which in the Chaldee and Syrian signifieth a Lord or Master: hence is* Maran atha, *our Lord cometh, the great excommunication,* 1 *Cor.* 16. 22.

CHAP. LII.

Israels affliction in Egypt.

OF *Israels* being in *Egypt*, many Heathen Authors do touch, though every one a several way, and all of them the wrong. *Josephus* against *Appion* is angry at their fables about it. Of the famine that brought them thither (if we take the want of *Nilus* flowing to be the natural cause, as most like it was) there seems then to be some remembrance of those seven years in *Seneca*, in his natural questions; where he saith, *Per novem annos Nilum non ascendisse superioribus sæculis, Callimachus est Author:* that is, *Callimachus writes, that in old time Nilus flowed not of nine years together:* where he outstrips but two of the number. But of *Israels* affliction in *Egypt*, I find the Heathens silent. God had told *Abraham* of this their hardship long before, and shewed him a token of it, by the fowls lighting upon his carcasses, *Gen.* 15. A type of *Israels* being in *Egypt*, and of *Pharoahs* being plagued for their sakes, was, when *Pharoah* suffered, for taking *Sarah* from her husband, and keeping her in his house: as it is, *Gen.* 12. How long they were in that land, few there be but know: but how long their affliction lasted, is uncertain. Probable it is, that it was about an hundred and twenty years, the time of the old Worlds repentance, and *Moses* his age: This is to be searched by *Levi* his age, which within a little one may find certain. All the generation of *Josephs* time die, before they are afflicted: as all the generation of *Joshuahs* time die, before they fall to Idolatry; *Judges* 2. 10. The reasons why God should thus suffer them to suffer: whether it were to fit them for the receiving of him and his Law, or whether it were to whip them for their Idolatry: or for some other cause, I dare not enter too near to search: this I see, that when the foundation (as it were) of the visible Church is laid thus in affliction, the Church cannot but look for affliction, whilest it lives in the *Egypt* of this World. But as *Israel* increased under persecution: so does the Church, for even when *sparsum est semen sanguinis Martyrum, surrexit seges Ecclesiæ: Nec frustra oravit Ecclesia pro inimicis suis crediderunt, & qui persequebantur: Aust. Ser. de Temp.* 109. To omit the Jews fancy, *that the Israelitish women bare six at a birth*, and to omit questioning whether *fætifer Nilus*, the drinking of the water of *Nilus*, which (as some say is good for generation) did conduce to the increasing of *Israel*, I can only look at God, and his work, which did thus multiply and sustain them in the furnace of affliction. *Si Deus nobiscum quis contra nos?* God had promised this increase to *Jacob*, as he fled to *Haran*, *Gen.* 28. in a dream from the top of *Jacobs* ladder. And here he proves *faithful who had promised.*

Nilus *the wonder of* Affrick *the river of* Egypt *flows every year once over his banks: and if it flow not at all, or not to his right height, it causeth famine, for* Egypt *hath no rain. From this river, under God comes their plenty or famine: and it is remarkable* that the fat and lean kine in Pharoah his dream *(which betokened the plenty or scarsity of the Country)* came out of the River. *Of the reason of the flowing of this River,* Pigaffetta *especially is large. And I wonder that* Jordan *was not as much wondred at, or it did so also,* Josh. 1.

CHAP.

CHAP. LIII.

Iſraels Camp: according to the Chaldee Paraphraſt *his deſcription, Numb.* 2.

THE Chaldee is preciſe about pitching *Iſraels* Camp: I have not thought much to tranſlate a whole Chapter out of him, that the Reader may ſee (at the leaſt) his Will, if not his Truth.

Numb. 11. 1. And the Lord ſpake to *Moſes* and to *Aaron* ſaying,

2. Every one of the children of *Iſrael* ſhall pitch by his Standard, by the Enſigns whereto they are appointed, by the Standards of their fathers ſhall they pitch over againſt the Tabernacle of the Congregation * round about. *Chald. *Round.*

3. The Camp of *Iſrael* was twelve miles long, and twelve miles broad, and they that pitched Eaſtward toward the Sun-riſing, the Standard of the Camp of *Judah* four miles ſquare, and his Enſign was of three party colours, like the three Pearls that were in the breſtplate (or rational) the Rubies, Topaz, and Carbuncle, and in it was deciphered and expreſſed the names of three Tribes, *Judah*, *Iſſachar*, *Zebulon*, and in the middle was written קומה יהוה

ויפצו איביך וינוסו משנאיך מפניך

Ariſe O Lord, and let thine enemies be ſcattered, and let them that hate thee flee before thee. And in it was drawn the picture of a Lions whelp, for the Prince of the children of *Judah*, *Nahſhon* the ſon of *Aminadab*.

4. And his hoaſt and the number of them, ſeventy four thouſand and ſix hundred.

5. And they that pitched next him, the Tribe of *Iſſachar*, and the Prince that was over the Army of the Tribe of the ſons of *Iſſachar*, *Nethaneel* the ſon of *Tſuar*.

6. And his Army and the number of (his) Tribes, fifty four thouſand and four hundred.

7. The Tribe of *Zebulon*, and the Prince that was ſet over the Army of the Tribe of the ſons of *Zebulon*, *Eliab* the ſon of *Hhelon*.

8. And the Army and their number of his Tribe, fifty ſeven thouſand and four hundred.

9. All the number of the hoaſt of *Judah* were * one hundred eighty ſix thouſand and four hundred, by their Armies they went firſt. * *The* Chald. *numbers otherwiſe, but it is miſprinting: therefore I take the Hebrew.*

10. The Standard of the hoaſt of *Reuben* ſhall pitch Southward, by their Armies four miles ſquare, and his Enſign was of three party colours, like the three ſtones in the breſtplate, the Emeraud, Saphire and Diamond, and in it was deciphered and expreſſed the names of three Tribes, *Reuben*, *Simeon*, *Gad*, and in the middle was written thus:

שמע ישראל יהוה אל הינו יהוה אחד

Hear O Iſrael the Lord our God is one Lord. And in it was drawn the picture of a young Hart: but there ſhould have been drawn in it a Bullock, but *Moſes* the Prophet changed it, becauſe he would not put them in mind of their ſin about the Calf: And the Prince that was ſet over the hoaſt of the Tribe of *Reuben*, was *Elitzur* the ſon of *Shedeur*.

12. And his hoaſt and the number of his Tribe, fifty nine thouſand and three hundred. *The* Chaldee *miſſeth the* 11. *&* 12. *verſes.*

13. And the Tribe of *Gad* and the Prince that was ſet over the hoaſt of the Tribe of *Gad*, *Eliaſaph* the ſon of *Devel*.

15. And his hoaſt and the number of his Tribe * forty five thouſand and ſix hundred. * *The* Chaldee *cometh ſo ſhort of the right number.*

16. All the number of the hoaſt of *Reuben*, one hundred fifty one thouſand four hundred and fifty, by their Armies: they went ſecond.

17. Then went the Tabernacle of the Congregation, and the hoaſt of the Levites in the Camps, and their Camp was four mile ſquare, they went in the middle, as they pitched, ſo they went, every one in his rank, according to his Standard.

18. The Standard of the Camp of *Ephraim* by their hoaſts, pitched Weſtward, and their Camp was four mile ſquare, and his Enſign was of three party colours, like the three ſtones in the breſtplate, a Turky, an Achat, and an Hamatite, and in it was deciphered and expreſſed the names of three Tribes, *Ephraim*, *Manaſſeh*, and *Benjamin*, and in the middle was written:

&c.

&c. רענן י עליהם ביום

And the cloud of the Lord was upon them by day, when they went out of the Camp, and in it was drawn the picture of a Child. And the Prince that was ſet over the Army of the Children of *Ephraim*, was *Eliſhama* the ſon of *Ammihud*.

19. And his hoaſt and the number of his Tribe, forty thouſand and five hundred.

20. And next him the Tribe of *Manaſſes*, and the Prince which was ſet over the hoaſt of the Tribe of the Children of *Manaſſes*, *Gamliel* the ſon of *Pedah tzur*.

21. And his hoaſt and their number of his Tribe, thirty two thouſand and two hundred.

22. And the Tribe of *Benjamin* and the Prince that was ſet over the hoaſt of the Tribe of the Children of *Benjamin*, *Abidan*, the ſon of *Gideoni*.

23. And his hoaſt and their number of his Tribe, thirty five thouſand and four hundred.

24. All the number of the Camp of *Ephraim*, one hundred eighty thouſand and one hundred, by their Armies, and they went in the third place.

25. The Standard of the Camp of *Dan* Northward, and their Camp four miles ſquare; and his Enſign was of three party colours according to the three ſtones in the breſtplate, a Chryſolite, Onyx, and Jaſper, and in it were deciphered and expreſſed the names of three Tribes, *Dan*, *Naphtali*, *Aſher*, and in the middeſt was written and expreſſed

ובנחה ואמר שובה יהוה רבבות אלפו ישראל

And when it reſted, he ſaid, return O Lord to the ten thouſand of Iſrael, and in it was drawn the figure of a Serpent, or Arrow-ſnake, and the Prince that was ſet over the hoaſt of the Children of *Dan*, *Ahiezer* the ſon of *Ammiſhaddai*. From thence to the end of the Chapter, he goes on juſt with the Hebrew Text, ſo that I will ſpare further labour about Tranſlating: only I muſt tell the Reader thus much, that the Pearls he ſpeaks of, I have not punctually followed the Chaldee in rendring their names, but have followed the *Geneva* Bible, which was at that inſtant the only Engliſh Bible about me. As alſo for perfect and future tenſe, I find the Chaldee confuſed, and for this I have been the leſs curious.

CHAP. LIV.

Of Job.

ABOUT *Iſraels* being in *Egypt*, *Job* lives in *Arabia*: a heathen man and yet ſo good: and ſo St. *Gregory* ſaith, his *Country is purpoſely named, that the goodneſs of the man may be the more illuſtrated.* His times may be picked by the genealogy of himſelf, and his friends that come to ſee him. And God in the firſt and ſecond Chapter ſaith, *that there was not a man on earth like him for goodneſs*: which is a ſign that *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, and *Joſeph*, were not alive, nor *Moſes*: but in the times 'twixt *Joſeph* and *Moſes*, *Iſrael* corrupt themſelves with Egyptian Idols, and in *Iſrael* (the likelieſt place to find a good man in) is not one to be found like *Job*. Thus when *Iſrael* idolizes, and the Church begins to fail in *Jacob*, God hath one in *Arabia* that hath a little Church in his houſe. It is not amiſs for every one for his more watchfulneſs to mark, that *Satan* knows *Job* as ſoon as ever God ſpeaks of him.

When the Angels appear before God, Satan the Devil is among them. } So { When the Diſciples are with Chriſt, *Judas* a Devil is among them.

Pharoah in *Egypt* is afflicted by God. His afflictions harden him againſt God. } { *Job* in *Arabia* is afflicted by the Devil. His afflictions harden him againſt the Devil.

Jobs Children feaſting overwhelmed by an houſe. } { The Philiſtins ſporting, overwhelmed by an houſe, *Judg.*16.

Job is afflicted as the ſouldiers, 2 *King.* 1. by fire.
As the *Ziklagites*, 1 *Sam.* 30. by Captivity.
As the *Egyptians* with loſs of Children, *Exod.*12.
And as the *Egyptians* with boils, *Exod.* 9.
And which was not his leaſt croſs, like *Adam*, with an ill counſelling wife.

Job

Job hath three with him when he is changed by affliction. } So { Christ hath three with him when he is changed in transfiguration: which three as they were by Christ when *Moses* and *Elias*, Law and Prophesie told him in the mount *of his departing which he should accomplish at Jerusalem, Luke* 9. 31. So these three were with him when he began to accomplish these things, *Matth.* 26.37.

CHAP. LV.

Egyptians Deities, ex Athenæ. Deipn. Lib. 7.

A *Naxandrides* in his book of Cities, turning his speech to the *Egyptians*, saith thus:

Οὐκ ἀνδυνάιμην συμμαχεῖν ὑμῖν ἐγώ
Οὐθ' ὅι τρόποι γὰρ ὁμονοῦς οὐθ ὅι νόμοι
Ἀπ' ἀλλήλων δὲ διέχουσιν πολύ.
Βοῦν προσκυνεῖς, ἐγὼ δὲ θύω τοῖς θεοῖς.
Τῆν ἔγχελυν μέγιστον ἐγὴ δάμονα.
Ἡμεῖς δὲ τῶν ὄφων μέγιστον παραπολύ.
Οὐκ ἐσθίεις ὕεια ἔγω δὲ γ' ἥδομαι
Μάλιστα τούτοις· Κυνασέβεις τόπτω δ' ἐγὼ
Τοῦφον κατεσθίουσαν ἡνίκαν λάβω.
Τοὺς ἱρέας ἐνθάδε μὲν ὁλοκλήρους νόμος
Εἶναι παρ ὑμῖν δὲ ὡς ἔοικεν ἀπηργμένους.
Σὺ μὲν τοὶ δίλουρον κακὸν ἔχοντ' ἦν ἴδης
Κλάιης ἐγὼ δ' ἥδιστ' ἀποκτείνας δέρω.
Δύναται παρ' ὑμῖν μυγαλὴ, παρ' ἐμοί δε γ' οὔ.

Thus does one Heathen Idolater deride another, because he worships (as the other thinks) the more ridiculous Deities. The very Heathen could deride and scoff at their vain gods. *Dionysius* was most notorious this way: and knavish in this kind was the Painter, who when he should have drawn the picture of such a goddess for a Grecian City to worship, he drew the portraiture of his own sweet-heart, and so made her to be adored: And indeed what man could have held laughing, to have seen (as my Poet saith here) an *Egyptian* on his maribones adoring a Dog, or praying to an Ox, or especially to see him mourning and howling over a sick Cat: fearing lest his scratching God should die?

CHAP. LVI.

Of the Law broken, by Adam.

THE Law was *Adams* lease when God made him tenent of *Eden:* The conditions of which bond when he kept not, he forfeited himself and all us. God read a lecture of the Law to him before he fell, to be * a hedge to him to keep him in Paradise, but when *Adam* would not keep within compass, this Law is now become as the flaming sword at *Eden* gate to keep him and his posterity out: *Adam* heard as much in the garden, as *Israel* did at *Sinai*, but only in fewer words and without thunder. The Law came more gently to him before his fall, but after his fall, comes the thunder with it.

* *The Jews in their writings use this phrase frequently for the Law, as in* Pirke Ahhoth.

Adam at one clap breaks both the Tables and all the Commandments.

1. He chose him another god when he followed the Devil.
2. He idolized and deified his own belly, as the Apostles phrase is, his belly he made his god.
3. He took the name of God in vain, when he believed him not.
4. He kept not the rest and estate wherein God had set him.
5. He dishonoured his Father which was in Heaven, therefore his days were not long in that land which the Lord his God had given him.
6. He massacred himself and all his posterity.
7. From *Eve* he was Virgin, but in eyes and mind he committed spiritual fornication.
8. He stole that (like *Achan*) which God had set aside not to be medled with, and this his stealth is that which troubles all *Israel*, the whole world.

9. He bare witneſs againſt God, when he believed the witneſs of the Devil above him.

10. He coveted an ill covetouſneſs (like *Amnon*) which coſt him his life and all his progeny.

What a neſt of evils here were committed at one blow? The pride of heart and deſire of more knowledge (like *Hamans* ambition) overthrew us. This ſin was hatched in Heaven by the wicked Angels, but thrown out with them, and never will come in there again. Hence is this ſin ſo lofty becauſe it affects its firſt neſt. It is not for nothing that *Bleſſed are the poor in ſpirit*, are the firſt words in Chriſts Sermon, *Matth.* 5. 3. but becauſe the proud in ſpirit were the firſt ſinners.

CHAP. LVII.

Of the Law given at Sinai.

WHEN *Iſrael* is got from the hard ſervice of *Egypt*, God binds them apprentiſe to a new Maſter, himſelf. Their Indentures he draws upon Mount *Sinai*: a place where *Moſes* before had kept a flock of ſheep, now he keeps a troop of men. In the Delivery of the Law there, if you will ſtand with *Iſrael* in your place you may conſider many paſſages.

CHAP. LVIII.

Why the Law was publiſhed then and not before.

AT *Sinai* was delivered no new thing, the Law in ſome kind was known before. Sacrifice was uſed by *Adam* in the garden, when the body of the beaſts went for an offering for his ſoul, and the skins for a covering for his body: *Cain* and *Abel* learn this part of worſhip from their father. The diviſion of clean and unclean beaſts is known to *Noah*, when they come to him for their lives as they had done to *Adam* for their names. *Abraham* when God made a * covenant with him, *Geneſis* 15. Divides and divides not his beaſts and fowls, juſt as God commands, *Lev.* 1. 6. 17. and ſo of the reſt. Fathers could teach their Children theſe things as they themſelves had learned them of their Fathers. But when men began to multiply, and multitude to be more wicked, than would they not be ſo eaſily bridled by a Law, whoſe author they knew no more of, but their Fathers: And when men lived but a ſhort time in compariſon of the firſt men, and ſo could not ſee the full ſetling of the Law in their houſes: And when God had fetched him a people out of *Egypt*, and laid the foundation of a glorious Church, with ſigns and wonders, then he thought it fit for their reſtriction, as alſo || for their diſtinction from the Heathen, to give the Law from his own mouth, the more to procure reverence to him: For *Heaven and Earth muſt needs hearken when the Lord ſpeaketh, Iſa.* 1. 2. And thus did † the Heathen fain they received their Laws from a Deity that was never ſeen, and yet their Laws were the better obſerved for that reaſon.

* *So ſays the Geneva Bible in marg. but* Rab. Solomon *long before ſaith thus, It is the cuſtom of thoſe that make covenants, to divide beaſts into two parts, and paſs between the parts: as* Jer. 24. 18. *And God paſſes between theſe in this ſmoking furnace and fire brand, for making covenants in like kinds* Homer *ſpeaks near this.*

|| *Vid.* Jarchi *on* Ruth, *cap.* 1.

† Numa, Minos, &c.

CHAP. LIX.

Of the place where it was given, and manner.

GOD gave the Law in *Arabia*: ſo wicked *Mahomet* gave his Law in *Arabia*; A worſe and a better thing no one Country every afforded. God gave his Law in *Sinai*, a buſhy place as it ſeems by * the name, agreeable to the giving of ſo perplexing a matter. Carry along with thee (gentle Reader) as thou readeſt the Scripture, thus much care (at my requeſt) as to mark that the Law of *Moſes* was given in two places, *Sinai*, and the Tabernacle, as alſo to conſider that ſome part of this Law did only concern the Jews, and ſome part did alſo concern all the World. The Ceremonial Law that concerned only the Jews, it was given to *Moſes* in private in * the Tabernacle, and fell with the Tabernacle when the veil rent in twain. The Moral Law concerns the whole World, and it was given in ſight of the whole World on the top of a mountain, and muſt endure as long as any mountain ſtandeth. The Judicial Law (which is more indifferent, and may ſtand or fall, as ſeems beſt for the good of a Common-wealth) was given neither ſo publick as the one, nor ſo private as the other, but in a mean between both.

* Seneh *ſignifies a buſh,* Exodus 3.

* Levit. 1.

The Law on *Sinai* was with fire and trumpets, ſo ſhall Chriſt come with fire and trumpet at the latter day, to take an account how men have kept this fiery Law, as it is called, *Deut.* 33. 2. Fiery, *becauſe given out of the fire, as the* Jeruſalem *and* Babilonian *Targums*

Targums hold: though I think there is more meant by the words than ſo: for it is *Eſh-dath*, which may be rendred *the fire of a Law.*

CHAP. LX.

Of the effects of the Law.

THE letter of the Law is death: but the Spirit giveth life. The Jews ſtand upon the letter, and think to gain life by the works of it, but them the Apoſtle frequently confuteth. And I take the aim of Chriſts Parable, *Matth.*20. about the penny to extend to no leſs. Some came into the Vineyard at the Dawning of the Day or the Age before the Flood, and ſome at the third hour, or in the time before the Law, and ſome at the ſixth and ninth hour, or under the heat and burden of the Jewiſh Law, and ſome at the laſt, under the Goſpel: Thoſe under the Law plead for merit, we have born the heat and burden of the day: that is, coſtly Sacrifices, ſore Ceremonies, &c. To whom the Maſter anſwers that his penny is his own, and if he give it, it is not for their merit, but his good will. St. *Paul* calls the Law a School-Maſter, and ſo it is indeed: and ſuch a School-Maſter as that that *Livy* and *Florus* ſpeak of in *Italy*, who brought forth his children that were truſted with him, to *Hannibal*, who if he had not been more merciful than otherwiſe, they had all periſhed. So they that rely upon the works of the Law, are in fine conſtrained by the Law to come to Chriſt, who more merciful than the Law, does deliver them. And if you well weigh it, you ſhall find that as the whole Law, ſo every part from one to another, brings us to Chriſt. The Moral Law ſhews us what we ſhould do, and with the ſame ſight we find that we cannot do it: This makes us to ſeek to the Ceremonial for ſome Sacrifice or Ceremony to anſwer for our not doing it: There we ſee that burning a dead beaſt is but poor ſatisfaction for the ſins of men living, and that outward purifyings of mens ſelves can avail but little to the cleanſing of a ſoiled ſoul: this then delivers us to the Judicial Law, and by it we ſee what we deſerve, and thus in fine we are conſtrained to ſeek to Chriſt * Jeſus, *for there is no other name whereby we muſt be ſaved.* The Parable that our Saviour propounds in the tenth of *Luke*, I think tends ſomethink to this purpoſe. *A man* (ſaith he) *went from* Jeruſalem *to* Jericho *and fell among theeves, and they robbed him of his raiment, and wounded him, and departed leaving him half dead. A certain Prieſt came that way, and when he ſaw him he turned aside. A Levite came that way, and when he ſaw him, he paſſed by on the other ſide. But a good Samaritan came,* (as the Text imports) *and pitied him, and ſalved him, and lodged him, and paid for him.* Such a one is man fallen among Satan, Sin and Death, and by them ſtopt, ſtript and ſtriped. Satan diſmounts him off his Innocency that ſhould ſuſtain him: Sin ſtrips him of all Righteouſneſs that ſhould array him: Death ſtrikes him with guiltineſs and wounds him. Here is a man in a woful caſe, and none to aid him. By comes a Prieſt, that is, firſt come the Sacrifices of the legal Prieſthood, and they may paſs by him, but they do not, nor they cannot help him. By comes a Levite, that is, the Ceremonies of the Levitical Law, and they may paſs by him, but they do not, they cannot help him. Or by comes a Prieſt, that is, the Angels may ſee him thus, but they let him lie, for they cannot help him. By comes a Levite, that is, Men and the World may ſee him thus, but they let him alone for ever, for they cannot ſuccour him. But by comes a good Samaritan, that is, our Saviour himſelf, who is called a Samaritan, and is ſaid to have a Devil, and he pities him, ſalves him, lodges him, and pays for him. He pities him in very bowels, therefore he ſays, *as I live I would not the death of a ſinner.* He ſalves him with his own blood, therefore tis ſaid, *By his ſtripes we are healed.* He lodges him in his own Church, therefore the Church ſaith, He brought me in the winecellar, and love was his banner over me. And he pays for him what he deſerved, therefore he ſaith, *I have troad the Winepreſs alone.*

Vid. Hillar. & Hieron. in loc.

* It was Jeſus or Joſuah, and not Moſes or the Law that brought Iſrael into the Land of Canaan.

It is ſaid in the Book of *Kings* that when the Shunamites dead child was to be raiſed, *Eliſha* firſt ſent his ſtaff to be laid upon him, but that did no good: but when *Eliſha* came himſelf, and lay upon him, with his mouth to the Childs mouth, his eyes to his eyes, and his hands to his hands, then the Child recovered. So when man was dead in treſpaſſes, and ſin, as it is, *Eph.* 2. God lays his * ſtaff or rod of the Law upon him, but what good did this toward his recovery? Even make him to long the more for *Eliſha* or Chriſt, who when he came, and laid his mouth to mans mouth, and kiſſed humanity in his Incarnation, and laid his eyes to his eyes, and his hands to his hands, and ſuffered for mans actions at his paſſion, then is man recured. God in the book of *Iſay* when he is to ſend a Prophet to *Iſrael*, ſays thus, *Mi eſhlah: whom ſhall I ſend, or who will go for us? Iſa.* 6. 8. Upon which words the Jew *Kimchi* paraphraſes thus: *Shalahti eth Micah, wehem maccim otho, Shalahti eth Amos, wehem korin otho* * *Peſiluſa*, I have ſent *Micah*, and him they ſmote, I have ſent *Amos*, and him they called a ſtammerer. Whom ſhall I ſend or who will

* Pſal. 23.

* Amos *in Heb.* ſignifies one that is heavy tonged which Kimchi calls Peleleuſa from the Greek ψελλος Blæſus.

will go for us? Then ſays *Eſay*, Behold I am here, ſend me. Imagine that (upon the fall of man) you ſaw God about to ſend the great Prophet not to *Iſrael* alone, but to all the World, nor only to teach, but alſo to redeem. Suppoſe you heard him thus queſtioning, whom ſhall I ſend to reſtore fallen man? And who will go for us? Should I ſend Angels? They are creatures and conſequently finite, and ſo cannot anſwer mine infinite Juſtice. Should I ſend man himſelf? Alas, though he once had power not to have fallen, yet now hath he no power to raiſe himſelf again. Should I ſend beaſts to ſacrifice themſelves for him? Alas can the burning of dead beaſts ſatisfie for the ſins of all men alive? Whom ſhall I ſend, or who will go for us? Our Saviour is ready to anſwer with *Iſay, Behold I am here, ſend me.* Here am I that am able to do it; ſend me, for I am willing. I am able, for I am God; I am willing, for I will become a man. I am God, and ſo can fulfil the Law which man hath broke. I will become man, that ſo I may ſuffer death which man hath deſerved. Behold I am here, ſend me. Then as one of our Country Martyrs at his death, ſo may we ſing all our lives; *None but Chriſt, none but Chriſt:* None but Chriſt to cure the wounded travailor, None but Chriſt to raiſe the dead Shunamite, None but Chriſt to reſtore decaid mankind, None but Chriſt that would' None but Chriſt that could. No Angel, no Man, no Creature, no Sacrifice, no Ceremony, that would and could do this for us, which we could not do for our ſelves, and ſay for us *I have trod the Winepreſs alone.*

When the Ceremonial and Judicial Law have thus brought us to Chriſt, we may ſhake hands with them and farewel, but for the Moral, as it helps to bring us thither, ſo muſt it help to keep us there. For Chriſt came not to diſannul this Law, but to fulfil it. He does not acquit us from this, but furthers us to the keeping of it. What elſe is the Goſpel, but this in milder terms of Faith and Repentance: which is, ſince we cannot keep this Law, yet to ſtrive to keep it as we can, and to repent us for that we have not kept it, and to relie upon his merits that hath kept it for us. Thus as love to God and to our neighbours was the ſum of the Old, ſo true faith and unfained repentance is the total of the New. This was the tenour of Chriſts firſt words after his Baptiſm, *Mark* 1.15. and of his laſt words before his Aſcenſion, *Mark* 16.16.

CHAP. LXI.

Of the Ten Commandments.

THE Ten Commandments may be called the Word of the Word of God: for though all Scripture be his Word, yet theſe in more ſpecial be his Scripture, to which he made himſelf his own Scribe or Pen-man: upon theſe Commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets, and theſe Commandments upon two duties, to love God and to love our neighbour. A ſhorter and yet a fuller Comment needs not to be given of them, than what our Saviour hath given, *Luke* 10. 27. *Thou ſhalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy ſoul, and with all thy ſtrength, and with all thy mind: and thy neighbour as thy ſelf.* The four Commandments of the firſt Table he expounds in four words.

The Lord thy God, there is the Preface, I am the Lord, &c.
Thou ſhalt love the Lord, &c. with all thy

Heart Soul Strength Mind	for the	First Second Third Fourth	Commandment.

If we need any further Expoſition upon this Expoſition of our Saviours, it is eaſie to find: as, thou ſhalt love the Lord thy God with all thine

Heart Soul Strength Mind	for it he hath	Created. Redeemed. Preſerved. Inlightned.

And therefore thou ſhalt love him with all thine

Heart Soul Strength Mind	without	Only talking and no more. Diſſembling, Revolting. Erring.

This is the firſt and the great Commandment, and the other is like unto this, thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thy ſelf. This adds great light to the ſecond Table, for half of the Commandments of that Table want an object whereupon to faſten the duty. The firſt hath one, *Honour thy Father*, &c. the laſt but one, hath one, *thou ſhalt not witneſs falſely againſt thy neighbour:* And ſo the laſt hath, *Thou ſhalt not covet ought of thy Neighbours.* But *Thou ſhalt not kill, ſteal, and commit adultery*, theſe have no object, *viz.* none named whom, from whom, and with whom we muſt not kill, ſteal, nor adulterate: becauſe we muſt make our ſelves alſo the object here: and reflect the Commandments upon our ſelves, as thus: Thou ſhalt not kill, firſt not thy ſelf, and ſecondly, not thy neighbour, and ſo of the reſt. The Jews have been too bold in adding too ſtrict an object, as you may ſee in their explaining theſe three precepts. And ſome Hereticks have been too nice in giving ſome of them too * large a one.

The fifth Commandment in the Ten, is with a Promiſe, and the fifth Petition in the Lords Prayer, is with a Condition.

I omit the exquiſiteneſs of the pricking of this piece of Scripture of the Commandments extraordinarily: Some ſpecial thing is in it.

The Jews do gather ſix hundred and thirteen Precepts Negative and Affirmative to be in the whole Law, according to the ſix hundred and thirteen letters in the two Tables, and ſo many veins and members in a mans body. The order of theſe Precepts they have ſet down in the margin of the Pentateuch with the threefold Targum printed at *Hannow*, and in *Sepher Habbinnuch*. I had tranſlated ſome hundreds of them into Engliſh, which I thought to have finiſhed, and preſented to the view of the Reader, but I find, that without the Jews Comments upon theſe their Diviſions, they can hardly be underſtood: which to bring withal, is a pains of no ſmall time and labour. Theſe my Obſervations and Collections in my Reading, accept gentle Reader, and the ſlips paſs over with a gentle Eye, as ſlips of Youth: which more mature years may recure, if God proſper and ſecond. To whom I commit my ſelf, and commend thee, and to whom be all honour and glory for evermore. *Amen.*

* *For* Marcion *held it unlawful to kill a beaſt, becauſe the command* non occides, *hath no yet object*, Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 1. cap. 20.

FINIS.

THE

TEMPLE

ESPECIALLY

As it ſtood in the days

OF OUR

SAVIOUR.

DESCRIBED

By *JOHN LIGHTFOOT*, D.D. and Maſter of *Katharine-Hall* or *College* in the Univerſity of CAMBRIDGE.

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Printed by **W. R.** for **Robert Scot** in *Little-Britain*, **Thomas Baſſet** in *Fleet-Street*, **Richard Chiswell** in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, and **John Wright** on *Ludgate-Hill*. MDCLXXXIV.

TO THE
READER.

I Could with as little pains and travail have journied to Jerusalem *to have taken a view of the Temple, had it now ſtood, as this hath coſt me to ſurvey it by the Eyes of others in their Writings, as I have done: And for all my labour, how I ſhall ſpeed in the acceptance of the Reader, I muſt leave it to the common doubtful fate of Books, being neither willing to beg it, nor to deſpair of it. If I have come ſhort either of the worth of the matter treated of, or failed the expectation of the Reader, the difficulty of the Subject may plead my Apology, and my deſire to benefit, may lighten my cenſure.*

There is hardly a harder Task in Study than to deſcribe Structures and places not ſeen, and at diſtance; and the Scripture hath hardly a more obſcure deſcription of any thing than of this Fabrick. In that I have added ſo much of Jewiſh intelligence about it, it is becauſe I find not where better information (after the Scriptures) is to be had. I know they hear as ill as any Men *for their Writings, and that very oft not without very good cauſe; yet give them leave to tell the ſtory of their own Cuſtoms and Antiquities aſſoon as another Man: and if you will not believe them what they ſay, to produce others that ſpeak more credibly in the matter in hand I believe will be next impoſſible.*

I ſhall not plead for them in all they Write, leſt I ſhould be like unto them; in things of Hiſtorical nature, I cannot but give ſome credence to them, as being likely to be the beſt Recorders of their own Antiquities.

It is well known to the Studious how much light hath been held out by ſome Learned Men towards the explication of abundance of difficulties in Scripture, by the diſcovery of the Jewiſh Cuſtoms and Antiquities, to which the New Teſtament ſpeaketh and alludeth exceeding copiouſly and frequently: I need not go far for examples of Learned Men that have been choicely happy in ſuch illuſtrations: A matchleſs pair in our own Nation, ſecond to none in any Nation whatſoever, Mr. Hugh Broughton *in the laſt Generation, and* Mr. Selden *in this, may be inſtances ſufficient. Now though it is far enough from my thoughts and hopes to dream of atchieving to the leaſt degree and meaſure of their skill in theſe Studies, and their happineſs in ſuch explanations: yet can I not but from ſuch incouragements of experience in others, go on with the more delight in the peruſal of ſuch Monuments my ſelf, not without hope that I may reap ſome profit by them to my ſelf, and hold out ſomething from them which may not be altogether uſeleſs to others.*

What may redound of this kind out of this preſent Volume, I muſt leave to the Readers cenſure, and not be my own judge: This I hope I may ſay of it without arrogance or falſhood, that this Subject hath ſcarcely been ſo largely handled in our Engliſh *Tongue heretofore, and that what is here produced out of Jewiſh Records, doth for the moſt part carry ſo fair poſſibility and probability with it, and is ſo little diſſonant either to Scripture or reaſon, and ſo conſonant to* Joſephus, *whoſe credit is commonly reputed above* Talmudical, *that*

that if on the one hand there is not undeniable ground to believe it, neither is there on the other hand, undeniable ground to gainsay it.

I had undertaken a Task of a far larger Time, Toil, and Volume, and the same way of Workmanship that I have done this; namely, from Scripture, and from Talmudical and Jewish Writers, to have given a Description of the Land of Canaan; *so far am I satisfied of the benefit of these Authors, if dexterously managed. And certainly if my judgment do not much fail me, exceeding singular use might be made of them in such a Work, and hundreds, or rather thousands of Learned Rarities as to that Subject produced out of them, not to be found in any Authors but themselves, which tend not a little to the illustration of the Chorography and Story of that Land: But when I had spent a good large time and progress in that Work, I found that I was happily prevented in that Subject by a more Learned and Acute Pen*; which though it went not the same way in that Work that I had done, yet was it so far before me both in progress and in accuracy, that I knew it would be lost labour for me to proceed further. Hereupon I left off that Task, left I should* actum agere, *and diverted my thoughts to this survey, because of a promise which had a tie upon me for something of this nature.*

* Mr. *Tho. Fuller*, B. D.

With the working up of this piece, I also drew up a large Map of the Temple structures, according to the verbal Description of them in this Volume, the sight and comparing of which would have made the things here described a great deal more easie and pleasant to be understood, could it have been published; but I have not yet met with the faculty and fortune of bringing it to that issue: and I thought to have suppressed this Tract till that also might have come forth with it; but I have been overcome to let it out, partly by the importunity of others, and partly by this Reason of mine own, that it might not be amiss to try what acceptance this Treatise will find, before I add more pains and charge for the ingraving of the Map. If any of my Learned Friends upon perusal of this Tract, shall think the publication of that may be material, I shall be ready to embrace such animation, and use my best endeavour to effect the thing, if it will be effected.

Much-Mundon *in* Herfordsh.

April 3. 1650.

The Ground plot of THE TEMPLE

As it stood in our SAVIOUR'S *time:*
delineated by the hand
of
JOHN LIGHTFOOT. D.D.

EAST

Mount Olivet

WEST

SOUTH

NORTH

A Scale of Cubits

a. Shushan gate, called ỹ Kings gate. 1. Chrō: 9. 18.
bb. Gate of Huldah. cc. Asuppim. 1. Chron: 26. 15. 17.
d. Parbar gate. 1. Chron: 26. 18.
e. The gate Shallecheth, or Coponius, leading to the Kings palace. 1. Chron: 26. 16.
f. The Causey from the Kings house.
g. The Villey. h. Horse gate.
ii. House of Asuppim, or Treasuries
k. North gate Tedi, or Taddi. l. Tower Antonia.
mmmm. The Cloysters round about Supported with pillars.
nnnn. Solomons porch, Ioh: 10. 23. Act: 3. 11.
oo. Shops where wine, Oyl, Salt, Meal &c. were sold.
p. Twelve steps to the Temple.
qq. Boaz and Iachin, two pillars at the entring into the porch of the Temple.
rrrr. Chel, or ỹ inclosure or outer Vierge of ỹ Courts, within none but Jews might come.
s. Twelve steps into the Chel.
t. Court of Women, called ỹ new Court. 2. Chrō: 20. 5. the outer Court. Ezek: 46. 21. The Treasurie. Ioh: 8. 20.
u. The Beautifull gate of the Temple, Act: 3. 2.
vv. Five steps to the Beautifull gate.
ww. Nazarites room, where his peace offering was boyled.
xx. Woodhouse, where ỹ wood was wormed.
yy. The Lepers room, zz. Oyl House there the Wine & Oyl of constant use wer laid, Numb: 15.
αααααα. Treasure Chests, Mark: 12. 41. Ioh: 8. 20.
β. Gate of Nicanor, called the upper gate, 2. King: 15. 35. New gate, Ier: 36. 10.
γ. A Rising fifteen steps to the gate Nicanor.
δδ. Wardrobe of Phinehas.
ε. The Chamber of the Pastryman, 2. Doores.
ιι. Gazith, ỹ roome where ỹ great Sanedrin sate.
θ. Lottery. J. Drain-well roome.
κ. Water gate, λ. The Chamber of the family of Abtines.
μμ. A Bath where the H. Priest on the day of Expiation first washed.
ξ. The rise to the Altar, commonly called ψכנ by the Jewes. ξ. Tables.
o. The Laver. π. Porhedrin, or H. Priests chamber.
ρ. Wood house. σ. Levites Ward.
τ τ. Rings. υ. Five Lavers.
φφ. The Court of Israel.
χχ. Court of Priests. ψψ. Levites Desks.
ω. Priests upon the rise of the Altar.

A. The Brazon Altar.
B. Gate of Firstlings, through which the Firstlings were brought to be offered up.
C. The Gate of Kindling.
D. Levites Ward.
E. Levites Ward over against the Vaile.
F. Levites Ward.
G The Lamb roome, where the Lambs for daily Sacrifices were laid. H. The Bath.
I. Mokadh. K. Shew-bread roome.
L. The roome of the Altar Stones.
M. The gate Meth Mokad, called ỹ gate Corban
N. Chamber of Salt.
O. Treasury.
P. Corban, or gate of Women.
Q. Parbah with Bath.
R. Washing roome.
S. Nitsots, or gate of Song.
T. The House of Nitsots.
U. House of Stone Vessels.
VVVV. Levites Wards.
WWWW. The outer Court, or Court of Gentiles.
X. The Holy of Holies.
Y. The Holy place where was the Candlestick. &c.

A PROSPECT OF THE TEMPLE, ESPECIALLY As it stood in the days of our SAVIOUR.

CHAP. I.

Of the Situation of Mount MORIAH: הר הבית

MORIAH * *the Mountain of the Lords House*, from whencesoever it had its denomination (about which there are various conjectures) it is certain, it had its designation for that use and honour to which it was imployed, ‖ by fire from Heaven, and of old time, * by *Abraham's* offering up his Son *Isaac* there in a figure. *a* Some are of opinion that it was called *Moriah* from הוראה *Instruction*, because from thence there went forth a Law and Doctrine for all *Israel*: *b* others conceive the name to have been derived from the word מור *Mor*, which betokeneth *Myrrh*, and spicery, because it was to be the only place of offering Incense; *c* others from מוראה יה *Morech jah*, *The Lord will be visible*, because the Son of God was to appear there in humane flesh. And so they all repute, that it carried a notation predictive, or referring to something that was to occur there in time to come. But if we will apply the Etymology of it to that time present, when it and the Country about it, did first take that name of the *Land of Moriah*, we may construe it, *The Land of a teacher of God*, (as *John* III. 2.) or the *Land of the Lord my teacher*, as being the Territory of *Sem*, or *Melchisedeck*, the great Teacher of the ways of the Lord, (while the *Canaanites* round about did walk in blindness, and were led by Teachers only of delusion) and the Land which the *Lord his teacher* had designed to him in the prediction of his Father *Noah*.

d This Mount was so seated in the midst of *Jerusalem*, that the City lay θεατροειδὴς, in form of a Theatre round about it. *e* On the South lay *Jerusalem* it self built upon Mount *Acra*, and *Acra* naturally higher than *Moriah*, *f* but much levelled by the *Asmonean* Family in the time of their reign, and the valley betwixt, well raised and filled up with Earth, that both the Temple might over-top the buildings on *Acra*, and that the coming up from the City to the Temple, might be the more plain and easie, compare *Luke* III. 5. *g* On the North side lay *Mount Sion*, furnished with the gallant buildings of the Palace, Court, and City of *David*. These two Mountains *Acra* and *Sion*, and the Cities built

* 2 Chron. 3. 1. Is. 2. 2.
‖ 1 Chron. 21. 26. & 22. 1.
* Gen. 22. 2, &c.
a R. Sol. in Gen. 22.
b Onkel, ibid.
c Fuller Miscel. lib. 2. cap. 15.
d Joseph. Antiqu. l. 15. c. 14.
e Vid. Ezek. 40. 2. & Kimch. ibid. & Tosaph. ad Kelim.
f Jos. de Bell. lib. 5. cap. 13.
g Psal. 48. 2. Aben Ezra, ib.

built upon them (the *London* and *Westminster*, City, and Court of the Land of *Canaan*) did so decline and descend upon their South-East and North-East points, that on the East and West of the Temple they met and saluted each other in a valley, having also a deep valley betwixt them and the Temple on every side, but only on the South, where it was the less deep, because of the levelling, mentioned immediately before.

Although this Mount *Moriah* were not so high of it self as the two Hills on either side it, yet was it of a great pitch and steepness, *h* Λόφος κραταιὸς ὀπόκειμαι ἐν ἀπάντῃ τῷ περίξ, *A strong heap, steep, and deep on every side.* And it was a discerning note of a young male child, *i* That *he was bound to appear before the Lord, at the three Festivals, if he were once come to be able, to go up the Mountain of the Temple holding his Father by the hand.*

h Id. de Bell. lib. 5. cap. 14.
i Hagigah per. 1.

This Mount fell so in the division of the Land, that part of it was in the lot of one Tribe, and part of it in another; *k For most part of the Courts was in the portion of Judah, but the Altar, Porch, Temple, and most holy place were in the portion of Benjamin.* And that part that lay in the portion of *Judah* was made hollow under וכיפין על גבי כיפין הוו בנויות מפני אהל הטומאה *with arches built upon arches underneath,* (saith *Maimony*) *l because of the Tent of defilement.*

k Avoth R. Nathan. per. 34. Zevachim, per. 5. in Gemara.
l Beth abbekirah, per. 5.

Now this that he calleth *the Tent of defilement*, might very well be supposed to be a Sink, or common Shore, made under ground, and arched over for the conveyance of all the filth and wash of the Courts away, (and that there was such a thing we shall see hereafter) but he explaineth himself in another place, and saith that כל הר הבית והעזרות תחתיהן היה חלול מפני קבר התהום *m All the Mountain of the house* (that is the outmost space) *and all the other Courts were hollow under, because of an abyss or deep grave.* Now the Talmudicks do use to call a Sunk, unseen or unsuspected grave, קבר התהום *n an abyss grave*, τὸ μνημεῖον τὸ ἄδηλον, in the Gospel language, *Luke* IX. 44. And so they call an unseen or unknown uncleaness, טומאת התהום *o An abyss of uncleannesses*, and they oppose to it טומאת ידוע *An uncleanness known of.* Wherefore that they might be sure that there should be no graves secretly made in any of the Courts of the Temple, by which they might be defiled, they arched all the Courts under ground, so as that there were כיפין על גבי כיפין *Arches upon arches* (as my Author expresseth it, which he explaineth in another *p* place, in another story of the like nature) כיפין על שני כיפין *One arch set upon two arches, so that the feet of an arch stood upon two arches that were under it.* And so it was either impossible to bury above the Arch for want of soil, or if it were possible to bury below the arches, it was deep and far enough from defiling.

m Maym. Parah, per. 2.
n Talm. Bab. Parah, per. 3. Gloss. ibid.
o Nazir. per. 1. & Maym. in Biath Mikdash per. 4.
p Id. in Parah per. 3.

CHAP. II.

The measure of the floor of the Mountain of the Temple.

Ἀνωτάτω χθαμαλόν.

THE compass of the floor of *Moriah a* did increase by time and industry (somewhat, though not much) above what it was when *Solomon* first began the Temple there: For *b* whereas *David* by divine direction had built an Altar, and God by divine Fire upon it, had fixed that very place for the place of the Altar of the Temple; the Mountain possibly in some part of it, might want here and there somewhat upon the edge of it, by bendings and windings in, so that the square for all the Courts which was intended, and which was to be measured from the Altar as from the standing mark, could not run even, but did meet with some small *hiatus* through the want and pinching in of the hill in certain places: whereupon *Solomon* and the succeeding generations, were still encreasing the spaciousness and capaciousness of it, by filling up the valley or precipice where the want was, insomuch that the compass and space of it at the last, under the second Temple was *c* חמש מאות אמה על חמש מאות אמה *five hundred cubits upon five hundred cubits:* that is, a perfect square of five hundred cubits upon every side, two thousand cubits in the whole compass about: *d* And this square piece of ground was inclosed with a Wall. Not but that there was some more space upon the floor of the Mount than barely this measure, for *e* ההר חיה גדול הרבה מזה עד תק אלא לא היה קדוש: *The Mount was far larger than five hundred cubits square, but only so much was taken in for the holy ground.*

a Jos. de Bell. lib. 5. cap. 14.
b 1 Chron. 21. 18. & 22. 1.
c Mid. per. 2.
d Maym. in Beth. habbechir. per. 5.
e Pisk. Tesaph. ad Midd.

This number of five hundred cubits upon every side of the square, is so agreeable to the number of *f Ezekiel*, that that helpeth to confirm and justifie this proportion and account:

f Ezek. 42. 20. & 45. 2.

account: and although his large measure, do differ far from this of ours, yet doth his cubit measure and state the cubit that we have in hand, so well, that it would be very hard, if not impossible otherwise among the various sizes of cubits that we meet withal, to determine any thing of it. For we find mention of the *g* common cubit of five hand bredth, *h* of the middle of six, of the cubit half a fingers bredth larger than the cubit of *Moses*, and the cubit half a fingers bredth larger than that: but *Ezekiel* hath stinted his *i* cubit to be a *cubit and a hand bredth* (that is the common cubit of five hand bredths, and one hand bredth over;) And so the Jews conclude upon the same measure in this received Maxim: הבנין ו' טפחים ושל כלים ה' *k The cubit by which the Temple buildings were measured was six hand bredths, but the cubit by which the Vessels were measured was but five.*

g Kimch. in Ezek. 45. & 43. 13. & R. Sol. ibid. *h* Kelim. per. 17. *i* Ezek. 4. 5. *k* Kelim. ubi supr. Kimch. in 2 Chron. 3. 3.

The hand bredth therefore being *l the four fingers bredth as they be laid close together*, which make but three inches, the cubit of six hand bredths, (which is the cubit we imbrace here) ariseth to eighteen inches or just half a yard, and so by this computation, the five hundred cubits upon every side of the square was two hundred and fifty yards, and the whole compass of the Wall was a thousand yards about.

l Kimch. in Michol. in voc. טפח

Josephus m hath alotted a just furlong to every side of the square: Ἑκάστης γωνίας σταδίου μῆκος ἀπολαμβανούσης, and so hath made the whole compass to be exactly half a mile about, reckoning according to the common cubit, and according to the measure best known among the Greeks and Romans, for whom he wrote.

m Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 14.

And now if any one will take up the full circuit of the wall that encompassed the holy ground, according to our English measure, it will amount to half a mile, and about one hundred sixty six yards. And whosoever likewise will measure the square of *Ezekiel*, *Chap.* XLII. 20. he will find it six times as large as this, *Chap.* XL. 5. the whole amounting to three miles and an half, and about one hundred and forty yards, a compass incomparably larger than Mount *Moriah* divers times over; and by this very thing is shewed that that is spiritually and mystically to be understood.

The description of the Temple and City, that he hath given in the end of his Book, as it was a prediction of some good to come, so was that prediction true, thus far according to the very letter, namely that there should be a Temple and a City newly built: and so it was a promise and a comfort to the people then in captivity, of their restoring again to their own Land, and there injoying *Jerusalem* and the Temple again, as they had done in former time, before their removing and captivating out of their own Country: But as for a literal respondency of that City and Temple, to all the particulars of his description, it is so far from it, that his Temple is delineated larger than all the earthly *Jerusalem*, and his *Jerusalem* larger than all the Land of *Canaan*. And thereby the scope of the Holy Ghost in that Ichnography is clearly held out to be, to signifie the great inlarging of the spiritual *Jerusalem* and Temple, the Church under the Gospel, and the spiritual beauty and glory of it, as well as to certifie captived *Israel*, of hopes of an earthly City and Temple to be rebuilt, which came to pass upon their return under *Cyrus*.

Yet had this his space of the holy ground its bounds, though they were exceeding large; but when *John* in his Revelation is upon the measure of his Temple, this outer Court or space is left boundless, and not measured nor inclosed at all, and the reason is given, because *that Court was given to the Gentiles, and they should tread the holy City* (as men trod Gods Courts when they came to worship) *two and forty months*, *Rev.* XI. 1, 2, 3, &c. still clearing the reason of the Prophetical inlarging of the holy ground, which was to denote the abundant and numerous worshippers of God which should be under the Gospel.

The Wall that encompssed and went about the square of the holy ground, was of very fair stone, *o* and it was five and twenty cubits, or twelve yards and an half high, that is, as one stood within the compass of it, in the holy ground; for without it stood over a very deep and sharp precipice, and so there was an exceeding great height from the bottom of the trench beneath, to the top of the wall, but within it was no higher than five and twenty cubits, and that height is carried about whole the square.

o Jos. de Bell. lib. 5. cap. 14.

Now whereas it is a very common *Tenet* amongst the Talmudists that כותל המזרחי גובהו ו' אמות *p The Eastern wall was six cubits high and no more*, it is not to be understood of the whole East side Wall, for that was five and twenty cubits high as well as the rest, but it is to be understood only of the Wall or Battlement that was just over the East Gate: and so it is explained by some of them thus, כמה ראה למעלה לתוך פתח חיכל צריך שיהא חכותל של מעלה של שער מושן גמוך: *q* For whereas the Priest that was sprinkling the blood of the red Cow upon Mount *Olivet*, was to look directly by this East Gate, upon the Gate of the Temple, and whereas *r* the floor of the Porch of the Temple was two and twenty cubits higher ground than the floor of this East Gate, and so the Priest looking from *Olivet* through this Gate *s* could not see

p Mid. per. 2. & Kimh. ubi supr. *q* Midr. per. ti Sect. 1. *r* Maym. in Beth habbechir. per. 6. *s* R. Shem. in Mid.

t Pisk. Tiſaph. ibid. ſee above the eighth ſtep before the Porch, *t Therefore it was needful that the Wall that was juſt over the Eaſt Gate ſhould be low*, that what he could not ſee through the Gate he might ſee over it.

CHAP. III.

The Eaſt-Gate of the Mountain of the Houſe שושן *Shuſhan Gate. The Proſpect of Mount Olivet, and part of the City before it.*

IN the ſurveying of the Gates and Buildings that were in this outmoſt Wall, and virge of the holy ground, we will begin at the Eaſt quarter which faced Mount *Olivet*, and in which ſide of the ſquare there was only one Gate: this and all other the Gates, both in this Wall and in the other that incompaſſed the Courts *a* were twenty Cubits high and ten cubits broad, as the Hebrew Writers do conſtantly reckon.

a Mid. per. 2.

In which account they and their Country-man *Joſephus*, who wrote in another language, do not differ (although that *b* his conſtant meaſure that he gives of all the Gates, be thirty cubits high and fifteen cubits broad) but they do in this diverſity explain the thing the better. The height of the whole Gate-houſe of every Gate, or of the pile where the Gate was ſet, was thirty cubits, and ſo it roſe five cubits above the Wall, but the very entrance of the Gate, or the door of it, was but twenty cubits high. And ſo the very bredth of the entrance of the doors of every Gate was but ten cubits, but the cheeks of the Gate on either ſide was two cubits and an half, and ſo the bredth of the whole pile, was fifteen cubits in all: The height of this Eaſt-Gate only came ſhort of the reſt, four cubits, for *c* it roſe but ſix cubits above the entry or light that was paſſed through, whereas the reſt did riſe ten, and ſo it roſe but one cubit above the height of all the Wall, whereas the reſt did five; and the reaſon was given immediately before, becauſe the Prieſt that burned the red Cow on Mount *Olivet* might look over it upon the Temple; for ſo they conceive that command bound him when he ſprinkled her blood. *He ſhall ſprinkle of her blood directly before the Tabernacle of the Congregation ſeven times*, *Numb.* XIX. 4. Obſerve Chriſt and his Diſciples, having gone out of this Gate from the Temple, now ſitting upon *Mount Olivet* before this Gate, and looking back on the ſumptuous building of the Temple, and Chriſt diſcourſing concerning their ruine, *Matth.* XXIV. 1, 2, 3, *&c.*

b Joſ. de Bell. lib. 5. cap. 14.

c Mayn. in bith habbakirah, per. 6. *Gloſſ. in Mid.*

This Gate ſtood not juſt in the very middeſt of this Eaſtern Wall, as if it had two hundred forty five cubits of the wall on either ſide it, but it ſtood more toward the North, becauſe it was to ſtand directly in the front, or over againſt the Porch of the Temple. Now the Altar being pitched and fixed ſo by a divine appointment, that the Mountain did not allow an equal ſpace of ground on either ſide it, they were forced to build the Temple ſo, as to ſtand in its proper parallel with the Altar, and to caſt the Courts ſo, as that רובו לו מן הדרום ב לו מן המזר שלישי לו מן הצפון מיעוטו מן המערב *d The greateſt ſpace of the Mount was on the South, the ſecond on the Eaſt, the third on the North, and the leaſt Weſtward.*

d Mid. ubi ſupr.

e Upon this Eaſt Gate was pourtraied and pictured the reſemblance of the City *Shuſhan*, the royal Seat of the *Perſian* Monarchy, and the Gate it ſelf, at leaſt ſome part of it was called by this name, שתי אמות היו בשושן הבירה The Talmud ſaith, *f There were two ſorts of cubits in* Shuſhan, *the Palace, one which exceeded the cubit of* Moſes *half a finger, and this was upon the North-Eaſt corner, and the other which exceeded that, half a finger more, and that was on the South-Eaſt corner.* Now the Gloſs explains it thus, *That* Shuſhan *the Palace was a room in the Eaſt Gate where* Shuſhan *was pourtraied.* And the reaſon of that Picture is given by ſome to be, *g That Iſrael might ſee it and remember their captivity in* Shuſhan: By others, *h Becauſe when they came out of captivity, the King of* Perſia *commanded to picture* Shuſhan *upon the Gates of the Houſe, that the fear of that Kingdom might be upon them.* But here *Abraham Zacouth* doth move a juſt *quere*. *The Kingdom of* Perſia *i* (ſaith he) *and* Shuſhan *laſted but a little while after the ſecond Temple was built, namely, about ſome thirty four years, and then how came it to paſs that that picture continued there all the time of the ſecond Temple? But there are ſome that reſolve it thus, That the Children of the Captivity made this pourtraiture, that they might remember the wonder of Purim, which was done in* Shuſhan, Eſth. IX. 26. *and this is a good reſolution:* So he.

e Id. per. 1.

f Kelim. per. 17.

g Aruch. in Shuſhan.
h Rambam in Mid. per. 1. *Gloſſ. in Miſhnaoth in* 8. ib.
i Jachaſin, fol. 65 col. 2.

This Gate is called *the Kings Gate*, 1 *Chron.* IX. 18. not for any ſpecial or ordinary entrance of the King through it (for his common coming in, was at the clean oppoſite quarter,

quarter, namely on the West-side) but it is so called, because King *Solomon* built it and the rest of the Wall that way, at an extraordinary pains and charge, fetching up the foundation with huge stones, from the bottom of the deep valley that lay under: of which anon.

But before we part from this Gate, let us stand a little in it and take the prospect that is there before us Eastward, for the better understanding of some places of Scripture, that speak of the places thereabout.

Mount *Olivet* faced *Jerusalem*, and the Temple, and *Sion* upon the East, winding likewise Northward, so as that it faced *Sion* also something upon the North. Betwixt *Jerusalem* and it, was the valley of *Hinnom* or *Tophet*, where was the horrid and hideous practice of their irreligious Religion, of butchering their Children, in causing them to pass through the fire, or burning them to *Molech*. For *Solomon had built an high place for Chemosh the abomination of Moab in the hill that was before Jerusalem, and for Molech the abomination of the Children of Ammon*, 1 King. XI. 7. namely on the right hand of the Hill, as you looked upon it from *Jerusalem*, 2 *King.* XXIII. 13. In this Text of the *Kings* it is called הר המשחית *Hor Hammashchith*, instead of הר המשחה *Har Hammishchah*, *The Mount of Corruption*, instead of *The Mount of Unction*, or of *Olives*, the Holy Ghost branding the fact, and the place for the fact, with so visible and notable a mark of distaste and displeasure at it. To so great a contrariety to what he once was, when he was himself, had *Solomons* Idolatrous Wives bewitched him, that as he had built a sumptuous Temple on Mount *Moriah* to the true God, so they perswade him to build an Idolatrous Temple to their abominations on *Mount Olivet*, in the face of the Temple, and affronting it. The valley beneath this accursed *Idoleum*, was called *The valley of Tophet*, and the valley of *the Son* or *the Sons* of *Hinnom*, *Jer.* VII. 31, 32. and XIX. 6, *&c. The valley of Tophet*, that is, *k The valley of Drums*, or Tabers: from the noise that was made with such kind of instruments to drown the cries and shrieking of the burning Children: And *the valley of the Sons of Hinnom*, that is, *the valley of Children of shrieking* and roaring; from the woful cries of those poor Children frying in the fire. This was probably that which is called the *valley of the* carkasses, or *the dead bodies*, *Jer.* XXXI. 40. of which name the *Chaldee* Paraphrast in that place hath given this reason, *Because the dead bodies of the Camp of the Assyrians fell there:* and to which *Josephus* also giveth testimony when he relateth that a place was called *l The Assyrian Camp.* And here may we give a check a little to the peremptoriness of *Rabbi Solomon* upon the Text of *Jeremy*, lest he grow too proud, who glosseth the fortieth verse thus, *m The valley of dead bodies is the valley where the carkasses of the Camp of Senacherib fell: and the valley of the Ashes, is the place whither they carried the ashes forth, which was without Jerusalem: These places they shall bring within the City even within the walls: And this Prophesie is to be accomplished in the last redemption in despight of the Hereticks, for it was not accomplished under the second Temple.* By *Hereticks* he virulently meaneth *Christians*, who deny any other *Messias* yet to come, and that there shall be any more an earthly *Jerusalem.* For he would construe those words of the Prophet strictly according to the letter, as if there should be a time when these valleys should be walled within *Jerusalem*, really and indeed; whereas the Prophet in mentioning of those most defiled and polluted places to be taken into the City, meaneth only the bringing in of the Heathens, who had been polluted with all manner of defilement of Idolatry and other abominations, into the spiritual *Jerusalem* which is above, or the Church. And yet if we would follow him even in his literal construction, we might shew, out of his own Authors the Talmudists, how *Bethphage*, the Town that stood even in these places mentioned by the Prophet, though it stood out of the Walls of *Jerusalem*, yet by their own confession it is reckoned as a member or part of *Jerusalem:* and so was that prophecy literally fulfilled by their own Chorography at the coming of our *Messias*; But here is not a place for such disputes.

This was the prospect that you had before you on the right hand as you stood in the East-Gate of the Mountain of the Temple; namely a part of *Mount Olivet* divided from the City *Jerusalem* by the valley of *Tophet*, and by the valley of Ashes; on the side of the valley, near *Jerusalem* stood the Town *Bethphage*, and on the further side of the valley over against it, stood *Bethany*, renowned for the raising of *Lazarus* from the dead there; and for our Saviours frequent resort thither, and ascension thence.

Directly before you, was the place upon *Mount Olivet* where they used to burn the Red Cow into purifying ashes, when they had occasion to do such a work: and *n* thither went a double arched Causey, of the same manner of arching that we have mentioned under the Temple Courts: and for the same caution, namely for security against graves, by which the Priest that went about that imployment might have been defiled, and so the work mar'd.

Upon your left hand as you stood, ran Mount *Olivet* still, and the valley betwixt you and it and all along on the East point and on the North side of *Sion*, was called the valley

k Vid. Buxt. Heb. Lex. in בנים

l Jos. de B. J. lib 6. cap. 26. & 31.

m R. Sol. in Jer. 31. 40.

n Maym. in Parah per 3. & in Shekalim per. 4.

valley of *Kidron*, of famous memory and mention in Scripture, 2 *Sam.* XV. 23. 2 *King.* XXIII. 6. *John* XVIII. 1, *&c.* At the foot of the hill, beyond this valley you might see *Gethſemany* or the *place of the Oyl Preſſes*, whither they brought the Olives they had gathered upon Mount *Olivet* to be preſſed, and the Oyl got out. And there it was whither our Saviour went after his laſt Supper, and where he was apprehended, having ſupped that night, as it is moſt likely, in *Sion* or the City of *David*.

CHAP. IV.

Of the two South-Gates : שערי חולדה *The Gates of Huldah.*

AS the Eaſt quarter of the encloſing Wall, did face Mount *Olivet*, ſo did the South quarter face *Jeruſalem* the City it ſelf; For take we the whole City, either built upon ſeven Hills *a* as *Tanchuma* aſſerts it, or upon three, *Acra*, *Moriah*, and *Sion*, as it is commonly deſcribed, or add *Bezetha* and *Ophla* if you will, the ſituation of it will be found thus, הר הבית לצפון ירושלים *b That the Mountain of the Temple will be found lying Northward of Jeruſalem, and Sion* Northward of the Mountain of the Temple. And thus do the Jews in their Antiquities generally ſeat it, and that not without ſufficient warrant of the Scripture. For how can thoſe words of the Pſalmiſt, *Beautiful for ſituation, the joy of the whole Earth is Mount Sion on the ſides of the North*, Pſal. XLVIII. 2. be more properly and plainly interpreted than as *Aben Ezra* doth interpret them; *c Sion on the North ſide of Jeruſalem?* And thoſe words of *Ezekiel*, *He ſet me upon a Mountain, by which was the frame of a City towards the South*, Ezek. XL. 2. who can give them a ſenſe more genuine and proper than *Kimchi* hath done, when he ſaith *d The Mountain is the Mountain of the Temple, and this City is Jeruſalem on the South?*

On this ſide therefore that faced *Jeruſalem*, or that looked South, there were two Gates that were called *e The Gates of Huldah*, and they were ſo placed, as that they were in an equal diſtance from the two Angles of the Wall, Eaſt and Weſt, and of the ſame diſtance one from another. And ſo is *Joſephus* to be underſtood when he ſaith, τὸ δὲ τέταρτον μέρος, τὸ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν εἶχε δύο καὶ αὐτὸ πύλας ἐπὶ μέσου, *f The fourth part of the Wall was towards the South, and had Gates in the middle*; that is, the Gates were ſo ſet, as that there was an equal ſpace betwixt Gate and Gate, and betwixt either Gate and the corners of the Wall.

From whence theſe Gates did take their name to be called *The Gates of Huldah*, is hard to determine, whether from חולדה *Huldah*, which ſignifieth a *Weeſel*, of which creature *g* the Hebrews write many Stories; or *h* from the *Syrian* word חלך which tranſlateth the Greek word ἐνδύνειν, *To creep into*, 2 *Tim.* III. 6. or from חול זאת *This*, or *hither is common ground*, or *i* from the Propheteſs *Huldah*, who was of ſo great eſteem in her time among the Jews, as that they ſay *k* there was never any buried within *Jeruſalem*, either Man or Woman (unleſs of the Houſe of *David*) but only ſhe: or from whence elſe they were denominated, it will not countervail the labour to ſearch, nor is it very hopeful to find.

We ſhall not need to ſpend time in deſcribing the form, fabrick and dimenſions of theſe Gates, ſince theſe and the reſt of the Gates were all ſuitable to that in the Eaſt quarter which we have deſcribed before, ſaving that their Gate-houſe was higher, and that they were not characterred with the picture of *Shuſhan* as that Gate was. Let us therefore only take the proſpect as we ſtand in either of theſe Gates before us, towards the South upon which they opened, as we did in the other toward the Eaſt.

What Streets, Houſes, Turrets, Gardens, and beauteous buildings were to be ſeen in *Jeruſalem* as it lay before you, may better be ſuppoſed in ſo goodly a City, than deſcribed: only if you will obſerve the ſituation of it, or how it lay, you may view it ſituate thus. It lay upon the Hill *Acra*, which riſing in the middle, deſcended with an eaſie declining towards the Eaſt and Weſt, and with a deſcent alſo toward the North or toward the Temple. Upon the very higheſt pitch of the Hill, and from whence it had a fall either way there ſprang the ſweet and gentle Fountain *Siloam*, without the City, and ran to either end of the City, both Eaſt and Weſt in a contrary channel; as it made toward the Eaſt, it left the Fullers field upon the right hand, and ſaluted the Sheep-Gate on the left, and ſo turned, Eaſtward and fell into the Pool called *Solomons Pool*, which may well be ſuppoſed to be *Bethesda*. As it ran Weſtward, it coaſted along the broad Wall, the Tower of the Furnaces, the Valley-Gate, and Dung-Gate, and after a while fell into the *Pool of Siloam*.

CHAP.

a Jelammed. fol. 52.

b Toſaph. ad Kelim.

c Aben Ezr. in Pſal. 46.

d Kimch. in Ezek. 4 2.

e Tam. in Mid. per. 1.

f Joſeph. Antiqu. l. 15. c. 14.

g Vid. *Aruch. in* חלר

h Conſt. Lemper. in Mid. pag. 1. 2.

i Vid. *R. Sol. in* 2 *King.* 22.

k Avoth. R Nathan per. 34.

CHAP. V.

Of the West-Gates Shallecheth or Coponius, Parbar, Asuppim.

IN the Talmuds Survey of the Temple, there is but one Gate mentioned or spoken of upon the West quarter, but *Josephus* doth mention four, and that agreeably to the Scripture. Not but that the Talmudists did very well know there were so many Gates upon this quarter, but they reckon only those by name, *a* that had Guards kept at them, wheras *Josephus* reckons all that were in being: His words are these; Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἑσπερίοις μέρεσι τοῦ περιβόλου πύλας δ'' ἐφέστασαν, ἡ μὲν, εἰς τὰ βασίλεια τείνουσα, τὴν ἐν μέσῳ φάραγγα εἰς δίοδον ἀπειλημμένης· Αἱ β'' δὲ εἰς τὸ προάστειον, ἡ λοιπὴ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν. Βαθμῖσι πολλαῖς κάτω τε εἰς τὴν φάραγγα διειλημμένη, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἄνω πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν πρόσβασιν. *b On the West quarter of this outmost bound, there were four Gates: The first leading to the Kings Palace, the valley between being filled up for the passage: Two others went into the Suburbs, and the other into the other City, having many steps down into the valley, and many up again to the pitch or coming up.* We will survey these Gates particularly, and take them in the order that he had laid down, beginning first with that Gate that led to the Kings Palace.

a Mid. per 1. & Talmid. per. 1.

b Josph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 14.

SECT. I.

The Gate of Shallecheth, or Coponius.

THE Gate that led towards the Kings Palace, was that that stood most North in this West quarter, of all the four, being set directly and diametrically opposite to the Gate *Shushan* in the East. In the time of the first Temple, this Gate was called *Shallecheth*, 1 *Chron.* XXVI. 16. but in the time of *Herod*'s Temple, it was called *a The Gate of Coponius*: The Jews write it קיפונוס *Kiponus*; about the derivation of which word there are various conjectures. Some deduce it from *b* קופה *A hole*, or entrance; Some from *c* κηπαῖα, *A back door*. Some from קיפנדר *A thorough-passage*; but I should rather derive it from *Coponius*, the Roman Cammander. *Josephus* recordeth that when *Cyrenius* was sent by *Augustus* to be Governour of *Syria*, *Coponius also General of the Horse, was sent with him for Ruler in Judea*, *d* Κωπώνιός τε αὐτῷ συγκαταπέμπεται τάγματος τῶν ἱππέων ἡγησάμενος Ἰουδαίων τῇ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐξουσίᾳ. Now this was so near about the time of *Herod*'s finishing the building of the Temple, that it giveth fair occasion to think that he named this Gate in honour of that great Commander *Coponius*, as he did a building hard by it, *Antonia*, in memory and honour of his great Friend *Antony*.

a Midd. per 1. Maym. in Beth habechir per 5.

b Aruch in voc.

c L. Lemper. in Mid. pag. 12.

d Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 1.

The word *Shallecheth*, by which name this Gate was first called, in the time of *Solomon*, doth signifie a *casting up*, and so saith *e Kimchi*, it is rendred by the *Chaldee* Paraphast in the sense of השלכה. Now this Gate is said in 1 *Chron.* XXVI. 16. to have been by *the Cawsey going up*; which *going up* is that renowned ascent that *Solomon* made for his own passage up to the Temple 1 *King.* X. 5. 2 *Chron.* IX. 4. And the Cawsey is that that *Josephus* meaneth, when he saith, *A Gate led to the Kings House from the Temple, the valley betwixt being filled up for the passage*, which was a very great work, for the valley was large and deep: Therefore it may very well be concluded that it was called *Shallecheth*, or the *casting up*, from the Cawsey that was cast up to lead to it from the Kings Palace, this being his ordinary way to the Temple.

e Michol in שלך

This Cawsey is held by some *f* to have been set on either side with Oaks and Teyle Trees, which grew up there, and served for a double benefit, the one to keep up the Cawsey on either side, that it should not fall down; and the other was to make the King a pleasant walk, and shade, with Trees on either side, as he came, and went. And so they render that Verse in *Esai.* 6. 13. where the word is only used besides in all the Bible: *In it shall be a tenth, and it shall return and be eaten, as a Teyle-Tree, or as an Oak by Shallecheth*: that is, as the rows of Trees on the sides of this Cawsey.

f Vid. R. Sol. in Esai. VI.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Parbar Gate, 1 Chron. XXVI. 18.

FROM the Gate *Shallecheth* or *Coponius*, that lay moſt North on this Weſtern quarter, let us walk toward the South, and the next Gate we come to, was called *Parbar*; of this there is mention in the Book of *Chronicles* in the place alledged; where the Holy Ghoſt relating the diſpoſal of the Porters at the ſeveral Gates of the Mountain of the Houſe, ſaith, *At Parbar Weſtward, two at the Cawſey, and two at Parbar.* By which it is apparent ſufficiently, that this Gate was in the Weſt quarter, and reaſonably well apparent that it was the next Gate to the Cawſey, or *Shallecheth*, becauſe it is ſo named with it, but by that time we have fully ſurveyed the ſituation of it, it will appear to have been ſo plain enough. The word *Parbar*, admitteth of a double conſtruction, for it either ſignifies פלפי בר *An outer place*, [a] as many of the Jews do conſtrue it, or it concurrs with the ſignification of the word *Parvar*, (which differs but one letter from it, and that very near, and of an eaſie change) which betokeneth *Suburbs*, both in the Hebrew Text, 2 *Kings* XXIII. 11. and in the Chaldee Tongue, as [b] *David Kimchi* averreth there.

[a] *Gloſſ. in Tamid. per.* 1. *Kimch. in* 1 *Chron.* XXVI. *Aruch. in voce*, &c.

[b] *Kimch. in* 2 *King.* XXIII.

And here *Joſephus* his words which we produced a little before, may be taken up again, and out of all together we may obſerve the ſituation of the Gate in mention. He ſaith, That *of the four Gates upon this Weſtern quarter, one led towards the Kings Palace*, (that is *Shallecheth* that we have viewed already) *and the two next*, εἰς τὸ προάστιον, *into the Suburbs.* Theſe *Suburbs* that he meaneth, were indeed that part of the City which in Scripture is called *Millo*, which was the valley at the Weſt end of Mount *Moriah*, in which *Jeruſalem* and *Sion* met and ſaluted each other, repleniſhed with buildings by *David* and *Solomon* in their times, 2 *Sam.* V. 9. and 1 *Kings* 11. 27. and taken in as part and Suburbs of *Sion*, and ſo owned always in after times.

And to this purpoſe is the expreſſion of *Joſephus* in his words that we have in hand, obſervable, when he ſaith, that two of theſe Weſtern Gates were into the *Suburbs*, ἡ λοιπὴ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν, *and the other into the other City*, that is, into *Jeruſalem*, which he maketh as another City from the Suburbs of which he ſpake. Take the word *Parbar* therefore in either of the ſignifications that have been mentioned, either for an *outer place*, or for the *Suburbs*; this Gate that we have in ſurvey might very properly be called by that name, becauſe it was a paſſage from the Temple into *Millo*, which was an outer place, and the Suburbs of *Sion* diſtinguiſhed and parted from *Sion* by a Wall, yet a member of it, and belonging to it.

Now whereas the other Gate that ſtood next to this that we are about, toward the South, did lead alſo into the Suburbs as well as this, as is apparent from *Joſephus*, yet, is it not called by the ſame name *Parbar:* the reaſon of this may be given, becauſe it bare a name peculiar and proper, ſuitable to that ſingular uſe to which it was deſigned, or to that place where it was ſet, rather than ſuitable to that place whither it gave paſſage.

And here becauſe we are in mention of the *Suburbs*, it may not be amiſs to look a little upon that Text, that ſpeaketh of the Suburbs, and out of which we have taken that ſignification of the word *Parbar*, namely, 2 *Kings* XXIII. 11. It is ſaid there, that *Joſiah took away the Horſes that the Kings of Judah had given to the Sun, at the entring in of the Houſe of the Lord, by the Chamber of Nathan Melech the Chamberlain which was in the Suburbs.* Whether theſe Horſes were given to the Sun, to be ſacrificed to it, or to ride on to meet and ſalute the Sun-riſing, as the Jews ſuppoſe, we ſhall not trouble ourſelves to enquire into, it is the place that we have to look after at this time, rather than the thing.

Theſe Stables of ſuch Horſes, (and it is like the Kings common Stables were in the ſame place) are ſaid to be in the *Suburbs*, and at the *entring in of the Houſe of the Lord*, and we cannot better allot the place, than that whereupon we are, namely that they ſtood here in *Millo*, before this Gate *Parbar*, or thereabout, and from thence there was a way to bring the Horſes up to the Kings Houſe, when the King would uſe, either thoſe Horſes that they had dedicated to the Sun for their irreligious uſe, or their other Horſes for their common uſe. As they went out of *Millo* to riſe up into *Sion*, they paſſed through a Gate which was in the Wall that parted between *Millo* and *Sion*, which Wall and Gate was but a little below the Cawſey that went up to the Gate *Shallecheth:* and this helpeth to underſtand that paſſage about *Athaliah*'s death, 2 *Kings* XI. 11. *They laid hands on her, and ſhe went by the way by which the Horſes came into the Kings Houſe, and there ſhe was ſlain.* That is, they got her out of the Mountain of the Temple, brought her down by the Gate *Shallecheth* and the Cawſey, and when ſhe came near the Horſe Gate, through

through which the horſes went up out of the Stables in *Millo*, to the Kings houſe, there they ſlew her. There was a *Horſe gate* indeed in the main wall of the City, on the East part of it, *Neh.* III. 28. *Jer.* XXXI. 39. but that was diſtinct from this, which was peculiar for the Kings Horſes, and therefore a diſtinctive Character is ſet upon this, namely, that it was the *Horſe gate towards the Kings Houſe*, 2 *Chron.* XXIII. 15. It ſhould be rendred *towards the Kings Houſe* rather than *by the Kings Houſe*, for neither of theſe gates, either that on the East which was a gate of the City, nor this on the Weſt which was a gate into *Millo*, were near the Kings Houſe, but a good diſtance off; See the Seventy there.

SECT. III.

The two Gates and Houſe of Aſuppim.

IN the ſtory of the deſigning of the Porters to their ſeveral places and charges, in *Chron.* XXVI. 15, 17. it is ſaid thus, *To obed Edom South ward, and to his Sons the Houſe of Aſuppim. Eaſtward were ſix Levites, Northward four a day, Southward four a day, and toward Aſuppim two and two.*

Now there are two things that have juſtly moved divers learned men to conceive, that *Aſuppim* doth betoken the Treaſuries of the Temple, or the places where the offered and dedicate things were reſerved and laid up. The one is the ſignification of the word it ſelf, for it betokeneth *gatherings* or collections; and the other is, becauſe *Obed Edom*, whoſe Sons are ſaid here to be at *Aſuppim* as at their charge, is ſaid in 2 *Chron.* XXV. 24. to have had the keeping of the Treaſury. For there it is recorded that *Joaſh the King of Iſrael took all the gold and ſilver and Veſſels that were found in the Houſe of God with Obed Edom.*

Now if this be granted, that *Aſuppim* did betoken and mean the Treaſuries, yet are we ſtill to ſeek where *Aſuppim* was, and indeed there is not a more difficult matter, in all the ſurvey of the Temple, and of the buildings and affairs belonging to it, than to determine aright and clearly concerning the Porters, Treaſuries and Treaſures and all their charges; there is ſo much variety of expreſſions about theſe in Scripture, and ſo little explanation and reſolution of this matter in other Writers, we ſhall do the beſt we can for their diſcovery as we come to the view of the ſeveral places that refer to any ſuch thing.

The word *Aſuppim* is uſed again, in ſpeech concerning the Porters, *Neh.* XII. 25. where ſix men there named are ſaid to be Porters keeping the ward כאספי משערים *at the Aſuppim of the gates. Aben Ezra* and *Kimchi* ſay it is but the ſame with *Sippim* the *threſholds*, and ſo is rendred in our Engliſh Text. But if it be taken in that ſenſe in the is place of the *Chronicles* that we have in hand, there can be no difference between the Sons of *Obed Edom* and the reſt of the Porters in this reſpect, for all of them may be ſaid to be Porters at *Aſuppim* as well as they, ſince they were all alike Porters at the *threſholds.*

In the naming of the Porters, and placing them in their ſtations, there are the East Weſt, North, and South quarters mentioned, and *Aſuppim* comes in as if it were out at all: At the East gate were ſix of *Shelemiahs* younger Sons; And his Eldeſt Son *Zechariah* and his Sons at the North. At the Weſt were ſix Sons of *Hoſa* and *Shuppim*, four at *Shallecheth*, and two at *Parbar.* And four of *Obed Edoms* eight Sons at the South, and the other four at the *Houſe of Aſuppim*, which ſeems out of ſquare, and who can tell where?

For the ſearching out of this place, which lies ſo very covert, and obſcure in the Text, it may not be impertinent to conſider theſe four particulars:

1. That there were four Gates on the Weſt ſide, as hath been obſerved, namely the gate *Coponius*, two gates into the Suburbs, and one into the City.

2. That the Holy Ghoſt reckoning the Porters as they were diſpoſed after the return out of Captivity, placeth them only upon the four quarters of this outmoſt wall, 1 *Chron.* IX. 23, 24. (for the wall that encompaſſed the Courts had no gate on the Weſt at all, and therefore thoſe verſes cannot be underſtood of that, but of this outmoſt boundary wall) And why ſhould we hold that he goeth in a different ſtyle here?

3. Thoſe Porters lodged round about the houſe of God, and opened the doors every morning, 1 *Chron.* IX. 27. Now neither Prieſts nor Levites had any lodgings in the gates of the Court, nor did the Levites open thoſe doors, but the Prieſts. And

4. That though there were four and twenty guards, three of Prieſts, and one and twenty of Levites every night about the Temple, yet was there not any ſuch by day at the Court gates, or at thoſe places by the Court wall where they were by night: But here the Text doth expreſly tell that theſe Porters attendance was by day.

Theſe

Theſe things therefore conſidered, 1. We cannot place *the Houſe of Aſuppim* in any other part, than in ſome place in this outmoſt wall that incompaſſed the Mountain of the *Houſe*, even as the reſt of the gates and the Porters ſtood. 2. The expreſſion uſed in the Text doth argue that theſe Sons of *Obed Edom* that ſtood Porters at *Aſuppim*, attended in two places or at two gates, for he ſaith that at *Aſuppim* there were *two and two*. 3. Since the Porters at two of the gates only of the four that were on the Weſt quarter are named, namely, *Shalleeheth* and *Parbar*, it cannot be otherwiſe conceived in reaſon, but that the other two gates on that quarter go here under the name of *Aſuppim*, and had their Porters *two and two*. For 1. Since there were four gates there, why ſhould two of them go without Porters, when all the reſt were ſo exactly manned? And 2. why ſhould we go place theſe four Sons of *Obed Edom* as Porters we know not where, and where we never read of any Porters at all, and let theſe two gates ſtand void and none to attend them?

I make no ſcruple therefore to conclude, that *Aſuppim* were the two gates in this Weſtern wall, which ſtood moſt South or neareſt to *Jeruſalem*, and *the Houſe of Aſuppim*, was a large piece of building, that ran between them, which was a Treaſury, or divers rooms for treaſuring and laying up ſomething for the uſe of the Temple. The treaſuries of the Temple were divers and in divers places, and committed to divers perſons; but the general diſtinction of them is, into the *Treaſuries of the Houſe of God*, *and the Treaſuries of the dedicate things*, 1 *Chron.* XXVI. 20.

By the *Treaſures of the Houſe of God*, is meant thoſe things that were in ordinary uſe and employment, as the Veſſels, Veſtments, Tithes, Wine, Oyl, and other things which were commonly uſed, and with theſe we may joyn whatſoever was offerd to the Treaſury, either as due, as was the half ſhekel, or voluntary, as mony or veſſels for the repair of the Houſe and advancement of the Service. But by the *Treaſures of dedicate things*, is underſtood whatſoever the Kings, Captains or great men had conſecrated and dedicated, which lay as the ſtock of the Temple, and as the Monuments of their devotion. The former Treaſures were ſome of them under the care and charge of the Porters, 1 *Chron.* IX. 26, 27, &c. and the reſt and the later, under the hand of other Levites, 1 *Chron.* XXVI. 20, 22, 26, &c. The Porters had their Treaſuries at every one of their gates: and ſo ſhould I render אסופי שערים *The Treaſuries of the Gates* in *Neh.* XII. 25. whereas ſome of them kept veſtments, ſome inſtruments, ſome one thing, and ſome another, and the Sons of *Obed Edom* kept the ſilver and gold veſſels, which were the richeſt Utenſils of the Temple, and therefore their gates and the buildings between are called *Aſuppim* or *Treaſuries*, by an Emphatical dignity above the reſt.

Before we part with this Weſt quarter, let us take our proſpect outward, as we have done from the two ſides we have been upon before. As you ſtood on the middle of this wall, *Millo* lay before you, and there might you ſee, beſides the Kings ſtables and other buildings, the Pool of *Siloam*, and the Kings Gardens: On the left hand was the deſcent of *Acra* and the buildings of *Jeruſalem* upon it: on the right hand, the riſing of *Sion*, and the ſtairs that went up into the City, and by which the King came down to *Shalleeheth*, and ſo into the Temple. And as you roſe higher, was the place of the Sepulchers of *Davids* family, and another Pool, *Neh.* III. 15, 16.

CHAP. VI.

The North-Gate. טדי *Tedi or Tadde.*

ON the North-ſide, to which we are now come, there was but one gate (as there was but one on the Eaſt quarter) which was ſituate juſt in the middle of the wall between the Eaſt and Weſt end of it, but how to give it its right name there is ſome diſpute. *a* Some write it טרי *Teri* with *r*, which ſignifieth *moiſtneſs* or *purulency*, becauſe that they of the Prieſts, whoſe ſeed went from them by night, went through this gate to bath themſelves from that uncleanneſs. But the reading of old, hath been ſo reſolved טרי with *d Tedi*, *b* or as ſome vowel it *c Tadde*, that *Pisk. Toſaphoth ad Middoth* goeth about to give its *Etymology*. He mentions a double notation: namely, that either it betokens חצנע *obſcurity and ſhamefac'dneſs*, becauſe of its rare uſe and paſſage, and becauſe the Prieſts that had ſuffered *Gonorrhœa* by night, went out through it to the Bath with ſome ſhame and dejectedneſs: Or that the word refers to Actors or Poets, and he produceth a ſentence in which by its conjunction with another word, it ſeems

a Miſnajoth in Octavo in Midd. C. Lemper. ibid. pag. 13.
b Talm. Bab. & Aruch.
c Buxt. Talm. Lex.

seems so to signifie, for other sense I know not to put upon it. The sentence is this טיידי ופיוטי רגילי בהו קמי ריש גלותא *Tragedians and Poets used it before the chief of the Captivity.* But what sense he would make of this Etymology, I do not understand. But be the notation of the word what it will, the *Talmud* setteth two distinguishing marks upon the Gate it self, for which it was singular from all the rest of the gates that we have mentioned. *d* The first is, that it had not so fair a rising Gate-house and chambers above it as the rest had, but only stones laid flat over it, and the battlement of the wall running upon it and no more. And the other is לא משמש כלום *e* That it was not a common and ordinary passage in and out, as the other Gates were, but only a passage upon occasion; the uselessness whereof we shall have occasion to look at again ere it be long.

d Talm. in Mid. per. 2.
e Ibid. per. 1.

The Mount *Moriah* did afford some space of ground upon this side, without the Wall and compass of the Holy ground, which it did upon none of the sides beside; for here was built the large and goodly Tower of *Antonia*, which we shall survey by and by, whereas on every one of the other sides the incompassing Wall that closed in the Holy ground, did stand near upon the very pitch and precipice of the hill. So that looking about you as you stood out at this Gate, this Tower *Antonia* stood on your left hand and spoyled your prospect on that side, and you could see nothing that way but it. Before you was Mount *Sion*, and the goodly buildings of the Kings Palace and other houses; upon the bending toward the East angle, was the place called *Ophel* or *Ophla*, the habitation of the *Nethenims*, *Neh.* III. 26. and when *Ophla* was turned East, then was there the horse-gate and water-gate before the Temple.

Thus lay *the Mountain of the Lords House*, incompassed with the City round about, and enclosed with a fair and high Wall which separated it from the common ground: On the one side of it lay *Sion* the seat of the King, on the other side *Jerusalem*, the habitation of the people, and the Temple and its service in the middle between, even as the Ministery is in mediation betwixt God and his people. That Wall that encompassed it, had eight gates of goodly structure and beauteous fabrick, all of one fashion, save only that the North and East gates were not topped, the one in height, and the other in fashion, as the other were. At all these gates were Porters by day, and at five of them were guards by night, as we shall observe hereafter: the access to them on the East and West was by a great ascent, but facilitated by steps or causeys for the peoples ease, and for the coming up of the Beasts that were to be sacrificed, of which there were some that came up dayly. On the South side the ascent was not so very great, yet it had its rising in the like manner of access as had the other. On the North what coming up there was, it was more for the accommodation of the residents in the Tower *Antonia*, than for the entrance into the *Temple*, the North gate *Tedi* being of so little use, as hath been spoken.

At any of the Gates as you passed through, the entrance if self, through which you went, was ten cubits wide, twenty cubits high, and twelve cubits over, six of which cubits were without the Holy ground, and six within: and as you entred in at the East gate, had you seen the ground before any buildings were set in it, or any thing done to it, but only the building of this Wall, you might have seen the hill rising from the East to the West, in such an ascent, that the Western part of it was very many cubits higher than where you stood, as we shall have occasion to observe as we pass along.

This bank was once well stored with bushes and brambles, *Gen.* XXII. 13. and afterward with worse briers and thorns, the *Jebusites*, who had it in possession till *David* purchased it for divine use and structure, that we are looking after: Here was then a poor threshing floor of *Ornan the Jebusite*, but afterward the habitation of the God of *Jacob*: A place and fabrick as sumptuous and eminent, as it was possible for man, and art, and cost to make it; the glory of the Nation where it was, and the wonder of all the Nations round about it; but in fine, as great a wonder and monument of desolation and ruine, as ever it had been of beauty and gloriousness. Before we step further toward the survey of it as it stood in glory, we must keep yet a while along this Wall about which we have been so long, and observe some buildings and beauties that joyned and belonged to it, besides the Gates that we have surveyed in it alread.

CHAP. VII.

The Tower ANTONIA. Βάεις.

UPON the North ſide *a* and joyning up to the Weſtern angle (but on the outſide of the wall that we have ſurveyed) ſtood the Tower of *Antonia*, once the place where the High-Prieſts uſed to lay up their Holy garments, but in aftertimes a Garriſon of *Roman* Souldiers for the awing of the Temple. When it ſerved for the former uſe, it was called *Baris*, (it may be from בר *ad extra*, becauſe it was an outer building) but when for the later, it bare the name of *Antonia*: *Herod* the Great having ſumptuouſly repaired it, as he did the Temple, and called it after the name of the *Roman* Prince *Antony*. It ſtood upon the North-weſt point of *Moriah*, and was a very ſtrong and a very large Pile: ſo ſpacious a building with all its appurtenances, that it took up two furlongs compaſs. The rock it ſtood upon, was fifty cubits high, and ſteep, and the building it ſelf was forty cubits above it; it was four ſquare, incompaſſed with a wall of three cubits high, which encloſed his Courts, and had a Turret at every corner, like the white Tower at *London*, but that it was more ſpacious, and that the Turrets were not all of an height, for thoſe at the North-Eaſt and North-Weſt corners were fifty cubits high, but thoſe on the South-Eaſt and South-Weſt were ſeventy cubits high, that they might fully over-look the Temple. It had cloiſters or walks about it, and Baths and lodgings and large rooms in it, ſo that it was at once like a Caſtle and like a Palace. There was a paſſage out of it into the North and Weſt Cloiſters of the Mountain of the Houſe (of which we ſhall ſpeak next) and by that the *Roman* Garriſon Souldies went down at every feſtival of the *Jews*, to take care againſt tumuls and ſeditions in thoſe great concourſes of the people: And the Governour of this Tower is called *the Captain of the Temple*, *Acts* IV. 1. *Luke* XXII 52.

a Joſeph Antiqu. lib. 15. cap. 14. & de Bell. lib. 5. c. 25.

b Hyrcanus the High Prieſt the firſt of that name, took up this place for his Manſion, and for the laying up of his holy garments, and ſo did his ſucceſſors after him: and *Herod* when he repaired it and called it *Antonia*, he ſuffered the High-Prieſts to lay up, and to have the keeping of the Robes here ſtill, and ſo did *Archelaus* his Son after him. But when the *Romans* put *Archelaus* from his Kingdom, they took the cuſtody of theſe garments into their own power, but yet they let them lie in the ſame place, till *Vitellius* the *Conſul* of *Syria* (in the time of *Tiberius*) coming to *Jeruſalem*, and well pleaſed with his entertainment there, upon the *Jews* Petition reſtored the keeping of thoſe robes to them again. Howbeit they injoyed not that priviledge very long, but in the time of ſucceeding Emperors and Governours the cuſtody of them was taken from them again.

b Id. Ant. lib. 18. c. 6.

And now that we have ſeen *Antonia* on the outſide of the North wall, let us come in again at the North gate *Tedi*, and look a little more upon that, as we come through it. We obſerved before, the name of this gate to ſignifie *Hiding* or *obſcurity*, and as for the nature of it, we ſaw that it was in a manner altogether unfrequented: Now two things may be conjectured toward the reaſon and cauſe of both theſe; as 1. The inſolency of the *Roman* Garriſon might make the people have but little mind to come that way, and it might be to them, *Porta Tædii*, *a gate of grievance*; for let us caſt out a Latine *Etymology*, ſo near a Latine Garriſon. And 2. a reaſon why it carrieth *hiddenneſs* in its name, *Joſephus* ſeemeth to give in this paſſage Βεζεθὰ λόφος μόνος πρὸς ἱερῷ κατ' ἄρκτον ἐπισκότει, *c becauſe the hill Bezetha did ſhaddow the Temple on that North ſide*, and ſpoil its proſpect, whereas no other ſide of the ſquare had any ſuch cloudings.

c Id. de Bell. lib. 5. cap. 15.

CHAP. VIII.

Cloiſters along this outmoſt Wall within. סטיו

THUS hath the outmoſt virge and bounds of the Mountain of the Houſe been laid before us; Now there is a thing that deſerves our pains and obſervation again in another ſurvey, and that is, the Walks or Cloiſters that were along the Wall within between gate and gate round about.

a The *Talmud* in one place expreſſeth it, סטיו כפול *Porticus duplicata*, and ſo *b Joſephus* Διπλαῖ αἱ στοαὶ πᾶσαι; which both the Talmud *c* in another place and alſo *Maymony* do utter more largely סטיו לפנים מסטיו וסטיו היה מקורה כולו *It was all floored or roofed over, and one porch was before another.*

a Shabbath f. 6. b Jos. de Bell. lib. 5. c. 14. c Shab. f. 13. Maym. in Beth habbechir per. 5.

The word סטיו is ſo plainly the Greek word στοὰ, that I make no ſcruple to render it by that word in Greek and by *Porticus* in Latine, but how to tranſlate any of them into our

our Engliſh Tongue, is of ſome doubtfulneſs, becauſe our word *Porch* by which they are conſtantly rendred, doth not reach to their ſenſe in our Engliſh uſe, but is commonly taken in another. For what *d Kimchi* ſaith concerning the word אולם *that it meaneth the ſame thing that by the Language of the Talmud is called* בית השער *The houſe of the gate*, is alſo moſt true concerning the proper ſignification of the Engliſh word Porch, for that moſt ordinarily and commonly is taken among us for the building over or before the houſe door. But theſe words that we are about, do ſignifie Cloiſter-walks or rows, where men uſed to walk or ſit free from rains and weather, the one ſide open, ſupported with Pillars, and all floored, or covered over head.

d Kimch. in 1 *Kings* VI. 4.

So was this large compaſs along the Wall, it was double *Cloiſtered* round about (for give me leave to uſe that word, till I find a better) having a roof or floor over head, which lay almoſt as high as the top of the Wall, ſave what was left for the Walls battlements: and it was ſupported with a treble row of Marble Pillars (the inmoſt row joyning to the Wall) and it was diſtinguiſhed by the middle row of Pillars into a double walk. We need not go far for a copy, the ſtately new building (*Piazza*, walk, cloiſter, call it what you will) at the Weſt end of *Pauls*, may very well be our pattern. For it was much about that height, twelve yards and an half; it joyned on one ſide to the Wall, as that to the Church, and was born up with gallant white Marble Pillars: It was thirty cubits, or fifteen yards broad; either walk, half that breadth Pillars and all, and had battlements above the leads, both at the wall, and on the other ſide, as that at *Pauls* is creſted on the outſide. Where buildings ſtood out into the Mountain of the Houſe (as we have obſerved they did) there theſe Cloiſters were carried accordingly: being either cut off at the building, if it ſtood thirty cubits out, or the one half or more of the Cloiſter cut off if the building were narrower, and the reſt of the Cloiſter carried on before it.

Only upon the South ſide of the Square there was ſome difference of the Walks or Cloiſter from what was in the other parts.

For here was the Στοὰ βασιλικὴ *the Cloiſter Royal* as *e Joſephus* calls it, and of which he makes a very large and eminent deſcription to this purpoſe:

e Ant. lib. 15. *cap.* 4.

1. That it was treble walked or rowed all along from Eaſt to Weſt, whereas the Cloiſters of any of the other ſides were but double.

2. That this whole frame was born up by four rows of Pillars that ſtood even one againſt another, the inmoſt row joyning to the wall as it was on the other ſides.

3. The inmoſt and the outmoſt Walk of theſe three (that is, that that was next to the Wall, and that that was outmoſt towards the open ſpace of the Mountain of the Houſe) were equal in height and breadth with the Walks or Cloiſters on any of the other ſides, namely fifteen cubits high and fifteen cubits broad apiece: but the middlemoſt walk was two and forty cubits and an half broad and fifty cubits high, and ſo the two rows of Pillars that ſtood on either ſide of this middle walk were fifty cubits high, ſo that the roof of this walk was as high again as the roof of the walks on either ſide, and theſe altogether were as the upper and lower Leads of a Church, and every one of them had a creſt or battlement round about: Finally the whole Fabrick was ſo gallant and ſumptuous, ὡς ἀπιστότατα τοῖς ὐκ εἰδόσι μὴ σὺν ἐκπλήξει θεατὰ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν εἶναι, *that it is incredible*, ſaith my Author, *to thoſe that never ſaw it, and an amazement to thoſe that did.*

4. Had one ſtood at the top of the higheſt Leads at either end and looked down, there was ſo ſteep a trench or vally under ὡς σκοτοδινίαν ὐκ ἐχούσης ἄνωθεν εἰς ἀμέτρητον βάθος, *that to look down it would make one giddy, and he could hardly ſee to the bottome*; and *Joſephus* proclaimeth this fabrick to be ἔργον ἀξιοθαυμαστοτάτων ὑφ' ἥλιον, one of the *goodlieſt works under the Sun.*

Now through this gallant Southſide Cloiſter, did, and that very deſervedly, bear the name of *The Cloiſter Royal* Στοὰ βασιλικὴ, yet is not this the ſame with that, which in the Scripture is called *Solomons Porch*, of which there is mention, *John* X. 23. *Act.* III. 11. for that (as the ſame *Joſephus* giveth us intimation) was upon the Eaſt ſide of this ſquare (that we have in hand) and not upon the South, his words are theſe *f* Ἐπειδὴ τὸ βασίλεια τῷ ἀνατολικὴν στοὰν ἀναγείραι: ἦν δὴ ἡ στοὰ τῷ μὲν ἔξωθεν ἱερῷ: κειμένη δὲ ἐν φάραγγι βαθείᾳ, πλεσσοῖαν πηχῶν τὸς τοίχους ἔχουσα: ὃν λίθων δὲ πλεγαώνων κατεσκεύασο καὶ λευκῶν παυύ· τὸ μὲν μῆκος ἑκάστυ λίθυ πήχεις εἴκοσι, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἓξ: ἔργον Σολομῶνος δὲ βασίλεως: πρῶτος δειμαμένυ τὸ συμπᾶν ἱερὸν: *The people perſwaded the King Agrippa* (the ſecond) *to repair the Eaſt Porch or Cloiſter: Now this Cloiſter was in the outmoſt ſpace of the Temple: ſtanding over an exceeding deep valley: raiſed upon a Wall of* 400 *cubits which was made of ſquare white ſtones of* 20 *cubits long, and* 6 *cubits high apiece, the work of King* Solomon *who firſt built the Temple.*

f Id. ib. lib. 20. *cap.* 8.

His meaning about the foundation of this Eaſt wall and cloiſter he tells elſewhere to this purpoſe, *g* that *Solomon* to find room enough this way, was put to fill and bring up a part of the deep trench with ſuch great ſtones, and ἐπετέθη στοὰ τῷ χώματι, and upon this ſtrong foundation, ſo brought up from the bottom of the valley, he built this Porch, or Cloiſter that we have in mention.

g De Bell. lib. 5. *cap.* 14.

Now

Now when the Temple was deſtroyed by the *Babylonian*, and all the buildings ruined, yet this great and wonderful foundation that *Solomon* had brought up ſo high as to equal the floor of the Mount, was not ruined or pulled down, but continued ſtill; and in aftertimes, the Porch or Cloiſter of that Eaſtern quarter, was built upon the ſame foundation of *Solomons*: and from that it took and bare the name ſtill of *Solomons Porch*; and the Eaſt gate here, upon the ſame occaſion was called the *Kings Gate*, as was ſaid before.

And now to take a Proſpect of this place, and wall, and buildings, and Cloiſters that we have ſpoken of at one view: By many ſteps, or at the leaſt by a great riſing, you were to come up to any of the gates that have been mentioned, let the Eaſt gate (or the gate of *Shuſhan*) be conceived for our entrance. *h* The Gate-houſe or threſhold was twelve cubits over, ſix without the doors and ſix within; being got within you ſaw the great ſquare within, moſt ſtately double cloiſtered round about on every ſide, but only on the South, where the cloiſter was treble: on the Weſt ſide were four gates, on the South two, on the North one, and one on the Eaſt where you came in: and at all theſe gates more or leſs buildings. *i* In five of theſe gates (namely in the Eaſt gate *Suſhan*, the two South gates *Huldah*, the North gate *Tedi*, and the Weſt *Shallecheth*) was a guard kept of the Levites by night for the ſafety and honour of the Temple, and ſo there was in every corner of this great ſquare within.

h Ezek. XL. 6.

i Mid. per. 1.1.

Theſe gallant and ſumptuous Walks thus round about the whole compaſs, were for the people to ſtand, walk or ſit under, in heat or rain, or according as they had a mind or occaſion: And ſo it is ſaid that our Saviour walked here, *Joh.* X. 23. the Apoſtles *James* and *John* ſtood here and the people about them, *Acts.* III. 11. And there were benches ſet by the walls round about for people to ſit down when they thought good: And therefore *D. Kimchi k* Interprets סטיו to be ספסל שיושבים בו *a bench on which men ſit*: And *R. Nathan l* makes it to be the ſame with אצטווה which he ſaith, *is benches on which men ſet down their wares, and on which they ſit themſelves.*

k Kimch. in 2 King. XI. 14.

l Aruch in אצטווה

CHAP. IX.

Tabernæ Shops: The great Sanhedrin ſitting thereabout.

THERE is very frequent mention in the Talmuds and Talmudical Writers, of a place in the Mountain of the houſe which was called חניות *Hhanoth* or *Hhanijoth*, which the learned in theſe Antiquities, do commonly render by the Latine word *Tabernæ*: which though in that Language it be a proper expreſſion of the Hebrew word, yet cannot we ſo properly in Engliſh render it *Taverns*: becauſe, that, in our uſual acceptation, that word is taken for houſes where Wine only is ſold; whereas theſe were ſhops where Wine, Oyl, Salt, Meal and ſuch like things were ſold, which were in conſtant uſe for Sacrifices and Offerings in the Temple. And *Rabbi Nathan* relateth that *a* there were Clerks of that Market appoynted to look to the weights and meaſures of theſe Shops, and to ſee the Shopkeepers did not ſell too dear.

a Aruch in אנרדמין

But the moſt famous thing concerning theſe *Tabernæ* that the *Jewes* ſpeak of, is, that the great *Sanhedrin* ſate here, having removed hither from the room *Gazith* the place of their common ſitting. The ſtory hereof is diſperſedly mentioned in the *Talmud* in ſeveral places, particularly it is thus at large in the *Gemara* of the Treatiſe *Roſh haſhana* per. 4. *b* *Rabbi Johanan* ſaith, *The divine glory had ten ſittings*: 1. *From the Mercy ſeat to one of the Cherubs.* 2. *From that Cherub to the other.* 3. *From the Cherub to the threſhold.* 4. *From the threſhold to the Court.* 5. *From the Court to the Altar ſide.* 6. *From thence to the Altar top.* 7. *From thence to the outmoſt wall.* 8. *From that wall to the City.* 9. *From the City to Mount Olivet,* 10. *From Mount Olivet to the Wilderneſs, and from the Widerneſs it went up. So alſo the great Sanhedrin had ten ſittings: From the Chamber Gazith to Hhanoth* (the *Tabernæ* or place of the Shops) *From Hhanoth to Jeruſalem. From Jeruſalem to Jabneh. From Jabneh to Oſha* אושא *From Oſha to Shepharaam* שפרעם *From Shepharaam to Beth Shaaraim. From Beth Shaaraim to Tſipperis in Galilee. From Tſipperis to Tiberias.*

b Tal. in Roſh. haſhan. fol. 31.

Now whereas there are but eight removes here mentioned, yet they ſpeak of ten, it to is be underſtood, as the Gloſs gives us notice, that from two of theſe places they removed forward and backward and forward again, as from *Jabneh* to *Oſha*, from *Oſha* back to *Jabneh*, and from *Jabneh* to *Oſha*, a ſecond time.

c Their

c Their first coming to *Jabneh* was in the days of *Rabban Johanan ben Zaccai*; from *Jabneh* to *Osha*, in the days of *Rabban Gamaliel* the last; and to *Jabneh* back again in the days of *Rabban Simeon*. To *Shaaraim* and to *Tsipperis* in the days of *Rabbi Judah*: And to *Tiberias* in the days of *Antonius*. *c Gloss. ibid. Rab. Simeon.*

These their flittings, by their own confession, began forty years before the destruction of the Temple. מ שנח עך שלא חרב הבירת גלחה לה סנחדרי וישבה לה בחנורת *d Forty years*, say they, *before the destruction of the Temple, the Sanhedrin flitted and betook it self to sit in Hanoth*, or the *Tabernæ*. And the reason is given *e Because there were then many Thievs and Murderers, and they judged not of capital matters:* which meaneth to this purpose: they held that while they sate in the room *Gazith*, they were bound to judge and determine of all matters that came before them, and that all their determinations were obliging, but now, when beside the curb of the Roman power that was upon them, by which their power was abridged, villany and insolency was also grown too strong for them, they thought as the *Gemara* in *Avodah Zarah*, speaks their mind, *f It is good for us to rise and flit from this place, of which it is written, And thou shalt do according as the men of that place shall shew thee.* *d Shabbath fol. 15.* *e Ib. & Aruch. in* חנורת *f Avodah Zarah, fol. 8.*

Now in what part of the Mountain of the House *Hhanoth* or the *Tabernæ* were placed, may be best conceived, by observing the place of the great *Sanhedrins* sitting, before they came to sit in the room *Gazith*; and for this purpose a Text of *Jeremy* doth give us light, which is in *Chap.* XXXV. 4. where it is said thus, *I brought the Rechabites into the House of the Lord, into the Chamber of the Sons of Hanan the Son of Igdaliah a man of God, which was by the Chamber of the Princes, which was above the Chamber of Maaseiah the Son of Shallum the keeper of the door.* Now by the Princes we cannot understand the Princes of the blood, for what had *Jehojakims* Sons to do here? Their residence was in the Palaces of *Sion*, and their way into the Temple, was at the gate on the West quarter, which was called *Shallecheth* and *Coponius*, whereas this gate whereof the Son of *Shallum* was keeper or Porter, was the East gate, as is apparent from 1 *Chron.* IX. 17, 18.

By the *Princes* therefore are to be understood, the great men of the *Sanhedrin*, Ἄρχοντες τῷ λαῷ, *Acts* IV. 8. who sate in Council and Judicature in a Chamber near the East gate or the gate *Susban*, namely, over the Porters lodge. Here they sate in the time of the first Temple, but under the second Temple, namely, from the times of *Simeon Ben Shetah*, they removed further inward and sate even by the side of the Court of *Israel*, in the room called *Gazith*, which we shall survey in its due place.

Now when they were put to remove and flit out of *Gazith*, and to sit there no more, whither should they betake themselves, but to some room near to the East gate again, where the place of the *Sanhedrins* sitting had been of old? It is observable in *Jeremy*, that in his time, they sate in two East gates of the Temple, sometimes in the one and sometimes in the other, namely, in this East gate of the Mountain of the House, as appeareth by the Text produced: and in the East gate of the Court, which was also called *The New Gate*, *Jer.* XXXVI. 10. of which hereafter.

Now in after times when they sate in the room *Gazith*, there was a *Sanhedrin* of three and twenty Judges sate in either of these gates, as is copiously testified by the Jewish records and antiquities. By the East gate therefore of the Mountain of the house may we best conclude, the *Hhanoth* or *Tabernæ*, to have been seated, namely, that they were as Shops in the lower rooms of the buildings that stood on either side of the gate *Susban*, and the rooms over head were imployed for some other use, and among the rest, one for the sitting of the great *Sanhedrin*, when they were removed from *Gazith*; and when they sate in *Gazith*, for a *Sanhedrin* of twenty three.

And whereas *Maimony* speaketh of מדרש *g A Divinity School* in the Mountain of the House, where the *Sanhedrin* sate upon Holy days, we know not where better to place it than hereabout, where their sitting was in the first and last times of the Temple. All the gates that we have viewed, were beautified with gallant buildings on either side them, but the East most eminent, because the greatest and commonest entrance into the Temple. And whereas there is mention in Scripture of women lodging in the Temple, as 2 *Chron.* XXII. 11, 12. *Jehoshebeath* and *Joash* and his Nurse lodged many years there: and *Luke* II. 37. *Hanah* is said not to have departed from the Temple for many years more: their lodgings were in the buildings near some of the gates of this outmost wall (but which undeterminable) for that all within this incloſing was called *The Temple* in the Scripture, and the common Language, is so apparent, that it needeth no demonstration. *g Maym. in Sanhedr. perek.*

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The dimensions and form of Solomons Temple, and of that built by the returned out of Captivity.

HAving thus gone through and observed the compass of the Mountain of the Temple, and the wall that did inclose it in so large a square, with the Cloisters, gates and buildings that were in that wall and affixed to it: before we can come to cast out the Courts, Partitions and buildings that were within, and speak of their places and uses particularly; it will be necessary in the first place, to take a survey of the measure and situation of the Temple it self, that from it, and from this outer wall as from standing marks, we may measure all the proportions, fabricks and distances, that we are to go through.

The floor of the Mountain of the House was not even, but rising from East to West, so much in the whole, *a* that the floor of the Porch of the Temple was two and twenty cubits higher than the floor of the Gate *Shushan*, or the East-gate in the outmost wall: which in equality was cast into several levels one above another; and the outmost wall accordingly did sometime run level, and sometime rise from level to level, even as the evenness or risings of the floor it self did call for it.

a Mayn. in Beth habbechir. per. 6

The measures of the Temple built by *Solomon*, are said to have been, *by the first measure*, 2 *Chron.* III. 3. that is, by the same cubit, that measured the first Tabernacle, which is the same that we fix upon; and by this measure to have been seventy cubits long, 1 *Kings* VI. 2. 2 *Chron.* III. 3. in these several spaces. The most holy place twenty cubits, the holy place forty cubits, and the Porch ten. And the breadth of all these was twenty cubits.

About the height there is some obscurity, for the Book of *Kings* saith it was thirty cubits, but the Book of *Chronicles* nameth no sum at all; only it saith that the Porch was one hundred and twenty cubits high. Now *b David Kimchi* doth dispute it, whether this was the height of the Porch only, or of the whole house throughout: and he shews how it may be construed of the whole house; namely, that the height of it to the first floor was thirty cubits (according to the reckoning of the Book of *Kings*) and then the chambers over in several stories did rise to ninety cubits more. Yet both he and *c R. Levi Gershom* could well be perswaded to think that the Temple it self was but thirty cubits high, but are somewhat swayed by the opinion of some of their *Rabbins* which runneth another away. *For from their words it appeareth.* (say they) *that there were chambers over the Temple and over the Porch:* and this they hold from 1 *Chron.* 28. 11.

b Kimch. in loc. allegat.

c Ralbag. in 1 *Kings* VI. *Abin. Ezr.* in *Ezr.* VI.

The words of that Text are these, *David gave to Solomon his son the Pattern of the Porch and the houses thereof, and the Treasuries thereof, and the upper chambers thereof, and the Parlours thereof, and the place of the mercy seat:* where all these particulars are so couched together (except the last) as if they were all within the Porch: But the Holy Ghost speaketh of the Porch, as the first part in sight, as you came up, it being the front of all, and the rest of the parcels mentioned, are to be conceived of, not as all crowded in it, but as distributed and disposed in other parts of the fabrick, as the Holy Ghost relateth and layeth down elsewhere. And as for the upper chambers here spoken of, we need not to confine them so, as to set them all either over the Porch (though there were some,) nor over the body of the Temple, but to place them also as the Text doth elsewhere, round about the house without, in several stories.

The careful considering the measures of the Temple built by the Children of the Captivity, will reasonably help to put us out of doubt about the matter that we have in dispute. The measures they brought along with them out of *Persia*, in *Cyrus* his Commission, *d I he foundations to be strongly laid, the height sixty cubits, and the breadth sixty cubits, with three rows of great stones, and a row of new timber, and the expences to be given out of the Kings house.*

d Ezr. VI. 3, 4.

Where we may observe, *e* 1. That the length is not mentioned, because that was to be of the former measure. 2. That the breadth, doubled the breadth of *Solomons* building, the side chambers and all taken in. And 3. That the height was double to the height of *Solomons*, as it is expressed in the Book of *Kings*, and as indeed the height of the Temple was, though the Porch were higher. For it seemeth utterly against reason, that *Cyrus* should offer to build the house as broad again as it was before, and yet not so high as it was before by half. It is no doubt but *Cyrus* had consultation with some of the Jews about the building, and that either they counselling him, should advise the abatement of so much of the height, or he inlarging the breadth and the house one way, should

e Abin Ezr. in loc.

ſhould cut it ſhort of the height and leſſen it the other way, is exceeding improbable; the length could not be doubled, becauſe that would have leſſened the meaſure of the Courts before it, which might not be indured, but the two other ways of dimenſion which could be allowed, he allowed double to what they were before.

Therefore the two Texts in *Kings* and *Chronicles*, are to be taken properly as they there lie before us, namely, that the Porch was one hundred and twenty cubits high, and that the reſt of the Temple was but thirty; and the form of the whole Houſe was thus. It ſtood Eaſt and Weſt, the moſt Holy place Weſtward, and the Porch or Entry Eaſtward, and the length of all from Eaſt to Weſt was ſeventy cubits, the breadth twenty cubits, beſides the breadth of the ſide Chambers: The height of the Holy and moſt Holy place thirty cubits, and the Porch ſtood at the Eaſt end like one of our high Steeples one hundred and twenty cubits high: And indeed *Solomons* Temple did very truly reſemble one of our Churches, but only that it differed in this, that the Steeple of it (which was the Porch) ſtood at the Eaſt end.

Now round about the ſides thereof, North and South, and the Weſt end, *Solomon* built Chambers of three ſtories high and five cubits was the height of every ſtory, the whole being fifteen cubits high in all, and they joined to the wall of the Houſe without. The higheſt ſtory was a cubit wider than the middle, and the middle a cubit wider than the loweſt, and yet the outmoſt wall of them was even and ſtraight, and jutted not over at one ſtory or other, any whit at all. But the reaſon of this different breadth of the Stories was this, the wall of the Temple for five cubits from the ground upward, was thicker by a cubit than it was from thence above. At the height therefore of thoſe five cubits there was a bench of the wall of a cubit breadth left outerly round about the Houſe, on which they laid one end of the beams and timber, which was the roof of the loweſt rooms, or the floor of the ſecond Story. And then again for five cubits above that, the wall was thicker by a cubit, than it was above; and at the height of thoſe five cubits there was ſuch another bench left again, and on that they laid the beams for the roof of the ſecond ſtory, which was the floor of the third. And ſo likewiſe for five cubits above that, the wall was yet thicker by a cubit, than it was above, and there the like bench was left again, and there were laid the beams of the roof of the third Story and of the whole building.

And this is the meaning of that verſe, 1 *King.* VI. 6. *The neathermoſt Chamber was five cubits broad, the middlemoſt ſix cubits broad, and the third was ſeven cubits broad, for he made abatings to the Houſe on the outſide round about: that the beams ſhould not have hold of the very walls of the Houſe.*

And thus did theſe Chambers take up half the height of the Houſe, being as the lower Leads of our Churches to the higher: the uſe of the Chambers we ſhall obſerve hereafter.

Now above theſe Chambers in the wall of the Temple, and in the outer wall of theſe Chambers themſelves there were Windows to let in light, which the Text ſaith were שקופים אטומים *open* and *ſhut*, or broad and narrow, which *f* the *Chaldee Paraphraſt* and *g Theodoret* have well interpreted, *wide within and narrow without:* namely, narrow without to receive the light, and wide within to diſperſe and dilate it. Though there *h* be ſome Jews, that conſtrue it the clean contrary way, *viz. broad without and narrow within*, different from all other Windows שאינו צריך לאורה *for God*, ſay they, *had no need of ſuch light.*

f Chald. par. in 1 *Kings* VI. 4. *g Vid. Nobil. in* LXX *in loc.* *h Vid. R. Sol. & Kimch. in loc.*

The people that returned out of Captivity, were *i* forty and ſix years in building their Temple before they could compleat it, and bring it to perfection, and yet when all was done, it proved ſo far inferiour in beauty and ſtatelineſs to that of *Solomons*, as that to thoſe that had ſeen both, *k* it was as nothing: the dimenſions made not the difference, for it was two ways, as large again as his, (even as his was every way as large again as *Moſes* Tabernacle) but this wanted that ſumptuouſneſs and bravery of building that his had. And it wanted thoſe five things which were the glory and excellency of the former, namely, *l The Ark, Urim and Thummim, Fire from Heaven, The Cloud of glory upon the Mercy ſeat, and The Spirit of Propheſie:* The *m* weeping therefore of thoſe perſons that had ſeen the former Houſe, at the laying of the foundation of this, was not as if they ſaw any leſſening of the Houſe in compariſon of the former, in compaſs and meaſure, (for the foundations promiſed a larger) but it was upon remembring the glory of the former, both in its magnificence, and in theſe five excellencies, and to think of the burning of that, and it was alſo in comparing their preſent ſervile and poor condition, with the liberty, ſtate and gallantry of the Nation when the other ſtood.

i Joh. II. 20.

k Hag. II. 3.

l R. Sol. in Hag. I. 18.

m Ezr. III. 10.

Their meaſures were preſcribed by *Cyrus*, not becauſe he would curb the building, but inlarge it, for whereas *Solomons* Temple was but thirty cubits broad, Chambers and all, he gave liberty of ſixty cubits bredth; and whereas *Solomons* was but thirty cubts high all the body of the Houſe, he doubled the meaſure to ſixty.

And therefore those words of *Josephus* are cautelously to be understood, when he saith, That *n they brought up the roof of* Solomons *Fabrick, of white stone, the height sixty cubits, the length as much, and the breadth twenty.* In which account of the height of it, he differs both from Scripture and from all other of his own Nation, and by what measures or counters he reckons it is hard to understand: And so it is also to construe that which follows: κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλος ἦν ἐπηρμένος ἴσος τοῖς μέτροις· ὡς τε εἶναι τὸ πᾶν ὕψος τοῦ ναοῦ πηχῶν ἑκατὸν κ) εἴκοσι: which I English thus, *And by this there was another piece raised of equal measures: so that the whole height of the Temple was an hundred and twenty cubits:* By which piece I conceive he means the *Porch*, and his own words clear it; but how to apprehend that it was of equal measure with what he had spoken of before, I acknowledge I do not understand. And whereas, he saith, That *the whole height of the Temple was an hundred and twenty cubits*, his own context shews that he cannot mean, that it was so high throughout, but it is to be construed of the Porch of which he is speaking, namely, that the Temple in some part of it rose to an hundred and twenty cubits high.

n Joseph. Antiq. lib. 8. c. 2.

And so are those words of *Herod* to be understood in the Oration that he made to the people, when he tells them of his resolution to build the Temple. *o Our Fathers* (saith he) *built the Temple to the great God*, after their coming up again from *Babylon*, Ἐνθεῖ δὲ αὐτὸ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος εἰς ὕψος ἑξήκοντα πήχεις, τοσοῦτον γὰρ ὑπερεῖχεν ὁ πρῶτος ἐκεῖνος ὃν Σολομὼν ἀνῳκοδόμησε; *But it wanted as to the greatness of it, sixty cubits in height: for so much did the former Temple which Solomon had built exceed it.* Which is not to be understood of the whole house, but of the Porch only: for the Children of the Captivity either built no Porch at all, (and then their Temple was a perfect Cube, length and height and breadth exactly equal) or if they did, yet did not the height of it exceed the rest of the house, as *Solomons* did, but only equal it, the whole being sixty cubits high, all alike, according to the dimensions that *Cyrus* had prescribed.

o Id. ib. lib. 15 cap. 14.

Now in his Patent for the building of the Temple, there are these words, which are of no small difficulty to be understood, נרבכן די אבין גלל תלתא ונך בך די אע חדת *Ezr.* VI. 4. *Josephus* renders this passage thus, Λίθοις μὲν ξέστοις τρεῖς δόμους καὶ ἕνα ξύλινον ἐγχώριον· *p Three houses of hewen stone, and one house of wood within:* By the *three houses*, seeming to mean the three parts of the Temple, Porch, Holy, and most Holy place; and by the *one woodden House*, the seiling of the House within. And in this sense *Rabbi Solomon* seemeth also to understand it, who renders the words to this sense, *q The Walls were of Marble, and there was a Wall of Wood within, like the building of the House which Solomon built.* The *Septuagint* have Translated נרבכן *Houses*, and *Josephus* followed them in so rendring it: But the *Chaldee Paraphrast* doth use the word, to signifie *Ranks* or *Rows* of Stone or Timber, as *Hag.* II. 15. *Before a Stone was laid upon a Stone*; he utters it נרבך על נרבך and so he renders טור by the word נרבך *Ezek.* XLVI. 23. &c. And in this sense doth *Aben Ezra* understand the word, and so hath our English Translated it, *Three rows of great Stones, and a row of new Timber.*

p Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 1. & 4.

q R. Sol. in Ezr. VI.

But we are yet to seek for the meaning of the clause, though we be satisfied with this sense of the word: *Three rows of Stone, and one of Timber.* Is this to be understood of three rows of Stone Pillars and one of Wood, all standing up, or of three rows of Stones laid in the Walls, and one row of Timber lying upon them? And is this meant in the Body of the Temple it self, or in some other Walls that were about it? If we look into 1 *Kings* VI. 36. I suppose some resolution of these doubts may arise thence, for there it is said parallel to what is spoken, *Ezr.* VI. 4. *That Solomon built the inner Court with three rows of hewen Stone, and one row of Cedar-beams:* And it is almost past peradventure, that *Cyrus* gave his Commission after that pattern, having learned it from some *Jews* that were about him. Having therefore prescribed the dimensions of the Temple it self, in *vers.* 3. he giveth also warrant and platform for Walling in the Court, even after the fashion that *Solomon* had used, namely, three rows of great Stones to bring up the Wall, and a row of Cedar-beams, either to crest it, or to lie between as the Wall rose. And so do *Levi Gershom*, and *D. Kimchi*, expound these words, in 1 *King.* VI. *The Walls were three rows of hewen Stones, and one of Timber of Cedar upon them.*

The *Jews* upon their return out of Captivity, did first build the Altar, before they set upon the building of the House, *Ezr.* III. 3. for their necessity and occasions did call upon them to sacrifice, and the very place did warrant their Sacrificing, though the Temple were not yet built. In the second year after their return, in the second month of the year, which was the second year of *Cyrus*, they lay the foundation of the House, but in the next verse the Work is hindred, and so continues forlorn till the second year of *Darius*, *Ezr.* IV. 24. On the twenty fourth day of the sixth month of that year they begin to prepare for the Building again, and on the twenty fourth day of the ninth month they set to Work. Compare *Hag.* I. 15. & II. 18.

The

The fashion and pattern which they followed in the particular Structures and Fabricks about the House, was *r* as the Authors of their own Nation assert, the Temple which *Ezekiel* hath described, Chap. 40. & 41. &c. *The children of the Captivity* (say they) *made the building according to the form that they saw in the building of* Ezekiel *in divers things*; which although they could not imitate to the full, especially in the spaciousness of his measures, and sumptuousness of his Fabrick, (that pattern of his being as well a figure of a Temple not earthly, and not built with hands, as it was an earnest and promise of an earthly Temple, to be built by them upon their return) yet did they lay that copy before them, and did in very many things imitate that fashion and form, and platform their buildings, and Courts thereafter: And so did *Herod* by the counsel of the wise Men that were in his favour (as *Hillel*, *Shammai*, and *Menahem*, &c.) when he repaired, or rather rebuilt the Temple, though he did in divers things exceed the dimensions of the childrens of the Captivity, yet did he observe their platform and fashion as they had done *Ezekiels*. And so (as to the form and composure of the things and places themselves) there is so little difference betwixt the buildings of the returned Captives, and the buildings of *Herod*, that the *Talmudicks* do still account both but one Temple, and account that that stood to the destruction of *Jerusalem*, to be but בית שני *The second Temple*, to *Solomons* first; and so indifferently shall we take it up.

r Midr. per. 2. & 3. *Kimch.* in *Ezek.* 40.

CHAP. XI.

The measures and platform of the Temple, as it stood in the time of Our SAVIOUR.

HEROD (sirnamed *the Great*) *a* when he was a young Gallant, before he came to be King, had slain one *Ezekias*, and some others with him, for which he was called before the *Sanhedrin* to be judged for killing a man: where some of the Council fearing him, and some favouring him, and not executing justice as he had deserved; *Shammai* the Vice-president of the Council, did boldly and plainly tell them, before his face, That *whereas they were so favourable and partial to him now, the time would come when he would not shew them such favour, but should kill them.* And so *Herod* did, when he was King afterward, destroying the whole *Sanhedrin*, unless it were two men, *Hillel* the President, and *Shammai* the Vice-president, who had been so plain with him. And afterwards, as it were in way of expiation of this horrid fact, *b* he was perswaded by *Baba ben Bota* to repair the Temple, which he did so thoroughly, that *c he made it* Μείζω τε τὸν περίβολον καὶ πρὸς ὕψος ἀξιοπρεπέστατον, *Larger in compass, and most glorious in height, taking down the old foundation, and laying new.* This work he began in the eighteenth year of his Reign, and in eight years he finished it (some nine years before our Saviours birth:) in all which time, if you will believe the *Jews*, they will tell you, *d* That it never rained in the day time, lest the work should be hindred. The sumptuousness of this building the same Authors in the Treatise *e Succah* in the *Gemara* do magnifie in these expressions. *He that never saw* Jerusalem *in her glory, never saw lovely City. And he that never saw the Sanctuary with its buildings, never saw goodly buildings.* Rab. Hasda *saith, It was* Herods *building, And of what did he build it?* Rabba *saith, Of goodly stone and marble. And some say,* מאבני שש כחלא *of marble painted* or full of curious veins and divers colours. אפק שפה ועייל שפה *one border or edge went in and another out*; which the Gloss express thus, מחתאוי ארותא בימא *It seemed like the wavings of the Sea, one row of stones did so curiously go in, and another come out.*

a Jos. ant lib. 14. cap. 17.

b Juchasin fol. 19.

c Jos. ant. lib. 15 cap. 14.

d Juchasin, ubi sup.

e Succah per. 3 in *Gemara*.

The measures of this Temple, as it stood in our Saviours time, and till the destruction of *Jerusalem* was מאה על מאה ורים מאה *f an hundred cubits long, an hundred cubits broad, and an hundred cubits high:* And yet not an exact cube, but very far from it, as we shall shew ere long, for it narrowed so behind, saith *g* the *Talmud* and *Maymony*, that it did carry the proportion of a Lion.

f Mid. per. 4

g Mid. ibid. *Maym.* in *Beth* habbech. per 4 & 5.

The form and fashion of this pile on the outside (for of that only we will take a survey as yet) was thus. It was built of white marble (as *h Josephus* saith) in which were such veins and colours as are spoken of before; the stones of a size and bigness unto admiration, and the Walls rose to that great height of an hundred cubits by these distinctive measures.

h Jos. ubi sup.

1. *i* האוטם שש אמות *the foundation six cubits high:* not in the ground (though there was also a foundation laid deep enough) but from the ground six cubits upwards. As it is commonly seen in stonebuildings of a great pile, that near the ground, the Fabrick is made

i Mid. ibid.

made thicker than the wall above, to support the whole weight the better, even so was it here for, six cubits height.

2. גובהו מ אמה *The height of the wall forty cubits.* That is, from this foundation the Wall rose forty cubits plain, without any juttings, borderings or standings out as there was elsewhere. And then was,

3. כיור אמה *A carved and curiously wrought border, of a cubit broad.* I translate כיור *a curious wrought border,* upon the warrant of *R. Nathan,* k who partly out of the *Talmud,* and partly out of the *l Chaldee Paraphrast* render it ציור *Picturing* or *Pourtraying* (with which there is the concurrency of *m Bartenora,* who saith, *it was called* כיור *because it was gilt with gold and graven with curious ingravery:* It may be along the length of the building the stones were so laid in and out as to resemble the waving of the Sea, as the *Talmud* speaks, but there was no crossing border (as it may be called) till the wall came to this height: Above this imbroidered border was,

k Aruch. in כיור
l Chal. par. in 2 Sam. VII. 2.
m R. Obad. de Bartin. in Mid. in loc.

4. אמתים נית דלפה A ledge or gutter to take off the rain, and to cary it clear from dropping upon the wall below גובה ב אמות פנוי שיכנם בו הדלף *n The height of two cubits was prepared for the droppings to come in there,* for so doth sense and necessity cause the word to be interpreted, though *Baal Aruch* tell us, that there be some that gave it another construction; when we have observed the two next particulars above this, we shall understand what this was the better.

n Maym. ubi sup.

5. אמה תקרה *The timber or place for the laying on of the roof, a cubit.*

6. אמה מעזיבה *The roof it self a cubit.* The word מעזיבה is of some difficult construction: It seemeth to be derived, *o* as *R. Nathan* giveth intimation, from that word, *Neh.* III. 8. ויעזבו את ירושלים which our English hath rendred, *They fortified p* and *R. Solomon, They raised with Earth.* And there *Aben Ezra* speaks of this very word that we have in hand, and saith that עזב there and the word we have before us, are both of the same sense: and so the same, word עזב is used again, *Neh.* IV. 2. And he telleth us withal that there are some that do render that clause עזוב תעזוב עמו *Exod.* XXIII. 5. according to this construction: If thou see the Ass of him that hateth thee lying under his burden, *Thou shalt surely raise him with him.*

o Aruch in voce
p R. Sol. & Ab. Ezr. in Neh. III. 8.

But as for our word מעזיבה which is not to be found in Scripture, but used by the *Talmudick* Writers, we must have recourse to the *Talmud* for the meaning of it: And there as *Aruch* pointeth us to the places we find it spoken of and handled in the Treatise *Baba Mezia,* and *Baba Bathra.* In the former Tract are these words, *q Is a house and a chamber over it in two mens possession? And the chamber over goes to decay: if the Owner of the house* (below) *will not help to repair it: let him that owes the chamber, go and dwell below till he do repair:* R. Jose *saith, The Owner of the lower room is to lay on the roof-timber, and the Owner of the upper-room the* מעזיבה And in the other Tract are these words *r A man shall not set up a furnace* (or oven) *within a house unless there be the space of four cubits over it* (namely, for fear the flame should catch in the roof or floor above) *And if he do set up a furnace in an upper-room, it is necessary that there be a* מעזיבה *of three fingers thick under it.* And the reason is also given for fear of danger of fire.

q Baba Mezia per. 10.
r Baba bathra per. 2.

Now the *Gemara* upon the former place in explanation of the word, and *Aruch* in explanation of the *Gemara* say, that it was a crustedness made of divers materials, as reeds, chalk, stones and such like plaistering; which it seemeth by the former place cited was laid on the top of the house in stead of leads to keep out wet; and by the later, to be made under their furnaces in upper-rooms to prevent fire, burning downward. And the determination of *R. Jose* (*that the dweller below should lay on the roof, and the dweller above the* מעזיבה) seems to result to nothing else but this, that the one should lay on the timber of the roof, and the other a cover of plaister to be laid on the roof upon reeds, of such materials tempered together as should keep out the rain from dropping through: And so do I understand the word in our work that we are viewing; that this was a thick well wrought plaister of materials to compact, that being once grown hard was as a stone, and this was as leads on the roof to keep out wet; the use of sheets of lead being either unknown to them, or lead being scarce and not to be had: And thus are we come up to the lower leads; for so let me call them, as being an expression best known among us.

And here let us take in a passage of *Josephus.* He speaking of the measures of the Temple, and of the stones of which it was built, saith, That they were twenty five cubits long, eight cubits high, and twelve broad, *s* καὶ πάντος αὐτοῦ, saith he, καθότι καὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς στοᾶς, τὸ μὲν ἔνθεν ταπεινότατον, ὑψηλότατον δὲ τὸ μεσαίτατον ὡς περίοπτον ἐκ πολλῶν εἶναι σταδίων, &c. *It was made afer the fashion of the royal cloister, lower on either side, and highest in the middle, so that it was to be seen many furlongs off,* &c. Now the Cloister royal was so built (as was observed before) that three walks running along together, roofed over and born upon pillars, the roof of the middle was raised far higher than the two of either side it.

s An. lib. 15. cap. 14.

And

And ſo we are by *Joſephus* to underſtand accordingly of the Temple. It was indeed of an hundred cubits high, but not ſo as riſing in an equal ſquare, from the bottom to the top, but riſing ſquare fifty one cubits, as hath been proportioned out: The main foundation ſix cubits high: the Wall plain about it, forty cubits, a carved border above that, one cubit; the place for caſting off the rains, two cubits; above that the floor laying on one cubit thick, and the plaiſter cover one cubit thick; but then the riſe of the building grew narrower; for from thence it was carried up ſo towards the middle, as that there were left leads, as one may call them, on the North and South ſides all along, from the Eaſt unto the Weſt: A familiar example of this for the better underſtanding of it we have in the building of exceeding many of our Churches: the pile riſeth of a like breadth to the lower Leads, and then it riſeth only in the middle, to the height or roof of the Church: And ſo was it with the Temple: Go either to Eaſt or Weſt end, and ſtand in the middle and look up, and it was one hundred cubits; but go any whit like toward the right or left hand, and it was but half ſo high, for there were the lower Leads. *Leads* I cannot but call them, for that language is beſt underſtood amongſt us, though they were not covered with Lead (a covering not ſo well known in thoſe times as now) but with a plaiſter or parget of a cubit thick, and ſo ſtrongly wrought, and tempered, as that it differed not from the hardneſs of ſtone.

We muſt not forget בית דלפה that we paſſed over even now, but muſt look back upon it a little, before we leave theſe Leads, or this firſt riſing that we are now upon. For the paſſing away of the rains that dropped off this roof, that they ſhould not run down along the wall, and ſo both moulder and deface the ſtones, there was immediately above the imbroidered border that was ſpoken of, a row of ſtones that jutted out of the building more than their fellows, which were neatly and artificially guttered or riggeted, and as artificially jointed together in the guttering (that no rain ſhould drop through) the rigget laid juſt under the edge of the Leads, (or ſpouts from the leads) that caſt off the rains, that the droppings falling therein were conveyed away to either end of that ſide on which they were, and ſo ſent to the ground either in pipes, or in a great fall from theſe gutters.

And now to follow the building up ſtill to its perfect height; conceive it to be narrowed now to half the breadth, and ſo to riſe in the middle of the pile, as that the Leads on either ſide, were twenty five cubits broad.

1. גובה של עלייה מ אמה The height of the room above, or the riſing above the Leads in a ſtraight wall was forty cubits: this is called עלייה or an upper room, becauſe it was directly over the holy and moſt holy places.

3. אמה כיור *Another carved or ingraven border*; ſuch an one as was mentioned before, the breadth of one cubit.

3. בית ד ילפה The gutter two cubits as before, for putting off rains; not that this gutter was two cubits deep, but that it was two cubits from theſe gutters to the laying on of the roof.

4. אמה מקרה The floor or roof, a cubit.

5. אמה מעוכה, The plaiſter cover, a cubit.

6. ג אמום מעקה *The battlements three cubits*; This word is uſed, *Deut.* XXII. 8. and *not elſewhere in Scripture*, and yet ſaith *Aben Ezra*, *is the ſenſe of it plain enough from the Text.* And ſo indeed it is, for the Lord there enjoineth, that when a man buildeth a new houſe he ſhould make מעקה *battlements*, leſt any one ſhould fall off, and ſo bring blood upon his houſe; The roofs of their houſes were flat in thoſe Countries, *Joſ.* II. 6. 2 *Sam.* XVI. 22. *Act.* X. 19, &c. and there they uſed to walk, 1 *Sam.* IX. 25. and therefore leſt any ſhould fall off, they were to make battlements round about, *u ten handbreadths*, or *two common cubits high at the leaſt*, leſt any one ſhould fall off, and be ſlain or maimed: ſo howſoever it may be well ſuppoſed, that they walked not upon the Temple roof ſo ordinarily as they did upon their own houſes (nor was the Temple roof altogether ſo flat as their roofs) yet were battlements alſo made to it, partly, becauſe it ſhould not come ſhort of the beauty of other buildings, and partly becauſe there was occaſion ſometimes to go upon the roof of it.

t Aben Ezr. in Deut. XXII.

u D. Kimc. in Mid.

7. כלה עורן *The ſcarcrow one cubit*; what this was, let us firſt take *R. Nathans w* information for it. *Becauſe*, ſaith he, *of the holineſs of the firſt Temple, and the divine glory dwelling there, birds flew not on it at all: But as for the ſecond Temple, they feared, that the holineſs of it ſhould not be as the holyneſs of the firſt; and leſt birds ſhould fly over it, and leave ſome defilement upon it, therefore they ſet up a picture, to cauſe birds to keep off the roof of the Temple, and they called it,* כולה עורב *the ſcarcrow, as meaning, that it keeps the Ravens from flying upon the Temple roof, and this Image or Picture was ſuch an one as they uſe to ſet upon corn:* But by other of the *Jews* it is defined to be *x* טס של ברזל כמו סייף גובהו אמה על גבי המעקה סביב כדי שלא ינוחו עליו העופות *A pike of iron like a rapier of a cubit high, upon the top of the battlements round about, made that birds might not light upon*

w Aruc. in כל

x Maim. in Beth habbechir. per. 4.

upon it. And by some again concluded, that there were no such thing as either the one or other, *y but only that the battlement was four cubits high:* But however it may be a fancy not to be fancied, that there was or could be any such course taken as to keep Birds off the Roof of the Temple, (see *Psal.* 84. 34.) yet upon the so concurrent testimony of the *Hebrew* Writers, as is to be found, joined with the thought of what an ornament it would add to the building it self, it may very well be concluded, that there were pinnacles upon the battlements round about: as *Kings Colledge Chappel in Cambridge* is decked in the like manner to its great beauty. Πτερύγιον ἱερȣ̃ is construed according to this sense by divers Expositors, *Matth.* IV. 5. The roof was not a perfect flat, as was the roof of other houses, but rising in the middle משיפע ועולה עד לשוה גובהו של מעקה *z till the very crest of the middle came up as high as the height of the battlement*; as *Kings Colledge Chappel* may be herein a parallel also; And the like battlements and pinacles are likewise to be allotted to the lower Leads.

y R. Judah in Mid. perk. 4.

z Semajah in Mid.

CHAP. XII.

The Breadth, Chambers, and Stairs of the Temple.

THUS were the risings of the Temple to its height, in the parcels named: it is now equally requisite to take notice also of the length and breadth of it, and to observe into what lesser measures those dimensions were divided.

a The length of it was from East to West, and it was an hundred cubits, and so was the breadth from North to South, in some part of it, but not in all. That part of it that bare this breadth, was only the Porch, for the building behind it was only seventy cubits broad. And the Porch stood before it as a cross building, reaching fifteen cubits South, and fifteen cubits North further out than the breadth of the Temple; which spaces on either side were thus taken up, *b The thickness of the wall of the Porch at either end was five cubits, and from that wall to the wall of the Temple on either side were ten cubits.*

a Mid. per. 4.

b Maym. in Beth habbechir. per. 4.

So fair a Front there was at the entring; an hundred cubits broad, and an hundred and twenty cubits high; for so is *Josephus* to be understood, when speaking of the Temple built by *Herod*, he saith, it was Μήκει μὲν ρ πηχῶν, τὸ δὲ ὕψος κ περίττοις; *c An hundred long, and twenty cubits above an hundred high*; Not all the house throughout so high, for that the *Talmud* denies, giving so particular and exact account of an hundred only, as we have observed, but the Porch of this height rising twenty cubits above the height of the rest of the house.

c Joseph. Ant. lib. 15. cap. 4.

Just in the middle of this fair Front *d* was the Gate of the Porch, forty cubits high, and twenty cubits broad: *e* It had no doors to it at all, but *f* it was an open Gate, into which whosoever stood in the Court might look and see the space of the Porch within. Κεχρύσωτο δὲ τὰ μέτωπα πάντα, &c. *All this front was gilt with gold, and through it all the first house* (that is, the Porch within) *might be seen, and that glittered with gold also:* Now by *all this Front, Josephus,* (for they are his words) meaneth not the whole face of the Porch, or all the hundred cubits long, and hundred and twenty high, but the very front of the Gate, or entrance only, which he sheweth to have been seventy cubits high, and twenty five broad: And herein the *Talmud* and he do not clash, though the *Talmud* say, that the height was only forty cubits, and the breadth but twenty, for it speaks only of the very hollow entrance, but he speaks also of the Posts and head or front of the whole Gate-house, as we observed about the other Gates before.

d Mid. per 3.

e Maym. ubi sup.

f Joseph. de Bell. lib. 5. cap. 14.

g The *Talmud* likewise speaks of five מלתראות beams of some choice wood (the Learned *Buxtorfius* translates it *quercinæ*) that were laid over this Gate, curiously wrought with knots and flowers, and a row of stone still laid between beam and beam: The lowest beam that lay on the head of the Gate was a cubit on either side longer than the Gate was broad: then was laid on that a row of stone: After that another carved beam a cubit on either end longer than the other; and then a row of stone. Then another beam, and so of the rest, every beam being a cubit at either end longer than that that lay below it. These were thus laid over the Gate to bear the weight that was above; they rose to a great height, were curiously ingraven, and gilt, and from the highest there was a neat descending border gathered at either end of the beams, still inward and inward, as the beams shortned, and at last it ran down by the cheeks of the entry two cubits and an half broad, on either side the Gate: And this was the front that *Josephus* meaneth.

g Mid. ubi sup.

And now turn behind this Porch, at whether end you will, and look Westward: There ran the body of the Temple it self, pointing exactly upon the middle of the Porch, or

or juſt upon this entrance that we have been ſpeaking of, the breadth of it between wall and wall, juſt equal with the breadth of this entrance; but the walls and chambers built on either ſide, of ſuch a breadth, as that the whole came to ſeventy cubits broad: and thus doth *Ariel* or *the Lion of God*, as the *Jews* interpret it, repreſent the proportion of a Lion, broad before in the large front the Porch, which was of an hundred cubits breadth, and narrow behind, in the buildings of the houſe reduced in breadth to ſeventy cubits; which breadth to take up in its ſeveral parcels, we will begin at the North ſide, and thus we find theſe particular meaſures.

h 1. כותל המסיבה ה אמות *The wall of the Gallery five cubits thick*, this was the outmoſt wall of all, and it roſe to the battlements or firſt Leads mentioned before; where the foundation for ſix cubits high, was ſaid to be ſix cubits thick: but that odd cubit is not here reckoned, becauſe they count it not from the very foundation, but from the wall above, as any one would count in ſuch a building. *h Ibid. par. 4.*

2. מסיבה שלש *The gallery three cubits broad.*

3. כותל החא חמש *The wall of the chambers five cubits thick.*

4. החא שש *The chambers themſelves ſix cubits broad.*

5. כותל ההיכל שש *The wall of the Temple ſix cubits thick.*

6. תוכו עשרים *The breadth of the Temple within from wall to wall twenty cubits.*

7. כותל ההיכל שש *The other wall of it ſix cubits thick.*

8. החא שש *The breadth of the chambers ſix cubits.*

9. כותל החא המש *The wall of the chambers five cubits thick.*

10. בית הורדת המים שלש *The place of the coming down of the water, three cubits broad.*

11. כותל חמש *The outmoſt wall five cubits.* Seventy in all.

i Now the Chambers were in number eight and thirty, fifteen upon the Northſide, fifteen upon the South, and eight at the Weſt end. They were in three ſtories, five in the loweſt ſtories, and five over them, and five over thoſe; thus on the North and South ſides: but at the Weſt end there were three on the ground, and three over them, and two over thoſe. Every Chamber was ſix cubits broad, and twice as long (only the two higheſt Chambers at the Weſt end were of a greater length). *k* And there was a ſpace between the Chambers on the ſame floor, in manner of an entry of ſome ſeven cubits and an half broad, that you might paſs in it betwixt Chamber and Chamber, to every Chamber door which was upon the ſide. *i Ibid. Sect. 3.* *k* See Ezek. XLI. 21.

Before theſe Chambers there ran a Gallery from the Eaſt end of the building to the Weſt (but at the Weſt end there was none ſuch) of three cubits broad, by which you were carried along to any of theſe Entries between the Chambers, and ſo to any Chamber door: In the outmoſt wall of the Fabrick, toward the North and the South, there were four doors on either ſide, into four entries (for ſo many there were between five Chambers) but as ſoon as you were come within the doors, there ran a Gallery along on your right hand and left, over which you ſtepped into the entry that was before you: or if you went not in at the door that was juſt oppoſite to the Entry that you would go to, you might go in at any door you thought good, and this Gallery would lead you to that Entry.

Thus was it with the loweſt Chambers, and the like Gallery and Entries were alſo in the middle ſtory, and in the higheſt: Now the way to go up into them, was by a large pair of turning ſtairs, in a Turret at the North-Eaſt corner of the North ſide; by which ſtairs you went up to the firſt floor, and there if you would, you might land in the Gallery, and go there to what Entry or Chamber you would; or if you would go higher, you might do ſo likewiſe into the Gallery in the third ſtory; and if you had a mind, you might yet go higher up theſe ſtairs, up to the Leads, to walk over the Chambers, on the roof, round about their whole pyle.

But beſides this Staircaſe-turret, which thus conveyed to the roof of the buildings, there was ſuch another, at the furtheſt end of every one of the Entries that have been ſpoken of, which carried up to the firſt and ſecond floor, or to the upper Chambers, but went not ſo high, as to convey to the roof: And ſo had you gone in at any of the four doors to the ground Chambers, either on the North ſide of the Houſe, or on the South, ſtepping over the Gallery, you came into the Entry between two Chambers, one on your right hand, and another on your left, and their doors opening into the Entry, and facing one another; but before you, towards the Temple wall, there was a round large Turret-like ſtair caſe, into which you might go out of either Chamber, and ſo go up ſtairs into the Chambers over head: and from thence up ſtairs again, into the Chambers over them. And thus are we to underſtand that *Talmudick* paſſage, of no ſmall difficulty at the firſt ſight. *l* אחר לחא הימין ואחר לחא מהשמאל ואחד לחא שעל גניו: *There were three doors to every one of the Chambers, One to the Chamber on the right hand, and another to the Chamber on the left* (that is, one door to the Entry on the one ſide, and another to the *l Mid. ubi ſup.*

the Entry on the other,) *and one to the Chamber over head*, that is, into this Stair-case that carried up to the Chambers above. And thus *m one went up from the lowest story to the high-est by the middle:* for *n they went up with winding stairs into the middle story, and out of the middle into the third.*

m Ezek. XLI. 7
n 1 King. VI. 8.

The West-end Chambers had no Gallery at all before them, but you stepped immediately through the doors that were in the outmost wall into the Entries, and at the end of the Entries there was such a Stair-case as this, which conveyed and carried you up from story to story. On the South there were such Galleries in the three heights, as there were on the North, and such Stair-cases at the end of the Entries, joining to the Temple-wall, but that space where the Galleries were, was called by another name. Not מסיבה *Mesibbah*, as it was called on the North-side, but בית הורדת המים *the place of the coming down of the water:* Not as if here were the gutters to carry off the rains from the whole House, but becaufe in this space were laid the pipes that brought water down from the Fountain *Etam*, to the Cistern or Well, in the Well-room that was made to receive them: They were so laid, as that they hindred not the access or passage in the Galleries, to any of the Chambers, and it may be they were not to be seen at all, but lay under ground in the ground-gallery; but they were glad thus to distinguish between the North and South-sides, by these different names, as that they might the easier and quicker be understood, when they spake of a Chamber *in the Mesibbah*, or of a Chamber *in the conveyance of the water.*

These Chambers, which were of this number, measure, posture and composure that hath been spoken, and whose floor and roof-beams rested upon benches in the Temple-wall, as was observed before, were for the laying up some choice Treasures and Utensils, as also for Corn, Wine, and Oil, and whatsoever was brought in of Tithes, and first Fruits, for the sustenance and subsistence of the Priests that attended upon the Altar, and they were as Treasuries or Storehouses for that purpose, *Neh.* XII. 44. *Mal.* III. 10.

And now let us go up the stairs of the great Turret, in the North-East corner on the North-side (for there was none such on the South) that will carry us to the roof of this building, or on the Leads. At the top of the stairs *he went out* at a wicket, and his face was then towards the West. *o He walked upon the Leads along upon the North-side till he came to the West corner: when he came thither he turned his face toward the South corner: when he came to the South, he turned his face Eastward, and went all along on the South-side,* till he came up a good way, and there was a door through the Temple-wall into the rooms over the Holy and most Holy places. In this room over them (which was fifty cubits from the ground, and so were the Leads) there were these three things worth taking notice of.

o Mid. ubi sup.

1. That as soon as a man was stept within the door, there were two Cedar beams or Trees laid close together, sloping still upward, and lying along the wall, by which (they were laid so handsomly slope, and steps were either cut in them, or nailed upon them) one might go to the very top of the Temple, and this was the way to the higher Leads.

2. Just over the parting between the Holy and most Holy place, there were some little Pillasters set, which shewed the partition.

3. In the floor over the most holy place, there were divers holes like Trapdoors, through which, when occasion required, they let down Workmen by cords, to mend the walls of the most holy place as there was need. And they let them down in Chests or close Trunks, or some such things, where they could see nothing but their work before them, and the reason of this is given by the *Jews* שלא יזונו עין יתם מבית קדשי הקדשים *That they might not feed their Eyes with looking upon the most holy place.* p Once a year between Passover and Passover, they whited the Temple walls within: and for this and other necessary work about the House within, it was desired and endeavoured that Priests or Levites should do the work; but if such were not found to do it, then other *Israelites* were admitted, and they were admitted to go through the doors into the most holy place, if Chests or Trunks, were not to be found in which to let them down.

p Mam. in Beth habbech. per. 4.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The Porch.

SECT. I.

The ſteps up to it.

IN taking particular account of the length of the building from Eaſt to Weſt, (which was an hundred cubits) we will firſt begin at the Porch (which was the beautiful Front Eaſtward) and view ſeverally every ſpecial place and parcel till we come to the Weſt end.

a The ſpreading of the Porch in length was an hundred cubits, and in height an hundred and twenty cubits higher than the height of the Temple: And this Porch which was a croſs building to the Temple it ſelf, and ſo high above it, may not improperly be conceived to be that place whither *Satan* brought our Saviour in his temptation, when he is ſaid to have brought him εἰς πτερύγιον ἱερῦ, properly to *the wing of the Temple.* *a* *See chap.* 1.

There were ſeveral things at this Front, before we ſtir from it, that were very remarkable, and cannot be paſſed without obſervation: And the firſt that we will look upon, ſhall be the ſteps that roſe up out of the Court into this entrance, which were *c* twelve in number, every ſtep half a cubit riſing, ſix cubits in the whole riſe, and ſo much was the floor of the Porch higher than the floor of the Court. And here we meet with a paſſage in the Treatiſe *Middoth*, in the place cited in the Margin, which is exceeding hard to be underſtood, and the very ſame alſo in *Maymonides*, in whom it is harder. The words are theſe: Having ſpoken of the ſteps that went up to the Porch, that they were twelve, and that the riſe of every ſtep was half a cubit, and the bredth of it to ſtand upon a cubit, it comes on and ſaith, אמה אמה ורובך שלש ואמה אמה רובך שלש והעליונה אמה אמה רבך ארבע Which applyed to the ſteps, and their riſing, I ſhould tranſlate to this ſenſe, *At every cubits riſe there was a half pace of three cubits broad, and at the higheſt cubits riſe there was a half pace of four cubits broad.* The meaning is this, That as you had gone up two ſteps (which being half a cubit high apiece, made but a cubit riſe) at the third ſtep the ſpace you tread upon was enlarged, and was three cubits broad, whereas the ſteps themſelves that you had come up, were but one cubit breadth: And ſo from this inlarged breadth, or half ſpace, ſtep two ſteps further and there was another, and after two ſteps more another, and after two ſteps yet more there was the higheſt, which was an half ſpace, or inlargment of four cubits breadth: And ſo every third ſtep of the twelve was an half pace, or ſuch an inlargement, which made the Aſcent exceeding beautiful and ſtately. And this helpeth to underſtand a paſſage in the Treatiſe *Joma*, which at the firſt reading is not eaſie to be underſtood. Where relating how when the High Prieſt on the day of Expiation had ſlain his own Bullock, he gave the blood to one to ſtir it, to keep it from congealing, it ſaith, מטרס בו על הרובך הרביעי שבהיכל *d That he ſtirred it about, upon the fourth half pace of the Temple*; which *Maymony* expreſſeth, מנדנדו על הרובך הרביעי של היכל מבחוץ *e He ſtired it about that it ſhould not congeal, upon the fourth half pace of the Temple without*; that is, upon the very top of theſe twelve ſteps that went up into the Porch. The word רובך *f Baal Aruch* (after the production of many examples of it) renders by מצבות *Standings*, or *Pillars*, or *Benches*; I find not a fitter word for it here to expreſs it by than *Half-pace.*

c *Mid. per.* 3.

d *Joma, per* 4. *e* *Maym. in Joma habbech. per* 5. *f* *Ar. in* רבך

Now *g* *Maymony* in *Beth habbechirah*, or in his Treatiſe of the Temple, having to deal with theſe words of the *Talmud* that we have been ſpeaking of, doth utter them thus, סביב לכותלי האולם מלמטה עד למעלה כך היו אמה אחת חלק ורובך שלש אמות ואמה חלק ורובך שלש אמות עד למעלה ונמצאו הרובדים מוקפים לכותלים *Round about the Walls of the Porch from below upward they were thus: One cubit plain, and then an half pace of three cubits, one cubit plain* (or an ordinary riſing of ſteps) *and then another half pace of three cubits, and ſo up; ſo that the half paces did go about the Walls of the Porch*; His meaning is the ſame with what was ſaid before, but he addeth ſomewhat more, and that is, that theſe twelve ſteps thus beautifully ſpreading, every third ſtep into an half pace, did not only go up to the entrance into the Porch, but alſo there was ſuch ſteps all along the front of the Porch Eaſtward; and alſo ſuch ſteps at either end of it, North and South; and the reaſon of this was becauſe the floor of the Porch was higher ſo much than, the floor of the Court, and there then were Doors in the Buildings beſides the great Door that gave paſſage into the Temple, and into theſe Doors you could not get without ſuch ſteps.

g *Per.* 4. *vid. ſus finem.*

SECT. II.

The two Pillars Jachin *and* Boaz.

OF the Gate or entrance into the Porch, and so into the Temple, and of its dimensions and beauty hath been spoken before, and therefore as to that particular we need say no more here, but may be silent: but one main part of the Ornament and beauty of it was there omitted, and reserved to this place, and that is the two famous Pillars that in *Solomons* Temple stood at the cheeks of the entrance or passage in, *Jachin* and *Boaz*. I find not indeed mention among the *Jews* Antiquities of any such Pillars set at the entrance of the Temple, that we are surveying (which was the Temple built by *Herod*, the Temple that was in the days of our Saviour) though *Ezekiel* speak of such Pillars at the door of his Temple, *Chap.* XL. 49. yet because we desire to give account chiefly of what we find recorded in Scripture concerning the Temple in general, we cannot pass over two such memorable Monuments as these two Pillars, of whom the Story and relation is held out by the Scripture so largely and exactly.

1. These two Pillars (which were of brass) consisted either of them of two parts, the Pillar it self, and the Boll and Chapiter that was set on the head of it. The Pillar it self was hollow, the circle incompassing the hollow four fingers thick, and the compass of that circling twelve cubits about, *Jer.* LII. 21. 1 *King.* VII. 15. *a* the whole thickness or diameter of either Pillar four cubits, or three cubits, and four fifth parts of a cubit, as is the reckoning of *Levi Gerson*. The Chapiter or Boll likewise of either Pillar was hollow, and was a huge piece of Brass Boll or oval fashion, which had a very large hole in it, into which the top of the Pillar was let, and so this Chapiter sate upon it.

a R. Sol. in 1 King. VII. *R. Lev. Gers. ibid.*

2. The length or height of either Pillar was eighteen cubits, besides the Chapiter, for the Text doth clearly reckon the height of Pillar and Chapiter distinctly. Now the Book of *Chronicles* summeth the length of both Pillars together, and saith *they were five and thirty cubits* high, 2 *Chron.* III. 15. in which it cometh short a cubit of that account and summ that is given in the Book of *Kings* and *Jeremiah*, which say, That *either Pillar was eighteen cubits*, and so the whole of both was six and thirty: But half a cubit of either Pillar was taken up, and hid in the hole of the Chapiter that sate upon it: and so that Text in the Book of *Chronicles*, measures them as they stood with the Chapiters upon them; two and twenty cubits and an half high, Pillar and Chapiter and all.

3. The Chapiter or oval on the head of either Pillar is called in Hebrew כותרת which *Rabbi Solomon* renders in the vulgar פומילס *Pumels*, *Kimchi*, *A Crown*, with which the *Chaldee* agrees, who expresseth it by קרונתא *Corona*; but *Levi Gershom* more exactly, saith, *it was like two Crowns joined together.* It was a huge great oval of five cubits high, and did not only sit upon the head of the Pillars, but also flowred or spread them, being larger about a great deal than the Pillars themselves.

4. Whereas it is said both in 1 *King.* VII. 16. & *Jer.* LII. 22. that the height of either Chapiter was five cubits, and yet in 2 *King.* XXV. 17. it is said, that *the height of the Chapiter was three cubits*; it is generally and well answered by the *Jews*, that the lowest two cubits of the Chapiter were plain, and without any graving or imbroidering, but the three upper cubits were of such imbroidery. To which may be added, and some of them do add it, that the two lower cubits were but the rising into the spreading or belly of the Chapiter, and that they there are not reckoned in that place, but only from the belly upward the account is taken.

5. The ingravery or imbroidery, or both of these Chapiters is thus described by the Holy Ghost in various particulars; As.

1. שבכים מעשה שבכה 1 *King.* VII. 17. which our English renders, *Nets of Checker-work:* And so the *Seventy* useth the word *Nets* also: The original word doth properly signifie the inwrapping and infolding of the branches of Trees one within another, as *Neh.* I. 10. *Gen.* XXII. 13. *Jer.* IV. 7. *Esai.* X. 34. *As Vines or Thickets*, (saith *b Kimchi* explaining the word) *that are caught and infolded one within another:* And so some others expres this clause כמין לולבין שרי רקל *That the imbroidery was like the branches of Palm Trees:* or like the handful of branches they used to carry in their hands at the Feast of Tabernacles: This I conceive to be the proper meaning of the words, that the Chapiters were curiously wrought with branch-work, seven goodly branches standing up with their feet from the belly of the oval, and their boughs and leaves curiously and lovelily intermingled and inwoven one with another. And the words might not improperly be translated thus, for the clearer understanding of their meaning, and of the manner of the work it self. *With thickets of branch-work*, and wreaths of chain-work.

b Michol. in סבך

2. גדילים

2. גדילים מעשה שרשרות, *Wreathes of Chain-work.* The word גדילים in *Deut.* XXII. 12. signifies the *fringes* that they wore upon their Garments for memorials of the Law, כרספפרין (κράσπεδον) in the *Chaldee Paraphrast:* And according to such a sense is it to be taken here, that about the belly of the Chapiter was a curious Fring or border of wreathen and intwined work, upon which border stood the feet or root of the branch-work spoken of before; and those branches from thence went upward spreading upon the swelling of the Chapiter, and bowing toward the top of the oval as the oval bowed, and they there growing into their contracted tops.

3. שני טורים סביב *Two rows of Pomgranates*, were wrought artificially below the boughs of these branches, as if they had been the Apples that those branches bare, but only that they were not scattered dispersedly among the branches, as Apples use to be in their Trees; but were ranked into two several rows or borders severally below them.

But here we had need to look upon the Text with much seriousness, for in two things about this very thing it speaks obscurely and with much difficulty: For first in speaking of these rows it saith, That *the Chapiters were above or upon the Pomgranates*, 1 *King.* VII. 18. Now it is so harsh to hear of the Chapiters being upon the Pomgranates, whereas it is most undoubted that the Pomgranates were upon the Chapiters, that some Copies, as *David Kimchi* tells us, have been so bold as to change the word, and instead of על ראש הרמונים *upon the head of the Pomgranates*, to read העמודים *upon the head of the Pillars*; but as he well observes, the *Masoreth* by putting a לית כותיה upon it, or a note that it is not read so any where else, doth conclude that it is and must be read so here, *upon the head of the Pomgranates:* Now the construction of this may be fetched from 2 *Chron.* III. 16. where it is said, That *he put the Pomgranates upon the chains*; that is, the two rows of the Pomgranates were close above the Fring or border of chain-work, which was as it were the bottom and *basis* of the imbroidery; and so the bulk and body of the Chapiter where the imbroidery was, was above these rows of the Pomgranates; and though the stalks of the branches rested upon the Fringe or Chain-work, yet did they not spread into their leaves and branches till their stalks had carried them above the Pomgranates: therefore the construction and sense of that Verse, *viz.* 1 *King.* VII. 18. is to be taken thus, *Thus he made the Pillars: And there were two rows round about by the branch-work which branch-work was for to cover the Chapiter, even that of the Chapiter that was above the Pomgranates.* Secondly, There is no small scruple about the number of the Pomgranates, because the Text doth sum them up in several countings, for in 2 *Chron.* III. 16. there is mention only of an hundred. In 1 *King.* VII. 20. of two hundred. And in 1 *King.* VII. 42. of four hundred: In all which diversity the main difficulty rests in the count of *Jeremy*; for there was an hundred Pomgranates in every row, according to the reckoning of the Book of *Chronicles*; and so there were two hundred upon either Chapiter, as is the account of the Book of *Kings* in the former place cited, that is four, hundred upon both Chapiters, according to the sum of the later quotation; but what to make of *Jeremiah*'s ninety six is somewhat intricate at the first sight: His words are these, ויהיו הרמונים תשעים וששה רוחה wherefore the last word is hard to translate, and breeds all the scruple. The *Chaldee* and *Seventy* render it, *The Pomgranates were ninety six on a side*, and so doth the *Italian* and our *English*; but this is of a very hard construction, since the rows of Pomgrenates were in circles, the Chapiter being round; and whereas there were but an hundred in a row, how could ninety six of them be upon one side? The word is more easie to pharaphrase, than *verbatim* to translate. The meaning of the clause is this, That whereas there was an hundred Pomgranates in every row; when the Pillars were set to the Wall, four of every row could not be seen, but ninety six might, the other four being hid behind the Pillar as it stood close up to the Wall: And so the Pomgranates were ninety six only in sight. Therefore the word רוחה may well be translated in the clause thus, And the Pomgranates were ninety six *on the open sides*, or *toward the open air:* for in this sense I conceive רוח to stand here.

4. It is said moreover, in the Text in the Book of *Kings*, וכותרות מעשה שושן באולם ארבע אמות 1 *Kings* VII. 19. *And the Chapiters which were on the top of the Pillars had Lilly-work in the Porch four cubits*; for so should I rather translate it, than *were of Lilly-work*; and that upon these grounds: 1. Because the work of the Chapiters is so exactly described before to be of Branch-work and Pomgranates, and that but for three cubits or thereabout, that I cannot possibly imagine how they should be said besides, *to be of Lilly-work four cubits.* 2. The Text expresly telleth afterward, That *the Lilly-work was on the top of the Pillars, vers.* 22. and not on the top or sides of the Chapiters. 3. The word באולם *In the Porch*, or *by the Porch*, hath its special *emphasis* and intention; for it is not said at all, that either the Chapiters or the Pomgranate-work were *in the Porch*, but the thing is referred only to the Lilly-work.

 The

The meaning thefore of the Verſe appeareth to be this, That at the head of the Pillar, even at the ſetting on of the Chapiter, there was a curious and a large border or circle of Lilly-work, which ſtood out four cubits under the Chapiter, and then turned down, every Lilly or long tongue of Braſs, with a neat bending, and ſo ſeemed as a flowred Crown to the head of the Pillar, and as a curious Garland whereon the Chapiter had its ſeat: And that particular expreſſion, that it was *in* or *by the Porch*, intendeth to ſhew that theſe long tongues of Braſs which were made like Lillies, did not ſuddenly decline, and lie down upon the ſides of the Pillars, nor ſuddenly aſcend and ſtick upon the ſides of the Chapiter, but ſtood out into and along the Porch a four cubit circle, after the manner of a ſpread Lilly, and then the tongue bended downward, as the Lilly doth.

And this conſtruction of that Verſe, helpeth to clear and explain the next Verſe that follows after it, which otherwiſe would coſt ſome pains to tranſlate it out of the original, or to make facil ſenſe of it being tranſlated: In conſonancy and contexture to the Verſe before, ſo underſtood as hath been held out, this Verſe may be intrepreted and paraphraſed thus: *And the Chapiters upon the two pillars were alſo above* this Lilly-work, for they ſate upon the growing out of it, *even from over againſt the belly, which was by the Branch-work*; for the Lilly-work wrought out, as far as the belly of the Chapiters wrought out, with an accurate bowing or ſwelling upwards towards the belly, where the ſtalks of the branch-work, and the rows of the Pomgranates were; even as a Lilly gently ſwelleth up, before the tongue or utmoſt point of it turneth down again.

5. The place where theſe Pillars ſtood is ſomewhat uncertain; the Text indeed ſaith, they ſtood *before the Houſe*, 2 *Chron*, III. 15. and *before the Temple*, *verſ.* 17. but yet it is to ſeek, whether within the Porch at the entring in, or without the Porch, or within the Porch at the Temple door, which laſt is the opinion of *Rabbi Sol.* upon the Text cited. Upon theſe four reaſons I am induced to conceive that they ſtood within the Porch, even at the very entring into it, joyning or ſtanding up to the very cheeks of the Gate or entrance. 1. Becauſe *Ezekiel* hath ſo placed his two Pillars in the Porch of his Temple, namely, at the top of the ſteps, by the poſts or cheeks of the entrance it ſelf; *Ezek.* XL. 49. 2. Becauſe, as we obſerved before, it is ſaid, that the Lilly-work under the Chapiters was four cubits in the Porch. 3. Becauſe the Book of *Kings* ſaith That *Solomon* ſet up the Pillars, לאולם *for the Porch*, as the word properly ſignifies, though *David Kimchi*, and our Engliſh tranſlate it *In*: The expreſſion ſeemeth to intimate theſe two things, Firſt, That the Pillars were ſet up for the Porch door, and not for the Temple door, as was the opinion of *Solomon Jarchi* cited before: And, Secondly, That they ſtood for the Porch, or very entrance into the building, as door-cheeks or poſts at that entrance κατὰ τοῦ προπυλαίου παραστάδα, *At the door cheeks of the Porch*, as ſaith *Joſephus*. 4. That obſcure paſſage of *Ezekiel*, *Chap.* XL. 48. *The bredth of the Gate was three cubits on this ſide, and three cubits on that ſide*, cannot be ſo underſtood, as if the entry or paſſage into the Porch were but ſix cubits broad (and why alſo ſhould he ſpeak of this ſide, and that ſide, if he meant but one intire bredth?) but it is well underſtood by *Kimchi* to mean, that on either ſide of the entry there was ſomething ſtanding out into the bredth of the entry, three cubits, which made the paſſage it ſelf but fourteen cubits broad: which meaſure of three cubits, though it fell ſhort one cubit of the thickneſs of theſe Pillars caſt by *Solomon*, yet ſuiting with the meaſure of *Ezekiel's* Pillars, it may do this for us, as to ſhew us how theſe Pillars that we have in hand were placed, by the diſpoſing and placing of thoſe of his, namely, on your right hand, and on your left, as ſoon as ever you were ſtepped within the Porch.

Joſ. Antiqu. liv. 8. cap. 2.

The names of the two Pillars (to omit the fancies of ſome *Jews* about them) were *Jachin* and *Boaz*, 1 *King.* VII. 21. which words denote *Eſtabliſhment* and *Strength*, *Jachin* ſignifieth *he will eſtabliſh*: from Gods promiſe to eſtabliſh the Throne of *David*, and his people *Iſrael*: And *Boaz* denoteth *Herein is ſtrength.*; namely, alluding either to Gods promiſe, in which was all their ſtrength and ſettlement: or to the Ark which was within, which is called, *The ſtrength of the Lord*, Pſal. LXXX. 2. and CV. 4.

SECT.

SECT. III.

The Closets for the Butchering Instruments. בית החלפות

YET before we enter into the Porch, and so into the Temple, there is one thing more calls for our observation, and that is, certain Closets or places that were in this pile of the Porch, in which were laid up the Knives and instruments that were used by the Priests, about the killing, and slaying, and cutting up the Beasts to be Sacrificed. The Treatise *Middoth* giveth intelligence and account of these places in these words, האולם עודף עליו טו" אמה מן הצפון וטו" אמה מן הדרום והוא היה נקרא בית החלפות ששם גנזום את הסכנים *a The Porch was broader than the Temple, fifteen cubits on the North, and fifteen cubits on the South and that that exceeded was called* Beth hachillapoth, *where they laid up the knives.* a *Mid. ptr.* 4. *Sect.* 7.

The word מחלפים doth signifie the butchering Knives of the Temple, *Ezr.* I. 9: from חלף saith *b Aben Ezra*, as it betokeneth *cutting off*, which it doth, *Esai.* II. 18. *Prov.* XXXI. 8. And *c* so saith *Kimchi* on the same place מחלפים *are Knives: And of this sense is* Beth hachillapoth, *for because they laid up the Knives there*; therefore the place was called, *The Chamber of the laying up of the Knives* לשכת בית החי לפות b *Vid. Ab. Ezr. in Ezr.* I. c *Kimch. ibid.*

There was therefore on either end of the extent of the Porch for that space that it stood out further than the buildings of the Temple, a Chamber, one at the end towards the North, and another at the end towards the South, in which two large Chambers were four and twenty little Closets; wherein the Knives were laid up severally for the four and twenty courses of the Priests: And these and such like little Closets the Jews call חלונות *Fenestræ*, or *Windows*; because they were Closets or Boxes joyning to the Wall. And besides these that we are speaking of where the Butchery Instruments were laid up, *Maymony* reckons fourscore and sixteen more, for the laying up of other things, four for every one of the four and twenty Courses. *d There were* (saith he) *ninety six Closets* חלונות *in the Temple, wherein to lay up the Vestments, four Closets for every Course. And the name of every Course was written upon their Closets, and they were all shut: And when the men of any Course came into the service upon the Sabbath, they opened their Closets, and took out the Utensils: and when they went out of the service they restored their Vestments to their Closets again, and shut them up. And why made they four Closets for every Course? Namely, that the Utensils might not be jumbled together, but all the Breeches were in one Closet, and upon it was written, Breeches; Girdles in another Closet, and upon it written, Girdles; All the Bonets in another Closet, and all the Coats in another.* d *Maym. in Kele Migd. ptr.* I.

Now he neither telleth where these Closets were; nor speaketh he among them all, of these for the Knives, that are before us: and the reason of this later, is easily given, because in the place where he hath the words that are produced, he is only speaking of the installing and arraying of the Priests: But where to find these ninety six Closets he hath left us at uncertainty. Were they in the rest of the building of this Porch? It is not like they were, because the Priests usually came ready with their Vestments on, into the Court, and especially so high as the Porch, and came not thither for their Vestments to put them on: there was room enough in the other buildings about the Courts to lodge all these Closets in; but where to point them out we must suspend.

But what became of the other Rooms of the Porch, besides the entrance; and these two at either end of the building; for there were five and twenty cubits betwen the entrance and these Chambers on either side upon the ground, and there were divers Chambers and several Stories over head, the building being so very long, and so very high? There is not expres intimation to be had, either in Scripture, or in the Jews Antiquities, as far as I can find, how these several parts were disposed of, and therefore we can assert nothing, but leave it to censure.

A renowned monument the Jews speak of, e namely, Crowns that were laid up בחלונות *In Closets*, for a memorial: as it is said in the Prophet *Zachary* (for they take that literally) *Zach.* VI. 14. *And the Crowns shall be to* Helem, *and to* Tobiah, *and to* Jedaiah, *and to* Hen *the Son of* Zephaniah, *for a memorial in the Temple of the Lord.* And they say, that the young Men or *Candidates* of the Priesthood did use to climb up Golden Chains which were fixed to the roof of the entry of the Porch, that they might look up into the Closets to see these Crowns. e *Mid. ptr.* 3. *Sect.* 8 *Kimch. & Jarch. in Zech.* VI.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

A Golden Vine in the Porch, and a Golden Candlestick: and a Marble and a Golden Table.

AND now let us go in at the entrance of the Porch. And there *Josephus* his prospective doth represent it to us in these colours, *a* Θύρας οὐκ εἶχε, τοῦ γὰρ οὐρανοῦ τὸ ἀφανὲς καὶ ἀδιάκλειστο, ἐνέφαινε· κεχρύσωτο δὲ τὰ μέτωπα πάντα καὶ δι' αὐτῆς, ὅ τε πρῶτοι οἶκος ἔσωθεν ἅπας κατεφαίνετο, μέγιστος ὤν, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν εἴσω πύλην πάντα λαμπόμενα χρυσῶ, &c. *That it had no doors, because it did represent the open Heaven, and all the front of the Gate was gilt with Gold; and through the Gate you might see all the Porch within, which was large* (for it was twenty cubits long, and eleven over) *and all about the inner door shining with gold.*

a Jos. de Bell. lib. 5. cap. 14.

Over this inner door (which meaneth the door of the Temple) there was a great golden Vine, of so vast a bigness that (as *b* the same *Josephus* relateth) it had βότρυας ἀνδρομήκεις, *bunches of Grapes as big as the proportion of a Man.* And like a true natural Vine, it grew greater and greater, till it came up to so great a bigness by time and degrees, for מי שהוא מתנדב עלה או גרגיר או אשכול מניא ותולה בה *Men would be offering, some Gold to make a leaf, some a Grape, some a bunch, and these were hung up upon it,* and so it was increasing continually.

b Id. ibid.

Over the Temple door also there was a golden Candlestick, which was given thither by *Helena the Queen of Adiabeni*, a Woman of famous renown, and of great benefactorship, towards the Jews; of whom, and of whose Sons *Izates* and *Monobazes*, *Josephus* hath a large Story, *Antiq. lib.* 20. *cap.* 2. whither I referr the Reader. Of this Candlestick of her bestowing, there is mention in the *Talmudick* Treatise *Joma*, in this passage. *c* Ben Kattin *made the twelve Cocks for the Laver, whereas before it had but two; he also made the Engine for the Laver,* (of which hereafter) *that the water of it might not be unclean, by staying in it all night. Munbaz* (Monobazes) *the King made all the handles of the Vessels which were for the service of the day of Expiation, of Gold. Helena his Mother made the Golden Candlestick over the Temple door: she also made the Golden Table whereon was written the Section about the suspected Wife,* &c.

c Joma, per. 3.

d In the Porch on either side of the Temple door there was a Table. On the right side, a Table of Marble, and on it they set down the Shew-bread as they carried it new into the Temple: And on the left side was a Table of Gold on which they set the old Bread down for a while, when they fetched it out: And the reason why they began on the Marble Table, and ended on the Golden was שמעלין בקודש ולא מורידין *Because they rose higher and higher with holy things, and went not lower and lower.*

d Maym. in Beth habbech. per. 3.

CHAP. XIV.

The Holy place.

SECT. I.

The Temple door.

THE entrance out of the Porch into the Temple was through two Gates, and either Gate had two doors or folding leaves: for the better understanding of which, let us first look upon the dimensions of this passage as we have done upon the others.

The *Talmud* and *Josephus* do seem at the first sight exceedingly to differ, about the measure of this Gate: the *a Talmud* reckoning it but twenty cubits high, and ten broad; and *b* he five and fifty cubits high and sixteen broad. In which diversity, if we take the proper meaning of either party, the difference between them will not be so vast, as at the first skanning it doth seem to be. It is the manner of the *Talmud* in measuring of the Gates to speak only of the open space through which the passage was, but *Josephus*, as hath been observed before, measures παραστάδας καὶ ὑπέρθυρα the whole front of the Gate both above the open space and the spreading of the posts on either side it: and after this their usual manner they both of them measure this Gate through which we are going: The very open space that gave the passage was but twenty cubits high and ten broad; and of this measure were the two doors: but the front of the

a Mid. per. 4. Sect. 1.
b Joseph. de Bell. l. 5. c. 14.

the Gate was three cubits (curiously wrought and richly gilt) on either side, and thirty five cubits above the Gate to the roof or first floor of the entry of the Porch: and this is the meaning of *Josephus*, as it appeareth plainly enough by these his two passages. For as to the first he saith, ἡδὲ διὰ τοῦ οἴκου πύλη κεχρύσωτο μὲν πᾶσα, καὶ ὅλος περὶ αὐτῆς τεῖχος, *That the Gate of the House* (meaning this that we are about) *was gilt all over, and so was the Wall all about it:* And as to the second, he hath this saying, somewhat difficult, but well understood resolving the matter according as hath been spoken. Ὄντος δὲ ἤδη τῶν ναοῦ διστέγου ταπεινοτέρα τῆς ἔξωθεν ἦν καὶ θύρας εἶχε χρυσᾶς πεντηκοντάπεντε πηχέων τὸ ὕψος, εὖρος δὲ ἑκκαίδεκα· *But the Temple having two floors, or being double roofed, that within was lower than that without, and had gilded doors of fifty five cubits high, and sixteen broad.*

Now by what he saith that the *Temple was* διστεγος, or *double floored* or roofed, his meaning is, that as you stood in the Temple there was a first floor over your head, and a room above that, which was called עריה of which we have spoken before, and above that there was the roof; Had all the House been open to the very roof, as our Churches are, there could have been no difference between the height of the Holy and most Holy place to the roof, but both had been alike.

But both places being floored over, and having an upper Chamber above them, there was a difference made in the height of this first floor: for in the Holy place it was five and fifty cubits from the ground, but in the Most Holy place it was but twenty, as shall be shewed. Now the Porch had its floor lay at the least as high if not higher than the floor of the Holy place: and so the space above the Gate to the first floor was a goodly space, and made a fair front: It seemeth by our Author that the first floor of the Porch was ninety cubits high, yet doth he reckon the height of the Gate but five and fifty, because he reckons only to the height of the floor of the Holy place, and the height of the front of the Gate of the Oracle, for he speaketh of them both alike.

Thus much being observed concerning the height and bredth of this Gate; it is also to be remembred that the Wall of the Temple was six cubits thick, as was observed when we measured the breadth of the building. *c* The two Leaves of the Gate therefore which were five cubits broad apiece, were hung up a little within the thickness of the Wall from the Porch, so that when they were opened they covered the whole thickness of the Wall on the right hand and the left, that as you passed through you could not see it.

c Mid. ubi s. pr. Ezek. IV. 14.

Now at the very farthest of the thickness of the Wall towards the Holy place, there was a two-leaved Door likewise parallel'd to this that we have surveyed, which when the Leaves opened, they fell back to the Wall which was at the lower end of the House, and covered a place which was ungilded: for all the Walls were gilded but only the places where the Leaves of the Doors fell back.

And thus had you two several Doors of two folding Leaves apiece to go through between the Porch and the Temple, the one standing within a cubit of the Porch, and the other at the very edge of the Wall within, and so when they were both shut there was a five-cubit space between them, which was so much space in the thickness of the Temple Wall.

The outer Door is called commonly by the Jews, *the great Door of the Temple*, not but that the inner Door was as big, but because of the great front that this Gate had, which the other had not: And of this outer Door there are these memorials or remarkable things recorded among them. First, That the Morning Sacrifice was never killed till this Door was opened: And so it is recorded in the Treatise *Tamid*, or concerning the dayly Sacrifice לא היה השוחט שוחט עד ששומע קול שער הגדול שנפתח *d That he that was to slay the Sacrifice, killed him not till he heard the noise of the great Gate opening.*

d Tamid. per. 3. Maym. in Tamid. per. 6.

And there they relate the noise of this Gate might be heard to *Jericho*, and so the noise of divers other things there mentioned, in which they do Hyperbolize for the glorifying of the matters of the Temple. And a second thing for which this door is renowned among them is, For that it had two Wickets in it, in either leaf one, one in the North leaf, and another in the South: And that through that in the South no Man passed, but that that was it of which *Ezekiel* saith, *e This Gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no Man shall enter in by it*, &c.

e Ezek. XLIV. 2.

Now for the opening of these Doors every morning, the way was thus: One took a Key and opened the Wicket in the North leaf of the Door, and went in, into the five cubit space between the two Doors: and there he went in at a Door into the very Wall where there was a hollow passage into the Holy place, coming forth in the place where one of the Leaves of the inner Door fell to the Wall.

Being

Being come in, he opened that inner Door, and then he came and opened the outer Door, at the noiſe of the opening of which the killer of the Morning Sacrifice went about that work: *f* In this five cubits ſpace between the two Doors even behind the leaf of the Door on the right hand, there was a Marble Flag of a cubit ſquare lay looſe in the floor with a ring faſtned in it to pull it up, and when the Prieſts tryed and ſuſpected Wife, they came hither and pulled up this ſtone, and took duſt from under it, to put into the water to make her drink, as was injoined, *Numb.* V. 17, *&c.*

f Sotah per. 2.

SECT. II

The Veil.

BEtween theſe two Doors alſo in this five cubit ſpace, there hung a Veil anſwerable to the Veil at the Door of the Tabernacle, *Exod.* XXVI. 36. And ſo it is teſtified by *Joſephus*, *a* who ſpeaks of two Veils, one at the entring into the Holy place, and another to diſtinguiſh betwixt the Holy and Moſt Holy. And he deſcribes the Veil to have been of the meaſures that he had newly ſpoken of before, namely five and fifty cubits deep and ſixteen cubits broad (yet the Gate where it hung was but ten) and that it was πέπλος Βαβυλώνιος, (אורגת שנער *Joſh.* VII. 21.) *Babylonian* Tapiſtry-work, of blue, purple, ſcarlet, and fine twined Linnen, which he reſembles to the four Elements.

a Joſeph. de Bell. l. 5. *c.* 14.

Other Jews likewiſe give us intimation of ſuch a Veil hanging at the entrance into the Holy place. For the Talmudick Treatiſe *b Tamid*, mentioned but a little before, ſpeaking of the High Prieſt going into the Holy place to worſhip, ſaith, *there were three that held him, one by his right hand and another by his left hand, and a third by the precious Stones in the Breſt-plate. And when the preſident heareth the ſound of the High Prieſts feet coming out, he liſteth up the Veil for him: and then himſelf goeth in and worſhippeth, and after him his Brethren the Prieſts go in and worſhip.*

b Tamid. per. 7.

c There were thirteen Veils in all about the Temple: namely, ſeven for the ſeven Gates of the Court: one at the Gate of the Porch, one at the Gate of the Temple, and two betwixt the Holy and the Moſt Holy place, and two juſt over them in the room above: *d* And there was an Overſeer of the Veils, that took care for the ſupply and the right ordering of them: and if they were defiled by any common uncleanneſs, they were taken down and waſhed and hung up in the חול *Chel* to dry: And when new Veils were made, they were hung up on the Gallery in the Court of the Women, that they might be viewed by all the people to ſee that they were right.

c Maym. in Kele Mikdaſh per. 7
d Shekalim per. 5.

SECT. III.

The Holy place it ſelf.

THIS place was forty cubits long and twenty broad: and in *Solomons Temple* it was thirty cubits high, having no floor at all on this ſide the roof, *b* but in *Herods* Temple it was ſixty: For the the Children of the captivity building their Temple ſixty cubits high, they floored it not over, but left it open to the roof in the Holy place as *Solomons* Temple had been, and according to the ſame height was the floor laid, when it was floored over in the time of *Herod.*

a 1 *King.* VI. 2, 17
b Joſeph. ubi ſupr.

And here two things are to be remembred; 1. That whereas the lower leads of the building which were over the ſide Chambers, were but fifty cubits high, as hath been deſcribed, and there was a paſſage off thoſe leads into the upper Chamber over the Holy place, and it was by ſteps of ten cubits high, partly without the Wall, and partly within the thickneſs of the Wall it ſelf. 2. That there was an inequality of the height of the floors in the three parts of the Houſe, the Porch, the Holy place and the Moſt Holy. The firſt floor of the Porch was ninety cubits high, the Holy place ſixty, and the moſt Holy but twenty. And therefore whereas there was a floor over the moſt Holy place, even with the floor over the Holy place, *viz.* at ſixty cubits height, that was not the firſt floor over it, but there was another floor forty cubits beneath that.

The beauty and richneſs of this place was exceeding great: The floor of it upon which they trod was planked with Firr boards, and they gilt with gold; and the Walls were alſo cieled or wainſcoted with Cedar, and that gilt likewiſe: This gilding was from the ground floor, even to the floor over head, all the ſixty cubits high up the Walls; and this is meant when the Text ſaith, עד קירות חספן He built the Walls of the Houſe within with boards of Cedar from the floor of the Houſe *to the Walls of the covering:* that is, up to the very Walls of the floor over head, as it is well expounded by the Rabbins upon that place.

For

For fifty cubits height of the Walls was the imbroidery of Branches and open Flowers, &c. and for the ten cubits above, it was the place of the Windows: for the ſide Chambers without the Houſe, in three ſtories, did take up the height of fifty cubits high, ſo that for ſo high no Windows could be made into the Houſe, but the ſpace of ten cubits above, was the place for the Windows which were made narrow without and broad within.

The deckage or carving of the Wainſcot of the Walls is ſaid to be מקלעת פקעים ופטורי צצים *The carving of knops and open flowers*, as our Engliſh renders it: but the Hebrew Doctors are ſomewhat nice about the conſtruction of theſe words. The *Chaldee* expounds it, *the ingraving of the likeneſs of Eggs* (Ovals) *and wreaths of Lillies:* as if he meant that he wrought the Walls with the work of Lilly garlands, and an Oval in the midſt of a garland: *c Levi Gerſhom* underſtands פקעים *Ovals*, as the *Chaldee* doth, but he takes them to be ſuch Ovals as are the buds of Flowers, and that out of them came פטורי צצים the flowers ſpreading and opening as in their maturity. *d David Kimchi* takes פקעים for wild Gourds, and ſo our Engliſh hath it alſo in the Margin; and this I take to be the proper conſtruction of the words, and this the imbroidery of the Walls: That there was the carving of *Cherubims* and Palm-trees, and the carving of Gourds and open Flowers interchanged thus: firſt a border of Gourds or Pompions or ſuch like Apple-faſhioned ſculpture intermixed with Marigolds, Gilliflowers, and ſuch opening flowers, and this border or wreath went round about the Houſe: upon this wreath as upon a baſe, were ſet the feet of Cherubims, and the rooting of Palm-trees both which ſtood up from this wreath *e* a Cherub and a Palm-tree, a Cherub and a Palm-tree round about: above the Heads of the Cherubims and Palm-trees was ſuch another wreath, and Cherubims and Palm-trees ſet upon that again, and ſo interchangeably to the top. By all which was ſignified the attendance of Miniſters, *Heb.* I. 14. and flouriſhing condition, *Pſal.* XCII. 12, 13. of thoſe that ſerve the Lord and wait upon him. Every one of the Cherubims was pictured with two faces, one of a man that looked toward the Palm-tree on one hand, and the other of a Lion that looked toward the Palm-tree on the other.

c Levi Gerſ. in 1 King. VI.

d Kimch. ib.

e 1 King. VI. 29 *Ezek.* XLI. 18, 19.

Whereas it is ſaid that *twenty cubits were built on the ſides of the Houſe with boards of Cedar from the floor to the Walls*, 1 *Kings* VII. 16. the Jews do expound theſe twenty cubits by way of breadth and not of height, as thinking that they mean, that beſides the ſides of the Houſe on either Hand, which were forty cubits long, he alſo made the like work upon either end of the room, which was twenty cubits broad: But the Text doth ſpeak it more peculiarly of the moſt Holy place, and ſheweth what was the height of that, which was different from the outer room or Holy place, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

SECT. IV.

The Candleſtick.

THERE were three remarkable and renowned things in the room of the Holy place, which next come to our obſerving, and thoſe were the Candleſtick, the Table of Shew-bread, and the Altar of Incenſe: The firſt of Gold, and the other two gilded, ſo that here in this room could nothing be ſeen but Gold. *a Joſephus* ſets out theſe three things with this Encomium. Εἶχεν ἐν αὐτῷ τρία θαυμασιώτατα καὶ περιβόητα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔργα, λυχνίαν, τράπεζαν, θυμιατήριον· That *they were three moſt wondrous workmanſhips, and to be renowned amongſt all men: And that the ſeven Lamps in the Candleſtick reſembled the ſeven Planets: And the twelve Loaves upon the Shew-bread Table, the twelve Signs in the Zodiack or the Year: And the Incenſe Altar, whereon Incenſe was offered, which came partly out of the Sea, and partly from Land, denoted that all things are of God and to him.*

a Joſeph. ubi ſup.

b The Candleſtick was eighteen hand breadth high, which according to the cubit of ſix hand breadth, was a yard and an half: It had three feet, which almoſt lay flat upon the ground: As three hand breadth height, there was a flowring of a Coronet work curiouſly ſpreading out, then went the ſhaft up, two hand breadth high; and there was a diſh, a boſs, and a flowring above the boſs, and all in a hand breadth compaſs: thence the ſhaft went up again, plain for two hand breadths, and then was there a boſs of a hand breadth, and there went out two branches, which were carried out, bowed on either ſide, till they were to be brought up ſtraight to an equal height to the top of this middle ſhaft out of which they proceeded. Then was there an hand breadth of the ſhaft plain, and a boſs of an hand breadth, and then came out two branches more on either ſide: And again, one hand breadth of the ſhaft plain, and a boſs again of an hand breadth, and then came out two branches more: Above them was two hand breadth of the ſhaft plain: And for the three hand breadths above, there were three cups, and three boſſes, and three flowrings in that ſpace, and ſo the Lamp ſtood in a flowring.

b Maym. in beth habbech. par. 3.

In every branch that came out of this middle ſhaft, there were three Cups at a handſom diſtance one from another, and above the higheſt a boſs, and above that a flowring, and in that flowring the Lamp ſtood: And before the Candleſtick there was a Stone with three ſteps cut in it, on which he that mended the Lamps ſtood, and on which he ſet down his diſhes whilſt he was about that work.

This Candleſtick of ſeven branches (to which alluſion is made, *Apoc.* I. *Zechar.* IV. 2. *Apoc.* XI. 4.) was ſet on the South-ſide of the Houſe, but ſo as that the arms or branches of it ſpread North and South: All the Lamps or Lights that were ſet in the ſix branches that came out of the ſhaft, were turned bending, and looking towards the Lamp which was in the middle in the ſhaft it ſelf, and the Lamp in that, was turned bending towards the moſt Holy place, and therefore it was called נר מערבי *The Weſtern Lamps:* Theſe ſeven Lamps (which denoted *the ſeven Spirits of God*, *Rev.* IV. 5. & V. 6. which the *Jews* call, the *Seven Spirits of Meſſias* from *Eſay* XI. 1, 2, 3.) did burn continually, or if any of them were gone out, every Morning and Evening they were lighted again, and their perpetual Light reſembled the Word and Doctrine of Salvation, the Light of the Lord, in which we ſee Light.

Theſe Lamps were called the *Candle of the Lord*, 1 *Sam.* III. 3. where it is ſaid, *before the Candle of the Lord went out*, the Lord called to *Samuel*, &c. upon which words, *Da-*

c Kimch. in 1 Sam. III. Vid. Lev. Geſ. ibid.

vid Kimchi giveth this Gloſs, *c If this be ſpoken concerning the Lamps in the Candleſtick, this was ſomewhat before day: for the Lamps burnt from Even till Morning; yet did they ſometimes ſome of them go out in the Night. They put Oil into them by ſuch a meaſure as ſhould keep them burning from Even till Morning, and many times they did burn till Morning; and they always found the Weſtern Lamp burning. Now it is ſaid, that this Propheſie came to* Samuel, *before the Lamps went out, while it was yet Night, about the time of Cocks crowing, for it is ſaid afterward, that* Samuel *lay till Morning: Or allegorically it ſpeaks of the Candle of Propheſie; as they ſay the Sun ariſeth, and the Sun ſets: Before the holy bleſſed God cauſe the Sun of one righteous Man to ſet, he cauſeth the Sun of another righteous Man to riſe. Before* Moſes *his Sun ſet,* Joſhua's *Sun aroſe; before* Elie's *Sun ſet,* Samuel's *Sun aroſe: And this is that which is ſaid, Before the Candle of God went out.*

The Lord needed no light of Candles (no more than he needed Bread which was ſet upon the Shew-bread Table) nor the Prieſts needed no Candles in this room neither, for the Windows though they were high, yet did they give light into the Room abundantly, but God by theſe Candles did as it were enlighten the People to teach them Spiritual things by theſe Corporal, and to acquaint them with the neceſſity of the light of his Word, and the Bread of Salvation which came down from Heaven. And therefore when *Solomon* did

d 2 Chron. IV.

make *d* ten Candleſticks, and ten Tables, and ſet them intermixedly by five and five on either ſide the Houſe, he added nothing to God, but he added only more ſplendor to the ſervice, and more luſtre to the Doctrine of the neceſſity of the light of the Word, and of the Bread of Life, *e Our wiſe Men ſay* (*ſaith* Baal Hatturim) *that the Weſtern Lamp* (which never went out) *was a teſtimony that the Divine glory dwelt amongſt* Iſrael.

e Baal Hatturim in Lev. XXIV.

SECT. V.

The Shew-bread Table.

ON the North-ſide of the Houſe which was on the right Hand, ſtood the Shew-bread Table of two cubits long, and a cubit and a half broad, *a* in the Tabernacle of *Moſes*, *b* but wanting that half cubit in breadth in the ſecond Temple (the reaſon of the falling ſhort not given by them that give the relation.) It ſtood length ways in its place, that is Eaſt and Weſt, and had a Crown of Gold round about it, toward the upmoſt edge of it, which *c* the Jews reſemble to the Crown of the Kingdom.

a Exod XXV. 23.
b Maym. ubi ſup.
c Vid. Baal hatturim in Exod. XXV.

Upon this Table there ſtood continually twelve Loaves, which becauſe they ſtood before the Lord, they were called לחם הפנים *d* Ἄρτοι προθέσεως, *The bread of ſetting before*, for which our *Engliſh* hath found a very fit word, calling it the *Shew-bread:* The manner of making and placing of which Loaves was thus.

d Mark XII. 4.

e Out of four and twenty סאה *Sata* (three of which went to an Ephah) that is, out of eight buſhel of Wheat being ground, they ſifted out *f* four and twenty tenth Deals *g* or Omers of the pureſt Flower; and that they made into twelve Cakes, two Omers in a Cake; or the fifth part of an Ephah of Corn in every Cake: They made the Cakes ſquare, namely ten Hand breadth long, and five broad, and ſeven Fingers thick: They were made and baked in a room that was in the great building *Beth mokadh*, on the North-ſide of the Court, as we ſhall ſhew anon, and they were baked on the day before the Sabbath.

e Maym. in Tamid. cap. 5.
f Lev. XXIV. 5.
g Exod. XVI. 36

On the Sabbath they ſet them on the Table in this manner: Four Prieſts went firſt in, to fetch away the Loaves that had ſtood all the week, and other four went in after them to bring in new ones in their ſtead; Two of the four laſt, carried the two rows of the Cakes, namely ſix a piece: and the other two carried either of them a golden diſh,

in

in which the Frankincenſe was to be put to be ſet upon the Loaves, and ſo thoſe four that went to fetch out the old Bread, two of them were to carry the cakes, and the other two the diſhes: theſe four that came to fetch the old Bread out, ſtood before the Table with their Faces towards the North, and the other four that brought in the new ſtood betwixt the Table and the Wall, with their Faces toward the South; thoſe drew off the old cakes, and theſe as the other went off ſlipt on the new, ſo that the Table was never without Bread upon it, becauſe it is ſaid, that they ſhould ſtand before the Lord continually.

They ſet the cakes in two rows, ſix and ſix, one upon another, and they ſet them, the length of the cakes croſs over the breadth of the Table (by which it appears that the Crown of Gold about the Table, roſe not above the ſurface of it, but was a border below edging even with the plain of it, *h* (as is well held by *Rabbi Solomon*) and ſo the cakes lay two hand breadths over the Table on either ſide; for the Table was but ſix hand breadth broad, and the cakes were ten hand breadth long: Now as for the preventing that, that which ſo lay over ſhould not break off, if they had no other way to prevent it (which yet they had, but I confeſs that the deſcription of it in their Authors I do not underſtand, yet their manner of laying the cakes one upon another, was ſuch, as that the weight reſted upon the Table, and not upon the points that hung over.

b R. Sol. in Exod. XXV.

The loweſt cake of either row they laid upon the plain Table: and upon that cake they laid three golden Canes at diſtance one from another, and upon thoſe they laid the next cake; and then three golden Canes again, and upon them another cake, and ſo of the reſt; ſave only that they laid but two ſuch Canes upon the fifth cake, becauſe there was but one cake more to be laid upon. Now theſe which I call golden Canes (and the *Hebrews* call them ſo alſo) were not like Reeds or Canes, perfectly round and hallow thorow, but they were like Canes or Kexes ſlit up the middle, and the reaſon of laying them thus betwixt cake and cake, was, that by their hollowneſs Air might come to every cake, and all might thereby be kept the better from moldineſs and corrupting; and thus did the cake lie hollow, and one not touching another, and all the golden Canes being laid ſo, as that they lay within the compaſs of the breadth of the Table, the ends of the cakes that lay over the Table on either ſide, bare no burden but their own weight.

On the top of either row was ſet a golden diſh with a handful of Frankincenſe, which when the Bread was taken away, was burnt as Incenſe to the Lord, *Lev.* XXIV. 7. and the bread went to *Aaron* and his ſons, or to the Prieſts as their portions to be eaten.

What theſe Loaves did repreſent and ſignifie, is variouſly gueſſed: the number of twelve in two rows ſeem to refer to the Twelve Tribes, whoſe names were ſo divided into ſix, and ſix in the two Stones on the High Prieſts ſhoulders: And as Bread is the chief ſubſiſtence and ſtaff of our mortal life, ſo the offering of theſe might denote an acknowledgment of the people, of their receiving of all their ſubſiſtence from the Lord, to whom they preſented theſe as their Tribute: and theſe aſwell as the Lamps ſtanding before the Lord, might ſhew, that their Spiritual and Temporal ſupport were both before him. But our purſuit is to look after the things themſelves, leaving the allegorizing of them unto others: for in ſuch things men are moſt commonly more ready to give ſatisfaction to themſelves, than to take it from others, for as much as the things themſelves may be bended and ſwayed to various application.

SECT. VI.

The Altar of Incenſe.

THE Candleſtick ſtood on the one ſide of the Houſe, and the Table on the other, and this Altar in the middle: not juſt betwixt them, but ſomewhat higher in the Houſe toward the moſt Holy place than they were: Theſe three Ornaments and furnitures of the Holy place, היו מונחין משליש ההיכל *were ſet in a third part of the Houſe*; that is, whereas the Houſe (meaning the Holy place) was forty cubits long, when you had gone up ſix and twenty cubits, and two third parts of a cubit into the room, there ſtood the Table and Candleſtick, and ſomewhat further higher towards the Veil ſtood this Altar.

a Maym. in Beth habbech. par. 3.

b It was a cubit ſquare, and two cubits high, had four Horns at the four corners of it, and a Crown about the brim or edge of it, which the *Jews* ſay denoted *the Crown of the Prieſt-hood:* It ſtood not ſo nigh the Veil of the moſt Holy place, but that one might go about it; and ſo how the Prieſt did on the day of Expiation, and beſprinkled the Horns of it with Blood, we obſerve elſewhere.

b Exod. XXX. 1, 2. Maym. ubi ſup.

On this Altar (commonly called the golden Altar) Incenſe was offered Morning and Evening every day: a Figure, if you apply the action to Chriſt, of his Mediation; and if to man, a reſemblance of the duty of Prayer. The twelve cakes which reſembled the ſuſtenance and ſuſtentation of the Twelve Tribes, which was ever before the Lord, were renewed only once every week, but the Lamps dreſt, and the Incenſe offered twice every

day, for we have more need of the light of Gods Word, and of Prayer, than of our dayly food. And if we will apply all the three to Chriſt, The Kingly Office of Chriſt provided Bread for his People, his Prophetick Office provided the light of his Word, and his Prieſtly Office the Incenſe of Mediation.

CHAP. XV.

The moſt Holy place.

SECT. I.

The Partition ſpace. Τάραξις. טרקסין

THE Holy and the moſt Holy place were divided aſunder by a threefold partition, namely by a cubit ſpace, and by two Veils, on either ſide of that ſpace: The partition ſpace which *a* was a cubit broad, and no more, by the Jews is called טרקסין which *b Rabbi Nathan* confeſſeth to be a Greek word, and he ſaith it ſignifieth מספקא להו אי בלפנים אי בלחוץ *that it was doubtful to them, within or without, as meaning, whether it were within or without*; and thus it is interpreted *c* in the *Jeruſalem Talmud: d Maymony* helps us to their meaning thus, *In the Temple there was a Wall which parted between the Holy and moſt Holy place, a cubit thick. But when they builded the ſecond Temple, they doubted whether the thickneſs of that Wall belonged to the meaſure of the Holy place, or to the meaſure of the moſt Holy place: Therefore they made the moſt Holy place twenty cubits long compleat: and they made the Holy place forty cubits long compleat. And they left a ſpace betwixt the Holy and moſt Holy place of a cubit breadth; and in the ſecond Temple they built not a Wall there, but they made two veils, one at the end of the moſt Holy place* (Eaſtward), *and the other at the end of the Holy place* (Weſtward) *and between them there was a cubits breadth, according to the thickneſs of the Wall that had been in the firſt Temple: But in the firſt Temple there was but one Veil.*

a Mid per. 4.
b Aruch. in voce.
c Talm. Jeruſ. per. 5.
d Beth habbee. per. 4.

The word טרקסין therefore is well conceived by the Learned *e Lempereur* to be the Greek Τάραξις, which ſignifieth a diſeaſe in the Eye, diſtempering the ſight, and hindering it, and ſo were the Eyes of the underſtanding of the builders of the ſecond Temple at a ſtand about this place, whether it ſhould belong to the Holy or moſt Holy place, and thereupon they called the place it ſelf Τάραξιν.

e Conſt. Lemper. in Mid. p. 164.

The Wall that *Solomon* built for the parting of the Holy and moſt Holy place, being a cubit thick (in ſtead of which this ſpace was left) had theſe things regardable and conſiderable in it, and not eaſie to be underſtood.

Firſt, *For the entring of the Oracle, he made doors of Olive-Tree,* האיל מזוזת חמישית 1 *King.* VI. 31. Theſe later words are very difficult of conſtruction, and if we go to Gloſſaries for the explication of them, they will give us variety of ſenſes, but little facility of underſtanding. The *Chaldee* renders it only, *Their poſts with its lintel were orderly ſet*, taking the word חמישית in the ſenſe of חמושים *ranked in order*, and giving but very little light unto the obſcure place. *David Kimchi*, and *Rabbi Solomon* ſeem to underſtand it, that the poſts of the doors were not four ſquare but five ſquare, if we may uſe ſuch a word, or wrought into five ribs, as their own words are. But *Levi Gerſhom* hath a far fetch for it, for he thinks חמישית meaneth the fifth Gate that was in the Temple as you went forward; the Temple door the fourth, the Porch door the third, the door of the inner Court the ſecond, and of the outer Court the firſt.

To me the words ſeem to bear this conſtruction; *The poſt which was the door cheeks was at the fifth cubit*; meaning from either Wall of the Houſe, come inward five cubits, and there was the door cheek, and ſo the Houſe being twenty cubits broad, the door hereby is concluded to be ten. And this may the rather be ſo interpreted, becauſe the Text had been taking notice of the breadth of the Houſe immediately before; as when it was ſpeaking of the Cherubims Wings, it ſaith, the Wing of the one touched the one Wall, and the Wing of the other touched the other Wall; and ſpeaking of the adorning of the Houſe, it ſaith, all the Walls of the Houſe were Carved, and the Floor Gilt, and then he comes on to ſpeak of the partition betwixt the one Houſe and the other, and ſaith, That the Oracle had a two leaved door of Olive-tree, and the fifth cubit from either Wall was the poſt which ſerved for the cheeks of the door: And ſo it is ſaid in *verſ.* 33. He made for the door of the Temple poſts of Olive-tree, *from the fourth cubit*; that is, four cubits from either ſide Wall he ſet up an Olive beam for a poſt on either ſide

ſide the door, of a cubit thickneſs, and ſo the door came to be ten cubits broad.

A ſecond thing of difficulty to be underſtood about this partition Wall in *Solomons* Temple, is that which is ſpoken in *verſ.* 22. of the ſame Chapter ויעבר ברתוקות זהב לפני הדביר *And he made bars in chains of gold* before the Oracle, and he overlaid it with gold. All the difficulty lies in the firſt word, for it is generally agreed by the beſt ſkilled in the Language, the *Chaldee* and the *Rabbins* that רתוקות ſignifieth *chains*, but, what is meant by ויעבר is the Queſtion. The word properly ſignifieth, *He cauſed to paſs over*, but in this place, *R. Solomon*, and *D. Kimchi* take it in a *Chaldee* propriety, as ſignifying *to make bars*, becauſe בריחים *bars*, in the *Hebrew* is tranſlated עברין in the *Chaldee*. The ſixteenth verſe of 2 *Chr.* III. giveth ſome light to this obſcurity, for there it is ſaid, *He made chains as in the Oracle, and put them on the heads of the pillars*; by which he means the flower wreaths that we ſpake of before that went about the Chapiter, and the like is to be underſtood here. That upon this Wall which was before the Oracle, and divided betwixt the Holy and moſt Holy place, be made borders or chained wreaths, with a ſwelling in the border like a bar in it, carried from the one ſide of the Houſe to the other upon this Wall.

SECT. II.

The Veil.

THE Veils were two, as was obſerved before, and the reaſon given why; *a* and theſe two Veils were renewed every year, the old ones taken away, and new ones put in their room: It was woven of four colours, blew, purple, ſcarlet, and fine white linnen yarn, every one of theſe threds twiſted ſix double, and woven upon hair for the warp, of ſeventy two hairs twiſted into every thred. Theſe two Veils rent at our Saviours death from the top to the bottom, *Matth.* XXVII. 51. and gave demonſtration of the laying open and common of thoſe Ceremonious things which had thitherto been reſerved in ſuch recluſeneſs and ſingularity. The Evangeliſt indeed calleth it by the name of *One Veil*, and ſo alſo doth *Joſephus*, when he ſaith, Διείρηλο δ' ὁμοίως καταπετάσμαλι, *b It was parted by a Veil.* For, 1. Though they were two, yet hung they up to be but as one partition. 2. Had they known where the proper place of one Veil had been, there had been but one in this ſecond Temple and no more.

a Maym. in Kelt Mik. par. 7.

b De bell. lib. 5. cap. 14.

Imagine what an amazement it would prove to the two Prieſts that were that Evening that our Saviour ſuffered, to mend the Lamps, and to burn the Incenſe, to ſee, and for the reſt of the people to hear that the Veils rent of their own accord from the top to the bottom, and no Hand upon them. Had not a Veil been upon the Eyes of that Nation, they might have ſeen more in this matter than they did, and made a better uſe of it than they made. Whether that ſtory that is both in *Joſephus* and in the *Talmudicks*, about the Gate of the Temple opening of its own accord, which we ſhall relate ere long, refer not to this ſtory in the Goſpel, be it referred to the Reader to judge. The Apoſtle himſelf gives us the typical application of this piece of the Sanctuary, *Heb.* X. 19, 20. *Having boldneſs to enter into the Holieſt by the blood of Jeſus, by a new and living way which he hath conſecrated for us, through the Veil, that is to ſay, his fleſh.*

SECT. III.

The moſt Holy place it ſelf.

THE moſt Holy place in *Moſes* his Tabernacle was a perfect cube of ten cubits long, and ten cubits broad, and ten cubits high: And the like was it in the Temple that was built by *Solomon* of twenty cubits every way, 2 *Chron.* III. 8. For though the Temple it ſelf were thirty cubits high, yet did he floor over the moſt Holy place at twenty cubits height: And to this ſenſe is that verſe to be underſtood, in 1 *King.* VI. 16. *He built twenty cubits on the ſides of the Houſe, both the floor and the Walls with boards of Cedar; he even built them for it within, even for the Oracle, even for the moſt Holy place.*

The beauty of the Walls of this place, was agreeable to the other; deckt with Cherubims and Palm-trees, and ſome precious Stones intermixed, Floor and Walls, and Roof and all gilded with Gold. It is ſaid in 2 *Chron.* III. 9. העליות חפה זהב that *he overlaid the upper chambers with gold*, which may move a juſt Query, for over the Holy place there was no upper chamber at all, (that is, in the Temple built by *Solomon*, for of that we are ſpeaking) but it was all open to the Roof, being but thirty cubits high: and over the moſt Holy place there was indeed an upper room of ten cubits high; but why this ſhould be called *Chambers* in the plural number, and why it ſhould be gilded at all, ſince there was no coming into it, nor no way to come there, is not eaſie to apprehend: And as

for

for the side Chambers, that were set on the outside of the House, is there warrant or reason to suppose them overlaid with Gold, where they were to lay up Corn and Wine, and such other things of Tythes and first Fruits? Therefore by עליות might be understood, not *the upper Chambers* in the common sense in which the word is used, for there was none over the Holy place but the upper Floor, or the Roof of the Holy and most Holy place, and so the Text sheweth that the Rooms were all overlaid with Gold every where, both the Floor on which they trod, and the Walls and the Floor or Roof over head.

But another Text in the Book of *Chronicles* helpeth to resolve this doubt, and that is, 1 *Chron.* XXIX. 3. *Moreover because I have set mine affection on the House of my God, I have of mine own proper good; of Gold and Silver which I have given to the House of my God, over and above all that I have prepared for the holy House: Even three thousand talents of Gold, of the Gold of Ophir, and seventy thousand talents of refined Silver, to overlay the Walls of the Houses withal*; where these two things are remarkable. First, That he saith this preparation was above what he had prepared for the holy House, and yet, he saith, he had prepared it for the House of God. And secondly, That here is mention of Silver to overlay the Walls withal, whereas it is plain, that within the Temple it self all the overlaying was of Gold. Therefore it is thus to be understood, that beside the store of Gold that *David* had provided for the gildings of the House within, in the Holy and most Holy place, he had also laid by a stock of Gold and Silver both, to gild and overlay the Chambers over the Porch (for there were upper Chambers diverse in it, the height of it being one hundred and twenty cubits) and to beautifie the side Chambers, and the other Chambers that were about the Courts.

Now in the Temple after the Captivity, we do not find that they were so curious to reduce the compass of the most Holy place to a cubick form, but that the height of it did exceed the breadth, it being twenty cubits long, and twenty cubits broad, like that of *Solomons*, but the height far more for ought I find determined to the contrary.

SECT. IV.

The Cherubims and Ark.

AS there were two *Cherubims* upon the Ark it self, so also did *Solomon* cause two *Cherubims* besides, to be made to stand over the Ark, it standing between them: they are so plainly and facilely described, in 1 *Kings* VI. 23. that I shall refer the Reader thither for the story of them, and say no more concerning them but only this, that as the two *Cherubims* upon the Mercy seat, may very well be resembled to Christs two natures, so these two that stood by, to the two Testaments; which in their beginning and end reach the two sides of the World, The Creation, and the last Judgment, and in the middle do sweetly join one to another.

The Ark (*the strength and presence of the Lord*, Psal. CV. 4. and *the glory of Israel*, 1 *Sam.* IV. 22. the most pregnant and proper resemblance of our Saviour, in whom God dwelleth among men) described, *Exod.* XXV. 10, &c. and XXXVII. 1. &c. *a* was set upon a stone, up toward the West-end of the most Holy place, even under the middle wings of the two tall *Cherubims* that stood besides it: *For the Cherubims spread forth their two wings over the place of the Ark, and the Cherubims covered the Ark, and the staves thereof above. And they drew out the staves, that the ends of the staves were seen out in the Holy place before the Oracle; and they were not seen without*, 1 *King.* VIII. 7, 8. 2 *Chron.* V. 8, 9. For before the Temple was built, while the Ark was in a moving posture, the staves whereby the Ark was born, were of an equal length on either side it, ready for the Priests shoulders when there was occasion for the Ark to flit; but now when they had brought it into *Solomons* Temple, where it was to fix and remove no more, they drew out the staves towards that side that looked down the most Holy place. *b Levi Gershom* is of opinion, that these staves were not the same that were made by *Moses*, but of a longer size, and that they raught down to the very Door; and that though there were Doors betwixt the Holy and most Holy place, yet those Doors could not shut because of these staves. *c* And *Kimchi*, and *Jarchi* come up very near to the same supposal, conceiving that the Ark stood not up near the Western Wall of the House, but more downward, towards the Door, and that the staves raught down to the Door; and on the day of Expiation, when the High Priest went into the Holy place, he went up to the Ark between these staves, and could not go off to one hand or other.

a Maim. in beth habbech. per. 4.

b R. Lev. Ger. in 1 King. VIII.

c Kimch. ib. & R. Sol. ibid.

But that that hath strained from them this conception is, 1. Because they have strictly taken the word קדש in the Text in the Book of *Kings*, for the *Holy place* without the Veil, whereas the Book of *Chronicles* doth expresly render it by the word ארון *The Ark*; for whereas the one place saith, *that the heads of the staves were seen*, מן הקדש, the other hath

hath it מן הארון And so the word הקדש meaneth not the whole room, either of the Holy or most Holy place, but that singularly Holy place that was under the wings of the *Cherubims*; for of that place had the Text spoken immediately before, when it said, *The Priests brought the Ark into the most Holy place, under the wings of the Cherubims. For the Cherubims spread forth their wings over the place of the Ark, &c.* and then he comes on and saith, *And they drew out the staves, so that the ends of the staves appeared out of that holy place*, meaning under the wings of the *Cherubims*. And 2. The Authors alledged have strictly taken על פני to mean so, as one standing at the Door betwixt the Holy and most Holy place, had the most Holy place before him; whereas it signifieth in the same sense that it doth in that clause, in *Gen.* I. 20. Let the Fowl flie upon the Earth על פני רקיע השמים which our English hath well rendred, *in the open Firmament of Heaven.* And so is it to be taken here, and the verse in hand may be properly understood thus; *And they drew out the staves at length, so that the ends of the staves were seen from that Holy place in the open face of the Oracle: but they were not seen without.* The staves were the same that were made by *Moses*, and their length not great, but only so much as to fit a Mans shoulder on either side of the Ark; and now when they had set the Ark between the two standing *Cherubims* on the Floor, the *Cherubims* inner wings covered the Ark, and the staves that were above at the ends of the Ark, but the rest of the staves drawn out downward toward the Oracle Door, shot out from under the *Cherubims* wings, and appeared in the open Face of the most Holy place, and the High Priest when he came to offer Incense at the Ark on the day of Expiation, he stood before the Ark between the staves.

d It is fancied by the Jews, that *Solomon* when he built the Temple, foreseeing that the Temple should be destroyed, he caused very obscure and intricate Vaults under ground to be made, wherein to hide the Ark when any such danger came, that howsoever it went with the Temple, yet the Ark which was as the very life of the Temple might be safe. And they understand that passage in 2 *Chron.* XXXV. 3. *Josiah said unto the* Levites, *Put the Holy Ark in the House which* Solomon *the son of* David *did build, &c.* e as if *Joah* having heard by the reading of *Moses* his Manuscript, and by *Huldahs* Prophesie, of the danger that hung over *Jerusalem*, he commanded to convey the Ark into this Vault, that it might be secured, and with it, say they, they laid up *Aarons* Rod, the pot of Manna, and the anointing Oil: For while the Ark stood in its place, upon the Stone mentioned, they hold that *Aarons* Rod and the pot of Manna stood before it, but now were all conveyed into obscurity, and the Stone upon which the Ark stood, lay over the mouth of the Vault. But *Rabbi Solomon*, which useth not ordinarily to forsake such Traditions, hath given a more serious Gloss upon the place; namely, whereas that *Manasseh* and *Amon* had removed the Ark out of its Habitation, and set up Images and abominations there of their own, *Josiah* speaketh to the Priests to restore it to its place again: what became of the Ark at the burning of the Temple by *Nebuchadnezzar* we read not, it is most like it went to the fire also. How ever it sped, it was not in the second Temple, and is one of the five choice things that the Jews reckon wanting there. Yet had they an Ark there also of their own making, as they had a Breast-plate of Judgment; which though they both wanted the glory of the former, which was giving of Oracles, yet did they stand current as to the other matters of their Worship, as the former Breast-plate and Ark had done.

d Maym ubi sup.

e Kimch. in 2 Chron. XXXV.

And so having thus gone through the many parts and particulars of the Temple it self, let us but take account of the several parcel measures, that made up the length of it an hundred cubits, and so we will turn our Eye and survey upon the Courts.

f Mid. per 4:

f 1. The Wall of the Porch was five cubits thick.
2. The Porch it self eleven cubits broad.
3. The Wall of the Temple six cubits thick.
4. The Holy place forty cubits long.
5. The space between Holy and most Holy place one cubit.
6. The length of the most Holy place twenty cubits.
7. The Temple Wall six cubits thick.
8. The breadth of the Chambers at the end six cubits.
9. The Wall of the Chambers five cubits thick.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

The Courts of the Temple.

THE dimenſions and platform of the Temple it ſelf being thus laid out, we may now the better obſerve the form and ſituation of the Courts that were before it or about it: Where, in the firſt place it will be needful to remember that again which was ſpoken before, which was, that the Temple and all the Courts about it, were not pitched ſo juſt in the middle of the Mount of the Houſe, as that they lay in an equal diſtance from the four ſides of the incompaſſing Wall, *a* but they were ſituate more towards the North-ſide and Weſt, in ſuch manner, as that they left leſs ſpace betwixt them and the Weſt, than betwixt them and the North; and leſs betwixt them and the North, than between them and the Eaſt; and leſs betwixt them and the Eaſt, than betwixt them and the South.

a Mid. per. 2.

There were three which we may call Courts, belonging to the Temple, beſides that ſpace in the Mountain of the Houſe without them, which was very large, and which is ordinarily called by Chriſtian Writers, *Atrium Gentium*, or *the Court of the Gentiles.* And theſe three were, *The Court of Iſrael and the Prieſts*, *the Court of the Women*, *and the Chel*, חל but properly and ordinarily the two former are only called Courts: That word in Hebrew is עזרה uſed in the Text, 2 *Chron.* IV. 9. and in the *Chaldee Paraphraſt*, *Eſa.* I. 12. 1 *Sam.* III. 3. *Ezek.* XLIII. 8. and by the *Rabbins* moſt conſtantly when they ſpeak of theſe places, *David Kimchi* gives the Etymology of it שהיו נעזרים בה that *b it was called* עזרה (which ſignifies *help*,) *becauſe that every one that came to pray there with a good Heart was helped by the Lord his God*; And much to the ſame purpoſe *Rabbi Nathan*, when he ſaith, *c they prayed there to the Lord to help them, &c.* there being their laſt recourſe for help in all exigents, as 1 *King.* VIII. 31, &c. the word is uſed in *Ezek.* XLIII. 14. in another ſenſe, namely, for a border or half pace at the foot of the Altar, on which the Prieſts that ſacrificed ſtood, *d* as *Kimchi* expounds it upon that place, and which we ſhall meet with afterward.

b Kimch. in 2 Chron. IV. & in Michol.

c Ar. in עור

d Kimch. in Ezek. XLIII.

Theſe two Courts are ſometimes ſo ſpoken of in Scripture, as if they were three, for there is mention of the Court of the Prieſts, and the great Court, 2 *Chron.* IV. 9. and the Court of the Women, as we ſhall obſerve by and by, and yet they were indeed but two, for though the Court of the Prieſts, and the Court of *Iſrael* were diſtinguiſhed, yet were they not divided, but the Court of the Women was divided from them both.

The meaſure of the Court of *Iſrael* and the Prieſts (which is ſometime called Emphatically, *The Court*, and ſometime, *The Court of Iſrael*) *e* was one hundred eighty and ſeven cubits long; that is, from Eaſt to Weſt, and one hundred thirty and five broad from North to South. The Temple ſtood juſt in the middle of the breadth of it, ſo that the Front of the Temple or the Porch being one hundred cubits broad, this Court breadth lay ſeventeen cubits and an half on either ſide of it; and the Body of the Temple it ſelf being but ſeventy cubits broad, this Court lay thirty three cubits and an half broad on either ſide it: Now behind the Weſt-end of the Temple it extended but eleven cubits; ſo meaſure from the utmoſt Weſt-ſide of it there, and you have eleven cubits behind the Temple, one hundred cubits the length of the Temple, and then it extended Eaſtward before the Temple ſeventy ſix cubits.

e Mid. per. 5. Sect. 1.

f The Court of the Women lay juſt before this Court, joining to it, being of equal breadth with it, namely, one hundred thirty five cubits from North to South, but not ſo long as it from Eaſt to Weſt, for it was only one hundred thirty and five cubits that way alſo, and ſo it was a perfect ſquare.

f Ibid. per. 2. Sect. 5.

CHAP. XVII.

The Incloſure. חל *Chel.*

ABOUT both theſe Courts thus laid, there was another incloſed ſpace incompaſſing them in, and this by the *Jews* is called the חל *Chel:* The word is uſed by *Jeremy*, *Lam.* II. 8. in that ſenſe (as *a* ſome *Jews* do interpret,) that we are to underſtand and deſcribe here. *Both the* חל *Chel and the Wall mourn:* by the *Wall*, being meant the Wall of the Court, and by the חל *Chel* the ſpace that incompaſſed it round about; and ſo tranſlated by the *Chaldee* מקפנא the incompaſſing or incloſure. The Scripture frequently uſeth the word חל *for a Wall, Trench, or Rampart*, as 2 *Sam.* X. 15. 1 *King.* XXI. 23. *Obad. ver.* 20. *Nah.* III. 8. and its rendred variouſly by the *Hebrew* Expoſitors there, but of the ſenſe of the word and nature of that place at the Temple that we are looking after, they give us this unanimous account, *b that it was a place or ſpace of ten cubits broad, incompaſſed with a Wall, between the mountain of the houſe and the Courts.* I cannot find a better name for it, than *the incloſure or outer verge of the Courts.*

a Maym. it beth habbechir. per. 5.

b Mid. per. 2. §. 3. Maym. ubi ſup.

The words of *Rabbi Nathan in Aruch* in two ſeveral places may move two ſeveral doubts about this place, for in one place he ſaith that the חל *Chel* was מקום מוקף חמה בין הר הבית לעורת הנשים *c a place incompaſſed with a Wall between the mountain of the Houſe and the Court of the Women.* And in another place he ſaith, that החיל כותל גבוה יותר מן הסורג *d Chel was a Wall higher than the Wall called* סורג *Soreg*; Out of which words he ſeemeth to hold out theſe two opinions; the one, that the חיל *Chel* did not incompaſs all the Court, but only the Court of the Women; and the other, that the חיל *Chel* was not a ſpace of ground, but a Wall; but theſe two doubts we ſhall clear as we go along.

c Ar. in חל

d Id. in סורג

And firſt to evidence that this חיל was a ſpace of ground, and not a Wall, we have not only the teſtimony of the *Talmud* and divers other *Jews* that meaſure out the breadth of it to be ten cubits, but we have mention abundantly in them of peoples coming into it, and ſtanding and ſitting in it, as *R. Nathan* himſelf giveth one inſtance, *e* when he ſpeaketh of a great מדרש Divinity School in the חיל *Chel:* And *f Abraham Zacuth*, ſpeaketh of *R. Johanan ben Zaccai* having a *Sanhedrin* there. *g* And *Rambam* relates at large how thoſe that brought their Paſsover Lambs into the Court when they were diſpatched, went and ſtood in the חיל *Chel*, and divers of the like examples might be added, which prove evidently enough what kind of thing this חיל *Chel* was, namely, not a Wall but a ſpace of ground. And ſo *R. Nathan* meaneth, even when he ſaith, *It was a Wall higher than the Wall* סורג for ſo the word חיל at large when it is taken for other places than this in the Temple, and is joyned with the word חומה is defined by the *Jews* to mean שורא ובר שורא h *A Wall and a Son of Wall*, or an inner and outer Wall; *that is, a lower Wall before a higher*, as *Rabbi Solomon* conſtrues it, not cloſe joyned together, but ſome ſpace of ground between, and ſo our Author underſtands it, though he ſpeak ſo ſhort.

e Id. ubi antè.

f Juchaſ. f. 21.

g Peſa. per. 2.

h R. Sol. in Lam. II. 8.

The Wall that incloſed the חיל is called סורג *Soreg* in the *Talmud* and *Rabbins* Language, which *Nathan* rendreth plainly a *Wall*, but *i* ſome other expound it for a Wall *curiouſly latized, and made of Wood*, but *Joſephus* comes and ſpeaks further, ſomewhat like to both their ſenſes, and tells us that it was of ſtone, but curiouſly wrought: Let us a little examine what he ſaith upon this place: *k* Διὰ τούτου φερόντων ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἱερὸν δρύφακτος περιβέβλητο λίθου τετράχις μὲν ὕψος πηχῶν ἦν τριῶν καὶ κατεσκευασμένος νόμων· αἱ δὲ μὲν Ἑλληνικοῖς αἱ δὲ Ῥωμαϊκοῖς γεγράμμασι, Μὴ δεῖν Ἀλλόφυλον ἐντὸς τοῦ ἁγίου παρεῖναι· τὸ γὰρ δεύτερον ἱερὸν ἅγιον ἐκαλεῖτο· ᾗ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα μὲν βαθμοῖς ἦν ἀνάβατον ἀπὸ τοῦ περίτου.

i R. Simajah in Mid.

k Joſeph. de bell. lib. 5. c. 14.

As you went through this (that is, the Mountain of the Houſe) *into the ſecond Temple, there was a ſtone wall that went about of three cubits high of very curious work: wherein ſtood Pillars at an even diſtance; ſome in Greek and ſome in Latin letters, giving notice of the holineſs of the place; That no ſtranger muſt enter within the holy place: for the ſecond Temple was called holy, and they went up* 14 *ſteps into it out of the firſt.* And a little after, Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο δεκατέσσαρας βαθμοὺς τὸ μὲχρι τοῦ τείχους διάστημα πηχῶν ἦν δέκα πᾶν ἰσόπεδον· *And above the fourteen ſteps it was ten cubits to the Wall* (of the Court) *and all even.* Out of which relation we may obſerve theſe things remarkable.

1. That the outmoſt ſpace of all, that lay within the great incompaſſing Wall (that which the *Jews* diſtinctively call *the Mountain of the Houſe*) was alſo commonly called the *firſt Temple:* And in this very ſenſe doth the Goſpel ſpeak very oft, uſing the word *Temple* when it meaneth but this outmoſt ſpace, as *John* II. 14. Jeſus found *in the Temple* thoſe that ſold Oxen, &c. *John* VIII. 1, 3. *Mat.* XXI. 14, 15.

2. That within this חיל *Chel* no ſtrangers might come but *Jews* only, and for this purpoſe there were Pillars in which there was ſo much written in *Greek* and *Latine* ſentences. And ſo the *Jews* ſay *that the* חיל *Chel was more holy than the Mountain of the Houſe, becauſe*

l Talmud. Id Kelim. per. 1.

no ſtranger might come into it, nor none polluted by the dead. And upon this very thing we may conclude if we had no other ground to conclude it by, that the חיל *Chel* did incircle or incompaſs all the Courts and not the Court of the Women only: for if the ground along that Court for ten Cubits next to it were ſo holy that a ſtranger might not come upon it, certainly we muſt hold the ground along by the upper Court as holy and as unacceſſible for ſtrangers every whit. And therefore whereas *R. Nathan* in what was alledged before, ſaith that the חיל *Chel* did incloſe the Court of the Women, and ſpeaketh of incloſing no more, he doth not exclude the other, but ſpeaks according as the חיל *Chel* lay to one that came in at the Eaſt-Gate.

3. That into the חיל *Chel* there was the firſt riſing, all being level from the Eaſt-Gate thither, and the riſing into the חיל *Chel* was 14 ſteps or 7 cubits *m* or as the Talmud more truly reckons, but 12 ſteps or 6 cubits (for every ſtep was half a cubit riſe) and the חיל *Chel* being ten cubits broad it was level to the Wall of the Womens Court.

m Mid. per. 2.

The Wall that incompaſſed the חיל *Chel* was not high as were the other Walls about the Temple, but it was only as it were barrs before the higher Wall of the Court, but of three cubits high; the faſhion or work of it being very curious, wrought into paves or latices, or ſuch open work, that one might look through it as well as over it.

The paſſages into the חיל *Chel* through this Wall were many, namely, one before every Gate that went into either of the Courts, and there on either ſide the paſſage, was a Pillar ſet up with the inſcription mentioned, adviſing ſtrangers to beware of the coming upon the holy ground.

Now in the *Syrogecian* Kings times when „the *Jews* and *Jeruſalem* lay in ſubjection to thoſe Kings יג פרצות היו בו שפרצום מלכי יון this Wall that was the barr againſt ſtrangers going any further, was broken by thoſe Kings in thirteen places „they ſcornfully and diſdainfully, and impiouſly breaking upon the holy ground חורו וגדרום וגורו כנגדן יג השתחויות But the *Jews* made up the breaches again, and ordained thirteen adorations and oraiſons to be made againſt the Heathen Kingdoms upon any ones coming to any of the places where breach had been.

n Id. Ibid.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Court of the Women.

THE Courts of the Temple (to the ſurveying of which we are now come) were properly two, *The Court of Iſrael* and *The Court of the Women*: For though there was indeed a diſtinction between the Court of *Iſrael*, and the Court of the Prieſts, as that the one was not the other, and they that came into the one, might not come into the other, yet was the one ſo within the other, and the partition between the one and the other ſo ſmall, and but one boundary that incloſed them both, that they were indeed not ſo very properly two Courts, as two ſeveral places for the Prieſts and for the *Iſraelites* to ſtand in, in one Court. But the Court of *Iſrael*, and the Court of the Women were ſo truly and apparently two different Courts, that they lay one before another: and they were parted and divided one from another, with a very high Wall.

The *Court of the Women* is not mentioned in Scripture by that expreſs name and title in any place, but yet it is ſpoken of there under two or three other Epithets, or denominations. 1. It is called the *New Court*, 2 *Chron.* XX. 5. where it is ſaid, that *Jehoſhaphat ſtood in the Congregation of Judah and Jeruſalem in the houſe of the Lord before the new Court:* that is, he and all the Congregation ſtood in the Mountain of the Houſe Eaſtward before the *Court of the Women.* Now *David Kimchi* upon the place, though he ſpeak not out ſo much, yet he concludeth indeed that that new Court meaneth the *Court of the Women*, and he giveth two reaſons why it is called *New*: *a* either becauſe it had gone to decay, and they had newly repaired it, or becauſe they had made ſome new Laws concerning it, ואמרו טבול יום לא יכנס במחנה לויה *and had appointed that none that were defiled, ſo as they needed to waſh themſelves the ſame day, ſhould come within the Camp of Levi*, which is a peculiar prohibition in the *b* the Talmud as concerning this Court of the Women: *c* But rather it was called *new*, becauſe it was not made when the other Court was by *Solomon*, but added in aftertime.

a Kimchi in 2 *Chron.* XX.

b Kelim, per. 1. *c* C. *Lemper. in Midd. fol.* 62.

There is mention indeed of the *Inner Court* built by *Solomon*, 1 *King.* 36. 6. which inferreth an *outer*, but that *outer* meaneth the whole mountain of the Houſe which lay without the Court of *Iſrael*, as is well obſerved by ſome of the Hebrew Doctors, and that is it which is alſo called the great Court, in contradiſtinction to the Court of the Prieſts, 2 *Chron.* IV. 9. And in that there is mention only of *Solomons* building the inner Court, it is an argument that he built but that Court, and that this that we are ſpeaking of, was not extant in his time, but taken in and built afterward, either by *Aſa* or by *Jehoſaphat*, before that time and occaſion that the text mentioned in the book of *Chronicles* ſpeaketh of: and ſo there came to be two *Courts in the Houſe of the Lord*, 2 *King.* XXI. 5.

2. It

2. It is called *The outer Court*, *Ezek.* XLVI. 21. [d] as that Text is generally and truly understood by the *Jewish* Writers, which we shall have occasion to examine anon: and the reason of the name doth easily appear, namely because it lay on the outside of the Court of *Israel*, and further off from the Temple.

[d] *Mid. per.* 2. & *Kimch in loc.*

3. It is also called *The Treasury*, *John* VIII. 20 the reason of which name we shall observe before we have done with the survey of this Court.

But by the *Jewish* Writers it is generally and ordinarily called עזרת נשים *The Court of the Women*; and the reason of that name was, because the Women might go no higher or further, than into this Court. [e] Τοῖς γυναιξὶν ἰδία πρὸς θρησκείαν χώρα, *This being the proper place for them to worship in*, and ἐωτέρω δὲ κἀκείνης γυναιξὶν ἄβατον ἦν τὸ ἱερὸν, *further than this towards the Temple was unaccessible to them:* only when a Woman brought a Sacrifice, she might go into the Court of *Israel*, as we have observed in another place.

[e] *Joseph. de Bell. l.* 5. *c.* 14. & *Antiq. l.* 15. *c.* 14.

This Court lay at the East end of the Court of *Israel*, and was parted from it by a high Wall, so that whosoever came to worship here, could see nothing of the service in the other Court, and indeed hear but little unless they went up the steps of the Gate and looked in: for till you came to the middle of the entry of the Gate that went up into the upper Court, it was but of the same holiness with the Court of the Women, but beyond the middle, it was holier.

The floor of this Court was even and level throughout, *f* and it was a perfect square of 135 cubits long, and 135 cubits broad; and it was curiously flag'd with marble, as indeed was all the space, both Courts, *Chel*, and the other space that was within the Wall that incompassed the holy ground: And they have this Tradition about the pavement of the Court, where the Altar stood, *g That all the Court was flag'd with fair stones, and if any flag were looosed, although it lay still in its place, yet was it not lawful to stand upon it to do any part of the service till it were fastned again.*

[f] *Mid. ubi ante.*

[g] *Maym in bith habbech. ptr.* 1.

The entring into the Court of the Women was by three Gates, one on the East, one on the North, and one on the South, and there was a fourth on the West, which went up out of this Court into the upper Court or that of *Israel*. All these Gates, as also all the other that went into the upper Court (of which hereafter) were *h* χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ κεκαλυμμέναι πανταχόθεν, ὁμοίως τε παραστάδες καὶ ὑπέρθυρα, *gilt all over both posts and lintels*, one only excepted, of which instantly.

[h] *Joseph. de Bell. ubi supr.*

We will go up at the East Gate out of the חול *Chel*, out of which there were five steps that rose up to the Gate to land you in it. The Gate it self was exceeding sumptuous and exceeding beautiful: and this was that which was called *the beautiful Gate of the Temple*, *Acts* III. 2. at which the Creeple lay begging of alms, both of men and women that went into the Temple; At this Gate began τὸ ἔνδον ἱερὸν, *The inner Temple*, as *Josephus* doth often call it, distinguishing between that space that was inclosed within the boundary Wall that incompassed the whole holy ground, and that space that was inclosed within the Wall that incompassed the Courts: the former of them was called *the outer Temple*, and the later was called the *inner*, and both of them bare the name of the Temple: and so in the Scripture, whosoever went but within the compass of the holy ground, is said to have gone into the Temple.

Now this Gate being the very front and entrance into the Inner Temple, or into that space, within which the choicest Sanctity and Bravery of the Temple was, it was built and decked with such sumptuousness and singular gallantry, as was fitting for the Frontispice of so brave a place: And hence it came to bear the name of *beautiful*, and that the rather also, in comparison of the Gate *Shushan*, or the outmost East Gate that entred into the mountain of the House, for that was but a low and homely Gate-house, for a reason that hath been observed heretofore: but this was goodly and lofty, and stood bravely mounted upon the far higher ground.

This Gate *Josephus* *i* calleth the *Corinthian Gate*, because it was of *Corinthian* brass, whereas the rest of the Gates were gilt with gold. And here occurreth a difference betwixt him and the Talmudical Writers; for they do unanimously hold the brazen Gate to be the Gate of *Nicanor* (which we shall survey anon) which was the Gate that went out of the Court of the Women into the Court of *Israel*: but he doth as confidently affirm on the other hand, that it was that that went out of the *Chel* into the Court of the Women. His words are these, Μία δ' ἦν ἔξωθεν τοῦ νεὼ Κορινθία χαλκῆ *There was one gate without the Temple of Corinthian brass, which exceeded in glory those of gold or silver*: Now where this Gate stood, namely, in that place that we are upon, appeareth by this passage of his a little after. *The Gate above the Corinthian Gate which opened East, over against the Gate of the Temple, &c.*

[i] *Joseph. ubi supr.*

It is not much material to determine whether of these Eastern Gates were of brass, it is only needful to be resolved which of them was that that was called the Gate of *Nicanor*, (because upon the knowledge of that there are divers things depending, and in the next Chapter but one, shall be shewed that it was that Gate that went out of the Court of the Women into the Court of *Israel.*) But if I were to moderate between the differing parties, I should say their difference in this matter is not real, but only apparent: *Josephus* calls the Gate that came into the Court of the Women, *the brazen Gate*, because it was all so, posts and lintel and all overlaid with brass, which shone above gold: but the Talmudists say, the doors of the *Gate of Nicanor* were only of brass, but the whole front of the Gate beside, all of gold: and so that was not the brazen Gate, but only brazen doors, but the other was properly the *brazen Gate.*

When *Peter* and *John* had healed the Creeple at this Gate, the Text saith, that *he went with them into the Temple*, that is, into the Court of the Women, which was the common and ordinary place of worship for those that brought not a Sacrifice, and from thence he went back again with them through this Gate into *Solomons Porch* or the Eastern cloister of the Mountain of the House, and there they preach and convert five thousand. And now let us go up through this Gate into the Court, and survey it it self.

i ארבע לשכיות היו באדבע מקצעותיה של מ"מ אמה ולא היו מקורות *In the four corners of the Court of the women there were four rooms of forty cubits, and they were not floored over, and thus they shall be in time to come*, say the *Talmudicks* from *Ezek.* XLVI. 21,22. Now these four rooms were every one forty cubits long from East to West, and thirty cubits broad from North to South, for so may we best interpret it according to the place alledged in the Prophesie of *Ezekiel*, his words are these, *Then he brought me forth to the utter Court, and caused me to pass by the four corners of the Court, and behold in every corner of the Court there was a Court. In the four corners of the Court were Courts* קטורות *of forty cubits long, and thirty broad.* The word קטורות is of doubtful signification, and diversly interpreted: The Seventy read it קטונות *little*, for so they render it Αυλη μικραὶ *A little Court*, and it is easie to see how they mistook נ for ר: some understand it according to the *Chaldee* transmutation of ש changed into ט and think it meaneth קשורות *joyned*, and so our English hath it, and so *k Rabbi Nathan* produceth some instances of the word in this sense, but concludeth that אין קטורות אבא שאינן מקורות *the word* קטורות *meaneth nothing but that these buildings were not floored over*, and in the very same opinion doth the *l Talmud*, *m Rabbi Solomon* and *David Kimchi* joyn with him, and in the very same words; But how to understand this is somewhat difficult: If we should conceive that they were clearly open on the top without any covering at all, the constant works that were done in them, and the things that were laid up in them will deny that; and if we shall say they were roofed over, how shall we answer to the general testimony of the Hebrew Doctors which holdeth otherwise. We will therefore look first to what use these several rooms were constantly put, and then we shall be the better inabled to judge of this matter.

i Mid. ubi supr.

k Aruch in קטר

l Mid. ubi supr. m R. Sol. & Kimch. in Ezek. XLVI.

n 1. That in the South-East corner was a room for *Nazarites* דרומית מזרחית היתה לשכת ששם הנזיר היו מבשלין את שלמיהן וגולחי את שערן ומשלחין תחת החרוך *For there they boiled their peace-offerings, polled their hair and put it under the pot*, according to the Law, *Numb.* VI. 18. *o Nazarism* was most ordinarily for thirty days: though sometime it was for years and sometime for term of life. He whose vow was expired, was to bring three beasts, one for a burnt-offering, another for a sin-offering, and a third for a peace-offering: *p* If he polled his head in the Country, as *Paul* did at *Cenchrea*, he was to bring his hair and burn it under the Caldron where his peace-offering was boiling, which was in this place that we are speaking of: And if he polled it here, it was the readier.

n Mid. ubi supr.

o Nazir. ptr. 1.

p Ibid. ptr. 6.

The Jews in the Treatise alledged in the Margine above, speak of נזיר עולם & נזיר שמשון *A Samson Nazarite and an everlasting Nazarite*, not but that *Samson* was a *Nazarite* always: but they use this distinction in reference to the manner of the Vow making. He that took on him to be a *Nazarite* like *Samson*, as saying, *Behold I will be a Nazarite like Samson, or like the Son of Manoah, or like the husband of Delilah, or like him that carried away the gates of Azzah, or like him whose eyes the Philistines put out:* such an one might never cut his hair, but it must ever grow upon him: and such a *Nazarite* did *Absalom* take upon him to be, but he was forced to cut his hair once every year, it was so heavy: But he that was a *Nazarite everlasting* (that is, that took upon him Nazarism upon other terms, as he that said *I will be a Nazarite according to the number of the hairs of my head, or the dust of the Earth, or sand of the Sea shore*) he might poll his head once in thirty days: but his hair was not to be thus burnt, because his vow was not out. But he whose vow was expired, whersoever he polled his head was to come to this place, and here to boyl his Peace-offering and to burn his hair, and the Priest took the shoulder as it boiled, and a Cake and a Wafer of unleavened bread, and put all upon the hands of the *Nazarite*, and waved them, and then was the *Nazarite* at liberty to drink wine, and to be defiled

defiled by the dead. But *R. Simeon* saith, that as soon as any of the blood of any of the Lambs was sprinkled on him, he was at this liberty: The same Tract also speaketh of *women Nazarites as* o *Queen Helena who was a Nazarite first by her own ingagement seven years, and by coming into the Land of Israel seven years more, and by a defilement, seven years more, one and twenty in all:* p *And Mary of Tarmud, who whilst the blood of her offerings was sprinkling on her, word was brought her that her daughter was in danger of death, and she went away, the sprinkling half done, and half undone, and found her daughter dead: and came again and was sprinkled out:* Now to enquire whether these women cut their hair at the expiring of their vow, is not much to this place and purpose, and therefore we shall not trouble our selves at present to hearken after it. But me thinks that *q* passage of *Simeon the Just*, was to purpose, who in all his life time would take a Sin-offering but of one *Nazarite* only, and his reason was, *because he thought they made their vows in some passion, and repented of it when they had done.*

o *Ibid. per.* 3.

p *Ibid. per.* 6.

q *Juchasin. fol.* 15. *trac.* 1.

2. r *The North-East rooms* מזרחית צפונית :היא היתה לשכת דיר העצים ששם הכהני בעלי מומין מחלעים ארז העצים *was the place of the wood, where the Priests that had blemishes did search the wood for worms; for any wood that had worms in it was unclean for to burn upon the Altar.* s *The great Sanhedrin sate in the building* Gazith, *and a main work of theirs continually, was that they judged of the Priesthood, and tryed the Priests as concerning their genealogy* (whether they were truly of the Priestly line or no,) *and concerning blemishes* (whether they were fit to serve or no) *every one that was found failing of the right pedegree, was clothed with black, and vailed with black, and got him out of the Court. But whosoever was found right and perfect was clothed with white* (compare *Rev.* III. 4. & VII. 9.) *and went in and served with the Priests his brethren: Whosoever was found of the right blood of the Priests, but some blemish was found in him, he went and sate him down in the Wood-room, and wormed the wood for the Altar, and had his portion in the holy things, with the men of the house of his father, and eat with them. And when a Priest was found without blemish, they made holy day and great rejoycing, and blessed God for it, with a Solemn prayer.*

r *Mid. ubi supr.*

s *Maym. in hilath hamikdash per.* 6. *Mid. per.* 9

t 3. *The North-West room* צפונית מערבית היא היתה לשכת מצורעים *was the room of the Lepers:* After the many rites for the cleansing of the Leper abroad in the Country, at his own house, *u* as killing a Sparrow and besprinkling him with the bloud mingled with water, sending another sparrow flying in the open air, shaving himself with a razor every hair off, &c. On the seventh day he was to shave himself again, and to wash himself in water, and then he was clean from defiling and might come within *Jernsalem.* On the eighth day he brought three Lambs, for a Sin-offering, Trespass-offering, and Burnt-offering *w* טבל בלשכת המצורעי בא ועמר בשער *He bathed himself in the Lepers room, and went and stood in the gate of Nicanor, and there the Priests besprinkled him, &c.* The manner of which we have observed elsewhere.

t *Mid. ubi sup.*

u *Maym. in Tumeach tsoraah, per.* 11.

w *Talm. in Negain, per.* 11.

x 4. The South-West room was called לשכת בית שמנית *The house of the oyl.* y *For there they laid up the wine and the oyl,* whereof there was so frequent and constant use by the appointment of the Law in their meat and drink offerings, see *Numb.* XV.

x *Mid. ubi supr.*

y *Ibid. & Maym. in Beth. habbechir, per.* 5.

And now that we have seen the use and imployment to which these rooms were put, it is the more seasonable to consider of that which we mentioned before, namely whether these four rooms in the four corners of the Court of the women, were quite open to the skies, or roofed over, and in what sense to take the word קטורות

Two things do here meet us which are considerable. 1. That these places in *Ezekiel* are called *Courts.* 2. That he saith in every one of them there were boyling ranges, to boyl the Sacrifices of the people, *Ezek.* XLVI. 21, 22. And yet doth the *Talmud* alot them to these particular uses. All which, and what is said moreover, that *they were not roofed over*, may very well consist together. For grant every one of these spaces to be built within with chambers round about: there might be very fair chambers and yet a good handsome open Court in the middle: At either end chambers of ten cubits broad, and yet an open space of twenty cubits between: And on either side chambers of seven or eight cubits broad: and yet an open space of fourteen or sixteen cubits between: Thus therefore doth the building in these places seem to be; that there were fair chambers round about which were roofed over as other buildings, and in the middle was an open Court, round about which were boyling ranges, whose chimneys went up in the inner walls of the chambers or the walls to the open place: And so the word קטורות to be rendred *Caminata*, as it is by some, and as by our English Bibles margin *made with Chimneys.* And thus were these places roofed, but not as the rest of the buildings about the Temple, with a continued roof, for here was a void place or even quadrangle in the middle, and thus did the inner Court serve for boyling places, and the rooms round about for other uses.

Such was the Platform of the Court of the Women, it was a perfect square: in the midst of every one of the Walls of it was a Gate: in every corner of it, was one of these buildings: and now what was between these buildings along the Wall till it came to the gate?

Gate? was it cloistered all along, as were the other Walls about the Temple? The *Talmud* answers that at first it was not עזרת הנשים לא היתה מקולה *z The Court of the Women was not cloistered about:* but הלקה בראשנה *a It was all plain at first*, and nothing but pavement and bare Walls, but upon some experience of inconveniences that they found they made Cloisters, and Balcones or Galleries within the Cloisters upon three sides of it, East, North and South, all about: The inconvenience *R. Nathan* tells us was this היו באין לידי קלות ראש שהיו נגנסין בין הנשים *b That Men and Women being promiscuously mingled together, it was occasion of lightness and irreverence. Therefore they made a Balcone* (גוזוטרא in *Nathan & Maymony*, but כצוצרה in the *Talmud*) *round about the Court, which came out from the Wall and was roofed over head. And so the Women stood in those Galleries, and Men stood in the Court below: And it is a Tradition, that at the first when they looked on the festivity of pouring out of water, the Men were within, and the Women without, which caused some irreverence: whereupon they made three Galleries in the Court, upon three sides of it, that they might behold from above.*

z Piske Tosaph. ad Mid.
a Mid. ubi sup.
b Aruch in גוזוטר *Talm. in Succab. per. 5*

So that at first there were neither Cloisters nor Balcones in this Court, till this inconvenience put them upon making of such: and then they were but Galleries or Balcones, without any cloistering with the support of Pillars, as there was in the other Court: But in the sumptuous buildings that *Herod* made of and about the Temple, this Court was cloistered with as much state and bravery as was the other, or as was the mountain of the House which we have surveyed, only whereas that was a double Cloister all about, but on the South, where it was treble, the Cloisters of both the Courts were only single: Take the Testimony of *Josephus* about this matter. *c* Αἱ στοαὶ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν πυλῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἔνδον ἐστραμμέναι πρὸ τῶν γαζοφυλακίων σφόδρα μὲν καλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἀνείχοντο κίοσιν. Ἦσαν δὲ ἁπλᾶ, καὶ ἀπλέτου μεγέθους τῶν κάτω οὐδὲν ἀπελείποντο: He had been speaking immediately before concerning the Gates and passages into both the Courts, and it may not be amiss for the better understanding of the passage before us, to take up his words a little at large. Ἐνθὲν ἄλλοι πάλιν πεντέβαθμοι κλίμακες ἀνῆγον ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας. *From thence* (out of the חיל *Chel*) *five steps brought you up unto the Gates, which on the North and South were eight in number, namely four on either side: and two necessarily on the East, for the Court appropriated to the Women to worship in being walled on that quarter, there must needs be a second Gate, which opened just opposite to this first. And as for the other sides* (of the Court of the Women) *there was one Gate on the South and another on the North by which they entred into the Womens Court: For through the other Gates* (of the Court of *Israel*) *Women might not enter, nor go beyond the inclosure of their own Court. And that place was permitted for the Jews that dwelt in the Land, and that dwelt in foreign Countreys to worship in: Now the West quarter had no Gate at all, but the Wall there was built continued* (without any opening of a Gate in it) And then he comes on with this saying Αἱ στοαὶ δὲ μεταξὺ, &c. *Now the Cloisters which ran between the Gates along by the Wall, turning inward before the Treasuries, were born up with exceeding fair and great pillars: But they were single and they wanted nothing in their exceeding greatness of those that were below.*

c Jos. de Bell. lib. 5. cap. 14.

Now in that he saith these Cloisters were ἀπὸ τείχους ἔνδον ἐστραμμέναι *along by the Wall turning inward*, his meaning is, that they were joyning to the Wall, and stood within the Courts and not without, and so they ran along the Courts within from Gate to Gate: And they wanted nothing of the greatness of the Pillars and Cloisters that were below along the Wall of the mountain of the House, but only that those were double and these single; And as for the Cloister in the Court of the Women, it had this difference, both from those in the mountain of the House, and those in the Court of *Israel*, that this had a Gallery made in it for Women to stand in and to look down into the Court, whereas the others had no interposition, but were uninterrupted to the roof.

This Court of the Women was the place, where both Men and Women did ordinarily worship, that either came to pray at other times than the hours of prayer, or that at the hours of prayer came and brought no Sacrifice with them. In this Court it was, where *Paul* was laid hold upon, as a violater of the Sanctity of the place in the peoples repute, who thought he had brought Gentiles in hither, *Act.* XXI. 26, 27, &c. who might not go so much as into the *Chel*. In this Court did the High-Priest once a year, namely at the *Feast of Expiation* read a portion of the Law, and the King once in seven years, namely at *the Feast of Tabernacles* in the year of Release: and here every year at the Feast of Tabernacles was the great dancing, singing and rejoycing, for the drawing and pouring out of water, of which and of the other particulars named, I have given the full account, in the treatise of *the Temple Service*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Gazophylacia or Treasuries.

BEfore we part out this Court of the Women, those words of *Josephus*, which were cited even now, which say the *Cloisters of the Court, were* ἔνδον ἐστραμμέναι πρὸς γαζοφυλακίων *turned inward before the Treasuries*, may justly challenge us to stay here a little and look about us, whether we can find any Treasuries hereabout, or what may be said to the *Gazophylacium* of the Temple, the name and mention of which is very well known and ordinary both in Scripture and other Writers, but the situation thereof about the Temple something difficult to find out: Now in these two words of *Josephus*, Πρὸς Γαζοφυλακίων, two main things are observable, and to be looked after towards that search that we are now about; the one is, the number, importing more Treasuries than one, and the other is, the situation of these Treasuries in reference to the Cloisters mentioned, *The Cloisters were before them.*

The Treasuries of the Temple were of a twofold nature and capacity, namely *Treasure-Chests* and *Treasure-Chambers*, the former were called *Shopheroth*, the later *Lesacoth*, and both bare the general name or *Corban.*

a There were thirteen *Treasure-Chests* at the Temple, which by the Jews are commonly called שופרות *Shopheroth* which signifieth properly *Trumpets* b *because trumpet-like they were wide in the bottom and narrow in the top: that mony that was put in, might not easily be got out.*

a Talm. in Shekalim per. 6. *b Maym. in Shekal. per. 2.*

c Two of these Chests, were for the half shekel that every *Israelite* was to pay for the redemption of his soul or life (for which the Law is given, *Exod.* XXX. 13.) the one Chest for the payment of the last year (if he had missed to pay at the due time) and the other for the half shekel for the year present. *d* On the first day of *Adar* which answereth in part to our *February*, there was general notice given throughout the Country, that they should provide to pay their half shekel: and on the fifteenth day of that month the Collectors sate in every City to gather it: and they had two Chests before them, (as were at the Temple) and they demanded the payment calmly and used no roughness or compulsion. On the five and twentieth day of the month, the Collectors began to sit in the Temple, and then they forced men to pay, and if any one had not wherewith to pay, they took his pawn, and sometime would take his very rayment perforce: They had a Table before them to count and change the mony upon (from whence they were called שולחנים *Trapizitæ* or *Mensarii*, and two Chests before them to put into.

c Id. ibid.

d Talm. ubi ante per. 1.

A man that brought a shekel to change, and must have half a shekel again, the *Mensarius* or Collector was to have some profit upon the change: ואותה התוספ הנקראת קולבון *And how much profit did he require for change? The twelfth part of a Denarius, and never less*: Nay if two came together and paid a shekel for them both, so that there needed no change, yet the receiver was to have some profit from them both: The *Talmud* and the Authors cited in the margin do discourse exceedingly large about this קולבון *Kolbon*, and who was to pay it, and who to be quit from it, and how much to be paid, and to the like purpose, but the general conclusion is still for some profit, which exaction was that that caused our Saviour to overthrow τραπέζας κολλυβιστῶν *the tables of these Colbonists*, *Joh.* II. 15. at the first Passover he came up to *Jerusalem* after his Baptism; and *Matth.* XXI. 12. at his last: for these Receivers began to sit in the Temple for that purpose, but eighteen or twenty days before the Passover, and continued for that time when the concourse of the people was greatest, and after it was over they had done.

e And that addition or profit is called Kolbon (κόλλυβος) *and how much profit did he require for change? The twelfth part of a Denarius, and never less.*

e Maym. ubi sup. pt. 3 & Aruch in קולבון

And so the market that was in the Temple of Sheep and Oxen, it is like it was not constantly there, but for such times of concourse, when the multitude of people and Sacrifices was so exceeding great, though indeed there were merchandizing of other things there, all the year long in the *Tabernæ* or *Shops* that we have spoken of before: The place where the marketing of the Sheep and Oxen was, was the great space of the mountain of the House, that lay upon the South side of the Courts, for on the West and North sides the room was too strait for such a matter, and on the East side was the most common entrance of the people, and so these Cattle would have stopt up the way: but on the South there was a place exceeding roomy and spacious, and it they had taken up for a market at such times, making the house of God an house of Merchandize.

Amongst those Authors that spake of these two half shekel Chests, I find not any that doth inform us, where they stood, or where these Collectors of the poll-mony did sit in the Temple to receive it: nor indeed is it of any great import to iquire after it, since their sitting there was but for a short space, as a month or such a matter, and so they had done: It is most probable they sate about the East gate *Susban* as being the chiefest and commonest entrance.

Besides

Besides these two treasure-chests that were in use but for a certain time every year, there were eleven more that were of constant and continual use, and that stood in their places all the year long, and upon every one of them was written what use and imployment they were put unto.

f Msym. ibid. 1. *f* One was for them that were to offer two Turtle Doves or two young Pigeons, the one for a burnt-offering, and the other for a sin-offering: they cast in their price hither.

2. A second was for them that were to offer a burnt-offering of Birds only.

3. A third, for whosoever offered mony to buy wood for the Altar, he put his mony into that Chest.

4. A fourth, for whosoever would offer mony to buy Frankincense.

5. A fifth, for whosoever would offer Gold for the Mercy Seat.

6. A sixth, for the residue of a Sin-offering, that is, if a man had set apart a sum of money for a Sin-offering, and it bought a Sin-offering and there was to spare, that which was to spare was put into this Chest.

7. A seventh, for the residue of a Trespas-offering.

8. An eighth, for the residue or surplus of an offering of Birds, of men and women that had Issues, and of women after childbirth.

9. A ninth, for the surplus of a *Nazarites* offering.

10. A tenth, for a surplus of a Lepers Trespas-offering.

11. The eleventh for whosoever would willingly offer a sacrifice of the Herd, the mony wherewith to buy it, he cast into this Chest.

These many Chests stood continually in the Temple, with every one its title written upon it, that told its use, that whosoever would offer any one of these things mentioned, he could readily go by those directions, where to put the mony of his offering: And these are those *Gazophylacia or Treasuries* that *Josephus* saith, *the Cloisters were before*; that is, whereas the Courts were cloistered round about, and those Cloisters were, on the side toward the Court, supported with Pillars, these Chests were set in the Court before those Pillars: as if such Chests should be set in the quadrangle before the Pillars that bear up the Cloister-Walks in the Royal Exchange, *London*.

But in whether of the Courts were these Chests disposed of, in the Court of *Israel*, or the Court of the Women, or in both, some in the one and some in the other?

Ans. These considerations do evince, that they were placed in the Court of the Women: 1. Because thither was the access freer than it was into the Court of *Israel*; and it is no doubt, these Chests would be set in a place most commodious for every one to come unto them: Women might not come into the other Court at all, nor Men neither, so ordinarily as they might into this, and these Treasuries in all reason were to be set, where Men and Women did both resort. 2. In the upper Court, if these Chests stood before or on the outside of the Cloister, they stood in the Court of the Priests, and thither might not an *Israelite* that was come into the upper Court, enter, unless it were upon three singular occasions when he had a sacrifice, which we have mentioned elsewhere, and putting mony into the Treasuries was none of them. 3. It is said in *Mark*. XII. 41. That *Jesus sate over against the Treasury and saw the people cast in mony, and he saw a widow throw in two mites:* Now into the Court of *Israel*, this widow might not come, and in that Court *Christ* might not sit, for they had a Tradition, that *none might sit in that Court, but only the Kings of the house of David:* But the meaning of the place is, that *Jesus* sitting in the Cloister of the Court of the Women, saw the people cast mony into these Chests, according as they were minded to offer for this or that occasion: and there came a poor widow and threw in *two mites which make a farthing.* It is the ordinary expression that the Hebrew Authors use to signifie the peoples giving to the Treasury by, to say משליכין לתוכה They cast in their mony: which phrase the Evangelists also follow in this story: And since we are upon this poor widows offering, let it be without offence, to digress so much, as to give in this ratable of the *Jews*, for the understanding of the value of her two mites, and how they made a farthing, and it may be it will be useful on other occasions: g *The shekel, or piece of silver*

g Id ibid pr. 1. *mentioned in the Law, the weight of it was* 320 *barely corns: but the Wisemen added to its weight, and made it of the same weight with the coin called* סלע *Selaa: and what is the weight of the Selaa* סלע *? Three hundred eighty and four midling barly corns: The Selaa is four Denarii. The Denarius is six* מיעה *Meahs, now the Meah is that which in Moses his time was called a Gerah: The Meah was two Pondions: The Pondion was two* אסרין *Issarin Aosdeus: And* פרוטה *a mite, was the eighth part of an Issar* (so two mites make a fourth part) *and the weight of a Meah which was the Gerah, was sixteen barly corns: and the weight of an* איסר *Issar (Assarius) was four barly corns: the weight of* פרוטה *a mite was half a barly corn, &c.*

The place then of these Treasure Chests was in the Court of the Women, before the Cloisters, some here and some there on the several sides of the Court, (and therefore this place is also called *the Treasury*, *Joh.* VIII. 20. where it is said, *These things spake Jesus in Treasury as he taught in the Temple, &c.*) and so the people both men and women had

access

acceſs to them, and offered as their hearts or their occaſions moved them, and the inſcriptions of the Cheſts did give them direction.

As there were theſe Treaſure-cheſts, ſo alſo were there Treaſure-chambers, beſides thoſe that have been mentioned before, at the Gates of the Mountain of the Houſe, and beſides thoſe that joyned to the body of the Temple: Beſides the Chambers, where Tiths, Firſt-fruits, Veſſels, and Veſtments were treaſured up, as they were in the Chambers by the Gates, and by the ſides of the Temple, there were three Chamber-treaſuries of remarkable note, but the place where they ſtood is ſomething difficult to diſcover.

1. There was the Chamber, or Treaſury, of the half-ſhekel poll mony, into which the two Cheſts that have been ſpoken of, were emptied when they were full, and the Chamber locked and ſealed up. Now at three ſet times of the year, they took the mony out of this Chamber again: The *Talmud* and *Maymony* in the Treatiſe *Shekalim* do give the ſtory and the manner of that action thus: h *At three times of the year they emptied this Chamber: namely, fifteen days before the Paſſover, fifteen days before Pentecoſt, and fifteen days before the Feaſt of Tabernacles: or as Rabba Akiba the Son of Azai ſaith, on the nine and twentieth of Adar, the firſt of Sivan, and the nine and twentieth of Ab: He that went in to fetch out the money, muſt not go in in any garment, in which it was poſſible to hide mony, nor in his ſhooes or ſandals, no nor with his Phylacteries on, becauſe it was poſſible to hide mony under them: when he went in, a watch ſtood at the door without, and all the while he was within they talked to him, and he again to them, that ſo he might be prevented for putting any mony into his mouth: He began not to empty out any mony till he gave them without, notice by ſaying, I empty, and they anſwered him, Empty, Empty, Empty, three times over: The mony that was in the Chamber was put up when it was firſt brought in, into three great cheſts, containing nine Seahs, or three buſhels apiece: and if there were more brought in than would go into theſe three cheſts, it was laid by ſomewhere in the Chamber: He that went in took three cheſts of three Seahs a piece, or every one containing a buſhel, and he filled them out of the great Cheſts within. His three that he brought in, had theſe three letters א. ב. ג written ſeverally on them, for diſtinction ſake: for one be filled in the name of the Jews of the Land of Iſrael, and another in the name of thoſe that were in Towns and Countries nearer hand, and the third, in the name of thoſe in Babel and Media, and further off.* And thus having filled theſe three at one time, they were brought out, and the money beſtowed to buy the dayly Sacrifices, and additional Sacrifices, and Shewbread, and ſalt for the Sacrifices, and wood for the Altar, and other things that were neceſſary for the ſervice: and thus they laid out the mony as long as thoſe three buſhels would run, and at the next appoynted time, he went into the Chamber again, and did the like.

h Shekalim per. 3.

2. There were two other Treaſure-chambers, in one of which was laid up what was offered towards the repair and ſervice of the Temple, and another in which was laid up what was offered for charitable uſes. The *Talmudicks* ſpeak of them thus, שתי לשכות היו במקדש אחת לשכת חשאים ואחרת לשכת הכלים i *There were two Treaſure Chambers in the Temple, one the chamber of the Silent, and the other the chamber of the Veſſels: The chamber of the Silent, was where religious men did ſilently or ſecretly put in their Offerings, and poor children of honeſt parents, were brought up by them ſecretly. The chamber of the Veſſels was where any that willingly offered any veſſel, caſt it in there: and once in thirty days the Treaſurers opened the Chamber, and fetched out what they found fit for the ſupply of the Temple, and what was not of it ſelf fit, they ſold and turned into ſome thing that was fit, &c.*

i ibid. pir. 5 & Aruch in חש

Now whereabout theſe Chambers ſtood, it is ſomething difficult to diſcover: we ſhall gueſs at their place when we come to ſurvey the upper Court: the mention of the *Gazophylacia* which we have found in this Court of the Women that we are about, hath led us thus far aſide as to ſpeak of theſe chambers alſo, though they were not in this Court but in the upper: we ſhall have ſo much the leſs to ſay of them, when we come to their own place.

And now let us look over this Court that we have been ſo long about, at one view: As you were entred into it at the Eaſt-Gate, you ſaw in every corner of it, a piece of building that had a quadrangle in the midſt of it: on the North and the South-ſides there was a Gate juſt in the middle between theſe buildings: and from the buildings on either ſide, there ran a Cloiſter ſupported with goodly marble Pillars unto the Gates: and the like Cloiſter there was at the Eaſt quarter, at which you entred: Theſe Cloiſters had Benches within them for the people to ſit down when they thought good, as there were in the Cloiſters that ran along the outmoſt Wall that encompaſſed the Mountain of the Houſe: Before theſe Cloiſters on the Eaſt, North, and South ſides, ſtood the Treaſure cheſts, and then you were come into the open Court. Before you as you went up toward the Court of *Iſrael*, was a goodly riſing of ſteps up to the Gate of that Court, called the Gate of *Nicanor* which we are now to ſurvey the next: and upon this quarter there was no Cloiſter at all.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Gate of Nicanor, or the East-Gate of the Court.

THE *Court of the Women*, which was of the platform that hath been described, was parted from *the Court of Israel* by a high Wall: namely of thirty two cubits and an half high from the floor of the Court of the Women, yet but only twenty five cubits high from the floor of the Court of *Israel* it self; for so much higher was the ground in that Court, than in the other.

Just in the middle of this Wall, was the Gate that conveyed out of the one Court into the other: *a* to which Gate there was a rising of fifteen steps, every step half a cubit high, the whole rising seven cubits and an half in all; so high was the Court of *Israel* above the Court of the Women.

a Mid. per. 2. Josephus de Bel. lib. 8 cap. 14.

b Succah per. 5.

b These fifteen steps, (saith the Treatise *Succah*) *were answerable to the fifteen Psalms of degrees in the book of Psalms* שעליהן הלוים אומרים בשיר *because upon these the Levites stood and sang:* Not in the daily service, or in the ordinary course of the Temple musick, for their place of standing in that, was in the Court (as shall be shewed) but only on that solemn festivity at *the feast of Tabernacles*, which was called שמחת בית השואבה *The rejoycing at the drawing and pouring out of water:* of which we give account in its due place.

c Mid. ubi supr.

d Ibid.

c These steps that rose up to the Gate, were not laid in a square, or streight, as steps are ordinarily laid, but they were laid in a semicircle: And one reason of that may be for the gaining of room on either side them: *d* For on either side of the Gate and of the Steps, there were under-ground Chambers in the Wall, whose roof was even with the floor of the Court of *Israel*, the Doors opening into the Court of the Women; in which rooms the *Levites* used to lay up their musical instruments when they had done singing in the daily service in the Court of *Israel:* They came down the fifteen steps out of the Court; and at the bottom, stepping off either on the right hand or the left, there were Doors in the Wall into chambers where they laid their instruments up.

e Vid. Kimchi in Jer. XIX. 2. & in 2 King. XI. & R Sol. in 2 Chron. XXIII.

This Gate that we are now entring, or the Gate between the Court of the Women, and the Court of *Israel* *e* is held by some of the *Jews* to have been called by seven several names (besides *the Gate of Nicanor*, which in *Herods* Temple was the most common and known name of it) of some of which the matter indeed is clear, but of other there is doubting.

1. It was called *The upper Gate of the Lords House*, 2 *King.* XV. 35. 2 *Chron.* XXVII. 3. and so the Treatise *Succah* in the place cited before, doth expressly call it. *f The upper Gate that goeth down out of the Court of Israel, into the Court of the Women:* and the East Gate that went out of the Court of the Women into the *Chel*, was called *g the lower.* Now whereas it is said that *Jotham* built *the upper Gate*, it inferreth not, that there was no Gate before, but it meaneth that he repaired it, or that he added some buildings to it.

f Succah ubi supr.

g Maim. in kel. Mikdash per. 7.

2. It is called *the new Gate*, *Jer.* XXVI. 10 & XXXVI. 10. in both which places *the Chaldee Paraphrast* expressly calleth it *the East Gate of the Sanctuary of the Lord:* It is apparent by that later place in *Jeremy*, that it was the Gate that went into the upper Court, or the Court of *Israel*, and so it both appears that it was the Gate that we are about, and also the reason of the title of *the new Gate*, may be collected from what was spoken a little before, namely because it had been repaired by *Jotham.* *h* Some give this reason of the title לפי שחסופרים חדשו חלכה namely, *That it was called new, because the Scribes did there deliver new traditions*; for there sate the *Sanhedrin:* but this derivation is far fetcht.

h Kimch. in loc.

3. *The Gate Harsith*, *Jer.* XIX. 2. is understood by some to mean this East-Gate of the Court of *Israel* that we are upon, though both the very Text of *Jeremy* himself, and also the *Chaldee Paraphrast* and other *Jews* with him, do not clearly allow of such a construction, but place *the Gate Harsith* in another place.

1. The Text of *Jeremy* doth place *Tophet* at the entry of that *Gate Harsith*, which how improper it is to apply to the East Gate of the Court of *Israel* is, easie enough for any one to judge, that doth but know that there were two Gates betwixt this Court Gate, and the valley that lay before the Temple, if that valley had been *Tophet.* But 2. *Tophet* or *the valley of the Sons of Hinnom*, lay a good way upon the right hand as you stood in the East Gate of the Temple, as was observed before, and faced the City *Jerusalem*, and not the Temple; and so the Gate *Harsith* must be one of the Gates that went out of *Jerusalem* into that valley, and not out of the Temple. 3. The *Chaldee Paraphrast* doth call it תרע קלקלתא which *David Kimchi* expoundeth, *the Dung-port*, and believeth it to be the same *Dung-gate* that is mentioned in *Neh.* II. 13. though I believe *Nehemiahs*

Dung-

Dung-Port was in another quarter. The word *Harſith* is of a twofold conſtruction: namely, either as derived from *Heres* חרס which ſignifieth *the Sun*, and ſo our *Engliſh* in the margin hath rendred it *the Sun Gate*, having tranſlated it *the Eaſt Gate*, in the Text: or from *Heres* חרס which ſignifieth a *Potſheard*; for *there* (ſaith *Rabbi Solomon*) *they caſt out their broken Potſheards.* We ſhall not need to be inquiſitive from whence this Gate did bear its name (whether from the Sun riſing upon it, or from ſome Idolatry committed to the Sun near to it, or from the Potters houſe hereabout, or from caſting out of broken pitchers at it) ſince it is not that Gate that we are about in the Temple, but a Gate of the City *Jeruſalem*, which we have not now to do withall.

4. Some of the *i Hebrew* Writers do underſtand שער איתון *The Gate of entrance* ſpoken of *Ezek.* XL. 15. to mean the Gate that we are about, namely the Eaſt Gate of the Court of *Iſrael*: for which reaſon it may be the *Chaldee Paraphraſt* hath tranſlated it תרעא קציעאה *The middle Gate*, as being between the Gate that cometh into the Court of the Women, and the Gate of the Porch of the Temple it ſelf. *i Kimchin Jit. XIX R. Sol. in Ezek. XL.*

5. Among the ſeven names that are given by the Rabbins to this Gate, that name of *the middle Gate* was one, as appeareth by the Authors in the places alledged, and this was the reaſon of the name, and we need to ſeek no further for it.

6. They alſo conceive that it was called *the Gate Sur*, 2 *King.* XI. 6. *k* or *the Gate of departure*, becauſe there thoſe thoſe that had been unclean, were ſeparated and put aſide, and might go no further, till their attonement was made. *k 11. in 2 Chr. XXIII. ex Jeruſalmi.*

7. And likewiſe the *Gate of the Foundation*, 2 *Chron.* XXIII. 5. but of theſe two we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak afterward, and ſhall there examine whether this Gate have thoſe names or no.

8. But the name by which it was moſt famouſly known in the laſt daies of the Temple (and which it carried to its grave, or till the Temple and it were buried in ruine) was *the Gate of Nicanor.* l *The upper Gate* (ſaith Maymony) *is the Gate of Nicanor: And why is it called the upper Gate? Becauſe it is above the Court of the Women:* And to the ſame purpoſe, and in as plain terms ſpeaketh the Gloſs upon the treatiſe *Sotah*, m *The Gate of Nicanor was the upper Gate, which was between the Court of Iſrael, and the Court of the Women.* n And ſo the treatiſe *Middoth*, whenſoever it reckoneth the Gates of the Court of *Iſrael*, it ſtill maketh *the Gate of Nicanor* to be the Eaſt Gate: And that *Maxim* in the *Jeruſalem Talmud* כל מקום שנא לפני ו זה שער ניקנור, o *Every place where it is ſaid*, Before the Lord, *it meaneth the Gate of Nicanor*, confirmeth the ſame things, as appeareth by the cleanſing of the Leper, and the trial of the ſuſpected Wife, both which were ſet in this Gate, and are ſaid to be ſet *before the Lord*, *Lev.* XIV. 11. *Numb.* V. 18. *l Maim. in Kelt Mikdaſh per. 7. m in Sotah per. 1. gloſſe. ibid. n Mid. per. 1. & per. 6. o Talm. Jeruſ. in Sotah per. 1.*

And to take up, what is copiouſly ſaid by the Talmudiſts concerning this Gate, and concerning the reaſon why it was ſo called, from the mouth of one man, to ſave more labour let us hear the Author of *Juchaſin* concerning this matter, ſpeaking thus at large.

p *Nicanor was in the time of the ſecond Temple: and I wonder at Rabb, that he did not mention him in the Catalogue of thoſe men that are upon record for Religiouſneſs: As he mentioneth Hananiah the Son of Ezekiah, the Son of Garon, in the beginning of the Treatiſe Shabbath, into whoſe chamber the Scholars of Shammai and Hillel came: And ſo Aba Saul ben Batuith, in the end of the Treatiſe Shabbath. Now this Nicanor that is often mentioned in the Miſhneh was one of the Chaſidim* (or religious) *but the common people are not ſo. He is mentioned in the firſt and ſecond Chapters of Middoth, as that there is a Gate in the Court on the Eaſt, which is the Gate of Nicanor, and that it had two Wickets, one on the right hand, and another on the left. And ſo it is ſaid in the ſixth Chapter of Shekalim, and that is ſet over againſt the moſt holy place which was Weſtward where the Divine Glory dwelt: And therefore in the end of the Treatiſe Beracoth, it ſaith, Let not a man uſe irreverence before this Gate of Nicanor, or the Eaſt Gate: And ſo in the firſt Chapter of Sotah. In the Gate of Nicanor, they make the ſuſpected wife drink the bitter water, and they purifie women after Childbirth, and Lepers. And in the end of the Chapter* כיצד צולין (or the ſeventh Chapter of the Treatiſe *Peſachin*) *It is ſaid, that the Gate of Nicanor was not holy* (as the Court) *becauſe Lepers ſtood there, and put in their thumbs and great toes into the Court: And ſo in the third Chapter of Joma, and the ſecond Chapter of Toſaphta, there it is ſaid, there were wonders wrought with the doors of Nicanor, and they mention it renownedly: And if ſo, then had it been fit to have recorded him. The ſtory is thus. This Nicanor was one of the Chaſiddim, and he went to Alexandria in Egypt, and made there two brazen doors with much curioſity: intending to ſet them up in the Court of the Temple, and he brought them away by ſea: Now a great ſtorm happening, the mariners caſt one of the doors over board to lighten the ſhip: and intended alſo to throw over the other alſo. Which when Nicanor perceived, he bound himſelf to the door with cords, and told them, that if they threw that in, they ſhould throw him in too: And ſo the Sea ceaſed from her rage: And when he was landed at Ptolemais, and bemoaned the loſs of his other door, and prayed to God about it, the Sea caſt up the door, in that place where the holy man had landed. But ſome* *p Juchaſin f. 65 col. 1. etiam Talm. Jeruſ. in Joma per. 3. Toſaphta ibid. per. 2. & Mid. per. 2. Aruchin voce Nicanor.*

ſay a great fiſh caſt it up: And this was the miracle that was done about his doors, and they ſet them up on the Eaſt ſide of the Court, before the Temple. But in the books of Joſeph ben Gorion, he ſaith, That the Gate of Nicanor was ſo called, becauſe a wonder was done there, for there they ſlew Nicanor a Prince of the Grecians in the time of the Aſmoneans, and ſo it ſeemeth in the later end of the ſecond Chapter of the Treatiſe Taanith. Thus *Jucaſin.*

I ſhall not inſiſt upon it, to diſpute it out, whether of theſe things alledged were the cauſe of the name of this Gate, or whether ſomething elſe: Some other conjectures might be added, as whether *Nicanor* that ſent the doors from *Alexandria* were not he that was the Kings Chief Maſter of the Ceremonies there, of whom *Joſephus* maketh mention *q* and relateth how he provided Chambers and Diet for the *Septuagint* Tranſlaters: or whether this Gate were not ſo called in honour of *Seleucus Nicanor* the firſt King of *Syria*, who was a great favourer of the *Jewiſh* Nation *r* as the ſame *Joſephus* alſo relateth: But I ſhall leave the ſearching after the Etymology and original of the name to thoſe that have mind and leaſure thereunto: it ſufficeth to know the Gate by its name which was ſo renowned and famous in all *Jewiſh* Writers: only as to the ſtory about *Nicanor* a *Grecian* Prince being ſlain here, compare 1 *Maccab.* VII. 33, 34. &c. *Joſeph. Antiq. lib.* 12. *cap.* 17.

q Joſ. Antiq. lib. 12. *cap.* 2.

r ibid. cap. 3.

Before we part from this Gate, we muſt remember to ſay ſomething about the Gate *Sur*, and *the Gate of the Foundation* of which there is mention, 2 *King.* XI. 6. & 2 *Chron.* XXIII. 5. becauſe that theſe are held by ſome, as was ſhewed before, to have been but names of this Eaſt-Gate of the Court that we are about.

The Texts where theſe names are mentioned do ſpeak to this purpoſe in our *Engliſh* Tranſlation.

2 *King.* XI.

Verſ. 5. *A third part of you that enter in on the Sabbath, ſhall even be keepers of the watch of the Kings houſe.*

6. *And a third part ſhall be at the Gate Sur: and a third part at the Gate behind the guard, &c.*

7. *And two parts of you that go forth on the Sabbath, even they ſhall keep the watch of the houſe of the Lord, about the King, &c.*

2 *Chron.* XXIII.

Verſ. 4. *A third part of you entring in on the Sabbath, of the Prieſts and of the Levites ſhall be porters of the doors.*

5. *And a third part ſhall be at the Kings houſe, and a third part at the Gate of the foundation, &c.*

The two Courſes of the Prieſts and Levites now preſent, namely that courſe that came in on the Sabbath, and the other that had ſerved their week and were now going out, *Jehoiada* divides either of them into three parts, into ſix in all. They that came in on the Sabbath were to be: 1. A third part of them for the Altar and ſervice, the Prieſts for the Sacrifices, and the Levites for Singers and Porters as in the conſtant duty and attendance. For it was now the Sabbath day, and had it been any other day, it is not to be imagined, that *Jehoiada* would neglect the affairs of God though he went about the affairs of the King: But he provides for both, ſo that the Temple Service may have its due attendance, as well as the Kings coronation. And therefore *verſ.* 5. of 2 *King.* XI. is neceſſarily to be rendred thus, *A third part of you ſhall be thoſe that come in on the Sabbath:* that, is a third part of you ſhall be as thoſe that come in on the Sabbath to attend the Service as at other times. And is ſo 2 *Chron.* XXIII. 4. to be tranſlated, *A third part of you ſhall be thoſe that come in on the Sabbath, for Prieſts, and Levites, and Porters:* that is, to attend the Altar, Song and Gates as in the conſtant ſervice.

2. Another third part, for Keepers of the Watch at the Kings Houſe.

3. And another third part at *the Gate Sur*, which is alſo called *the Gate of the Foundation.*

Thus the Text in the two Books laid together do plainly diſtribute the courſe that was to come in on the Sabbath, as he will ſee that will carefully compare them together in the original.

The courſe that was going out on the Sabbath was diſpoſed, 1. One third part of them to the Gate behind the Guard. 2. Two third parts to keep the watch of the Houſe of the Lord for the ſafety of the King.

Now the very diſpoſal of theſe Guards will help us to judge concerning the Gates that we have in mention, and will reſolve us that they were not any Gates of the Temple at all, but that they ſtood in ſome place elſe. For the Gates of the Temple were guarded by the Porters of the courſe that came in as in the ordinary manner: and there was an extraordinary Guard added beſides throughout all the Mountain of the Houſe, and in the Court, of that courſe that was going out, 2 *King.* XI. 7, 8. 11. Therefore *the Gate Sur* or *the Gate of the Foundation*, which was guarded by a third part of thoſe that come in on the Sabbath, cannot be ſuppoſed for any Gate of the Temple, ſince the Temple was guarded

guarded by two parts of those that went out. So that were I to describe the City as I am now about describing the Temple, I should place *the Gate Sur* somewhere in *Sion*, and there also should I place *the Gate behind the Guard:* and it would not be very hard to gather up fair probability of their situation there. Now though so strong Guards were set both in the Temple and in *Zion*, yet *Athaliah* for whom all this ado is made, comes up into the Temple, so far as to see the young King at his Pillar in the Court before the East-Gate, and no man interrupts her, partly because she was Queen, partly because she came alone, and chiefly because they knew not *Jehoiadas* mind concerning her. But when he bids *have her out of the ranges*, they laid hold upon her, and spared her till she was down the Causey *Shallecheth*, and then they slew her.

If by the *ranges*, the ranks of men that stood round about the Mountain of the House, be not to be understood, I should then think they mean either the ranks of Trees that grew on either side that Causey, or the Rails that were set on either side it for the stay and safety of those that passed upon it. And to this sense *Levi Gershom* doth not unproperly expound those words in 1 *King.* X. 12. *Of the Almug Trees the King made* מסעד *for the house of the Lord and for the Kings house.* The word מסעד doth properly signifie a *Prop* or *Support:* yet is expressed in 2 *Chron.* IX. 11. *The King made of the Almug Trees* מסלות *high ways to the house of the Lord: And* q *I think* (saith the Rabbin) *that in the ascent that he made to go up to the house of the Lord from the Kings house, he made as it were battlements* (that is Rails on either side) *of the Almug Trees, that a man might stay himself by them, as he went along the highway of that ascent. And so in other ascents of the house of the Lord or of the Kings house, where there were not steps, as the rise of the Altar, &c.*

q Ralbag in 1 King. X.

SECT. I.

A credible wonder of the brazen Gate.

WE will leave the belief of that wonder that hath been mentioned about the brazen Door of *Nicanor* in its shipwrack, to those that record it: but we may not pass over another wondrous occurrence related by *Josephus*, of the brazen Gate (whether this of *Nicanor*, or the other which he calleth *the brazen Gate*, as by its proper name, we will not be curious to examine) which is a great deal more worthy of belief, and very well deserving consideration: He treating of the Prodigies and wonders that presaged the destruction of *Jerusalem*, amongst others he relateth this. Ἡ δὲ Ἀνατολικὴ πύλη τοῦ ἐνδοτέρου χαλκῆ μὲν οὖσα καὶ στιβεροτάτη, &c. *The East-Gate of the inner Temple, being of brass and extream heavy, and which could hardly be shut by twenty men; being barred and bolted exceeding strong and sure, yet was it seen by night to open of its own accord: which the simpler and more foolish people did interpret as a very good Omen, as if it denoted to them, that God would open to them the Gate of all good things: But those of a deeper reach and sounder judgment, did suspect that it presaged the decay and ruine of the strength of the Temple.*

a Jos. de bell. lib. 6. cap. 31.

And with this relation of his do other writers of his own nation concurr, who report, b That *forty years before the destruction of the City, the doors of the Temple opened of their own accord: Whereupon Rabban Jochanan ben Zaccai* (after chief of the *Sanhedrin*) *cryed out, Open thy doors O Lebanon that the fire may devour, And from that time the great Sanhedrin flitted from the room Gazith, and so removed from place to place.* The like saith *Rabbi Solomon* on *Zech.* XI. 1. *Open thy doors O Lebanon:* c *He prophecieth* (saith he) *of the destruction of the second Temple: and forty years before the destruction, the Temple doors opened of their own accord: Rabban Jochanan ben Zaccai rebuked them: and said, O Temple, Temple, how long wilt thou trouble thy self? I know thy best is to be destroyed, for Zechariah the Son of Iddo prophecied thus of thee, Open thy doors O Lebanon that the fire may devour thy Cedars, &c.*

b Juchasin. f. 10.

c R. Sol. in Zech. XI. 1.

There are three remarkable things which the *Jews* do date from forty years before the destruction of the Temple: namely this of the Temple doors opening of themselves, and the *Sanhedrins* flitting from the room *Gazith*, and the Scarlet List on the Scape-goates head not turning white, that are as Testimonies against themselves about the death of Christ, which occurred exactly forty years before the Temple was destroyed: Then the Lord shewed them by the Temple doors opening, the shaking of their Ecclesiastical glory, and by the flitting of the *Sanhedrin*, the shaking of their civil, and by the not whitening of their Scarlet list which had denoted pardon of sin, their deep die of sin and guilt for the death of *Christ*. Compare this self-opening of the Temple doors with the renting of the Veil of the Temple of its own accord, and they may help the one to illustrate the other. And methinks the words of *Rabban Jocanan* upon the opening of the doors, *O Temple how long wilt thou disquiet thy self?* do seem to argue that before that opening there had been some other such strange trouble in the Temple as that was, which might be the renting of the Veil.

SECT.

SECT. II.

A Sanhedrin ſitting in this Gate.

THIS Gate of *Nicanor* or the Eaſt-Gate of the Court, was the place where the ſuſpected Wife was tried by drinking of the bitter waters, and where the Leper cleanſed ſtood to have his attonement made, and to have his cleanſing wholly perfected, the rites of both which things we have deſcribed in their places. In this Gate alſo did Women after child-birth appear for their purification; here it was that the Virgin *Mary* preſented her Child *Jeſus* to the Lord, *Luke* II. 22.

a Talm. in Sanhedr. per. 11. *a* In this Gate of *Nicanor* (not in the very paſſage through it, but in ſome room above or by it) there ſate a *Sanhedrin of three and twenty Judges:* Now there were three ranks of Judicatories among the *Jews*. A Judicatory or Conſiſtory of three: A Judicatory of three and twenty: and the great *Sanhedrin* of ſeventy one. In ſmaller Towns there was a *Triumvirate* or a Conſiſtory ſet up conſiſting only of three Judges: *b* theſe judged and determined about mony matters, about borrowing, filching, damages, reſtitutions, the forcing or inticing of a maid, pulling off the ſhoe, and divers other things that were not capital, nor concerned life and death, but were of an inferiour concernment and condition. In greater Cites there were *Sanhedrins* of three and twenty, which judged in matters of life and death in ſome caſes; but raught not to all: And there was the great *Sanhedrin* at *Jeruſalem* which was to judge of the greateſt matters. Now a *Sanhedrin* of three and twenty was not ſet up in any great City, but only in ſuch a one as in which were 120 men fit to bear office. כמה יהא בעיר ותהא ראויה לסנהדרין מאה ועשרים *How many are to be in a City that it may be fit to have a Sanhedrin ſet up in it?* It is a queſtion of the *Talmuds* own propoſing, and it giveth this anſwer, *That there are to be* 120. compare *Act.* I. 15. And into what offices or places theſe are to be diſtributed, might be alledged out of the *Gemariſts* and *Maymony*, if it were pertinent to this place: Only theſe many let us name of them. c *Every Sanhedrin of three and twenty, had three forms of Probationers of three and twenty in every form: and when there was need of a man in the Sanhedrin, the biggeſt in the firſt form was fetched in, and made Judge: and the higheſt in the ſecond form came in and ſate loweſt in the firſt form: and the higheſt in the third form came up and ſate loweſt in the ſecond: and ſome other man was found out from abroad, to ſit loweſt in the third form: and ſo the Sanhedrins and the forms were ſtill kept full.*

b Ibid. per. 1.

c Maym. in Sanhedr. per. 1.

Now as the great *Sanhedrin* ſate in the Temple, ſo alſo did two leſſer *Sanhedrins* of three and twenty a piece, the one in the Gate *Shuſhan*, or the Gate of the Mountain of the Houſe, and the other in this Gate of *Nicanor*, or the Gate of the Court: And their riſing to be Judges in the higheſt Court of Seventy one, was firſt by degrees through theſe two.

d Id. ibid. per. 2. d *Whoſoever was found a man of fit and competent qualifications, he was firſt made a Judge in his own City: and thence he was promoted into the Judicatory in the Gate of the Mountain of the Houſe, and from thence into the Judicatory in the Gate of the Court, and ſo at laſt into the great Sanhedrin.* In ſome of theſe Judicatories in the Temple our Saviour ſhewed his wiſdom at twelve years old, *Luke* II. 46. And ſome of theſe Judges were they that tempted him with the queſtion about the Woman taken in Adultery, which was brought to be judged before them, *John* VIII. 4, 5.

In the times before the captivity into *Babylon* the great *Sanhedrin* it ſelf ſate in theſe two Gates, ſometimes in the one, and ſometimes in the other, as they thought good, *Jer.* XXXIV. 4. & XXVI. 10. & XXXVI. 10. but in after times when the room *Gazith* was built, and the great *Sanhedrin* of Seventy one betook it ſelf thither, theſe two Gates were furniſhed, either of them with a leſſer *Sanhedrin* of three and twenty: The place of their ſitting was in ſome room over the Gate: for as it was not poſſible for them to ſit in the very paſſage through which people went and came, ſo was it not lawful for them to ſit in the Gate of *Nicanor*, in that part of the Gate that was within the Court; for within the Court might no man ſit but the King only. Yet might they ſit in the upper rooms though they were within the compaſs of the Courts, for they held them not of ſo great a holineſs as was the ſpace below.

This is the Gate of which *Ezekiel* ſpeaketh, Chap. XLVI. 1, 2. *The Gate of the inner Court that looked toward the Eaſt, ſhall be ſhut for the ſix working days: but on the Sabbath it ſhall be opened, and in the day of the New Moon it ſhall be opened: And the Prince ſhall come by the way of the porch of that Gate without, and ſhall ſtand by the poſt of the Gate, &c.* Before this Gate within had *Solomon* pitched his brazen Scaffold, on which he kneeled and prayed at the Conſecration of the Houſe, 2 *Chron.* VI. 13. compared with 1 *King.* VIII. 22. and in after times the Kings entring in at this Gate had their ſtation within it, as he had given them example, and there ſtood the Kings Pillar as it is called,

2 *Chron.*

2 *Chron.* XXIII. 13. that is, his ſeat was ſet within this Gate in the Court by one of the Pillars that bare up the Cloiſter: For as this Eaſt quarter of the Court was the moſt proper place for the people to worſhip in, ſo moſt eſpecially in that place of it which did moſt directly face the door of the Temple and the Altar before it, and that was in the very entrance up from this Gate it ſelf, and here was the King ſeated by one of the Pillars. Something according to this diſpoſal of the King in his place in the Court doth *Ezekiel* ſpeak, though in his deſcription there is ſome kind of difference for miſtery ſake. You may obſerve in him, that the Eaſt-Gate of the outer Sanctuary was continually ſhut, and the Eaſt-Gate of the inner was ſhut all the ſix days of the week, which were not indeed ſo in the common uſe of the Temple as it ſtood, for both the Gates were daily opened, but he hath ſo charactered them for the higher magnifying of that glory which he ſaith was now entred into the Temple: And whereas indeed the King in his worſhipping did go within the Court, or within the Gate and there worſhip, and there ſit down in the time of Divine Service, he hath brought in the Prince but to the poſts of the Gate, and there ſtanding whileſt his Sacrifice was offering: By his deſcription every one that came up to this Gate, muſt either enter at the North-Gate or South-Gate of the Court of the Women, becauſe the Eaſt-Gate was ſhut, Chap. XLIV. 1. and hereupon is that Injunction, that *when the people of the land come before the Lord in the Solemn Feaſts, he that entreth in by the way of the North-Gate to worſhip, muſt go out by the way of the South-Gate, and he that entreth by the way of the South-Gate, muſt go forth by the way of the North-Gate: he muſt not return by the way of the Gate whereby he came in.* Chap. XLVI. 9. Whereas in the common acceſs to the Temple, as it ſtood either before or after the captivity, the Eaſt-Gate of the Court of the Women was conſtantly open, and their moſt ordinary coming in was at that Gate, and ſo they went up through the Court of the Women to the Gate of *Nicanor*, yea and oftentimes within it into the Court: Yet did they imitate and follow this preſcript of the Prophet, under the ſecond Temple, in not returning and going out at the ſame Gate at which they had come in; The Talmudiſts have this Tradition about this matter, כל הרואין הנכנסין לדרך הבירה נכנסין דרך ימין ומקיפין ויוצאים דרך שמאל e *All that come to the Temple according to the cuſtom of the place, come in at the right hand, and fetch a compaſs and go out at the left*, which meaneth not (as the Gloſſaries do explain it) that a man was always to go out at the Gate oppoſite to that Gate at which he came in, but that he may not go out at the ſame Gate at which he came in, but at ſome other: as came he in at the Eaſt-Gate, he muſt not go out at the Eaſt-Gate again, but at the North or South: Only they give exception in two ſorts of perſons חוץ ממי שארעו דבר *to whom particular occurrences had befallen, for they went about ſtill to the left hand. What is the matter with thee that thou goeſt that way? Becauſe I am a mourner. Now he that dwelleth in this houſe comfort thee. Or becauſe I am an excommunicate: Now he that dwelleth in this houſe put into thy heart that thou mayeſt hearken to the words of thy fellows, and they may receive thee.*

e *Mid. pir.* 21

So that the common and ordinary way of coming into the Temple to worſhip, was to come in at the Eaſt-Gate of the Court of the Women, and up to the Gate of *Nicanor*, and there to worſhip and ſo back again, and out at the North or South door of that Court: The Phariſee in the Parable went up to this Gate as far as he could go, becauſe he would put his ſeeming devotion to the fartheſt, but the poor Publican ſtood a far off. *Luke* XVIII. 13. Even the King himſelf, though he came in on the Weſt-quarter of the Mountain of the Houſe, yet came he down hither to go into the Court of the Women, and ſo up through the Eaſt Gate of the Court, to his ſeat which was before that Gate. The ſtationary men, of whom we have ſpoken in due place, they went within the Gate into the Court of *Iſrael*, and ſo did other *Iſraelites* at the Solemn Feſtivals when there were abundance of Sacrifices, eſpecially at the Paſsover, and he that brought a ſingle Sacrifice, went into the Court at one of the North-Gates of it, of which we ſhall ſpeak when its courſe comes: but ordinarily a man that came into the Temple to pray or to worſhip, and brought not a Sacrifice, he worſhipped before the Gate of *Nicanor* which faced the Gate of the Temple, and ſo returned.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Gates and Buildings in the Court-wall on the East and South sides.

AND now are we come within the Court, where having very many things to survey and take notice of, let us first begin with viewing the Gates and Buildings that were in the Wall which did incloſe it; and first of all let us obſerve the East quarter of the Wall, in which the Gate of *Nicanor* was, which we have newly ſurveyed and at which we entred: There was never a Gate but this in all this East Quarter, nor were there any Buildings in the Wall in this Quarter, but only two, which ſtood on either ſide of the Gate one, and near to the Gate, on your right hand and on your left as you entred in.

a Mid. per. 1. *a* That on your right hand was called לשכת פנחס המלביש *The Chamber of Phineas the Wardrobe man:* of whom there is mention in the Treatiſe *Shekalim*, among the chief Officers in the Temple, *Theſe are the chief Officers in the Sanctuary*, (*b* ſaith the *Talmud* there) *Jochanan the Son of Phinehas over the Seals: Ahijah over the Drink-Offerings: Mathia the Son of Samuel over the Lots: Pethahiah over the Birds* (for Sacrifice) *this Pethahiah was Mordecai, &c. Phinehas over the Wardrobe, &c.* Now the Gloſs upon that place ſaith that theſe men named, were the eminenteſt and worthieſt men that ever were in theſe ſeveral Offices, and that they were not all in one, but in ſeveral generations: *Bartenora* conceiveth that the Office of this *Phinehas* was, *c to array the Prieſts, when they were to go into ſerve, and to diſarray them again when they had done, and to keep their cloathes.* Which we are not to underſtand of his helping them on and off with their Veſtments every day, when they went to and came from the ſervice, for they put them on and off themſelves, but he provided Veſtments for them at their firſt entring into the ſervice, and when they were old he took them into his cuſtody again and provided new. *d* Now this proviſion was at the publick charge, he only took care for it, and the garments being overworn, they were returned again, for the publick uſe, for we have obſerved elſewhere, that they were ravell'd into wick-yarn for the Lamps and for the great Lights at the Feaſt of Tabernacles, at the *Rejoycing for the pouring out of water.*

b Talm. in Shekali. per. 5.

c Bartenin. Mid.

d Maym. in Kelim Mikd. per. 7.

On the left hand of the Gate was לשכת עשה חביתין *The chamber of the Paſtry man*, for ſo let us call him, a man that took care for the providing and preparing of the High-Prieſts dayly Meat-offering which in the *Talmud* Language is commonly called שתי הלחם חביתי כ"ג *e The two cakes of the High-Prieſt*, of which we have ſpoken in due place, and this his dayly Offering was one thing, *f* whereby he was differenced from an ordinary Prieſt.

e Menacoth. fol. 96.

f Maym. in Biath Mikd. per. 4.

There is much diverſity of opinion among the *Jews*, yea even in the *Talmud* it ſelf about the number of the Gates into this Court: In ſome places it reckons *g* ſeven, which indeed was the right number, but in ſome other places there is mention of *h* thirteen: Nay (*i* ſaith the Gloſs upon one place) *ſome there are that reckon ſeven, ſome five, ſome three, ſome thirteen, but the generalty hold for ſeven.* Now the reaſon of this difference is in regard that ſome of them reckon only the Gates of moſt conſtant and frequent paſſage, which were, eſpecially three, namely the Gate of *Nicanor* on the East, and one on the North, and one on the South, of which we ſhall ſpeak ere it be long: others reckon only the Gates which were guarded, which were only five: ſome it ſeems count what Doors went out of the Court, into buildings by it, as well as Gates to paſs through, and ſo they raiſe the number thirteen: But the number that we fix upon is *ſeven*, as moſt generally and moſt properly intertained, both by the Talmudicks and by *Joſephus*, in the ſecond Temple: And how many were in the firſt Temple, we ſhall ſay ſomething to before we have done with the Court. *k* On the South ſides were theſe three Gates. 1. שער מים *The Water-Gate*, which was moſt East of all the three, 2. שער בכורות *The Gate of the Firſtlings*, called alſo ſometimes שער הקרבן *The Gate of Offering*, this was in the middle. And 3. שער הדלק *The Gate of kindling* which was moſt Weſt.

g Mid. per. 1. & Joma fol. 19. 1

h Mid. per. 2. & Shekalim per. 6.

i Gloſſ. in Tamid. per. 1.

k Mid. per. 5. & Maym. in beth. habbech. per. 5.

Now beſides theſe three Gates on the South ſide, there were alſo three other Buildings in the Wall, which bare theſe names. 1. לשכת גזית *The Room-Gazith.* 2. לשכת גולת *The Room of the Draw-well.* And 3. לשכת העץ *The Room of the Wood.* And ſo we have the materials or ſubject of our Survey on this South ſide before us: let us now fall to work, and obſerve the ſituation and uſe of theſe ſeveral places.

And

And first *o Josephus* as he giveth testimony to this number that we fix upon, when he saith that ὁ ἐντὸς περίβολος κατὰ μὲν τὸ νότιον καὶ βόρειον κλῖμα τρισίχους πυλῶνας εἶχε, *this inward bound had three Gates, North, and South,* so doth he also give us good light for the situation of them when he saith, *they were* ἀλλήλων διεστῶτας, *equidistant one from another.* He had said much the like concerning the Gates that were in the outmost Wall or bound, (namely that that inclosed the Mountain of the House) *that the Gates in it on the South side were p* κατὰ μέσον that is, so set, as that there was an equal space betwixt Gate and Gate, and betwixt either Gate and the corners of the Wall: And so doth *Symmetrie* and the rules of the best proportion ingage us to understand his expression about these Gates in the like sense; namely, that they both stood at an equal distance one from another, and that the two outmost stood at the same distance from those corners towards which they stood.

o Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 15.

p Id. ibid.

Now the length of the Court (and so of this Wall) being an hundred eighty seven cubits, the situation of the Gates according to the *Symmetry* will fall into these proportions: From the East corner of the Wall, forty six cubits and three quarters upwards towards the West, was the very middle of *the Water-Gate:* As much forward still, was the middle of *the Gate of the firstlings:* the same measure still forward, was the middle of *the Gate of kindling*; and as much yet forward, taught to the West-Angle of the Wall: And so may we best and most uniformly conceive of the situation of the Gates. And therefore whereas the Hebrew Writers do most ordinarily when they speak of these Gates, say that they were סמוכים למערב *q Near the West,* it is not to be so taken as if they were all crowded toward the West corner, but it is spoken in comprehension of both Courts together, the Womens and this.

q Vid. Maym. ubi supr. & ibid. Mid.

As for the three several buildings that were also on this side intermixed with the Gates, these things may be observed towards their posture and situation. 1. That *the Water-Gate and the Draw-Well Room* do seem by their very names to refer one to another, as that it is not proper to part them, and howsoever there was something else in the reason of the name of *the Water-Gate,* besides its standing so near the Draw-Well, yet shall we observe hereafter that this might be also one reason of the name of it, and that those two did indeed stand joyning together. 2. The *Talmud* saith the roofs of these three peeces of building were even (*Mid. per.* 5.) by which it seemeth that they stood not at distance one from another but conjoyning, but only that a Gate interposed between them. 3. We shall see anon out of the *Jerusalem Talmud,* that the *Water-Gate* and the *Wood-room* stood joyning together. 4. The *Talmud, Maymony,* and other of the Jewish Writers speaking of, and naming these three rooms, do ever set *Gazith* first or last, and thereby they shew that it stood on the out-side one way or other, East or West, and stood not in the middle. 5. If we set it further West, it will then stand in the Lot of *Benjamin,* whereas the great *Sanhedrin* which sate in it, *r* are held by the Jews, and that upon good ground, to have sitten in that part of the Court that was in the Tribe of *Judah, Gen.* XLIX. 10. Therefore in most propriety (these things considered) must it be concluded that *Gazith* did stand below the *Draw-Well,* the *Draw-Well* below the *Water-Gate,* or more toward the East corner of the Court; the *Water-Gate* below *the Room of the Wood,* and all these joyning together, as their situation will be confirmed in our further progress: we will first begin at the East corner where was the room or building *Gazith.*

r Talm. in Zevachin. fol. 54.

CHAP. XXII.

The Chamber or Room Gazith, the seat of the Great Sanhedrin.

THE building *Gazith* (*a* so called because it was made of stone neatly wrought, as the word is used 1 *King.* V. 16.) appeareth *b* by the Author of *Juchasin* to have been built by *Simeon ben Shetah c* who was the Vice-President of the *Sanhedrin,* when *Judah ben Tabbai* was *Nasi* in the sixth Generation from *Ezra, d* even in the time of *Hyrcanus Jannæus* the *Asmonæan.* It was חצייה קודש חצייה חול *e half of it holy, and half of it common*; that is, half of it stood within the Court, and half of it within the חיל *Chel,* and it had a Door into either place. *f* And in that half of it that stood in the חיל *Chel,* did the Great Council or *Sanhedrin* sit, of seventy one Judges: Now a special reason why they sate on that side of the House, which was in the חיל *Chel* was, because it was not lawful for any Man whosoever to sit within the verge of the Court unless it were the King, אין ישיבה בעזרה אלא למלכי בית דויד בלבד *g there is no Man may sit in the Court unless it be one of the Kings of the House of David.* In the other part of

a Aruch. in גזת
b Juchan. f. 16.
c Avoth. per. 1. Sect. 8.
d Jucha. ubi supra.
e Joma per. 2. in Gemara fol. 25.
f Maym. in beth. habbech per. 5.
g Vid. R. Sol. & Kimch. in 1 King XII. *& Midr. Tillin. in* Psal I. *ab initio.*

of this building which ſtood within the Court, the Prieſts uſed to caſt lots daily for the diſtribution of the Service amongſt them; of which we have ſpoken largely elſewhere.

We cannot come ſo near the Great *Sanhedrin*, as to ſurvey the Room in which they ſate, but that we muſt take ſome notice of them before we go, and look a little into their conſtitution, ſitting, power and ſtory: They will not take it well if we paſs by them and take no notice of them at all.

h Talm. in Sanhedr. per. 1. The *h* number of the Judges in this High Court was ſeventy and one, anſwering to *Moſes* and the Seventy Elders choſen by him, when God in the Wilderneſs did firſt ordain this great Judicatory, *Numb.* XI. They were to be indifferently choſen of Prieſts, Levites, and Iſraelites, (the New Teſtament often expreſſeth the diſtinction, by Chief Prieſts, Scribes and Elders) אפי הוו כלם ישראל הרי זה מותר but if Prieſts and Levites fitly qualified were not to be found, *i if all the Council were Men of other Tribes, it was good and lawful.*

i Maym. in Sanhedr. per. 1.

k Id. ibid. per. 2. Their *k* qualifications muſt be, that they muſt be Religious and Learned both in Arts and Languages: muſt have ſome skill in Phyſick, Arithmetick, Aſtronomy, Aſtrology, yea to know what belonged to Magick, Sorcery, and Idolatry, that ſo they might know to judge of them: They were to be without maim or blemiſh of body, Men of years, but not extream old, becauſe commonly ſuch are of too much ſeverity, and they muſt be Fathers of Children, that they might be acquainted with tenderneſs and compaſſion.

Their manner of ſitting was thus; The eminenteſt among them for worth and wiſdom, they appointed to be the chief in the Council, and him they called the *Naſi* or *Preſident*, and him they took to repreſent *Moſes*. Then the next eminent, they choſe to be his ſecond, and him they called *Abh beth Din*, *The Father of the Council*, or *Vice-Preſident*. He ſate upon the right hand of the *Naſi*, (compare the Phraſe of *ſitting on the right hand of power*, Matth. XXVI. 64.) and then the whole *Sanhedrin* ſate on the one hand and on the other in a ſemicircle. On the right hand before them, and on the left there were two Clarks of the Council, one Regiſtred the acquitting Votes and Teſtimonies, and the other the caſting: compare, *Matth.* XXV. 33.

l Id. ibid. per. 3. The *l* proper and conſtant time of their ſitting, was from the end of the Morning Service, to the beginning of the Evening Service, and ſo their ſitting and the Divine Service did not claſh one with another: yet ſometime did occaſions that came before them, prolong their Seſſion even until night, and then they might determine the matter that they had been debating on by day: but they might not begin a new buſineſs by night: They violated their own cuſtom and tradition in judging of *Chriſt* by night.

It was in their power and cogniſance to judge all perſons, and all matters (yet inferior matters they meddled not withal, but referred them to inferior Courts) inſomuch that they judged a whole Tribe, a Prophet, the High-Prieſt: nay the King himſelf if there

m Id. in. were occaſion: *m If the High-Prieſt did any thing that deſerved whipping they whipped him*

n Id. in Sanhedr. per. 2. (ſaith *Maymony*) *and reſtored him to his dignity again: n And although they admitted not the King of the Houſe of David to be a member of the Sanhedrin* (ſaith the ſame Author) *yet did the Kings judge the people, and the Sanhedrin judged them if there were occaſion:* They had theſe two Traditions clean contrary one to another, and yet both of force and took place in their ſeveral ſeaſons, המלך דן ודנין אותו *The King judgeth and they judge him:* And המלך לא דן ולא דנין אותו *The King judgeth not and they judge not him:*

o Sanhedr. per. 2. in Gemar. *o* The former was in vigour, till King *Jannai* was convented before them, and then becauſe partiality could not be prevented they enacted the latter.

p Ibid. per. 7. Of *p* capital penalties, in which kind of matters they eſpecially judged, they had four ſorts: ſtoning, burning, ſlaying with the ſword, and ſtrangling. In reference to which

q Targ. in Ruth. I. 16. the *Targum on Ruth* hath this Gloſs in the firſt Chapter, Verſ. 16. *q Naomi ſaid unto her, we are commanded to keep Sabbaths and Holy days, ſo that we may not walk above two thouſand cubits: Ruth ſaith, whitherſoever thou goeſt, I will go: Naomi ſaith, we are commanded not to lodge together with the heathen; Ruth ſaith, where thou lodgeſt I will lodge: Naomi ſaith, we are commanded to keep the ſix hundred and thirteen Commandments; Ruth ſaith, what thy people obſerve I will obſerve as if they were my people: Naomi ſaith, we are commanded not to worſhip ſtrange Gods; Ruth ſaith, thy God ſhall be my God: Naomi ſaith, we have four judicial deaths for offenders, ſtoning with ſtones, burning with fire, killing with the ſword, and hanging on the tree; Ruth ſaith, as thou dieſt I will die.*

r Sanhedr. ubi ſupr. 1. Thoſe *r* whom they burned they uſed thus: They ſet them up to the knees in a Dunghil, and two with a Towel about his neck pulled and ſtrained him till he opened his mouth wide, and then they poured in ſcalding Lead which ran down into his bowels.

2. Thoſe that were ſtrangled, they alſo ſet up to the knees in a Dunghil, and two with a Towel ſtifled and ſtrangled him, the one pulling at the one end, and the other at the other, till he died.

3. Thoſe whom they ſlew with the Sword, they did it by beheading them.

4. Whom

4. Whom [s] they ſtoned they ſtoned naked: firſt one of the witneſſes threw him of puſhed him that he might daſh his loins againſt a ſtone, if that killed him, there was no more adoe, if it did not, the other witneſs took a great ſtone and daſhed it on his breaſt as he lay on his back, if that killed him there was an end, if not, all the people flang ſtones at him: This helps us to underſtand what is meant by the Witneſſes laying down their Garments at *Saul*'s feet, at the ſtoning of *Stephen*, *Act.* VII. 58. namely becauſe they were to be imployed firſt in his ſtoning, and they laid by their upper Garments that they might not trouble them. And this illuſtrates that paſſage of our Saviour, which indeed alludes to this manner of ſtoning. *Whoſoever ſhall fall upon this ſtone ſhall be broken: but on whomſoever it ſhall fall, it will grind him to powder*, Matth. XXI. 44. for he that was ſtoned, was firſt hung upon a ſtone, and then a ſtone was daſhed upon him. Theſe that were ſtoned were alſo hanged: there is ſome diſpute among the Talmudiſts whether all were hanged that were ſtoned: but howſoever, they conclude that Blaſphemers and Idolaters were: and this helps us ſtill to underſtand the uſage of *Stephen* whom they condemned and ſtoned for blaſphemy, for ſo they made it: He was firſt daſhed upon a ſtone by one of the Witneſſes, and then a huge ſtone daſhed upon him by the other, yet died he not by either of theſe, but recovered his knees again, and died kneeling and praying, all the people flinging ſtones at him; and afterward he was hanged upon a Gibbet, and that night taken down and buried: for ſo was the Law that he ſhould not hang upon the Tree all night: Now his burial was different from the common burial of thoſe that were Executed: as *Chriſt*'s was alſo, being beg'd by *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*: for whereas the *Sanhedrin* had two burying places for Executed Malefactors, one for thoſe that were ſtoned and that were burnt, and the other for thoſe that were ſlain with the ſword and that were ſtrangled, it appeareth that ſome devout Chriſtians took down the body of *Stephen* and made a ſolemn burial for him in ſome other place.

[s] *Ibid. ptr. 6.*

Although the *Sanhedrin* did ſit in the Temple, yet were the Executions without the City: as *Levit.* XXIV. 14. *Deut.* XVII. 5. *Heb.* XIII. 12. *Act.* VII. 58. whipping and ſtocking was executed often in the Temple, as *Deut.* XXV. 2. *Jer.* XX. 2. and for this purpoſe they had their שוטרים *Sarjeants* for Officers ready attending them continually for the execution of ſuch a penalty. שוטרים הם עלי מקל ורצועה [t] *The Shoterim* (ſaith *Maymony*) *were ſuch as carried Rods and Whips: and they ſtood before the Judges: they went about the ſtreets and Inns to look to meaſures and weights, and to beat every offender: and all their doings were by the appointment of the Judges: and whomſoever they ſaw offending, they brought him to the Judges, and they judged him according to his offence.*

[t] *Maym. ubi ſupr. ptr. 1.*

This [u] *great Sanhedrin in Gazith* הם עקר תורה שנערל פיה ועמודי הוראה *was the foundation of the traditional Law and pillar of inſtruction* (compare the phraſe 1 *Tim.* III. 15.) *and from them decrees and judgments went out for all Iſrael. And whoſoever believed Moſes and his Law, was bound to reſt upon them for matters of the Law.* Thus *Maymony* in the place cited in the Margin. Therefore in all doubts, about Judicial matters, the ultimate recourſe was hither as to a determiner not to be doubted of or varied from. The manner was thus: [w] Had a Man occaſion to inquire about any ſuch matter, he went firſt to the Judicatory that was in his own City: if they could reſolve it, well and good: if they could not, one of them went to the next *Sanhedrin*: if that could not reſolve it, he went to the *Sanhedrin* of the three and twenty in the Gate of the Mountain of the Houſe: if that could not, he went to the other *Sanhedrin* of three and twenty in the Gate of *Nicanor*: and if that could not, he went to this in the Room *Gazith*, and there he received a poſitive determination: which for him being a Judge to tranſgreſs againſt, it brought him under the notion of זקן ממרא *A rebellious Elder*, and in danger of trying for his life.

[u] *Id. in Mamrim. ptr. 1.*

[w] *Talm. In Sanhedr. ptr. 11.*

SECT. I.

The Preſidents of the Sanhedrin from the Captivity to its diſſolution.

HAving digreſſed thus far in viewing the Judicatory that ſate in the Room *Gazith*, let it be excuſable yet a little further to interrupt our further ſurvey ſo far as to take a Catalogue and notice alſo particularly of all the heads or Preſidents of this Court, in the generations, from the return out of the *Babylonian* Captivity, till City, Temple and *Sanhedrin* came to nothing: as their names and order are recorded in the Jewiſh Writers: as in the Talmudick Treatiſe *Avoth*: in *Avoth Rabbi Nathan*: in the Preface of *Maymony* to *Jadh*: in the Author of *Juchaſin*: and in diſperſed paſſages in the *Talmuds*.

1. The firſt was *Ezra*, of whom there is ſo renowed mention in the Scripture. The *Sanhedrin* of his time, is ordinarily called by the Jews כנסת גדולה *the great Synagogue*, and thoſe eminent perſons are reckoned of it, which are named, *Ezr.* II. 2. *Zerubbabel*, *Joſhua*, *Nehemiah*, *Seraiah*, *Reelaiah*, *Mordecai*, &c. He is ſaid to have come up to *Jeruſalem* in the ſeventh year of *Darius*, *Ezr.* VII. 8. which was four and twenty years after the peoples return

return out of *Babylon*, and how the *Sanhedrin* was diſpoſed of before that time, is hard to determine. His *Sanhedrin* or *great Synagogue* is ordinarily reckoned of an hundred and twenty Men (compare *Act.* I. 15.) but whether all at once or ſucceſſively, it is not much important to diſpute here. He lived by the computation of ſome Chroniclers of his own Nation, till that very year that *Alexander the Great* came to *Jeruſalem*, and then died on the tenth day of the month *Tebeth:* and ſo by their account he wore out both the *Babylonian* and *Perſian* Monarchies; they hold alſo that *Haggai*, and *Zachary*, and *Malachi* died the ſame year with him, and then Prophecy departed. Compare *Act.* XIX. 2.

2. *Simeon the juſt:* Some Hebrew Writers that doubt not that he was head of the *Sanhedrin*, do yet queſtion whether he were High Prieſt, or an ordinary Prieſt, but *Joſephus* who wrote in Greek, aſſerteth him for High Prieſt: And ſome again that hold him to have been High Prieſt can find in their hearts to think that he was the very ſame with *Jaddua*, but *Joſephus* doth clearly diſtinguiſh them, placing *Simeon* after *Jaddua* and *Onias* between. The times of his Government may be diſcovered by obſerving that *Eleazer* his Brother who ſucceeded him in the High Prieſthood was he, to whom *Ptolomy Philadelphus* ſent for the *Septuagint*, to tranſlate the Bible. There are exceeding high things ſpoken of this *Simeon* by his Countrymen, ſome of which, we have mentioned elſewhere; to which I ſhall only add this record of him, *That in his time the ſcarlet liſt on the Scape-Gotes head turned white: that the lot for the Scape-Goat ever came up in his right hand: that the weſtern Lamp never went out, and the fire on the Altar ever burnt pleaſantly, but when he died its force abated.* This Adagie is aſcribed to him: *The world ſtandeth upon three things, upon the Law, upon Religion, and upon ſhewing Mercy*; He was ſurnamed, *the Juſt*, διὰ τε τὸ πρὸς θεὸν ἐυσεβὲς ἡ τὸ πρὸς τὸς ὁμοφύλας ἔυνον, *Both becauſe of his piety towards God, and his good will towards his Nation*, Joſph. *Ant. lib.* 12. *cap.* 2.

3. *Antigonus of Soco:* He was the Maſter of *Sadoc* and *Baithus*, who miſtaking and miſconſtruing his good Doctrine, vented the Hereſie againſt the Reſurrection: his Doctrine was this, *Be not as Servants that ſerve their Maſter becauſe of receiving a reward, but be as Servants that ſerve their Maſter, not becauſe of receiving a reward, but let the fear of Heaven be upon you:* which his crooked Diſciples conſtrued into this impious ſenſe, that there was no reward at all to be had for the ſervice of God, and ſo they denied the world to come. But his Scholars, *Joſeph ben Joezer* and *Joſeph ben Jochanan* held orthodox.

4. *Joſi*, or *Joſeph, ben Joezer* of *Zeredah* (*Jeroboams* Town, 1 *King.* XI. 26.) he had *Joſi* or *Joſeph ben Jochanan* of *Jeruſalem* for his Vice-Preſident. Here the *Talmudick* Records begin to reckon them זוגות *by couples*, That is, the Preſident and Vice-Preſident both: not but that there were Vice-Preſidents before, but they be not named, and ſo were there after the times of *Hillel* alſo, though they be not named then neither.

This *Joſeph ben Joezer* had Children ſo untoward, that he would not leave them his Land but bequeathed it to pious uſes.

5. *Joſhua the Son of Perchiah* Preſident: *Nittai the Arbelite* Vice-Preſident. This *Joſhua* is Recorded to have lived in the time of King *Jannai*, called alſo *Alexander*, the Son of *Hyrcanus:* This *Hyrcanus* was likewiſe called *Jannai*; he affected the Kingdom, and thereupon the wiſe men or great ones of that time would have put him from the High Prieſthood: but he maintained his ſtation by the ſword, for he ſlew divers of the wiſe men, which cauſed *Joſhua the Son of Perahiah* to flee to *Alexandria*, but he was recalled, upon the mediation of *Simeon ben Shetah.*

6. *Judah the Son of Tabbai* Preſident: *Simeon ben Shetah* Vice-Preſident. A gallant pair for integrity and juſtice: Were their lives to be written, moſt eminent actions of theirs might be related which are recorded of them: as that they hanged fourſcore Witches in one day: Judged King *Jannai:* the one of them wept daily for an error of Judgment that he had committed, and the other preferred the execution of juſtice, before the ſafety of his own Son. This *Simeon ben Shetah* is he whom we ſuppoſe the builder of this Room *Gazith* that we are ſurveying.

7. *Shemaiah* Preſident, and *Abtalion* Vice-Preſident: Theſe were Kinſmen, and of the poſterity of *Sennacharib*, but their Mother was an *Iſraelite.*

8. *Hillel* Preſident, and *Shammai* Vice-Preſident: At firſt it was *Hillel* and *Menahem*, but *Menahem* departed to the ſervice of *Herod:* *Hillel* was one of the eminenteſt that ever was among the Jewiſh Doctors both for birth, learning, rule and children: He was of the ſeed of *David* by his Mothers ſide, being of the poſterity of *Shephatiah* the Son of *Abital*, *David's* Wife. He was brought up in *Babel*, from whence he came up to *Jeruſalem* at forty years old, and there ſtudied the Law forty years more, under *Shemaiah* and *Abtalion*, and after them he was Preſident of the *Sanhedrin* forty years more: The beginning of his Preſidency is generally concluded upon to have been juſt an hundred years before the Temple was deſtroyed: by which account, he began eight and twenty years before our Saviour was born, and died when he was about twelve years old. He is renowned for his fourſcore Scholars, one among which was *Jonathan ben Uzziel*, the Chaldee paraphraſt, &c.

9. *Rab-*

9. *Rabban Simeon, Hillel*'s Son: This man was firſt dignified with the title *Rabban*, he is ſuppoſed to be the *Simeon* mentioned *Luk.* II. that took *Chriſt* in his Arms, and for that, it is conceived that he is not of ſo frequent and honourable mention among the Jewiſh Writers as others of the ſame rank with him are, they not well reliſhing his confeſſion of *Chriſt*, whom they deny: He began his Preſidentſhip about the thirteenth year of our Saviours age, if the date and account of *Hillel*'s rule mentioned before be current, and how long he ſate Preſident, no one mentions, but ſome aſſert that his rule was not long. The Author of *Juchaſin* relateth that he is never mentioned in the *Miſhneh*, or in the Code of the Jews Traditions; it may be his embracing Chriſtianity made him cool towards their Traditions, ſo that there is none to Father on him, as there are on the other Doctors. It is like he was a ſecret profeſſor of *Chriſt*, as *Nicodemus* was, and kept both his place and profeſſion.

10. *Rabban Gamaliel, Simeons* Son: This was he under whom *Paul* was brought up, *Act.* XXII. 3. and ſee *Act.* V. 34. He was Preſident of the Council when *Chriſt* was arraigned: and lived two and twenty years after: *Onkelos* the Targumiſt of the Law, did ſolemnly celebrate his Funerals: He is commonly ſtyled *Rabban Gamaliel the old*, either becauſe he was the firſt of that name, or becauſe he was of a long life: Of him they have this ſaying in the laſt Chapter of the Treatiſe *Sotah*: *From the time that Rabban Gamaliel the old died, the honour of the Law failed, and purity and Phariſaiſm died.*

11. *Rabban Simeon, Gamaliel*'s Son: He was ſlain at the deſtruction of the Temple: and ſo ſhould his Son alſo have been, had not *Rabban Jochanan ben Zaccai*, being in favour with *Cæſar*, begged his life: And thus have we followed the ſucceſſion of the Preſidents of the *Sanhedrin* till the Temple and City fell: but the *Sanhedrin* fell not as yet, but continued in a flitting and languiſhing condition for a good ſpace ſtill, and had its Preſidents till it fell alſo, which were theſe:

12. *Rabban Jochanan ben Zaccai*: He was not of the blood of *Hillel*, but he was his Scholar: He came to be Preſident upon the death of *Rabban Simeon* laſt mentioned; his Sanhedrin ſate at *Jabneh*.

13. *Rabban Gamaliel of Jabneh*: This was *Rabban Simeon*'s Son whom *Rabban Jochanan ben Zaccai* begged from death, of the hands of *Cæſar*, at the ſlaughter of his Father, his minority made him unfit for the Preſidency when his Father was ſlain, therefore *Rabban Jochanan ben Zaccai*, bare that place, and after his death this *Rabban Gamaliel* ſucceeded.

14. *Rabban Simeon*, the Son of *Gamaliel of Jabneh*.

15. *Rabbi Judah*, the Son of this *Rabban Simeon*: He is eminently called *Rabbi* and *Rabenu haccadoſh*: He collected and compiled the *Miſhnaioth*.

16. *Rabban Gamaliel*, the Son of *Rabbi Judah*: Here the title *Rabban* expired: and the *Sanhedrin* was gone.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Draw-Well Room. לשכת הגולה

AT the Weſt end of this famous Room *Gazith*, there was the Houſe which was called לשכת גולה the *Houſe or Room of the Draw-Well*: and the reaſon of the name was, ששם היה בור קבוע הגלגל נתון עליו ומשם מספיקים מים לכל העזרה *a Becauſe there was a Well ſunk there, with a wheel over it, and from thence they fetched up water to ſerve all the Court.* a *Mid.* per. 5.

It was not a little water that was uſed and ſpent at the Temple for the filling of the Lavers, boiling the Offerings, waſhing the Sacrifices, nay for waſhing of the Court, and filling Ciſterns for the Prieſts to bath in: It was not a ſmall quantity of water that did ſerve theſe turns, and yet the Temple never wanted, but had it always in great abundance: The place it ſelf was dry, rocky, and without water, *b* but they conveyed their water in pipes thither from a place at ſome diſtance where there was a ſpring head that lay convenient for ſuch a purpoſe, which was called עין עיטם *The fountain Etam*: Of this the *Babylon Talmud* diſcourſeth in the place alledged in the Margin and to this purpoſe, *c The Houſe of the Sanctuary was higher than the Land of Iſrael, and the Land of Iſrael was higher than other Lands: They knew not the like: as they produce in the Book of Joſhua; It is written throughout. The border went down, and the border went up, and the border reached*, &c. *But of the Tribe of Benjamin it is written the border went up, but it is not written the border went down. Learn from hence, that this was a place thought fit to build the Sanctuary in, by the Fountain Etam, becauſe it was high: But they ſaid, let us bring it a little lower, becauſe it* b *Maym. in Beath. Mikdaſh.* per. 5.

c *Zevachin*, per. 5. fol. 54. fac. 2.

it is written, And he shall dwell between his shoulders, Deut. XXXIII. 12. Their meaning is this; that whereas the Sanctuary was to be higher than the rest of the Land, and whereas the tenor and scope of the Scripture holdeth out the Tribe of *Benjamin* to be highest, because all ascending and no going down is mentioned in the *Chorography* of his Tribe, therefore they thought of building the Temple by the Fountain *Etam* which was the highest ground of *Benjamin*: but when they considered upon *Moses* his prophecy that God should dwell *between the shoulders* of *Benjamin* and not *upon his head*; they thereupon chose *Moriah* a lower ground, and brought their water from *Etam* thither: *d An Aquæduct came from Etam*, saith the *Jerusalem Talmud* in the place quoted in the Margin: It is scarce within the bounds of the subject that we have in hand, to go about to search where this *Etam* was. There is a place in the Tribe of *Simeon* that is called by this name, 1 *Chron.* IV. 32. now though it is true that *Simeon* and *Judah* lay intermixed in their habitations, yet I believe this intermixture was not so near *Jerusalem* as our *Etam* was. There is mention of *the Rock Etam*, *Judg.* XV. 8. and of *the City Etam*, 1 *Chron.* XI. 6. let the Reader be his own chooser whether of these he will take for the place that we are upon, or whether he will refuse both: I only mention them; It belongeth rather to a survey of the Land, than of the Temple, to debate the matter to a determination. The Gloss upon the place of the *Talmud* cited above, saith *e It seemeth that the Fountain Etam was the Well of the waters of Nephtoah, of which there is mention*, Jos. XVIII. 15. And to the like purpose speaketh *Kimchi* in this Comment upon that place of *Joshua*, *f They say* (saith he) *that the Well of the waters of Nephtoah was the Well Etam which is mentioned by our Rabbins*: This place appeareth to have lain Westward of the Temple, and the Pipes from it to have come down upon that quarter, and to have passed along on the South-side of the House it self, in the place called *the coming down of the waters*, of which we have spoken before, and so to have been disposed of into the several Offices about the Court: and that in such abundance, as that it ran continually, and yielded water and to spare, upon all occasions: we shall have occasion to look after it again when we come to speak of the Molten Sea.

d Talm. Jerus. in Joma per. 3. fol. 41.

e Gloss. in Zevachim ubi supr.

f Kimch. in Josh. XVIII.

Of this conveyance of water, *Aristeas*, an eye-witness and spectator of it, giveth testimony, in these words, *g* Ὕδατος δὲ ἀνέκλειπτος ἐστὶ σύστασις, ὡς ἂν καὶ πήγης ἔσωθεν πολυῤῥυτοῦ φυσικῶς ἐπιῤῥεούσης, &c. *There was a continual supply of water: as if there had sprung an abundant Fountain underneath. And there were wonderful and unexpressible receptacles under ground, as appeared five furlongs space about the Temple: each one of which had divers Pipes, by which waters came in on every side, all these were of Lead, underground, and much earth laid upon them: And there were many vents on the Pavement, not to be seen at all, but to those that served; so that in a trice and easily, all the blood of the Sacrifices could be washed away, though it were never so much. And I will tell you how I came to know of these underground receptacles: they brought me out more than four furlongs space out of the City, and one had me stoop down at a certain place and listen what a noise the meeting of the waters made.*

g Aristeas Hist. Lxx. interp. in Biblioth. patr. Tom. 2. Græcolat. pag. 856.

Now whereas it seemeth by this testimony, that water came to the Temple from several other places about *Jerusalem*, as well as from *Etam*, we shall not be much scrupulous about it, though among the Talmudicks I meet with no such intimation, but since they name *Etam* as the most eminent, and from whence the chiefest Vessels in the Temple were continually supplied, it may suffice to look after that only, and this may be enough to have spoken of it.

The Draw-Well, which and whose room we are now surveying *h* is said to have been sunk or digged by the Children of the captivity upon their return and building of the Temple. But whether to a Spring that was in that place, or whether as a Cistern to receive the water from *Etam*, if it shall be questioned, there might be several reasons given to prove that it was for the later purpose: As, 1. Because it is not easie to conceive a Spring in that rocky place as Mount *Moriah* was, especially there having been none there looked after under the first Temple. 2. Because both the *Talmudists* and *Aristeas* cited before, do bring all the supply of water from other places. 3. Because the Laver is said in the testimony alledged out of the *Jerusalem Talmud*, to be supplied from the Well *Etam*, which that it was supplied from this Draw-Well we shall see hereafter. And, 4. Because there is mention of בית דורדת מים *The place of the coming down of the water* on the South side of the Temple, which hath been shewed in its due place, not capable of any construction so proper as this, that the Pipes from *Etam* came down along there.

h Gloss. in Mishnaioth in octav. in Mid. per. 5.

The waters then from that Fountain *Etam* being gathered into this Well or great Cistern, were from hence dispersed into the several Offices and places where water was necessary (as the new River from the Water-house into *London*) a Wheel being used to raise it and force it up into the Pipes or conveyances that were to carry it into the several receptacles and uses: For in some places there were Baths on the very top of the Gates, and buildings, as we shall observe as we go along, and to keep them full and in a continual supply of water, was required, some inforcing of the water up, which was done by the use and activity of this Wheel.

Now

Now over this Well there was a fair building, ſuitable to the reſt of the buildings about the Court, and it had a Door into the Court, that the Prieſts might readily and without going about, ſtep out of the Court into it, when they had occaſion to fetch up water for any uſe. And ſo are we to underſtand of that paſſage in the Treatiſe *Tamid*, where ſpeaking of him to whoſe lot it had fallen to cleanſe the Burnt-offering Altar in a morning, it ſaith thus: *i He that had it allotted to him to cleanſe the Altar muſt cleanſe it: And they ſay to him, Take heed that thou touch not the Veſſel, until thou haſt waſhed thy hands and thy feet: (now the diſh into which he was firſt to take up the aſhes, was ſet between the riſe of the Altar and the Altar in a corner on the Weſt-ſide of the riſe:) No Man went into the Court with him* (for all the reſt of the Prieſts ſtaid ſtill in the Lottery room) *nor had he any Candle in his hand, but he went by the light of the fire on the Altar: and they ſaw him not, neither heard they his voice, until they heard the noiſe of the Engine that Ben Kattim made, namely the Engine of the Laver: and then they ſaid he is about waſhing his hands and feet at the Laver.* Now whatſoever this Engine of *Ben Kattim*'s making was, which we ſhall inquire into afterward, it is undoubted that the water in which he waſhed at the Laver, was drawn out of the Draw-Well and conveyed into it after what manner we ſhall ſee anon, for the water might not ſtand in the Laver all night: And ſo it is apparent that this Prieſt that thus waſhed his hands and feet, was got into the Well-room out of the Court, when the Gates of the Court were not yet opened, but went into it through a Door that went into that Room out of the Court. i Talm. in Tamid. per. 1.

This helpeth to underſtand that paſſage of *Ezekiel* of the living waters, *Ezek.* XLVII. which are ſaid there to come down on the right ſide of the Houſe on the South ſide of the Altar, *verſ.* 1. alluding to the coming of the water into the Temple from *Etam* a Spring ſhut up and a Fountain ſealed for that purpoſe: for the Pipes that brought the water from it, came down on the South ſide of the Temple, in the place that was called הורדת המים *The coming down of the water*, of which we have ſpoken already, and ſo into this Ciſtern in the Well-room, juſt over againſt the Altar, on the South ſide of it, and ſo was carried into the ſeveral Offices of the Temple, &c.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Water-Gate שער המים *and the Room of Abhtines.* עליית בית אבטינס

AT the Weſt end of the Draw-Well Room, was a Gate that opened directly upon the Altar, which was called *a the Water-Gate.* The Reader will readily conceive the reaſon of the name to have been, becauſe it joyned ſo cloſe to the Water-Houſe, and this Etymology might be very current and allowable, but the Talmudiſts give other reaſons of the name beſides. The *Miſhneh* in the Treatiſe *Shekalim*, hath this ſpeech upon it. *b Why is the name of it called the Water-Gate? Becauſe through it the brought the Tankard of water, which was for the pouring out of water at the Feaſt of Tabernacles. Rabbi Eliezer the Son of Jacob ſaith, becauſe the waters ran out thereby, which came from under the threſhold, Ezek.* XLVII. Of theſe two reaſons the former is more generally intertained for current, and it is indeed the more reaſonable in it ſelf. I have ſhewed in the Treatiſe of the Temple Service, *Chap.* XVI. *Sect.* 4. how high and how ſtrange a ſolemnity the Jews had at the Feaſt of Tabernacles, of pouring out of water upon the Altar, and rejoycing after it: For whereas all the year beſides their libation נסיך or pouring out the Drink-offering was of Wine alone, they now added and mingled water with it, and took ſuch joy and rejoycing upon that action, as the like was not uſed at any other occaſion: the manner and reaſon of which is fully diſcourſed in that place: *c Now how was this libation of water?* (ſaith the *Talmud* in *Succah*) *There was a golden Tankard that contained three logs: One filled it at Siloam, and brought it in at the Water-Gate: and the Trumpets ſounded*, &c. *Siloam* Fountain lay South of *Jeruſalem* (although the Pool of *Siloam* lay on the Weſt) and from thence the next way poſſibly to the Altar was through this Gate, it facing the Altar and the riſe to it, and it was no marvel, if, ſeeing the pouring out of water in libation was reputed ſo high a matter, the Gate through which it was brought did take its name from the bringing of that water through it. And it is not to be paſſed without obſervation, that they fetched their water for this ſolemn libation from *Siloam* a great way off, when the *Draw-Well* was ſo near at hand to have ſupplied it.

a *Mid.* per. 5. & *Maym. in* beth habbechir. per. 5. & *Shekalim* per. 5.

b *Shekal. ibid.*

c *Succah.* per. 4.

There is mention of a *Water-Gate* in *Nehem.* VIII. 3. where it is ſaid that *Ezra* read in the Book of the Law *before the Street that was before the Water-Grte:* but this was a Gate of the City, and not of the Temple, as is apparent in the ſame Book of *Nehem. Chap.* III. *verſ.* 26.

verſ. 26. and whether it took that name from the waters iſſuing out of *Solomon's* Pool and running that way, or from the waters running that way from the Temple, as *Ezek.* XLVII. 2. it is not a place here to diſcuſs.

d Talmid. Jeruſ. in Joma, per. 1.

Over *d* this Gate of the Temple that we are about, which was called *the Water-Gate*, there was a Room or Chamber which was called עליית בית אבטינס *The Chamber of the Family of Abhtines.* This *Abhtines* was one of the chief Men that gave denomination to the Office of which they were, to ſucceeding generations (as we obſerved e're while alſo about *Phineas the Man of the Wardrobe*, or Veſtry) and he is mentioned in the Treatiſe *Shekalim*, where all thoſe chief Officers are reckoned up, which Record let us here take out at large, *e* Theſe were chief Officers which were in the Temple: *Jochanan the Son of Phinehas over the Seals:* (what theſe Seals were, I have ſhewed in the Temple Service, *pag.* 16.) *Ahijah over the Drink-offerings. Mathia the Son of Samuel over the Lots:* (ſee there *pag.* 102, 103.) *Pethahiah over the Birds:* (ibid. 87, 88.) *This Pethahiah is Mordecai: And why is his name called Pethahiah? becauſe he opened and expounded matters, and he underſtood the ſeventy Languages. Ben Ahijah over the Diſeaſed in their bowels. Nechonia the digger of Ciſterns:* (ibid. pag. 17.) *Gevini Keroz the Son of Gebber over the ſhutting of the Gates. Ben Bechi over the Correction* (to cudgel the Prieſts or Levites that were found aſleep upon the Guards, *ibid. pag.* 50, 51.) *Ben Arza over the Cymbal:* (ibid. pag. 58.) *Hagros ben Levi over the Song: Beth Garmu over the making of the Shew-bread: Beth Abhtines over the making of the Incenſe: Eliezer over the Vails: And Phinehas over the Wardrobe.*

e Shekalim. per. 1.

So that this *Abhtines* was one that had the overſight of the making of the Incenſe: and all that ſucceeded in this Office were called *Beth Abhtines* or *the Family of Abhtines*, and this Room or Chamber over *the Water-Gate*, was the place where they did their work in this imployment.

Their traditionary Receipt for the compounding and making of the Incenſe was this: *f* They had eleven Aromatick ſimples of which they took theſe quantities: Of *Stacte Onycha, Galbanum* and *Frankincenſe*, of every one ſeventy pound weight: of *Myrrhe, Caſſia, Calamus, Crocus, Ana* ſixteen pounds. Of *Coſtus* twelve pound, of *Cinnamon* nine pound, of *Cloves* three, in all three hundred ſixty eight pound. All theſe they pounded very ſmall in a Mortar (wich was called *g the Mortar of the Sanctuary*, and which Mortar was carried *h* to *Rome* at the ſacking of *Jeruſalem*) and they added to it ſome *Sodom Salt, Amber of Jordan* (rarities not rarely ſpoken of in Jewiſh Writers) and an Herb of an odoriferous ſmoke, which very few were acquainted with: Every year they made this quantity of Incenſe, and every day in the year there was a pound of it offered, and ſo of the three hundred ſixty eight pound there was three hundred ſixty five pound gone: Of the three pounds that remain, the High-Prieſt took his handful on the day of Expiation: and the reſt was called מותר הקטורת *The reſidue of the Incenſe:* Not that the yearly ſtock was ſpent at the day of Expiation, for it was not ſpent till the beginning of the month *Niſan*, but that this was the account of the expence of it: On the firſt day of the month *Niſan*, or on their New-years-day, they began upon a new ſtock: *i* And the two pounds and odd that remained of the old, was given to work-men that repaired the Temple towards their pay: and then was bought of them again, and uſed as of a new ſtock. Every ſingle ſpicery was pounded by it ſelf, and all the while that he that pounded it, was about it, he ſtill ſaid הדק היטב הדק היטב *To be pounded well, to be pounded well*, &c. and then they mingled all altogether.

f Maym. in kele ſtukd. per. 2.

g Erach. per. 2. *Aruch. in* מכתש

h Avoth. R. Nathan ad fin.

i Maym. in Shekalim per.

It was a caution that כל מעשיה בקודש בתוך העזרה *k All the making and compounding of the Incenſe ſhould be in the Sanctuary in the midſt of the Court*: By which whether the very open place of the Court be meant, or that part of this Room of *Abhtines* that ſtood in the Court, it is not much important to diſpute; this was the Room in which the Incenſe when it was made was reſerved, and likely it is that this alſo was the place where it was made: And here it was pounded again twice a year, and aired and looked to that it might take no hurt.

k Id. ubi ante.

Into *l* this Room the High-Prieſt was brought for a certain time againſt the day of Expiation, that he might learn to take his handfuls of Incenſe againſt that day, as was required, *Levit.* XVI. 12. *m For this was the place* (ſaith *Aruch*) *where the Incenſe was prepared: And they brought him hither that they might teach him to take his handfuls of it.*

l Talm. in Joma, per. 1.

m Aruch in אבטנים

In this Room alſo the Prieſts kept a Guard every night, as it is related in the *Talmud* in the Treatiſe *Tamid* and *Middoth* in theſe words *n In three places, the Prieſts kept Guards in the Sanctuary, namely in Beth Abhtines, and in Beth Nitſots, and in Beth Mohadh: Beth Abhtines and Beth Nitſots were upper Rooms, and there the younger Prieſts kept*, &c. which nightly guarding was intentionally as much for the honour of the Sanctuary as for its ſecurity, and theſe two Guard-Chambers *Abhtines and Nitſots*, were both over againſt the Altar, the one on the one ſide of the Court and the other on the other: and here the younger

n Tamid. per. 1. & *Mid. per.* 1.

younger ſort of Prieſts watched, but the grandees in *Beth Mokadh*, in the furtheſt end of the Court Weſt-ward, as we ſhall ſee when we come thither.

On the roof of this Water-gate, and of *the room Abhtines*, there was a Bath, in which the High-Prieſt did waſh himſelf the firſt time of his waſhing on the day of expiation: for although the Bathing place, on the top of the room of *Happarvah* (which we ſhall ſurvey in its place) was the place where he waſhed oftеſt on that day, yet here he waſhed firſt: for here had he ſpent ſome time in the Chamber of *Abhtines* before the day came, and here was the fitteſt and readieſt place for him to bath when the day was come: Here he had been all the night before, and when the morning was come, and he is to go about the ſervice, he firſt goeth to the top of this Gate and there batheth himſelf in Water. And this the Treatiſe *Joma* intendeth when he ſaith thus, *o Five bathings of his Body and ten waſhings of his Hands and Feet did the High Prieſt uſe on that day, and all in the holy ground, on the top of the room of Happarbah, but only the firſt, &c.* This was a place moſt convenient for a Bath, it being ſo near the *Draw-well* room, as joining to it, and this it may be helped forward the naming of it *the Water-gate.*

o Joma per. 3.

CHAP. XXV.

The Wood-room לשכת עץ *and the room Parhedrin.* לשכת פרהדרין

THE Pile of building that we are now about, joined to the Water-gate on the Weſt-ſide of it, and it carried a double name: for it was called either לשכת העץ *The Chamber* or *room of the wood*, or לשכת פרהדרין *The room of Parhedrin.* It was called *the room of the wood*, becauſe that after the blemiſhed Prieſts had wormed the wood, in a room of the ſame name in a corner of the Court of the Women, as we have obſerved, they brought that that they found fit for the Altar, into this room that it might be near, and ready to be carried to the Altar when there was occaſion.

As for the other name that this building carried, it is written two ways, *a* The *Babylon Talmud*, *b Maymony* and ſome others read it with *r* and call it לשכת פרהדרין *The Chamber of Parhedrin.* But the *Jeruſalem Talmud*, *c Miſhnaioth in Octavo*, *&c.* read it with *l* and call it לשכת פלהדרין *The Chamber of Palhedrin:* about which difference we ſhall not controvert: Now though the two Talmuds do thus vary one letter in this matter, of the name, yet they both agree upon another matter, and ſay, that in old time, it had been called לשכת בולוטין Παστοφόριον τῶν Βαλσυτῶν *d The Chamber of the Counſellers.* I obſerve alſo from *Maymony*, that it was called *the High-Prieſts Chamber*, by a ſingular propriety: for ſpeaking of putting of the High-Prieſt apart for ſeven days before the day of expiation into this room (for ſo the *Talmuds* in the place cited in the Margin inform us) he expreſſeth it thus מפרישין כנ" מביתו ללשכתו שבמקדש *e They put him apart from his own houſe into this Chamber in the Sanctuary.* And ſo the *Jeruſalem Talmud* doth alſo call it, though it do not expreſs it by the proper name, when it ſaith, עליית ביה אבטינת על גבי שער המים היתה סמוך ללשכתו היתרה that *f* the High-Prieſt was put for a certain time into *the Chamber of Abhtines which was over the Water-gate, and which joyned to his own Chamber:* And here by the way you may obſerve, that this *Wood-room*, and *room of Parhedrin* did joyn to *the Water-gate* as we have ſeated it: the one room being over the other, the Wood-room below and *Parhedrin* above.

a Joma per 1.
b Lith habbechir per. 5.
c In Joma ubi ſup.
d Talm utrq; in Gema.
e Maym. in Jom. baccipp. per. 1.
f Tal. Jeruſ. ubi ſup.

Now it was called *the High-Prieſts Chamber*, not ſo much for that he was put apart hither for a few days in the year, as for that it was ordinarily imployed by the High-Prieſt to call his Brethren of the Prieſthood together in it, to conſult about the affairs of the Temple and the Service: ſo that it was as *the Veſtry*, or as I may ſo expreſs it, the *Dean and Chapter-room*, where they met together in conſultation about ſuch matters: We have obſerved * elſewhere, that beſides the High-Prieſt, there was *the Sagan*, *two Katholikin*, *ſeven Immarcalin*, *and three Gizbarin*, which were principal Officers in the Temple for the receiving, diſburſing, and taking care of the ſtock of it, and providing for the repairs of the buildings and the due adminiſtration of the Service: Theſe were *the* בולוטין Βαλσυτῶν *Counſellors* of the Temple, that adviſed and took care for the welfare of it, and this was the room where they ſat conſtantly in Counſel for that purpoſe: and hereupon it was called *the Chamber of the Counſellors.* The reaſon of the change of its name into *the Chamber of Palhedrin*, or *Parhedrin* (read it whether way you will) the *Gemara* of the *Talmud* in the place cited above giveth in theſe words. *It was called the Chamber of the Counſellors till the High-Prieſthood began to be bought and ſold for money, and came to be changed often: theſe Counſellors were then alſo changed often, and then it was called the Chamber of Parhedrin.* The meaning ſeemeth to be this, that whilſt the High-Prieſthood ſtood and

* Temple Service, chap. 3.

and remained in its beauty and integrity, the High Priest and his Brethren, kept a solemn and grave council Table here for the benefit and advancement of the Temple, but when money and prowling did make and change High Priests, money and silver did also make members of this Council, and they sought themselves rather than the publick; the people therefore could not find in their hearts to call them *Counsellors*, but called them *Parhedrin* or *Sitters* only. Yet were they also called *Counsellors* even while they were called *Parhedrin*, to distinguish them from the great Council: *Joseph of Arimathea* was one of these, *Mark* XV. 43.

The word *Parhedrin* is as like the Greek word Παρέδριον, as *Sanhedrin* is like Συνέδριον, and it may very well be conjectured, that since the great *Sanhedrin* and Society, were both *Counsellors*, that this company was called *Parhedrin*, to distinguish it from the *Sanhedrin*: especially considering how near they sat together, there being but the *Water-gate* and the *Well-room*, between this room and *Gazith*: There sat the great Council of the Nation, and it was called *Sanhedrin*, and here sat the Council of the Temple, and it was called *Parhedrin*: that is, *Assessores*, or the Council that sat near the *Sanhedrin*: And thus were there four Councils in the Temple: three of them not only Councils but Judicatories, namely the great *Sanhedrin* of seventy one, and the two lesser *Sanhedrins* of twenty three. And this of Priests which was not so properly a Judicatory as meerly a Council.

The *Jerusalem Talmud* expoundeth the word *Palhedrin* פלהדרין (for so it readeth it) by the word פריארתין, a word of as much obscurity as the other: It is like it is some Greek or Latine word of *Priority*, but not easily pitched upon particularly: *Baal Aruch* renders *Palhedrin* by a word as hard as it self too, namely by אגרדמין *Agardemin*: but he facilitates it by this interpretation, namely that it signifies *g The overseers of the weights, and measures, that were to look to the Ephah and the Hin, that they were right, and sealed them, and they smote those that kept shop in the mountain of the house, if they sold too dear, and they bad them sell cheaper.*

g Aruch in אגרדמין

CHAP. XXVI.

The Gate of the Firstlings.

THIS Gate which was next beyond the buildings last mentioned, West-ward, was called by two names. Sometimes שער הקרבה *a The gate of offering*: so some read it: but most commonly שער בכורות *b The Gate of the Firstlings*: both which names redound but to one and the same sense, for the Gate took its denomination, *c* from the bringing of the Firstlings through it to be offered up.

a Vid. C Lemp. pag. 17. in Mid.
b Mid. per. 1. & 2. & Shekalim per. 6.
c Barten. in Mid.

The Law concerning consecrating to the Lord whatsoever first opened the Womb and Matrix, *Exod.* XIII. was intricated by the Jewish tradition with a World of difficulties, but for an ultimate resolution, of what Firstlings were fit to be offered and what not, there was one appointed whom they called מומחה *Mumcheh*, who did determine it: of this title the Glossaries give this interpretation and account. *d Mumcheh is derived from the word Machah as it signifieth in that clause* ומחה אל ים כנרת *And it reacheth to the Sea of Cinnereth, Numb.* 34. 11. *which betokeneth going straight: And this word Mumcheh means that he was skilful: and he received authority from the President of the Sanhedrin, or from a Sanhedrin in the Land of Israel, of men ordained.* e The head of the *Sanhedrin* gave him power for this office, saying to him התר בכורות מומין *Loose Firstlings concerning blemishes*: that is, take thou power to bind and to loose as concerning blemishes of Firstlings, to determine what blemishes do hinder them from being offered and what not: The Talmudists do use the phrases *of binding and loosing* in reference to things prohibited or permitted: as התירו שאלת שלום בשבת מדוחק *f Upon necessity they loosed salutation on the Sabbath*, that is, they permitted it. *g The School of Shammai* אסר *bound working on the Eve of the Passover*, that is, prohibited it; *but the School of Hillel* התיר *loosed it*: that is, permitted it, or held and taught that it was lawful. *h The Scribes have bound leaven*: And *i The wise men have loosed all fat things, &c.* It were not a very hard task to produce hundreds of examples out of Jewish Writers to this purpose, wherein their use of this expression of *binding and loosing* doth most ordinarily refer to things, and to things lawful or unlawful, as they were so held out by the Law and by their Doctors: And particularly the *binding and loosing of Firstlings*, and the *binding and loosing of vows*, were of singular note and notice among them, *k And the loosing of First-lings* (saith *Abraham Zaccuth*) *was a matter of more*

d Gloss. in Becoroth. per. 4.
e Maym. in Becor. per. 3.
f Tanch. fol. 1 Cor. III.
g Talm. in Jefachin. per. 4.
h Maym. in Hamets &c. per. 1.
i Tanch. fol. 74. Col. 3.
k Juchasin f. 50

more difficulty than looſing of vows: where, by *looſing of vows*, he meaneth not that any one had power to abſolve and acquit from lawful vows once made, but that there were ſome appointed to judge of vows, and to determine concerning them whether they were lawful or not lawful, and whether they bound or bound not.

No Firſtling muſt be kild or offered till it had been firſt viewed by the *Mumcheh*: *And he that was not a Mumcheh* (appointed by the *Sanhedrin*) *and yet would take on him to view a Firſtling, and ſo it was killed upon his approval, he was to make it good: and he that received a reward or was hired to view a Firſtling, it was not current, unleſs he were authoriſed by the Sanhedrin ſo to do, as Ailah a wiſe man of Jabneh, to whom the wiſe men permitted to take four* אסורות *Aſſarii for viewing a lean Firſtling, and ſix for viewing a fat, &c.* [l] [l] Talm. in Bicoroth per. 4.

A Firſtling Lamb or Calf, approved by the *Mumcheh* as fit for ſacrifice, and brought to the Temple for that purpoſe, was ſlain on the South ſide of the Altar, or at leaſt on the South ſide of the Court. The Talmudick tract *Zevachin* in the fifth Chapter doth purpoſely diſcuſs what Sacrifices were to be ſlain on the North ſide of the Altar, and what otherwhere: And having nominated particularly what on the North ſide; it ſaith, [m] *That a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving, the Nazarites Ram, the ordinary Peace-offerings, the Firſtlings, Tithe, and Paſſover were ſlain in any part of the Court:* where by any part of the Court, it meaneth the South ſide, in oppoſition to the North, of which it had ſpoken before, and it meaneth the South ſide in ſuch a latitude, as not only juſt over againſt the Altar, but in a larger extent, as we ſhall ſhew more fully when we come to ſurvey the ſides of the Court it ſelf. [m] Id. in Zevachin. per. 5.

The Firſtlings then being to be ſlain on this South ſide of the Court, on which we are ſurveying the Gates and Buildings, they were brought in at this Gate which we are upon, and from thence it took the name of *the Gate of the Firſtlings:* The Water-gate indeed was nearer the Altar, and a more direct way to it, but to have killed the Beaſts thereabout would have hindred the paſſage to the Altar, from the *Draw-well*, *Water-gate* and *Wood-room*, unto which places there was very frequent recourſe from the Altar, and therefore the Firſtlings and other Sacrifices that were to be ſlain on the South ſide of the Court, were brought in at the Gate above, as more out of the way, and ſlain thereabout as in a place of leſs interruption. Now whereas the Tradition mentioned, doth allot the South ſide of the Court for the proper place of ſlaying thoſe particular Sacrifices that it nameth, yet doth it ſpeak it in this latitude שחיבתן בכל מקום בעזרה *That their killing might be in any part of the Court:* becauſe that though ordinarily and regularly they were to be ſlain on the South ſide of the Court, yet if they were numerous and could not conveniently be ſlaughtered in that place, they might be ſlain on the other ſide, as the Paſſover were killed on both the ſides, becauſe of their number: whereas the Sacrifices that were to be ſlain on the North ſide muſt be ſlain there, and there was no diſpenſation to remove them thence.

The preſenting of the Firſtlings at the Gate that we are about, may put us in remembrance of preſenting the firſt born; All the males of *Iſrael* were to appear before the Lord thrice every year, *Exod.* XXIII. 17. now this command did not take in Children (as their tradition did interpret it) *n* till they were able to walk up out of *Jeruſalem* to the Temple in their Fathers hand: and the preſenting of the firſt born to the Lord, was not inforced by that command, but by that, *Exod.* XIII. 12. & XXII. 29. where both the *Targums* of *Jonathan* and *Onkelos*, do expound the ſetting apart of the firſt born to *be before the Lord*, or at the Temple: and ſo doth the Text of Scripture it ſelf in *Numb.* XVIII. 15. *Luke* II. 23. The place where they were preſented, was in the Gate of *Nicanor*, for that was both the moſt peculiar place of appearing before the Lord, and there Women that had born Children did ſtand to have their atonement made for them: And there it was where the Virgin *Mary* preſented our Saviour, *Luke* II. and there ſhe payed five ſhekels for his redemption, *Numb.* XVIII. And *Hannah* did the like at *Shiloh*: 1 *Sam.* I. 34. only ſhe had kept her Son longer than ordinary, becauſe when ſhe did preſent him at the Sanctuary, ſhe meant to leave him there for ever, and for that reaſon, ſhe redeemed him not neither, but gave him to the Lord. [n] Id. in Nagiga per. 1.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Gate הדלק *Hadlak, or of Kindling, or of the burning fire.*

IT is easie to justifie and assert the translation of הדלק by *kindling*, but is not so easie to give a reason why this Gate which stood most West on the South side did bear this name. The common opinion of Glossaries upon it is plausible enough, but only for one objection that may be made against it. *a* They hold that it was called *the Gate of kindling* or *Burning*, because through it wood was brought to the Altar to keep the fire continually burning according to the Law, *Lev.* VI. 12. But why this way? Since they might have gone a nearer way to the Altar by far, either through the Water-gate or the Gate of the Firstlings, seeing the *Wood-room* was between them two, as hath been shewed: and it is probable enough that the Wood out of the Wood-room was not brought through any of the Court Gates at all to the Altar, but out at a Door which went out of the room it self into the Court.

a Bartenor. & *C. Lemp. in Mid. & Gloss. in Shekalim per.6.*

To find out therefore a reason of the name, I cannot but look over to the other side of the Court, from this Gate that we are about, to that Gate there, that was over against it, and there I observe the Gate to be called *Beth Mokadh*, or *the Gate of the burning fire*, as well as this is called *the Gate of kindling*. And the reason of that name was, because a fire was kept there continually for the senior Priests, as shall be shewed anon, and so it may be well conjectured, a fire was kept here for the Levites: And though I find not mention either in the *Talmud* or *Josephus* of any building that joyned to this Gate, yet since there is mention in the Treatise *Middoth* of the Levites keeping a guard, בלשכת הפרוכת *b In the Chamber of the vail*, I find not where to allot that place better than to this Gate we are about: For when it speaketh of *the Chamber of the vail*, it meaneth not either any Chamber joyning to the body of the Temple it self, nor any Chamber in the Court (for the Levites kept not their Guards within the Court but without) but some Chamber without the Court, which was over against the place of the vail, which divided betwixt the Holy and most Holy place. And as there was a long building that ran along from that opposite North Gate up toward the West to the very corner of the Wall of the Court that way: so from this Gate Westward there ran a long building to the corner of the Court on this side, in which large piece of building having partitions within, there were two Guards of Levites almost joyning together: So there were three of those Guards very near together: one joyning to the Gate on the East side, *c* (for at five of the Gates of the Court the Levites Guarded, and this was one of the five) another joyning to the Gate on the West side, which was called the Guard over against the vail, and the third at the corner of the Court: Now as there was a common fire kept for the Priests on the other side of the Court, in a large building opposite to this, from whence the Gate joyning to it took the name: so is it very likely, there was a common fire kept for the Levites which gave this Gate the denomination of *the Gate of kindling*.

b Mid. per. 1.

c Ibid.

Thus have we surveyed the Gates and Buildings on the South side of the Court, their order thus, coming up from the East towards the West: First, The room *Gazith* at the South-West corner: then the room of the *Draw-well*: joyning to that the *Water-gate*, and over that the room *Abhtines*: joyning to that Gate on the other side, the *Wood-room*, and over that the Council-Chamber: then *the Gate of the Firstlings*, with a Levites ward joyning to it on one side: then *the Gate of kindling*, and a Levites ward on either side it, and that building on the West-side of it running up to the West corner of the Court. Now *Aba Jose*, a Spokes-man in the *Talmud*, nameth yet one Gate more, and more West than these that we have named, on this same side which he calleth *the upper Gate*, and over against it on the North-side he nameth a Gate more than the common account and calleth it *the Gate of Jechoniah*: But he goeth alone in his opinion as to the number of the Gates of the Court: yet thus far do other of his Nation go with him, that they say there were three Gates on the North-side of the Court, and that there was besides them, a passage through *Beth Mokadh* large building out of the *Chel* into the Court, which I suppose is that which he calleth the Gate of *Jechoniah*: and the reason of the name is given, because *Jechoniah* went out at that Gate into his captivity: And so it may be that in this large building on this side which ran between *the Gate of kindling* and the West corner, there was a passage through, which he stiles with the title of *the upper Gate*.

But howsoever it was in his account in the second Temple, the very title of *the upper Gate* may not undeservedly call upon us, to look after that which is called *the upper Gate of Benjamin in the house of the Lord*; In the times of the first Temple, *Jer.* XX. 2. it is said

ſaid there that *Paſhur ſmote Jeremy and put him in the ſtocks that were in the high Gate* or upper Gate *of Benjamin, which was in the Houſe of the Lord.* Our *Engliſh* hath made it ſhy to render it *in the Houſe of the Lord*, it may be becauſe they thought it improper to have a pair of ſtocks in the Temple: and therefore they have Tranſlated it *which was by the Houſe of the Lord*, as reputing it not a Gate of the Temple but ſome other: but the words in the Original are ſo plain, and the conſent of Tranſlaters ſo unanimous, that it meaneth *in the Houſe of the Lord*, that to ſwarve from it were but to ſtrain a plain and a facile Text, and to obſcure a place which is not obſcure of it ſelf. The mountain of the Temple lay in the lot of the Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, as hath been obſerved before, and the line that divided between the lots came along at the South-Eaſt corner of the Altar, as we ſhall obſerve anon, ſo that the Temple and Altar were in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, according to *Moſes* Propheſie, that God ſhould dwell between *Benjamins* ſhoulders, and ſo was the South-wall of the Court till you came down over againſt that point of the Altar, and then came in the lot of *Judah*. It appeareth therefore that there were but two Gates on this ſide of the Court in the times of the firſt Temple, and they were called *the upper* and the *lower Gate of Benjamin*, becauſe they ſtood in his lot: And there were two Gates on the North-ſide of the Court, and they were called, *The Gate of the Altar, which was Northward*, and *the Gate of the Lord's Houſe which was Northward*, as we ſhall ſhew by and by.

And for this place or engine of correction (were it a Dungeon as the LXX ſeems to hold it, or a Pillory as *David Kimchies* Father, or a pair of Stocks as our *Engliſh*) it is no Solœciſm to hold that it was in the Houſe of the Lord (namely in that part of this Gate that ſtood out of the Court in the *Chel*) ſince there was judging, ſcourging, mawling, and ſtoning, even in the Temple it ſelf, as hath been toucht before.

And now to be going over from the South-ſide to the North, along the Wall of the Court at the Weſt-end, there was no Gate upon that quarter at all, but the Wall was plain without any Gates or openings in it. And ſo *Joſephus* makes it clear when he ſaith, τὸ δ' ὄπισθεν δύσιν μέρος οὐκ εἶχε πύλιν, ἀλλὰ διηνεκὴς ἐδεδύμητο ταύτῃ τὸ τεῖχος. *d That part that was on the Weſt had no Gate at all, but the Wall that way was an intire continued building:* which relation is alſo agreeable to the general conſent of the Hebrew Authors, *Aba Joſe* only excepted, whom we mentioned even now, who ſpeaketh of two Gates here, but neither nameth them, nor telleth for what uſe they ſerved: and indeed what needed any Gate here at all, ſo far from the ſervice, and behind the Temple? There was indeed at the back of the Court-wall in the middle betwixt the North and South corners of it, a building ſtanding in the חל *Chel*, where the Levites kept a Guard, which was called אחורי בית הכפורת *The Guard behind the mercy ſeat:* but there is no evidence that there was any door out of it into the Court, and if there had been it was but a door and not a Gate. Of the Guards of the Prieſts and Levites about the Temple, the Record is thus, *e In three places the Prieſts kept Guards in the Temple, in the Chamber of Abhtines, in Beth Nitſots and in Beth Mokadh. And the Levites in one and twenty places: five at five Gates of the mountain of the Houſe: Four at the four corners of it within: Five at five Gates of the Court, and four at the four corners of it without: One in the Chamber of Corban: One in the Chamber over againſt the Vail, and one behind the place of the Mercy ſeat.*

d *Joſ. de bell. lib. 5. cap. 14.*

e *Mid. par. 1.*

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Gates and building in the Court-wall on the North-ſide.

WE are now come to the North-ſide of the Court, where before we fall to ſurveying of the Gates and Buildings, that were there, in the times of the ſecond Temple, it will not be amiſs to look what we find there in the times of the firſt, in that paſſage of *Ezekiel*, Chap. 8. verſ. 3, 5, 14. *He brought me in the viſions of God to Jeruſalem, to the Door of the inner Court-gate that looketh toward the North, where was the ſeat of the Image of jealouſie which provoketh to jealouſie. And he ſaid unto me, Son of Man lift up now thine Eyes the way towards the North: ſo I lift up mine Eyes the way towards the North, and behold North-ward of the Gate of the Altar this Image of Jealouſie in the entry. And he brought me to the Door of the Gate of the Lords Houſe which was towards the North, and behold, there ſat Women weeping for Tammuz:* Here are two Gates ſpecified on the North-ſide of the Court, and they are called *the Gate of the Altar*, and *the Gate of the Lords Houſe towards the North:* becauſe the one was over againſt the Altar, and the other over againſt the Body of the Temple: To that over againſt the Altar is the Prophet

Prophet first brought in his vision, and there he seeth *the Image of Jealousie:* not in this Gate of the Altar, but in the mountain of the House Northward of this Gate, and of the Prophet as he stood in it. For the Prophet is not brought within the Court at this Gate, but is set without it, and there he is bidden to look Northward, and there he seeth that Image. This was not any Picture or Image to represent Jealousie by, but it is called *the Image of Jealousie*, because it provoked the jealous God to jealousie, it being set even in his Sanctuary and before his Altar: what Idol this was is but lost labour to go about to determine: I should as soon conjecture *Molech* as any other, because that was the highest Idolatry and most provoking, namely their burning of their Children in the fire, and because they were exceeding taxable and taxed for this Idolatry. Whether there were this Idol in the Temple at this very instant when *Ezekiel* had the vision, which was in the sixth year of *Zedekiah*, or whether the vision represent to him the Idolatry that had been in the Temple at any time, is not much easier to determine neither; but be the Idol what it would, and mean he the time when he will, it was no small abomination when an Idolatrous Chappel or Mansion is erected in the mountain of the Lords House, even facing the very Gate that opened upon the Altar. This Gate was the lower North-gate which in the times of the second Temple was called the Gate *Nitsots* or *of the Song*.

Before the Prophet is brought to the upper North-gate, the Text saith he was brought to *the door of the Court*, vers. 7. that is, to the East-gate which was the commonest way of entrance, and in that Gate the *Sanhedrin* used to sit in those times, and there he seeth their Council-chamber painted all about with imagery, and the Seventy members of the *Sanhedrin* themselves offering Idolatrous incense: Then is he brought to the upper North-gate, which opened upon the Body of the Temple, and there he seeth Women weeping for *Tammuz:* what *Tammuz* was, or what their weeping meant, it is not to our subject to insist upon here: I will only leave the Gloss of *David Kimchi* upon this matter with the Reader, and trouble him with no more discourse about it. *Some interpret it* (saith he) *that they kept a feast to the Idol in the beginning of the month Tammuz: others interpret the word Tammuz to signifie burnt from* למוא לאתונא *Dan.* III. 19. *meaning that they wept for him that was burnt, because they burnt their Sons and Daughters in the fire. Others, that they had a trick to convey water into the Idols Eyes, which was called Tammuz, so that he seemed to weep and to beseech them that they would serve him. But our great wise Man Rabbi Moses bar Maiemon writes, that it is found in the Books of the ancient, that there was a Man of the Idolatrous Prophets whose name was Tammuz, and he called to a certain King and commanded him to worship the seven Planets and the twelve Signs, and the King slew him: And on the night of his death, all the Idols from all parts of the Earth were gathered into the Temple at Babel, to the golden Image which was the Image of the Sun, which Image hung between Heaven and Earth, and it fell into the midst of the Temple and all the Images about it: It told them what hath happened to Tammuz the Prophet, and all the Idols wept and lamented all that night, and when it was morning they flew to their own homes: So this became a custom to them on the first day of the month Tammuz every year, to bewail and lament Tammuz. But some interpret Tammuz to be the name of a Beast which they worshipped.*

Thus may we suppose upon this Text of *Ezekiel*, that in the Temple before the captivity there were but two Gates on the North-side of the Court, or at least there is not mention of any more: but in the second Temple there were three: The names of them going from West to East, were these. 1. שער קרבן *b The Gate of Corban.* 2. שער נשים *The Gate of the Women.* And 3. שער שור *The Gate of the Song.* Now every one of these Gates is owned by a double name: for *the Gate of Corban* is also called בית מוקד *Beth Mokadh: The Gate of the Women* is also called שער קרבן *The Gate Corban:* And *the Gate of the Song* is also called שער ניצוץ *The Gate Nitsots:* And thus are those Talmudick passages to be understood which carry difficulty with them, because they seem to carry contradiction: whilest one reckons the North-gates thus, *c On the North was the Gate of Corban, the Gate of the Women and the Gate of the Song:* And another thus, *d On the North was the Gate Nitsots, the Gate Corban and Beth Mekadh:* The former, reckoning their order from West to East, and the later from East to West: the reason of these doubled and differing names we shall look after as we go along.

b Mid. per. 2.

c Ibid. & Shekalim per. 1.
d Mid. per. 1.

There were also other buildings on this side the Court besides the Gates, as well as there were on the South-side which we have surveyed already. And those were לשכת המלח לשכת הפרוה ולשכת המדיחין *e The room for Salt, the room for Parvah, and the washing room,* besides other rooms, which we shall find out in our progress.

e Ib. per. 6.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

Beth Mokadh. בית המוקד

OUR Survey is to begin at the North-west corner of the Court-wall, and there we meet with the building called *Beth Mokadh*, a place of remarkableness for several particulars.

1. It was a building so large that *a* it raught from the North-west Angle of the Wall to the Gate below, of the same name, and so it took up a fourth part of the length of that side of the Court: *b* and it contained four several rooms in the four corners of it; that room which was properly called the room *Mokadh* being in the midst of them as the Center: And this the Treatise *Middoth* uttereth in these expressions, *c There were four rooms in Beth Mokadh* בקיטונות פתוחות לטרקלין ὡς κοιτῶνες ἀνεῳγμένοι εἰς τρικλίνιον· *Like bed Chambers opening into a dining-room:* Two of which Chambers stood within the Court and two without, and marks were set within to shew where the two grounds parted.

a Tamid per. 3.

b Mid. per. 1. *Maym. in beth habbechir. per.* 5

c Mid. per 1.

2. The four rooms in the four corners of it, were these.

d The South-west room was called לשכת טלאים *The Lamb room*, *e* because there they lodged the Lambs that were appointed for the daily Sacrifice. *f* And the room was never without six Lambs in it a day together. For no Lamb was offered but which had been taken up four days before: and so this necessitated, that if two of the six were taken out to day for the Morning and Evening Sacrifice, other two must be brought in before night: And by this means it was never without six in it a whole day together.

d Mid. ibid.

e R. Sol. in 1 *Chron.* XXIII. 25.

f Maym. in Tamid. per. 1.

2. *g* The South-west room was *the room of those that prepared the Shewbread*, which God had appointed to be set before him on the golden Table every Sabbath. בית נרמו *The Family of Garmu* was for this work. These two rooms mentioned stood either wholly or some part of them within the Court.

g Mid. ubi su. pra, & Tamid. ubi sup.

h Shekalim per. 6.

3. *i* The North-west room בה גנזו חשמונאי את אבני המזבח *was the place where the Maccabean family laid up the stones of the Altar, which the Grecian Kings had defiled.* *k* For when *Antiochus Epiphanus* had made such miserable havock at *Jerusalem*, as that he had laid Religion, Laws, Liberties, Altar, Sacrifice, and all wast, and had defiled the Altar with abominable Sacrifices, *Judas Maccabeus* and his Brethren getting a little ground of their enemies and of their miseries, began to purifie and restore the Temple: and consulting what to do with the Altar stones which were prophaned, and which *Mattathias* their Father had therefore pulled down, 1 *Mac.* II. 25. they laid them up in this room till a Prophet should come that might resolve what to do with them, 1 *Mac.* IV. 44. &c.

i Mid. ubi sup.

k Jos. Ant lib. 12. *cap.* 7. 1 *Mac.* I. *&c.*

4. *l* The North-west room was a room through which they went to a bathing place, out of the middle room which was properly called *Beth Mokadh*, whosoever had received any nocturnal pollution in their sleep. Now where this bathing place was it is controverted, whether under ground, or whether on the out-side of the outmost wall: The Treatise *Tamid* gives account of it in these words: *m Doth a nocturnal pollution by Gonorrhea happen to any of them? He gets out and goes along in the Gallery that goeth under the Temple, and candles burn on either side, till he came to the bathing place: there was a closet and a stool: and if he found the door lockt he knew there was some one there, but if open he knew there was no body there: so he goes down and bathes himself, wipes himself, warms himself in the closet, and comes again and sits among his Brethren.*

l Mid. ubi sup.

m Tamid. per. 1.

3. The room *Mokadh* which was in the midst of these four, they being as it were Parlors in the four corners of it, is said to be בנוי כיפה *n built archwise:* not that the surface or upmost part of it was like an arch of stone without any other roof, but that being raised and roofed like the other buildings about the Court, it was only in this lower room made archwise, because there was a passage through it out of the *Chel* into the Court. And there were two Gates to this room of passage, one towards the *Chel*, and the other towards the Court, and that into the Court had a Wicket in it, through which they commonly went in and out, the great Gate standing shut: and so it is like had that also into the *Chel*. And this passage I suppose is that which *Aba Jose* calleth *the Gate of Jechoniah*, of which we made mention before.

n Maym. in hith habbech. pe. 5.

4. This room was called *Beth Mokadh, or the place of the burning fire*, because a fire was kept here continually, all the cold time of the year for the Priests, both by day and by night: By day to warm themselves at when they came from the service, for upon that they attended barefooted and very thin clad, and in the night to keep them warm as they kept their Guard: for in this room was a Guard of the Priests as was observed before,

before, and this was the chiefeſt Guard of all: *o Beth Mokadh* (ſaith the *Talmud*) *was a great arched room, and it was ſet about with ſtone benches: on which the Elders of the Houſe of their Fathers ſlept, and the keys of the Court were in their keeping: But the young Men of the Prieſt-hood ſlept in their garments on the ground: they ſlept not in the holy garments, but put thoſe off, folded them up and laid them under their Heads, and lay in their own wearing clothes:* So that this room was both a thorough paſs, and a great Hall, where was kept a common and a conſtant fire: and the Gates on either ſide of the arch being ſhut, it was as a cloſe room, and as if it had not been a thorough paſſage at all.

o *Tamid. ubi ſupra.*

5. In this room there was a box or cabinet as we may call it, in which were laid up the keys of the Court, and taken out and in, as the Doors were locked or to be unlocked. The *Talmud* deſcribes it thus, *p There was a ſlag of Marble and a ring was faſtned in it, and a chain, at which the keys of the Court were hung: when the time of locking the Gates came, he took up the ſlag by the ring, and took the keys off the ring, and locked the Gates within, and when he had done he put the keys on the chain, and the ſlag in its place again:* Now this marble flag, which in Hebrew is called טבלא *A table*, on the upper or outſide of it had a ring by which to take it up, and on the innerſide, a chain ſo wrought as that the keys might fitly and readily be hanged on or taken off as there was occaſion: And this box appeareth to have been in the ground, partly becauſe we have mention of ſuch another flag with a ring in it, and that lay upon the ground, and duſt was taken from under it for the trial of the ſuſpected Wife, and partly becauſe the Tradition ſaith נתנ כסותו עליה That after the Prieſt had laid up the keys and laid down the flag, *he laid his pillow upon it and there ſlept.*

p *Mid. ubi ſup.*

6. If any in their ſleep ſuffered *Gonorrhea*, they were to bath, as was ſaid before, and the way to the bathing place is expreſſed in theſe words הלך לי במסובה הולכת תחת הבירה *He goeth down a turning ſtair caſe that went under the Temple.* The word בירה doth generally ſignifie all the body and buildings of the Temple, as the whole ſtood like a ſumptuous and goodly Palace (for ſo the word doth properly ſignifie) and ſo it is uſed, 1 *Chron.* XXIX. 1, 19. Therefore it is hard to tell which way this paſſage to the bathing place lay, ſince the word will inlarge it to any part of the Temple. It appeareth that it was ſome vault under ground through which they paſſed; into which vault they went down by a turning pair of ſtairs, out of the North-weſt room of *Beth Mokadh*. And from thence whither they went, whether under the *Chel*, as *Rabbi Eliezer* conceiveth, or under ſome part of the Court, or Mountain of the Houſe, it is but in vain to ſearch: It ſeemeth the *Bath* was under ground, and a room by it with a fire in it to warm themſelves at when they had done bathing.

CHAP. XXX.

Of the Gate Beth Mokadh called the Gate of Corban: And of the other Gate of Corban, called alſo the Gate of the Women.

WE need not inquire why the upper of theſe two Gates was called *Beth Mokadh*; the conſidering that it joined to the Eaſt end of that piece of building that was ſo called, which we have newly ſurveyed, will reſolve that queſtion: but why the lower was called *The Gate of the Women*, and why both of them *the Gates of Corban*, will coſt more labour to find it out.

I ſhall tender about the former theſe two conjectures: 1. Becauſe at this Gate the Women in the former Temple, did weep for *Tammuz*; as was obſerved out of *Ezekiel* even now: And 2. Becauſe at this Gate the Women that brought Sacrifices went into the Court to ſee them offered. For although it was not lawful for Women to go ordinarily into the Court as it was for Men, but they were confined to their own Court, yet as I have obſerved elſewhere out of *Toſaphta*, Women when they brought Sacrifices might and did go into the Court of *Iſrael* as well as Men. It is true indeed that נשים יולדות *Women after childbirth* appeared in the Gate of *Nicanor* for the making of their atonement, and came but up into the Gate, and not into the Court at all, becauſe they came thither for their full Purification: but thoſe Women that were clean, and came not upon any occaſion of Purification, but brought Burnt-offerings, or Sin, or Treſpaſs-offerings, they preſented them and themſelves with them at this Gate. There was a Gate was nearer to the Altar than this, namely the Gate *Nitſots*, which we are to ſurvey by and by, but the place of the rings or ſlaughter place being between it and the Altar, it was not a place of

of that clear and uninterrupted acceſs that this was of, and therefore the Sacrifices both of Men and Women were preſented here. Yet did the Gate bear the name of the Women rather than of the Men, as from the rarer matter of the Womens going into the Court, which was more commonly done by Men.

And this helps us to one reaſon why this Gate was called *the Gate of Corban*, or of *the offering*, namely becauſe the Sacrifices to be offered up were brought up in this way. And this very reaſon *Bartenora* giveth, ſaying, שם מכניסין קדשי הקדשים ששחיטתן בצפון *a Here they brought in the moſt holy Sacrifices, which were to be ſlain on the North-ſide of the Altar.* Over againſt this Gate on the other ſide of the Court there was a Gate that bare two names as well as this. It was called שער הקרבן *The Gate of offering*, becauſe the Sacrifices that were to be ſlain on the South-ſide of the Altar were brought in at that Gate, and it was alſo called *the Gate of Firſtlings*, becauſe thoſe were the chiefeſt of thoſe offerings. So alſo this Gate where we are, it was called *the Gate of Corban* or *of offering*, becauſe the Sacrifices to be ſlain on the North-ſide of the Altar were brought in by it: and it was called alſo *the Gate of the Women*, becauſe their paſſage through it with their Sacrifices was more rare and remarkable than Mens. *b* Now theſe were the Sacrifices that were ſlain on this North-ſide of the Altar: *The moſt holy Sacrifices, the Bullock and Goat of the day of Expiation, the Bullocks and Goats that were burnt, all Sin-offerings, whole Burnt-offerings and Treſpaſs-offerings.*

a Bart. in Mid.

b Zevachim pet. 5.

Only the Lambs of the daily Sacrifice, though they were ſlain on the North-ſide of the Altar, yet is it like they were not brought into the Court at this Gate, but at that that joyned to *Beth Mokadh*, for in that piece of building the *Lamb-room* was, where they were kept, as hath been ſhewed. And ſo we have one reaſon why theſe two Gates bare the name of *Corban*. The upper was ſo called becauſe the daily Sacrifice or *Corban* was brought through it, and the lower, becauſe other Sacrifices were brought through that.

But there was ſomething more in the name beſides: As there were ſeveral Treaſure cheſts in the Temple, which have been named, and ſeveral Treaſuries in the Gate-houſes of the Mountain of the Temple, and in the Chambers that joyned to the Temple it ſelf: of Veſſels, Veſtments, Tithes, Firſt-fruits, &c. So on this ſide of the Court was the Treaſury of the Poll-mony, and for the Poor, and for the repair of the Temple; which more eſpecially was called *Corban*: The word as at the firſt and moſt properly it ſignified *an offering* (and ſo is it frequently uſed in *Leviticus*, and that is the ſenſe that we have newly parted with) ſo in the Jews common Language it came alſo to ſignifie the *Treaſury of the Temple*, as *Matth.* XXVII. 6. The Prieſts took the money and ſaid it is not lawful to caſt it εἰς κορβανᾶν *Into the Corban.* And ſo *Joſephus* ſaith, that *Pilate* occaſioned a tumult among the Jews, Ἀναλίσκων τὸν ἱερὸν θησαυρὸν καλεῖσθαι κορβωνᾶς εἰς καταγωγὴν ὑδάτων· *c By conſuming the ſacred Treaſury which was called Corban upon making an Aquæduct.* And ſo the Treatiſe *Middoth* reckoning the Guards that were in the Temple, nameth *d one at the Chamber of Corban: one at the Chamber of the Vail, and one behind the Mercy ſeat:* From which laſt paſſage, laid to this conſideration that we are about, namely, that there were two Gates on the North-ſide of the Court which were called *Corban*, there is ſome ground and probability to place the *Corban* or chiefeſt Treaſury of caſh or money there where we do. It appeareth by the diſtribution of the Guards in the Tradition cited, that the Guard at the Chamber over againſt the Vail, and at the Chamber of *Corban* were on the ſeveral ſides of the Court, or elſe there were no proportion or conformity in their ſtations. All the ſeven Gates of the Court were Guarded, two with Prieſts, and five with Levites: all the four Corners of the Court were alſo Guarded, and there was beſides (ſaith the Tradition) *a Guard at the Chamber of the Vail, and another at the Chamber of Corban, and another behind the Mercy ſeat*, that is, one on the one ſide of the Court over againſt the Body of the Temple, and another on the other ſide, and another juſt behind, which was called *the Guard behind the Mercy ſeat.* Now where can we ſo properly look for the Chamber *Corban*, as between thoſe two Gates that both bare that name? And the matter here ſeemeth ſomewhat nearly parallel to the caſe that we obſerved about the Gates and Houſe of *Aſuppim* upon the Weſt-quarter of the Mountain of the Houſe; for as there was a piece of building that ran between two Gates, which it ſelf was called *the Houſe of Aſuppim*, and gave occaſion to the Gates on either end of it, to be called *the Gates of Aſuppim*; ſo here was a piece of building that ran between two Gates, which it ſelf was called *Corban*, and gave occaſion to the Gates on either end it, to be called *the Gates of Corban* likewiſe.

c Joſ. de bell. lib. 2 cap. 14.

d Mid. per. 1.

To come down therefore from the Gate of *Beth Mokadh*, towards the Eaſt, there was firſt a piece of building joyned to that Gate, which was a Treaſury and was called *Corban*, and then was there a room where the Levites kept their Guard, and joyning to that there was another Treaſury or *Corban*, and joyning to the Eaſt end of that, a Gate called by the ſame name *Corban*, but called alſo *the Gate of the Women.*

Now to diſtinguiſh theſe Treaſuries, whether the one of them was the Treaſury for the half Shekel poll-mony, and the other for mony and veſſels offered for the uſe and repair of the Houſe, or whether one of them was the Treaſury for the Temple and the other for the Poor, which diſtinction we obſerved before, it is but in vain to inquire after, ſince it is not poſſible to reſolve when we have done all we can: only this I ſuppoſe may not unpertinently be obſerved, that the Treaſuries wherein they put money, (whether Chambers or Cheſts) were thoſe that moſt properly were called *Corban*, rather than the Treaſuries where they laid up other things: And according to the ſeveral places where theſe Chambers and theſe Cheſts ſtood, the place was called *the Treaſury*, and *the Houſe of the Treaſury.*

And here let us look after a place of Scripture, which ſpeaketh ſomething in relation to the Treaſury, and may not unproperly be taken into conſideration before we part with this ſubject.

The place is in 2 *King.* XII. 9. & 2 *Chron.* XXIV. 8. about the Treaſure or Collection cheſt that was made by *Jehoiada*, for the gathering of money for the repair of the Temple, which had been decaied and defaced in the days of *Athaliah.* And becauſe there appeareth a viſible contrariety between the two Texts that handle that matter, it may not be amiſs to lay them together, and then to ſee how they may be reconciled.

2 King. XII. 9. *Jehoiada the Prieſt took a Cheſt and bored a hole in the lid of it, and ſet it beſides the Altar, on the right ſide as one cometh into the Houſe of the Lord.*

Verſ. 13. *Howbeit there were not made for the Houſe of the Lord, Bowls of Silver, Snuffers, Baſins, Trumpets, any Veſſels of Gold or Veſſels of Silver of the money that was brought into the Houſe of the Lord.*

2 Chron. XXIV. 8. *And at the Kings commandment they made a Cheſt and ſet it without, at the Gate of the Houſe of the Lord.*

Verſ. 14. *And when they had finiſhed, they brought the reſt of the money before the King and Jehoiada, whereof were made Veſſels for the Houſe of the Lord, even Veſſels to miniſter with, and to offer withal, even Veſſels of Gold and Silver, &c.*

To heal the contrariety that ſeemeth to be in theſe Texts, the one ſaying the Cheſt was ſet beſide the Altar, and the other, that it was ſet *without the Gate:* the one that *there were no Veſſels made* of the mony that was offered, and the other that *there were Veſſels made:* it is to be obſerved that though the Cheſt might be the ſame, yet the ſtories concerning it and concerning the money coming to it are to be underſtood not of the ſame time. The zeal of *Joaſh* the King and the dulneſs of the Prieſts towards the repair of the Houſe of the Lord are here compared and laid together (though good *Jehoiada* did always the utmoſt in him towards it) *Joaſh* had urged the repair of the Temple, and that the Prieſts ſhould get up all the money accrewing to it for the uſe of it and beſtow it to that purpoſe: namely the half Shekel poll-money of *every one that paſſeth the account:* the money that *any one was ſet at* to redeem him from any ſingular vow, *Lev.* XXVII. and all the money that any offered of his own free-will: every one of the Prieſts to take it of his acquaintance: yet in the three and twentieth of the Kings reign, there was nothing done towards repairing: Thereupon the King ſeeing either the ſlackneſs, or falſhood, or both, of the Prieſts, requires them to meddle no more with receiving money, nor with repairing, ſince the buſineſs under their Hands went on no better: which they irreligiouſly and ſurlily are content to do, not caring whether the Temple be repaired or no. But good *Jehoiada* ſlacketh not, but ſets a Cheſt with a hole in it beſides the Altar, that what money might be had, might be put in there for the uſe appointed: But when that did not avail to do the work, nor to buy any Veſſels for the Houſe and Service of the Lord, for the money went ſtill through the Prieſts fingers, the Cheſt being in their Court, *Joaſh* the King either removes that Cheſt, or makes another and ſets it without the Court at the coming in, whither every one might have acceſs to it; and proclaims through all the Country that they ſhould bring in the money appointed by *Moſes*; the Princes and People come readily and joyfully and bring it in, ſo that there was enough to perfect repairs, and withal to make thoſe veſſels for the Temple that were wanting.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

The room of Salt: of Parvah, and of the waſhing.

AS there were three rooms between the middle Gate *Corban*, which was alſo called *the Gate of the Women*, and the more Weſtward *Gate Corban*, which was alſo called *the Gate Beth Mokadh*, namely two Treaſuries and a *Levites* ward between the two: So were there three rooms alſo between the ſame middle Gate *Corban*, and the Gate more Eaſtward which was called the Gate *Nitſots*, and thoſe were *a The room of the Salt: the room of Parvah, and the room of the Waſhers: The room of the Salt* was the moſt Weſtward of the three, and joyned to *the Gate of the Women*, and it was ſo called, becauſe they there laid up the Salt for the uſe of the Temple. For howſoever Salt and Wine and Oil and ſuch things were ſold in the *Tabernæ*, for the uſe of particular perſons offerings, yet for the publick offerings and ſervice, theſe things were ſtocked up at the publick charge in ſeveral rooms appointed for them. *a Mid. per. 5.*

The uſe of Salt at the Temple was exceeding much, *b* for nothing was laid on the Altar unſalted, but only the Wood, the Blood and the Wine of the drink-offering: and how much Salt might be ſpent upon all their Sacrifices, let any one imagine, for this was the Law, *with all thine offerings thou ſhalt offer Salt*, *Lev.* II. 13. And they had not this way only for the ſpending of Salt, but they alſo ſalted the ſkins of all the Sacrifices when they had flayed them off. For the ſkins belonged to the Prieſts as their Fee: the courſe therefore of the Prieſts that was in ſerving, did ſtill Salt the ſkins of what Sacrifices they offered, that they might not be offenſive, and kept them till the end of the week of their Service: and on the Eve of the Sabbath, towards night they divided them to every one his ſhare. *b Maym. in iſ-ſure mizbeah per. 5.*

The place where they ſalted and laid up the ſkins till that time, was in the room of *Parvah*, which joyned to this room of the Salt, on the Eaſt; and which is the next piece of building that we are to ſurvey: The reaſon of the name is ſomewhat doubtful: the *Gemarites* in the Treatiſe *Joma* debating it, conclude in this Tradition: פרוה אמגושא *c what is meant by Parvah? Rab Joſeph ſaith, Parvah was a Magician*; *d the meaning of* אמגושא (ſaith *Rabbi Nathan*) *is to this purpoſe: Parvah is the name of a man who was a Magician: And there are ſome of the wiſe Men that ſay that he digged a vault under ground, till he could come to ſee what the High Prieſt did on the day of Expiation. And the wiſe Men were aware of this vault that he had made, and they found him in it, and they called this Chamber by his name.* The ſhort Gloſs upon the *Miſhnaioth in octavo* goes yet further. *A Conjurer* (ſaith he) *whoſe name was Parvah built this room by Magick: And ſome ſay that he digged through the Wall to ſee the ſervice of the High Prieſt, and there he was ſlain.* Magick was a matter more in uſe at the Temple among ſome of the *Grandees* there, than one could have poſſibly thought that it could have been: for the *e Jeruſalem Talmud* relates that ſome of the High Prieſts uſed to deſtroy one another with it. *f* But others deduce the reaſon of the name *Parvah* from *Parim* which ſignifieth *Bullocks*, becauſe of the many Hides or Skins of Bullocks that were laid up there: About which matter we ſhall not be curious to ſway the ballance one way or other: but ſhall leave the reaſon of the name to be diſputed by them that have a mind to ſuch a buſineſs, it is enough to our ſurvey to take notice of the place, and name and uſe of it without more circumſtances. *c Joma per. 3. halacah. 6.* *d Aruch in* פרוח *e Talm. Jeruſ. in Joma per. 3.* *f R. Shemaiah in Mid.*

At the Eaſt end of this building of *Parvah*, there was another piece of building which was called לשכת המריחין *The room of the Waſhers:* And the reaſon of the name was ששם מריחין את קרבי קדשים *g Becauſe in this room they waſhed the inwards of the Sacrifices* according to the Law, *Lev.* I. 9. It hath been a very general conceit, of waſhing the beaſts that were to be offered in the pool of *Bethesda*, of which there is mention, *Joh.* V. If that opinion mean, the waſhing of the Beaſt whileſt he was alive, I know not where the leaſt footſtep of any ſuch cuſtom is to be found, either in Scripture or in Jewiſh monuments of antiquity. And if it mean the waſhing of the Inwards after the Beaſt was ſlain, the room that we are about was the place where that was done, and they went no further: and when they had firſt waſhed them here, they did it again upon the Marble Tables, of which we ſhall ſpeak ere it be long. *g Mid. ubi ſup.*

h Out of this room of waſhing, there was a pair of winding Stairs, to the top of the room *Parvah*, *i* and on the top of that room there was a Bath, where the High Prieſt did bathe himſelf on the day of expiation, the ſeveral bathings that he was to bathe on that day, but only the firſt which was in the Bath on the top of the room *Abhtines*, as hath been obſerved before. It appeareth that here was a great iſſue or running cock of Water, in this *waſhing room*, which ſerved for the waſhing of ſo many Intrails as there *h Ibid.* *i Joma per. 3.*

was occaſion to waſh continually: and that there was a conveyance of Water to the roof of the adjoining room, where alſo a Cock ran to ſupply the Bath.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Gate, and Houſe Nitſots ניצוץ *The Houſe of Stone Veſſels.*

WE are now come to the Gate that was moſt East of all the three on this North-ſide, and it bare the double name of *a the Gate Nitſots* and *b the Gate of the Song.* The word *Nitſots* ניצוץ betokeneth properly ſparkling, as *Eſa.* I. 31. *Ezek.* I. 7, &c. and ſo it ſignifies the beams of the Sun, which as it were ſparkle at his riſing or going forth. But ſometimes it is uſed by the Rabbins to ſignifie *Drops*, which are as it were the ſparks of Water: and ſometime as *Baal Aruch* obſerves, *Froth* or *Foam:* Now to what ſenſe of all theſe to apply the name of this Gate, and to give the reaſon of its denomination in that ſenſe, will prove more labour than profit, though the pains be put to the beſt improvement. I ſhall leave it upon theſe two conjectures in the ſenſe of *Sparkling:* That it was called *the ſparkling Gate*, either becauſe the fire or flaming of the Altar ſhone upon it, it ſtanding in moſt oppoſition to the Altar of all the Gates on this North ſide: or becauſe the South Sun did give a great dazling light upon the gilding of this Gate, which it did by neither of the other on this North-ſide, the height of the Temple interpoſing betwixt the Sun and them: But this Gate lay clearly open to the South Sun, and ſo the leaves of the Gate being gilt, they gave a ſparkling and dazling reflexion into the Court.

a Mid. per. 1.
b Ibid. per. 2.

But why it is called *the Gate of the Song*, for ought I can find, is left alſo only to conjecture: And I ſhall only offer this; Becauſe they that came in at this Gate came in the very face of the *Levites* as they ſtood in their deſks ſinging, or playing on their Inſtruments and making the Temple muſick.

Joyning to the East-ſide of this Gate there was a building was called from the Gate, *c The Houſe Nitſots*, in which the Prieſts kept a Guard in the upper room, and the Levites in the lower: and between this building and the Gate there was as it were a Cloiſter paſſage, by which paſſage there was a way out of the very Gate into the room below where the Levites kept, and there was alſo a paſſage out of the Cloyſter into the *Chel* חיל And ſo is that clauſe in the *Talmuds* ſurvey of the Temple to be underſtood when it ſaith כמין אכסדרא היה והעליה בנויה עיל גביו *d That this Gate was like a Cloiſter, and a Chamber was built over it, where the Prieſts kept Ward above, and the Levites below, and it had a Door into the* חיל *Chel.* The meaning of which paſſage may be conceived to be this: That as you went through this Gate *Nitſots* out of the Court into the חיל *Chel* upon your right hand there was not a plain Wall for the ſide of the Gate, as the other Gates had, but that ſide was open with Pillars (as the Cloiſter ſides were of which we have ſpoken) and within thoſe Pillars there was a little Cloiſter or Walk which was almoſt as long as the paſſage through the Gate was broad: So that when you were in the hollow of the Gate you might ſtep in between the Pillars into this Cloiſter, and ſo into the room where the Levites kept their Guard, and over this Cloiſter and that room, and over the Gate, was there a place where the Prieſts kept their ward, and this was one of the three places where they warded: Out of the Levites room there was a door into the *Chel.*

c Mid. per. 1.
d Ibid.

Theſe buildings ran thus from this Gate of *Nitſots* Eaſtward a pretty way, and then there joined to them another building which raught to the very corner of the Court Wall. And it was called בירת האבן *The Houſe of Stone:* Not as if it were built of Stone and the other buildings of Wood, for the reſt were of Stone alſo; nor as if this differed in manner of building from the reſt; but becauſe all the Veſſels that were uſed in it were of Earth or Stone: And ſo the *Gemara* upon the Treatiſe *Joma* explaineth it, עיל פני בירה לשכת בירת האבן *e Before the Temple, at the North-eaſt corner was the Chamber of the Houſe of Stone, and thither they put the Prieſt apart, that was to burn the red Cow ſeven days before. And it is called the Houſe of Stone, becauſe the work of it was in Veſſels of Dung, Earth, or Stone.* In which paſſage they do not only give the reaſon of the name, but they alſo give an evidence of the ſituation of this place, when they ſay it was על פני בירה *Before the Temple at the North-Eaſt corner.* And as for the putting of the Prieſt apart into this room that we are about, who was to burn the red Cow, there is the like Record in the Treatiſe *Parah*, in theſe words, *f Seven days before the burning*

e Joma per. 1. *in Gemara.*
f Parah per. 3. *in Mijon.*

of

of the Cow, they put apart the Prieſt that was to burn her out of his Houſe, into the Chamber which was before the Temple in the North-eaſt, which was called the Houſe of Stone, and they beſprinkled him all the Seven days, &c.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The Court of Iſrael, and of the Prieſts: And the Levites Desks where they Sung.

THUS having paſſed round about the Wall that incloſed the Court, and obſerved every particular Gate and Building in it, we are now to enter into the Court it ſelf, and to ſurvey that, and there we ſhall find much variety.

a The whole length of the Court from Eaſt to Weſt was one hundred eighty and ſeven cubits, and the breadth from North to South one hundred thirty and five. *b* The parcels of the total ſum of the length were theſe, from Eaſt to Weſt. *a Mid. per. 1.* *b Ibid. per. 8.*

The breadth of the Court of *Iſrael* eleven cubits.
The breadth of the Court of the Prieſts eleven cubits.
The breadth of the Altar two and thirty cubits.
Between the Altar and the Temple, two and twenty cubits.
The length of the Temple it ſelf, an hundred cubits.
Behind the Weſt end of the Temple to the Court-wall, eleven cubits.
The parcels of the breadth were theſe, going from North to South.
From the Wall of the Court to the Pillars, eight cubits.
From the Pillars to the Marble Tables, four cubits.
From the Tables to the place of the Rings, four cubits.
The ſpace of the Rings it ſelf, four and twenty cubits.
From the Rings to the Altar, eight cubits.
The Altar and the riſe to it, ſixty two cubits.
From the foot of the riſe to the South-wall of the Court, five and twenty cubits.

Of all theſe particulars we ſhall give account as we go along: And firſt it will be needful to clear the tearms, of *the Court of Iſrael*, and *the Court of the Prieſts:* Now theſe are to be underſtood in a ſtricter acceptation or in a larger: In the ſtricteſt ſenſe they were taken for the firſt ground you paſſed over as you went up from the Eaſt Wall of the Court, or where the Gate of *Nicanor* was, unto the Altar, and they are ſaid to be eleven cubits broad apiece. But in the larger acceptation, *the Court of Iſrael*, was a ſpace of ground upon which the Lay-men of *Iſrael*, for ſo let me call them, might ſtand, along within the Wall that incloſed the Court, on the North, South, and Weſt quarters of the Court as well as on the Eaſt.

The Court was Cloiſtered along the incloſing Wall of it within, even as we have obſerved of the Mountain of the Houſe, and the Court of the Women already: And ſo not only reaſon it ſelf doth evince unto us, which will tell that if the inferior places, and of leſs veneration, were ſo beautified, much more was this which was of the chiefeſt honour and higheſt Worſhip, but both *Joſephus* and the *Talmudiſts*, do alſo give teſtimony to ſuch a purpoſe: For *Joſephus* in thoſe words that we had occaſion to cite a good while ago, Αἱ ϛοαὶ αἱ μέλαξιν ἔνδον ὑπερμεμηκέϛαι, &c. *c Cloiſters ran along the Wall within from Gate to Gate, born up with fair and great Pillars, &c.* doth intimate no leſs: for though he doth particularly in that ſentence ſpeak of the Cloiſters before the *Gazophylacia*, or Treaſure-cheſts, which we placed in the Court of the Women, yet doth the ſcope of this Diſcourſe in that place, refer to both the Courts. The Talmudick Treatiſe *Tamid* likewiſe ſpeaking of the Prieſts firſt coming every Morning into the Court, it ſaith, *d* They came out through a Wicket out of *Beth Mokadh*, and being come into the Court they parted into two companies, and one went one way and another another, באכסדרה *Per exedram, along the Cloiſter*, round about the Court to ſee whether all was well and ſafe there. And you had mention even now of Pillars eight cubits diſtant from the North Wall of the Court, which though indeed in their very name they ſpeak that they were low Pillars and not ſuch as bare up the Roof of the Cloiſters, *c Joſeph. de bell. lib. 5. cap. 14.* *d Tamid. per 1.*

Cloiſters, as we ſhall obſerve when we come to ſpeak of them, yet were there higher Pillars by them that were ſuch Supporters.

On the North and South ſide therefore, and at the Weſt end of the Court, there was a Cloiſter like unto thoſe that we have ſpoken of already, born up with Pillars and roofed over head, that people might ſtand under unannoied of Rain and Weather, and this was the Court of *Iſrael*, that went round about the Court: for in this might Lay-men ſtand, and ſo they did, when there were great multitudes at the Temple, as there was at the three Feſtivals, when they were injoyned to appear before the Lord. In the Rubrick of the Paſover which is given by the *Talmud* in the Treatiſe *Peſachin:* It is ſaid,

e *Peſachin per.* 5 e *The Paſſover was killed in three companies: And the firſt company went in, and the Court was filled, &c.* Now by the filling of the Court with people is not meant all the parts of the Court within the Wall that did incloſe it, but this *Court of Iſrael* or Cloiſter where the laity might ſtand, round about: And all inward, or what was incloſed by this Cloiſter, was in the large acceptation *the Court of the Prieſts:* This Cloiſter did not retain the ſame ſpace of liberty of ſtanding or walking, in every part of it, for here and there were buildings that ſtood out ſomething into it, as part of *Beth Mokadh* did at the North-weſt corner, and part of the building *Gazith* at the South-eaſt, &c. yet was there ſuch paſſage by them made more or leſs, that the buildings did not thruſt him that would paſs, into the Court of the Prieſts, but that there was a ſpace to paſs, ſometimes larger, and ſometimes narrower even all the Court round about.

Now at the Eaſt part or quarter of it as you came up out of *the Gate of Nicanor*, you entred upon that which was called in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, *the Court of Iſrael*, which was eleven cubits over as you went up towards the Altar, and then was that which alſo in the ſtricter ſenſe was called *the Court of the Prieſts*, and that was eleven cubits over likewiſe: Theſe two ſpaces were double Cloiſtered, being roofed over, and the roof ſupported with a double row of Pillars: the one row ſtanding out to the opening of the open Court, and the other row ſtanding where the two ſpaces parted the one from the other. Theſe were more peculiarly called *the Court of Iſrael*, and *the Court of the Prieſts*, upon theſe two or three reaſons.

1. Becauſe hither was the moſt ordinary acceſs of *Iſraelites* and Prieſts in their moſt ſolemn Worſhip, it being juſt in the face both of Temple and Altar.

2. Becauſe in that which was called *the Court of Iſrael*, the Stationary-men did conſtantly ſtand, in their attendance on the ſervice in repreſentation of all the people, as we have ſhewed them ſuch repreſentatives, * in another place: And in that which was called *the Court of Prieſts*, did thoſe Prieſts ſtand that had not imployment in the preſent ſervice (as all of them had not always) and waited upon the Worſhip and Service, which their Brethren now in imployment were about.

* *Temple-Service, Chap. 7. Sect. 3.*

3. That part of the room *Gazith* which ſtood within the Court, opened into both theſe Courts; and as that was the room, where the Prieſts caſt lots for the dividing of the Service amongſt them, ſo it was the Chappel (as it were) where they ſaid a good part of their daily Liturgy, and ſo the People and Prieſts in theſe Courts were ready to hear it. The one Court was diſtinguiſhed from the other by ſome grates or bars or ſuch like things which the Jews call ראשי פספסין which ſtood between Pillar and Pillar in that middle row of Pillars that bare up the roof of the Cloiſter. Into the Court of the Prieſts, whether largely or ſtrictly taken, the *Iſraelites* or lay People might not come but upon ſpecial occaſion, and that occaſion was threefold; namely, either to lay his Hand upon the Beaſt that he offered, or to kill him, or to wave ſome part of him, and then his coming into the Court either of *Iſrael*, or of the Prieſts, or both, was ordinarily at the North or South-ſide of the Court, according as his offering was to be ſlain on the North or South-ſide of the Altar, as we have obſerved before.

|| *Maim. in Beth habbechirah per* 6. || The Court of the People was level with the floor of the Eaſt-gate or the Gate *Nicanor*, but the floor of the Court of the Prieſts was two cubits and an half higher, and the riſing thus. Imagine you came up from the Gate of *Nicanor:* or rather imagine the Levites coming up from it with their Muſical Inſtruments in their Hands (which we obſerved before they laid up in rooms juſt under the Court of *Iſrael*, but the Doors of thoſe rooms opening into the Court of the Women) when they were riſen the many ſteps into the Gate of *Nicanor* and were come thorough it, they had on either Hand a fair paſſage into the Cloiſter or Court of the People, (ſuch another as he hath that cometh upon the Royal Exchange either out of *Cornhil* or *Bartlemew-lane*, he may ſtep into the Cloiſter walk on whether Hand he will) they walked upon even ground till they came over the breadth of the Court of the People, or to the Pillars which were on the further ſide of that Court which bare up the Cloiſter, and diſtinguiſhed the Court of the People and the Court of the Prieſts one from another: Then was there a riſing of two cubits and an half, but ſtepped up thus. *f* Firſt there was a ſtep of a cubit high, and then

f Id. *ibid. & Mid. per.* 2. § 6.

three

three ſteps of half a cubit high a piece, thus it was as you went directly up from the Gate of *Nicanor* forwards. But if you would turn on either Hand, there were the Deſks or ſtandings of the Levites, where they ſtood to Sing and to make their Muſick, made with ſteps, as even as that middle riſing juſt now mentioned: firſt a riſing of a cubit height, and that ran along at that height all along before the Rails and Pillars that parted twixt the Court of the Prieſts and Court of People: and then were there three ſteps up of half a cubit high a piece, and on the higheſt ſtep ſtood the *Levites* with their Inſtruments and their Song: their Feet even with the Floor of the Court of the Prieſts, and a Deſk before them.

Elias Levita it ſeems obſerved not this riſing both into the Court and in the Levites ſtation, when he ſaith, *g* that their דוכן *Dukan* (which was the name of their Deſks, and which the Learned render, *Suggeſtus* or *Pulpitum*) was nothing elſe but a bench or form whereon they ſtood: for their Feet ſtood even with the floor of the Court, and were not raiſed above it at all. His words are theſe, *I wonder at this Targum* (on *Pſalme* CXXXIV.) *Lift up your Hands, O ye Prieſts, upon the holy* דוכן *For behold* דוכן *was* אצטבא *the bench on which the Levites ſtood when they Sung, and it is called* דוכן *Dukan in the Arabick: but in the Dutch and Vulgar, Bauca:* In this conſtruction of it by אצטבא *a bench*, and owning it for an Arabick word he followeth, *h Aruch, verbatim*, but I confeſs I do not very well underſtand the cauſe of his wonder, eſpecially conſidering what he ſaith before the words cited, namely this: *We call the place where the Prieſts lifted up their Hands when they bleſſed the people* דוכן *Dukan, and ſo is the Targum, Lift up your Hands, O ye Prieſts, on the holy* דוכן *and at this I wonder.* Now if he wonder, that the *Targum* hath brought in the Prieſt bleſſing the People from the דוכן *Desk* or *Pulpit*, in that *Pſalm:* he might have found the like in other places. For the Chaldee of *Jonathan* upon the Law doth thus render the 23 verſe of the ſixth of *Numbers*, *i Speak to Aaron and his Sons, ſaying, Thus ſhall ye bleſs the Children of Iſrael, ſpreading their hands upon the* דוכנא *Dukana, and they ſhall ſpeak to them in this manner:* where the Hebrew Gloſs in the Margin interprets it, *k by ſpreading their Hands in the place called* דוכנא *Dukana*; and a little after, מקום איצטב נקרא דוכן *The benched place called* דוכן *Dukan.* And ſo the large *Chaldee Paraphraſe* upon the *Canticles*, Gloſſeth the ſeventh verſe of the third Chapter, (*Behold his bed which is Solomons: threeſcore Valiant Men are about it*) *thus l when Solomon the King of Iſrael built the Houſe of the Sanctuary of the Lord in Jeruſalem, the Lord ſaid by his Word, How beautiful is this Houſe of the Sanctuary which is built to me by King Solomon the Son of David, and how beautiful are the Prieſts when they ſpread forth their Hands, and ſtand upon their* דוכן *Dukan and bleſs the People, the Houſe of Iſrael, by the threeſcore wonders that were delivered to Moſes their Maſter!*

g Elias in Tiſbi. in דכן

h Aruch in דכן

i Targ. Jonathi in legem. in Numb. VI.

k Gloſſa marg. ibid.

l Targ. in Cant. III.

But it ſeems his wonder is at this, that the Jews ſo generally, and the *Chaldee Paraphraſe* particularly ſhould hold that the Prieſts when they bleſſed the People ſtood upon the דוכן *Dukan*, whereas the *Dukan* or theſe *Desks* were for the *Levites* and not for the Prieſts: And if I did conceive that they meant theſe very Deſks of the *Levites*, when they ſay, *the Prieſts ſtood in the* דוכן *Dukan and bleſſed the People*, I ſhould wonder with him alſo, but I ſuppoſe they meant ſome other Deſks appropriate to the Prieſts for this purpoſe, or the place of the Prieſts ſtanding when they bleſſed the People, and as by a name beſt known they call it *Dukan.*

The words of the Talmud in deſcription of theſe Deſks where the Levites ſtood to Sing and to make their Muſick are theſe. *m Rabbi Eliezer the Son of Jacob ſaith, There was a riſing* (*viz.* out of the Court of the People into the Court of the Prieſts) *and it was a cubit high, and the* דוכן *Dukan was ſet above it, and in that there were three ſteps of half a cubit high a piece: So that the Court of the Prieſts is found to be higher than the Court of Iſrael by two cubits and an half.* So that it appears indeed that the Levites ſtood upon raiſed ſteps in their Deſks, but it is plain withal, that the higheſt ſtep was no higher than the floor of the Court before them, and that that ſtep whereon they ſtood, was not called the *Dukan*, but the whole place of the three ſteps riſing.

m Mid. per. 2.

And thus were the eleven cubits of the Court of the Prieſts at this Eaſt quarter of the Court taken up and divided: Namely two cubits and an half taken up by the Deſks of the Singers (for as was the height of the ſteps, ſo was their breadth) and eight cubits and an half for the Prieſts ſtanding. The Court of *Iſrael* parted from the Levites Deſks, by Pillars and Rails: The Levites ſtanding parted from the Prieſts by a Wainſcot Deſk or ſome ſuch thing. The Court of the Prieſts open to the Altar, but only that the Pillars that ſupported the Cloiſter, ſtood in a row before it.

And ſo we have the dimenſions and platform of the Court, and of the Buildings and the Cloiſters that ſtood about it: But before we proceed to obſerve the particulars that were within it, I cannot but think of a piece of ſtructure, that in its ſtory looks ſomething like to ſome of the Cloiſters that we have deſcribed either in the Mountain of the

Houſe,

Houſe, or in one of the Courts, though I believe it was none of them, and that is *The Covert of the Sabbath*, of which there is ſpeech and mention, 2 *King.* XVI. 18. where it is ſaid of *Ahaz*, *The Covert of the Sabbath, that they had built in the Houſe, and the Kings entry without, &c.* How to frame the Verb to this ſentence is ſomewhat doubtful: whether to ſay *he turned it from* the Houſe of the Lord, and ſo doth our *Engliſh*, or *he turned it* to the Houſe of the Lord, and ſo doth the *Chaldee* Paraphraſt and ſome others with him: for the word in the Original doth not determine it. Were that the queſtion before us, I ſhould adhere to the ſenſe of our *Engliſh* (for the Kings entry without was turned to the Houſe of the Lord from its firſt making) but our queſtion is, what this *Covert of the Sabbath was.* The Seventy have rendred it Στρῶμα καθέδρας *The foundation of the chair* or ſeat, upon what miſtake in their unprickt Bible, a mean Hebrician will eaſily diſcover, namely that they read *Muſadh* for *Muſach* (*Daleph* and *Caph final* being like) and for *Shabbath* they read *Shebeth.* [u] The moſt received opinion about this matter is, that this was ſome ſpecial piece of building, that was purpoſely made for the courſe of Prieſts that went out every Sabbath to repoſe themſelves in, till the Sabbath was out, or till they might go home. And the reaſon of this conception is becauſe of the word *Sabbath*, which they ſuppoſe to refer rather to the change of the Prieſts courſes, who came in and went out on the Sabbath, than to the Service, or the Peoples attending, whoſe concourſe was greater at the Feſtivals than on the Sabbath; I ſhould rather take it to mean ſome Court of Guard that was made on the top of the Cauſey *Shallecheth* up towards the Gate *Coponius*, where the Kings Guard ſtood on the Sabbaths, having attended the King into the Temple, till he came out again, there to receive him again and to Guard him home: and I ſhould underſtand and conſtrue the word *The Kings* in conjunction with both particulars named, namely that it meaneth the Kings covert of the Sabbath as well as the Kings Entry without: and my reaſon for this opinion I ſhould fetch partly from the mention of theſe Gates that we had in ſpeech before, namely, *The Gate of the Foundation*, and *the Gate behind the Guard*, 2 *King.* XI. 6. And partly from the paſſage in *Jerem.* XXXVIII. 14. where it is ſaid, that *King Zedekiah ſent and took Jeremy the Prophet unto him into the third entry that was in the Houſe of the Lord*, where *Solomon Jarchi* doth ingenuouſly confeſs that he knows not what this *third Entry in the Houſe of the Lord* was: *but perhaps*, ſaith he, *it meaneth the Court of Iſrael; the Court of the Women and the Chel being the two other.* *Kimchi* doth well conceive that this Entry was as they came from the Kings Houſe into the Temple, but more of it he hath not determined. I ſhould ſay it meaneth the Gate *Coponius:* and conceive the King coming to the Temple, through theſe entrances or paſſages. Firſt, At the bottom of the Stairs or deſcent of *Zion*, much about his turning to come upon the Cauſey, there was *the Gate of the Foundation*; then being come up the Cauſey towards the Temple, he paſſed through *the Gate behind the Guard*, and walked through the Court of Guard, which I ſuppoſe was called *the Kings covert for the Sabbath*, and ſo through *the Gate Coponius*, which was his third entrance or Gate he paſſed through. Theſe Gates, we ſaid before, were Gates of *Sion*, meaning that they were in the way from the Temple thither, and not Gates of the Temple it ſelf.

[u] *Vid. Kimc. & Lev. Gerſon in loc. & Nobil. in* LXX. *Ibid.*

According therefore to this ſuppoſal, I apprehend that *Ahaz* becoming a Renegado to Religion, did deface and defile the Temple within, and did clean cut off the way of the Kings acceſs thither without, as if he and his ſhould never have more to do there: And according to this ſuppoſal alſo I apprehend, that *Zedekiah* having gariſoned himſelf in the Temple, while the Chaldeans were now lying in Siege about the City, he ſends for *Jeremy* from his priſon in *Zion*, and he comes up to the Gate *Coponius* or *Shallecheth*, and there the King and he confer together. And now let us turn our Eyes and Obſervation upon what is to be found in the Court from which we have thus far digreſſed: and firſt we will begin with the Altar, which is not only the moſt remarkable thing to be obſerved there, but which muſt alſo ſerve us as a ſtanding mark, from whence to meaſure the place and ſight of other things.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Of the Altar of Burnt-offering.

THE Altar that *Moſes* made in the Wilderneſs, becauſe it was to be carried up and down, was of light materials and of ſmall dimenſions: for *a* it was of Shittim wood, and but five cubits ſquare, and three cubits high, with a Grate of Braſs hanging within it for the Fire and Sacrifice to lye upon. And therefore when it is called *the brazen Altar*, 2 *Chon.* I. 5. it is becauſe it was plated over with braſs, *Exod.* XXXVIII. 1. But when *Solomon* came to build the Temple, and there was to be no more removing of the Tabernacle of the Congregation as there had been before, *b* he made the Altar far larger and weightier than that of *Moſes*: namely of Braſs and of twenty cubits ſquare and ten cubits high.

a Ex. XXVII. 1.

b 2 Chron. IV. 1.

I ſhall not be curious to inquire whether *Solomon*'s Altar were of braſs indeed or no; or whether it is ſaid to be of braſs, though it were of ſtone, becauſe it ſucceeded inſtead of *Moſes* his brazen one, as *c* ſome Jews conceive, *d* or as others, becauſe though it were of ſtone, yet it was over-laid with braſs: I ſee no reaſon why it ſhould not be properly and literally underſtood that it was of maſſie braſs indeed: for why may we not well conclude by the plating of *Moſes* his Altar over with braſs, that it was made of wood only for lightneſs, and had it not been for that, it had been all of braſs as well as the outſide: And that that outſide plating, might be a warrant to *Solomon* to make his Altar of maſſie braſs. It is true indeed that there is a command of making an Altar of Earth or Stone, *Exod.* XX. but it may very well be queſtioned, whether theſe Altars meant not ſuch as were made upon ſpecial and emergent occaſions, namely upon the Lords ſingular appearing to particular perſons, as to *Gideon*, *Manoah* and others, who upon ſuch appearances built Altars and ſacrificed, *Judg.* VI. 26. & XIII. 19. 1 *King.* XVIII. 30, 31.

c *Vid. Kimch. in* 1 *King.* VIII. 64.

d *Vid. Lev. Gerſ. ibid.*

There is but little to be diſcovered about the exact faſhion and Fabrick of *Solomon*'s Altar, becauſe the Scripture ſpeaketh very conciſely of it: For it ſaith only thus, *He made an Altar of braſs, twenty cubits the length thereof, and twenty cubits the bredth thereof, and ten cubits the height thereof*, 2 *Chron.* IV. 1. So that it was four times as big in its ſquare, as was the Altar made by *Moſes*, and three times as high, and a cubit over: but whether it were exactly of the faſhion of that of *Moſes*, as whether the middle ſpace within its ſquare were hollow like his, or made up with ſtone, and whether it had a grated Hearth like his or a ſolid, and what was the manner of the aſcending and going up to it, may be rather apprehended by ſuppoſal, than certainly known by any ſcriptural deſcription or demonſtration.

The Sacrifices that are recorded to have been offered ſometimes at once, both upon the Altar of *Moſes* and that of *Solomon*, are exceeding wonderful, and may cauſe a Man to marvail, how ſo vaſt numbers ſhould be laid and burnt in ſo little a ſpace, as even the larger of them was of, though a very large time ſhould be allowed for it: as *Solomon*'s thouſand Sacrifices upon *Moſes* his Altar, 1 *King.* III. 4. and the peoples ſeven hundred Oxen and ſeven thouſand Sheep upon *Solomon*'s, 2 *Chron.* XV. 11, *&c.* *Moſes* his Altar was but five cubits ſquare, and how long a time might be required for a thouſand Beaſts whole Burnt-offerings, for ſo they are called, to be burnt in ſo ſmall a compaſs? *David Kimchi* upon that place and ſtory Gloſſeth thus, *He offered not all theſe Sacrifices in one day, but before he returned again from Gibeon to Jeruſalem: yet it ſeemeth by our Rabbins that they took it to be done at one time.* The greateſt ſolemnities that ever were at *Jeruſalem* laſted ordinarily but ſeven days; or at the utmoſt but fourteen, when they would double their Feſtivity, as at the Dedication of the Temple, 1 *King.* VIII. 65. now grant *Solomon* fourteen, nay twice fourteen days ſtay at *Gibeon*, yet will it ſeem difficult that he ſhould diſpatch ſo many Sacrifices even in that time. And at his own Altar at *Jeruſalem* how vaſt is the number of Sacrifices, that is mentioned, 1 *King.* VIII. 63. *And Solomon offered a Sacrifice of Peace-offerings, which he offered to the Lord, two and twenty thouſand Oxen, and an hundred and twenty thouſand Sheep: ſo the King and all the Children of Iſrael dedicated the Houſe of the Lord, The ſame day did the King hallow the middle of the Court*, &c.

Allow the whole fourteen days that are ſpoken of in *verſ.* 65. unto this buſineſs, and yet the Text ſeems to limit it to a ſhorter time; and for all that, a Man may rather ſtand amazed at ſuch a thing as this doing, than find out any ſatisfactory apprehenſion how it ſhould be done. Sure the divine fire upon the Altar, was of a more ſingular quickneſs of diſpatch than ordinary fires: or elſe I know not what can be ſaid to theſe things. The Jews do reckon ſeveral wonders that were continually acted at the Temple, as

that no Flies infeſted that place, though there were ſo much ſlaughtering of Beaſts there, and that the ſmoke of the Altar always went ſtraight up and was never blown aſide by the wind, *&c.* which though it may be they are the leſs believed for the relaters ſakes, yet certainly well weighed in themſelves they carry very good ſenſe and reaſon in them. For who would have been able in the Summer to have ſtood in the Court near the Altar where there was ſo much blood ſhed, and fleſh ſtirring, if the ſlaughter place there had been troubled with ſtink, Flies and Waſps, as our common Slaughter-houſes are? And how reekey and ſmokey a place would the Temple and all the places about it have been, and how would thoſe that attended the ſervice, have been choaked and ſtifled, and no Man able to have indured in the Court, if the ſmoke from off the Altar had been blown up and down with every puff of wind, as we ordinarily ſee ſmoke to be? So that for the prevention of ſuch unconveniences as theſe which would have made the ſervice intolerable and unacceſſible, we cannot but acknowledge a continual miraculous providence and diſpenſation. And ſo in this particular that we have in hand: that multitudes of Sacrifices, ſuch as were eſpecially at the three Feſtivals, ſhould be diſpatched by the fire within the time allotted for the offering of ſuch Sacrifices, is rather to be aſcribed to miracle than to any thing elſe. The Altar is called *Ariel, the Lords Lion*, as we ſhall obſerve by and by, and it was a Lion of a very quick devouring.

Now whereas it is ſaid, That *Solomon did hallow the middle of the Court that was before the Houſe of the Lord, for there he offered Burnt-offerings and Meat-offerings and the fat of the Peace-offerings becauſe the brazen Altar that was before the Lord was too little to receive them:* lay this alſo in too, and yet it will be difficult enough to apprehend the diſpatch of ſo many thouſand Sacrifices in ſo ſhort a time, if this conſideration be not alſo laid in therewithal. But the queſtion that is moſt ordinarily raiſed out of theſe words is, in what ſenſe to underſtand this hallowing of the middle of the Court: whether he burnt the Sacrifices upon the very Pavement, as is the opinion of *Rabbi Judah*, or whether he ſet up *Moſes*'s Altar by his own Altar and offered on it, or whether he built an Altar of ſtone by his brazen one: for theſe opinions are alſo held; but methinks the greater queſtion is about the place, and what is meant by *the middle of the Court?* Upon which quære, theſe two things, may firſt be taken into obſervation. 1. That fire from Heaven in the time of *David*, had appointed out the exact place of offering Sacrifice or of the Altar, 1 *Chron.* XXI. 1. and to go about that piece of ſervice in any other place of the Court, required either a prophetical warrant, or a diſpenſation through meer neceſſity, both which diſpenſers concurred here. 2. That this place which *Solomon* hallowed in the Court, was hallowed by the very ſervice performed upon it; The Altar of *Moſes* was hallowed at its firſt ſetting up, by being annointed, and ſo do the Jews, not without good ground, aſſert that *Solomon*'s Altar was hallowed likewiſe: but this neceſſitated place, for ſo let me call it, which *Solomon* was conſtrained to ſet apart for that ſervice, was not ſo ſerved, but his very ſacrificing there did hallow the place: namely for ſuch a preſent imployment, but not for future. And ſo the current of the Text may be interpreted, he hallowed the middle of the Court, for there he offered Burnt-offerings: ſo that whereas the other Altar being anointed, ſanctified the gift, this extraordinary Altar did not ſo much ſanctifie the offering at the firſt, as was ſanctified by it: And ſo the Temple after the return out of the *Babylonian* Captivity and all the Utenſils belonging to it, were ſanctified by the very ſervice, for there was neither divine fire, nor any cloud of glory, nor any anointing Oyl to ſanctifie them.

The middle of the Court which *Solomon* hallowed, I ſuppoſe is to be expounded in the largeſt acceptation of either of the words, both *the middle*, and *the Court:* for the word *the middle* of a thing in the Scripture language, is not always taken for the very Center of the thing mentioned, but for any part within that thing, be it in whatſoever it will, as *in the middle of the Land*, and *in the middle of the Congregation*, meaneth *but within the Land*, and *in the Congregation:* So is the phraſe to be underſtood here, that *Solomon* hallowed the Court in any part of it for the burning of the Sacrifices, though the preciſe compaſs of the Altar, was fixedly pointed out as the only place for ſuch a purpoſe, by fire from Heaven: And as for the word *the Court*, the preſent occaſion doth ſeem to extend the ſenſe of it to the whole compaſs of the holy ground: for if we look upon the vaſt and infinite number of Sacrifices that were to be ſlain and offered, we can do no leſs, and all little enough too, than allow the whole compaſs of the holy ground for it: And the word *the Court*, ſtandeth not in oppoſition to the Mountain of the Houſe, but both the Mountain of the Houſe, and the Court it ſelf, are both called by that general name *the Court* in contradiction to the very body of the Temple.

Ezekiel's Altar is ſaid to be *twelve cubits long, and twelve cubits broad, ſquare in the four ſquares thereof, Ezek.* XLIII. 16. which *g* the *Talmudicks* do reckon up to four and twenty cubits upon every ſide of the ſquare: for they ſuppoſe that the account is not as

g Tzvachin per. 5. R. Sol. in Ezek XLIII. & And per. 3.

meaſuring

meaſuring from corner to corner on every ſide, but meaſuring from the very midſt or center of the Altar to any of the ſides, and thither was twelve cubits: And the reaſon of this their conſtruction is, becauſe it is ſaid אל ד' רבעיו *Towards the four ſquares of it. It might ſeem* (ſay they) *that the whole Altar was but twelve cubits ſquare in all: but when it is ſaid* אל ארבעת רבעיו *Towards the four ſquares thereof, it ſheweth, that he meaſureth from the middle, twelve cubits every way:* And of this ſquare, namely of four and twenty cubits on every ſide, they hold the Altar to have been after the Captivity, and ſo they deſcribe it. *R. Joſe ſaith, At the firſt the Altar was but twenty eight cubits on every ſide: And according to this meaſure it narrowed in its riſing till the fire place was but twenty cubits ſquare: But when the Children of the Captivity came up, they added thereunto four cubits on the North, and four cubits on the Weſt, like the faſhion of the letter* γ *Gamma.*

As *Solomon's* Altar was ten cubits high, 2 *Chr.* IV. 1. ſo alſo was the Altar at the ſecond Temple, and ſo the *Jeruſalem Talmud* doth witneſs, ſaying נובה המזבח י' אמות *h The height of the Altar was ten cubits:* And of that height is *Ezekiel's* Altar, whoſe copy the Children of the Captivity did very much follow: Now as it was impoſſible for the Prieſts when the Altar was ſo high, to ſtand on the ground and to ſerve upon it, ſo had they an expreſs prohibition againſt going up to the Altar by ſteps, leſt their nakedneſs under their looſe Coats ſhould be diſcovered, *Exod.* XX. 26. Therefore as a temper between theſe two exigents, there was a gentle riſing made from the ground to the top of the Altar, whereon the Prieſts might go up to the Altar to ſerve upon it; and this riſing was called כבש *Kebeſh* which may well be Engliſhed *The riſe of the Altar.*

h Talm. Jeruſ. in Erubin per. 7.

The Gloſs upon the *Miſhneh* in the Treatiſe *Zabim*, and *R. Nathan* from thence hath taught us to underſtand the manner of this riſing, by that inſtance and deſcription that they give of the word כבש *i* That it is *a great Plank that Mariners have, that when they will come down out of the Ship, they deſcend, or come down upon it, to ſave their feet from touching of the water: and this Plank is called* כבש *Kebeſh:* And ſo in the Treatiſe of the *Sabbath* they have a caſe, about a כבש *Kebeſh*, or ſuch a Plank: *k Doth an Idolater make a* כבש *Deſcent for himſelf, to go down by? an Iſraelite may go down after him. But doth he make it for the Iſraelite? it is not lawful for him to go upon it: There is an example of Rabban Gamaliel and the Elders, they were to come out of a Ship, and an Idolater had made* כבש *a deſcent for himſelf, Rabban Gamaliel and the Elders came down upon it.* So that by this parallel we may obſerve the manner and nature of this כבש *Kebeſh* or *riſe to the Altar*, that it was a ſloping gentle riſing, but made of ſtone, whereby the Prieſts might go up to the Altar, without danger of diſcovering their nakedneſs: we might call it *a riſing Cawſey to the top of the Altar*; for ſo doth *l Maymony* call the Arched Cawſey over the Valley of *Kidron* to Mount *Olivet* by which the Red Cow was brought to her burning by this very name כבש *Kebeſh.*

i Zabi. per. 3; Aruch in כבש

k Shabbath. per. 16. Sect. 8.

l Maym. in Shekalim. per.

Now as for the manner and form of the Altar and of this riſing up to it, and for the right underſtanding of all, which is not very facil, divers things are to be obſerved. As,

1. There are reckoned theſe ſeveral parts of the Altar. Firſt, The Foundation, יסוד which alſo in *Ezekiel* is called חיק *The boſom or bottom upon the ground*, *Ezek.* XLIII. 13, 14. This was one cubit high from the ground, and one cubit broad: and the length of this Foundation upon every ſide of the ſquare was two and thirty cubits. And therefore whereas it was ſaid before, that the bredth of the Altar and its riſe was ſixty two cubits from North to South, it is to be taken, as that the riſe is to be accounted a thing different from the Altar it ſelf, and lying a great ſpace further out than the compaſs of the Altar did, as we ſhall ſee anon: Now this Foundation which is ſaid to be two and thirty cubits ſquare every way, did not hold the compleat meaſure of a cubit broad in every part of it, but in the South-Eaſt corner of it, it wanted ſomewhat to make the corner a perfect Angle anſwerable to the other corners. And this is that which the *Talmud* meaneth when it ſaith היסוד היה מהלך על פני כל הצפון ועל פני כל המערב ואוכל בדרום אמה א' ובמזרח אמה א' *m The Foundation was a perfect walk, all along on the North ſide, and all along on the South: but on the South it wanted one cubit, and on the Eaſt one cubit.* That is, were a Man upon the Foundation, he might walk upon all the length of the North ſide, and might turn at the North-Weſt corner, and ſo walk on the Weſt quarter: but would he do ſo, to go off from the South quarter to the Eaſt, he could not, for when he was to turn at the South-Eaſt Angle, there was no ſuch Angle there, as there was at the other corners, for it was broken off, and wanted a cubit on the South-ſide, and a cubit on the Eaſt, which two cubits ſhould have met to have brought the corner into a ſharpe point like the others. Now the reaſon of the defect is given by them elſe where, to be becauſe, that very corner only of all the Altar was not in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, but in the Tribe of *Judah.* For they held it neceſſary that all the Altars ſhould be in the lot of *Benjamin*, becauſe of thoſe words of *Jacob*, *n Benjamin ſhall raven as a Wolf, in the morning he ſhall devour the prey, and in the evening he ſhall divide the ſpoil:* which how they underſtood of the Sanctuary and Altar being built

m Mid. ubi ſup.

n Gen. XLIX. 27.

within *Benjamin's* lot, appears by the Gloſs that the *Jeruſalem Targum* and *Jonathan* put upon it. *Benjamin*, ſay they, *is likened to a devouring Wolf, becauſe he was a ſtrong Tribe: In his Country the divine Majeſty of the Lord of all the world was to dwell, and in his poſſeſſion was the Houſe of the Sanctuary to be built; In the morning the Prieſts ſhall offer the daily Lamb, till it be the fourth hour of the day, and between the Evenings they ſhall offer the other Lamb, and at Even they ſhall divide what remaineth of the reſt of the Sacrifices, and every one ſhall eat his portion.* But more copiouſly in the Treatiſe *Zevachin* or *concerning Sacrifices*, where this very point about the want of this corner of the Altar is copiouſly diſcuſſed. The fifth Chapter of that Book, ſetteth it ſelf purpoſely to deſcribe the ſeveral places where the ſeveral Sacrifices were ſlain beſide the Altar: and after other things it falls upon the queſtion that is before us about this deficient Angle of the Altar, and it handles and derermines it thus, *o The South-Eaſt corner had no foundation: what was the reaſon? Rabbi Eliezer ſaith, becauſe it was not in the portion of the Ravener: As Rab. Samuel the Son of Rabbi Iſaac ſaith* מובח אוכל בחלקו של יהודה אמה *The Altar took up one cubit in the portion of Judah: Rab. Levi bar Chama ſaith, R. Chama bar Chaninah ſaith there went a line out of the portion of Judah, and entred upon the portion of Benjamin. And Righteous Benjamin was troubled at it,* as it is ſaid חופף עליו כל היום (The Gloſſers render it, *He was careful for it every day*) *Yet Righteous Benjamin obtained to become* אושפיזכן *Hoſt to the holy bleſſed God as it is ſaid; And he ſhall dwell between his ſhoulders:* The meaning of which paſſage is to this purpoſe: that the line that parted the lots or portions of the two Tribes *Judah* and *Benjamin*, came juſt over at this point of the Altar, that if this Angle of the Foundation had been made like the other, a cubit of the Altar would have been in the lot of *Judah*, which they had no Scripture warrant for, for the Altar was to be in the lot of *the Ravenor*, that is of *Benjamin that ſhould raven as a Wolf*, therefore they choſe rather to make no Angle at all at this point of the Foundation, than to make it, ſince it would fall in the portion of *Judah*.

o Talm. Bab. in Zevachin. per. 5. in Gemara.

As this South-Eaſt point of the Foundation was remarkable for this, that it had no corner, ſo was the South-Weſt corner of it remarkable for another thing, and that was, for two holes that were in it near to the Angles point, one upon the Weſt Foundation, and the other upon the South, into which the blood that was poured upon the Foundation did run, and ſo into a ſink or common-ſhore under ground, which emptied it ſelf into the Valley of *Kidron*.

2. The baſe or foundation having thus riſen one cubit from the ground and carried a cubit bredth round about, but only in the Angle that hath been mentioned, the ſquare of the body of the Altar, was grown then, a cubit narrower on every ſide, and ſo it was but thirty cubits upon every ſide of the ſquare: and thus it held for five cubits high, and then it narrowed one cubit more, and this narrrowing was called סובב *the Circuit of the Altar:* And there the ſquare was but eight and twenty cubits on every ſide: But here the *Talmuds* meaſure differeth from the meaſure of *Ezekiel*, which though *Rabbi Solomon* obſerveth, yet he concludeth that the meaſure in the *Talmud* was the true meaſure in the ſecond Temple. *Ezekiel* ſaith, That *from the bottom upon the ground, to the lower ſettle were two cubits*, whereas the *Talmud* ſaith but one, and from the lower ſettle to the higher, *Ezekiel* reckoneth four cubits, but the *Talmud* five: In which difference in the particulars yet there is agreement in the main ſumm, and both of them do raiſe the Circuit of the Altar ſix cubits high, and therefore we ſhall not ſpend time to reconcile them here, but leave them to be taken up by and by; only we cannot paſs over the word that *Ezekiel* uſeth, for both *the Foundation* and *the Circuit*, and that is עזרה *Azarah* which is the common word that is uſed for *the Court:* Becauſe that as the people did tread in the Court at the time of the ſervice, ſo did the Prieſts upon theſe ledges or ſides of the Altar: eſpecially upon the higher, which was called the Circuit of the Altar, when they went about it to beſprinkle the horns of it with the blood of the Sacrifices: The manner of which action the Talmudick Chapter lately cited, giveth us the relation of, in the *Miſhneh*, in theſe words, *p The Sin-offering of the Congregation, or of a private perſon, and the Goats, offered at the beginnings of the months, or at the ſolemn times, their ſlaughter was on the North ſide, of the Altar, and the taking of their blood in ſome of the Veſſels of the ſervice was on the North ſide, and it required a fourfold putting on the four horns. How was this done? He went up the* כבש *riſe of the Altar, and turned off to the* סובב *circuit of it: He went to the South-Eaſt horn, and then to the North-Eaſt, ſo to the North-Weſt, and laſtly to the South-Weſt, and the blood that was left he poured upon the Foundation on the South ſide:* Either of theſe ledges the Rabbins ſometimes call מלבן *q Malben*, either becauſe they were as floors whereon the Prieſts trod, for ſo the word is ſometimes taken, or becauſe they were often rub'd to keep them white, ſince there was ſo much blood ſprinkled on them: *ſ For the whole Altar was whited over twice a year, namely at the Paſsover and at the Feaſt of Tabernacles. Rabbi ſaith, that it was rubbed with a Map on the eve of every Sabbath.*

p Zebachin, ubi ſupr. Sect. 3.

q Vid. R. Sol. in Ezek XLIII.

r Vid. Aruch. in voce.

ſ Mid. per. 3.

3. A cubit height above this upper ledge, which was called *the Circuit*, there was a narrowing again, a cubit bredth, and there began the horns of the Altar, and now the ſquare was but ſix and twenty cubits upon every ſide. The horns were at every corner a cubit ſquare being hollow, and riſing a cubit upward: for it is a uſual ſaying among the Jews that גובה כל קרן וקרן ה' טפחים *t The height of every horn was five hands bredth,* or a common cubit, which is to be taken ſo as that the horns roſe but one cubit ſtraight up from their Foundation or firſt beginning, abating by degrees from a cubit ſquare in the bottom, into a Pyramidical ſharp, but ſo as that for one cubit height it roſe ſtraight, and then pointed outward like the tip of a horn: The loweſt part of theſe horns, was ſeven cubits from the ground, and therefore theſe words, *bind the Sacrifice with cords to the horns of the Altar*, *Pſal.* CXVIII. can hardly be taken in propriety, as if the Sacrifice ſtood tied to the Altar till it was offered; but as the *Chaldee* paraphraſeth it, it meaneth, *Tie the Lamb that is to be offered, with cords till ye come to offer him, and ſprinkle his blood upon the horns of the Altar.* *Joab* in fear of his life is ſaid to have fled to the Altar, and to lay hold upon the horns of it. 1 *King.* II. 29. in which paſſage the Hebrew Doctors ſay he was doubly deceived, Firſt, in that he thought to have refuge and eſcaping, for wilful murder; and Secondly, in that he looked for ſafety by taking hold of it, whereas the refuge of the Altar, was on the top of it אי"רול לא היה קולט המובח אלא על השגגה ועל גגו *u Our Rabbins ſay*, ſaith *David Kimchi*, *the Altar was no refuge but for Man-ſlaughter committed unawares and but on the top of it.* But whether *Joab* or they were the likelier to be deceived in this thing, I leave to them to diſcuſs between them: But this certainly cannot go unobſerved, that God in giving of the pattern of the Altar, was ſo punctual for the making of horns to it in the corners of it, as that that is a ſpecial charge, both about the Altar of Burnt-Offering, *Exod.* XXVII. 2. *Thou ſhalt make the horns of it upon the four corners thereof:* And alſo about the Altar of Incenſe, *Exod.* XXX. 2. *The horns thereof ſhall be of the ſame.* Now what the Lord intended to ſignifie by this ſo exact a preſcription, it is not good to be too bold to go about to determine, yet we may not unprofitably look upon them as a leſſon for inſtruction: reading to us that as the Altar ſignifieth *Chriſt*, who offered himſelf upon himſelf, the manhood upon the Altar of the God-head, and as the double Altar, of Sacrifice and Incenſe typified the offering up of *Chriſt* at his death, and the continual Inſcenſe of his mediation, ſo the horns of both Altars may well be conceived to ſignifie, the dignity vigor and merit of his death and mediation: upon which whoſoever layeth hold by aſſured Faith ſhall eſcape condemnation: and unto which (as the Prieſts to theſe horns at every Sacrifice mentioned) a ſinner in every ſervice is to make his addreſs and application.

t Maym. in Beth habbechir. par. 2.

u Kimch. in 1 King. II.

It is not an improper conception of *Rabbi Solomon*, about the Law concerning the Cities of refuge, *Exod.* XXI. 13. *w* that as God enjoyned them when they ſhould come into the Land of *Canaan* to appoint a place for the Man-ſlayer that had killed a Man at unawares to flee unto, ſo that while they were in the Wilderneſs God appointed them a place for refuge, upon ſuch occaſion, and that was the Camp of the Levites. Now the addition that follows in the next Verſe, that they ſhould take a wilful murderer from his Altar, to put to death, doth not only confirm that his ſuppoſal, but it doth give ſome intimation, that even in the Land of *Canaan*, and when their refuge Cities were ſet out, yet the Altar was then a Sanctuary for thoſe that fled to it in ſuch or ſuch caſes: A very eminent figure of deliverance from condemnation by laying hold upon *Chriſts* merits.

w R. Sol in Exod. XXI.

The *x* Jews diſpute why *Joab*, whom they hold to have been Preſident of the *Sanhedrin*, and knew the Law well enough, *that a wilful murderer ſhould not eſcape by the Altar*, why he ſhould flee thither: And they Anſwer, That it was either to ſave his Eſtate, which had he been ſlain elſewhere, had been forfeit: or to obtain his burial, which had he been Judged and Condemned judicially, he had loſt and been caſt away unburied: But it ſeemeth rather that the occurrence which is mentioned immediately before, and which occurred immediately before, namely about *Abiathar*, did give him occaſion to do what he did: For though *Abiathar* were in the ſame fault with *Joab*, in the matter of *Adonijah*, yet had he eſcaped death (being only put from his Office) upon theſe two reaſons, becauſe he had born the Ark and was High-Prieſt, and becauſe he had been afflicted and partner with *David* in his afflictions. under this later predicament *Joab* fell as well as he, and might hope for favour in that reſpect equally with him: And as for the former, *Joab* indeed was not, nor could not be a Prieſt, yet, thought he, I will do as much towards that as I can, that is, lay hold on the horns of the Altar, and there devote my ſelf to God and his ſervice by that ſolemn Ceremony, and it may be for theſe two conſiderations, *Solomon* will ſpare me, as he did *Abiathar*. (For that the laying hold of the Altar in this kind had a Vow in it for the future, as well as a preſent ſafety, might be argued from the nature of the Altar, which made holy what touched it, and from the very circumſtance of laying hold upon it.) But *Joab* to the wilful murder

x Vid. Kimchi. ibid.

murder of *Abner* and *Amasa*, had added contempt and opposal of the King upon *Davids* Throne, which figured him that was to Reign over the House of *Israel* for ever, and therefore unfit to escape, and uncapable to be any such votary:

y Mid ubi supr. Maym ubi supr. 4. A cubit above the first rising of the horns of the Altar, the square narrowed a cubit again and so was now but four and twenty cubits every way, and so held on to that flat of it on the top where the fire lay: The cubits-ledge, that the abatement made to be as a bench round about, was הילוך כהנים the place whereupon the Priests went, and stood about the Altar to lay on the pieces of the Sacrifice, or to stir them as they lay in the fire: And this helpeth us to judge concerning the manner and fashion of the horns spoken of last; namely, that they did not rise directly upright higher than the Altar it self, for then it had been impossible for the Priest to go about the Altar upon this ledge, for the horns would have hindred if they had risen a full cubit square up hither: but their form is to be conceived as was said before, namely, that they rose indeed up even with this ledge, but they so sharpened and bended outward when they came level with it, that the Priests had passed between them and the Altar.

From the סובב *Circuit of the Altar* upward, which was four cubits, was that part which more peculiarly was called *Harel*, and *Ariel*, *Ezek.* XLIII. 15. *And Harel was four cubits; and from Ariel upwards were the four horns.* He had described the gradual risings of the Altar hitherto in the Verses before, in these characters and descriptions.

Vers. 13. *The bottom shall be a cubit, and the breadth a cubit.* This was the Foundation of which we have spoken, a cubit high and a cubit broad.

And the border thereof by the edge thereof round about a span: The edge of this Foundation was not sharp as are the edges of stone steps, but it was wrought as are the stone borders of our Chimney-hearths, with a border of a span over: and so the blood that was poured upon this Foundation could not run off to the Pavement, but was kept up that it might run down at the holes fore-mentioned, into the Common-shore.

וזה גב המזבח *And thus was the top of the Altar:* The top of the Altar was also finished with such another bordering.

Vers. 14. *And from the bottom upon the ground even to the lower settle, two cubits:* Not that the Foundation called here *the lower settle*, was two cubits thick in the flatness of it, as it lay upon the ground, for the Verse before saith, *that the bottom was but a cubit*, but that from this Foundation, there arose a slope rising a cubit height, which was somewhat thicker than the body of the Altar presently above it, and so from the ground to the top of this rising, where the square narrowed were two cubits: and from the top of this sloping where the square narrowed, to *the Circuit*, was properly but four cubits, but from the Foundation five. And so though the Talmud speaketh differently from the Prophet (when it saith *the Foundation* or lower settle *was but one cubit high*, and he, *two:* and when it saith *the height from the lower to the higher settle*, or from the Foundation to the circuit *was five cubits*, and the Prophet saith *but four*) yet do they both mean but one and the same thing, but understood as hath been spoken: namely, the one taketh the *Foundation* or lower settle, barely as it lay flat upon the ground, and the other takes it with this cubital slope rising from it, made leaning a cubit height to the body of the Altar: and this interpretation helpeth to understand that which *David Kimchi* professeth he cannot tell what to make of; and that is, why *the upper settle* which was narrower by two cubits in the square, is called the *greater*, and the *lower*, which was larger in the square, is called the *lesser:* The reason whereof is this, because the upper, though it were less in compass, yet was larger in bredth, because this leaning slope rising that we speak of, took up a good part of the bredth of the lower, and so the walk upon it was not so clear and large as it was upon the other.

And then the Prophet tells us, that when the body of the Altar was thus risen six cubits high to the upper settle, which the Talmudicks call the *circuit*, That thence *Harel was to be four cubits, and from Ariel and upward, the four horns.*

a Kimch. in loc. Cont. Lemp. in Mid. p. 97. There *a* are some that conceive that *Harel* and *Ariel* are indeed but one and the same word, though so diversly written, from whom I cannot much differ, as to point of Grammar, because the Letters ה א do admit of such alternancy in the language, yet me thinks the difference of the words should hold out some difference of the sense: and *Harel* to signifie the *Lords Mountain*, and *Ariel* the *Lords Lion* upon the Mountain; the lower part at the horns more properly *Harel*, and the upper more properly *Ariel.* But since the Text gives the *b* name *Ariel* to all that part that was from the Root of the horns upward, we shall not much stick upon it. The word *Harel*, if you will construe it *the Mountain of the Lord*, *David Kimchi* tells you that *it is as much as to say, The House of the Lord, and because they served other Gods in every place upon high Hills, this which was the Hill of the Lord was but four cubits high:* And if you will take the word *Ariel*, *our Rabbins of happy memory*, saith he, *say the Altar was called Ariel* (or the *Lords Lion*) *because the holy fire that came down from Heaven couched on it like a Lion.*

b Vid. R. Sol. ibid.

The

The word *Ariel* doth alſo ſignifie *one exceeding ſtrong*, 2 *Sam.* XXIII. 20. and ſo doth *Arel*, *Eſai.* XXXIII. 7. But take it whether way you will here, either for *a ſtrong thing* or for *the Lords Lion*, the Altar was very properly ſo called, either becauſe of the devouring of many Sacrifices, Lion like, or becauſe of the great ſtrength and prevalency the people had by Sacrifice, the Lord owning them wonderfully in that ſervice, whileſt gone about according to his Will: or becauſe of the ſtrong Lion Chriſt, whom the Altar and Sacrifices did repreſent. *Jeruſalem*, and eſpecially *Zion the City where David Dwells*, is alſo called *Ariel*, *the ſtrong one*, or *the Lion of the Lord*, becauſe of its prevalency againſt all enemies whatſoever, whileſt it continued to be the Lords, through the ſtrength of thoſe promiſes that were made unto it: but when it forſook the Lord, and became prophane, it is threatned that it ſhall become as the other *Ariel*, or the *Altar*, where was continually abundance of ſhedding of blood and ſlaughter, *Eſai.* XXIX. 1, 2.

The very top of the Altar was four and twenty cubits ſquare, and this was called מערכה *Maaracah*, or the *Hearth*, where, as we obſerve elſewhere, there were fires continually burning, but eſpecially one very great one for the Sacrifices. And thus was the bulk and platform of the Altar; It was a large pile of ten cubits high riſing by degrees, ſo as that at the foot it was two and thirty cubits on every ſide of the ſquare, but at the top came to be but four and twenty.

The riſing thus: 1. The baſe one cubit riſing, and then the ſquare leſſened a cubit. 2. The body of the Altar riſing plain five cubits, and then leſſening one cubit in the ſquare. 3. A cubit riſing again, and the ſquare leſſening a cubit, and at the bench where it narrowed there ſtood the four horns out at the four corners. 4. A riſing again one cubit, and a narrowing one cubit, and there was the bench where the Prieſts ſtood to ſerve. 5. And then a riſing two cubits, and there was the Hearth.

Thus ſtood the Altar, and thus ſtood the Prieſts upon the higheſt bench to ſerve, but how came they up thither? If they could have gone up the ſteps that we have mentioned, namely, where the ſquare ſtill deſcended, yet was it unlawful, becauſe of that command, *Exod.* XX. 26. But they could not go up that way neither, for we have ſeen that between the firſt bench and the ſecond there was five cubits riſing, which is a meaſure far beyond any Mans ſtepping up: the way therefore for them to go both to the top of the Altar, to their bench two cubits below the top, and to the other benches, as there was occaſion, was thus provided.

There *c* was a gentle riſing Cawſey (for ſo let us call it, they called it כבש *Chebbeſh*) on the South ſide of the Altar ſixteen cubits broad, that began two and thirty cubits from the Altar foot and roſe eaſily to the head of it in a gentle deſcent, made of the ſame materials that the Altar was, of which hereafter, ſo that this Cawſey lay out from the Altar two and thirty cubits on the South ſide, leaving on either ſide it four cubits breadth, which it wanted of the breadth of the Altar.

c Mid. per. 3*c*

On *d* the Weſt ſide of it there ſtood two Tables, one of Silver, on which they ſet and laid the Veſſels of the Service: the other of Marble which was called the *Table of the Fat*, on which they laid the pieces of the Sacrifice when they were to be brought up to the Altar. And there was alſo on *e* the ſame ſide of it, and (as *f* it is probably conjectured) made in the very ſide of the Cawſey or riſe it ſelf, a place into which thoſe birds that being preſent to be offered, did prove unfit, were caſt, till ſome convenient time to convey them away, this was called רבובה *Rebubah*, for ſo we may conclude upon *g R. Nathan*'s credit who ſo readeth, though others differ: שם נותנין פסולי העוף חטאת *h And there* (ſaith the general conſent) *they laid up the Birds unmeet for Offering*. *i* On the Eaſt ſide of it, was the place where they laid the guts and garbidge of the Birds that were offered, and where he that cleanſed the Incenſe Altar poured down the aſhes he brought forth, and he that brought the firſt aſhes from off the Burnt-offering Altar, did the like: But theſe things continued long there after they were laid down, but were ſpeedily by ſome or other conveyed away: *k* By the Marble Table, which called the *Table of the Fat*, the Prieſts ſtood when they ſounded their Trumpets at the time of Divine Service.

d Gloſſ. in Tamid. per. ult. Maym. in ſeth habbeth. per. 2. *e Middoth. ubi ſupra. f C. Lemp. in Mid. pag.* 112. *g Aruch in* רביבה *h Maym. in beth habbeth. per.* 2. *i Tamid. per.* 1. *k Tamid. per.* 7.

The *l* ordinary way of going up this Cawſey, or Bridge, or call it what you will, was on the right ſide of it, that is, on the Eaſt, and to come down on the Weſt, (only upon three occaſions mentioned in the place cited in the Margine, he came down the ſame way he went up, but backward) and this helps us ſomewhat to underſtand a ſtory (which we ſhall have occaſion to look after elſewhere) related in *Joma m* of two Prieſts going a ſtrife who ſhould firſt get up to cleanſe the Altar of its aſhes, (which was the firſt work done in the Morning) the one of them thruſt the other off the Bridge and broake his leg, becauſe they went ſo near the ſides, though they had room enough to have gone up in the middle without danger, but the manner was not to go up that way.

l Ta'm. in Zevach. per. 6. *m Joma, per.* 2.

n *Maym. ubi ſupr.*

As *n* a Man went up, firſt there was a little Cawſey on the Eaſt ſide, that brought him from the firſt beginning of this great Cawſey to the Foundation of the Altar if he had occaſion to go thither: And as he went up higher, when he was come as high as the Circuit, there was another to carry him off thither, if he had occaſion to ſprinkle blood upon the horns of the Altar: But above that I read not of any ſuch come off; not that the Prieſts had not conſtant occaſion to ſtep off to the uppermoſt ledge or bench, (for there they uſed to ſtand continually when they were turning the pieces in the fire, or the like) but becauſe by the time that the riſe was come up thither, the ſtep off was ſo eaſie, that a leſs matter than what deſerved the name of כבש a *bridge* would ſerve the turn.

Thus was the form of the Altar and the aſcent to it: but I muſt mention here before I have done with the form of it, ſomewhat that was viſible upon it, that had ſome reference alſo to the form of it, and that was, *o A red line that went round about it in the juſt middle between the bottom and the top, to be a direction to the Prieſts that they might ſprinkle the blood above or beneath* (for ſometime they did the one and ſometime the other, as we ſhall ſhew when we treat concerning Sacrifice) as the occaſion called upon them to do, and not miſtake. For whereas ſome blood was to be poured or ſprinkled at the bottom of the Altar, and ſome upon the horns of it, ſome below, ſome above, to make ſure that either of theſe ſhould keep its right place and not tranſgreſs, they ſet this line to be a bound between them.

o *Middoth. p.* 3.

The materials and manner of working up this renowned pile, let the Reader take in the Talmuds and in *Maymonides* his own words and expreſſions *p When they built the Altar* (ſay they) *they built it ſolid like a Pillar, and they made no hollow in it: but one brought whole great ſtones and little* (for an iron tool might not be uſed upon them) *and he brought Mortar and Pitch and Lead, and mixt all and poured all into the great baſe that he had laid according to his meaſure, and ſo he built on upwards: and he put in the midſt of the buliding a piece of Wood or of Stone at the South-Eaſt horn according to the meaſure of the Foundation, and ſo he put in the midſt of every one of the horns till he had finiſhed the building; then he took away thoſe pieces that were in the midſt of the building, and ſo the South-Eaſt horn was left without a Foundation and the reſt of the horns were left hollow.*

p *Maym. ubi ſup. Talm in Zevach. fol.* 54.

q *Midd. per.* 3.

Theſe *q* ſtones that made the Altar and the riſe to it are recorded to have been gotten in the Valley of *Bethbaccerem*, a place mentioned in *Neh.* III. 14. and *Jer.* VI. 1. and the ſame Record tells us, *That twice a year the Altar was whited, namely at the Paſſover and at the Feaſt of Tabernacles: and the Temple whited once a year, namely, at the Paſſover: Rabbi ſaith, on the Eve of every Sabbath they rubbed the Altar with a Map becauſe of the blood; they might not Plaſter it with an iron Trowel, leſt that touching ſhould defile it; for iron was made to ſhorten Mans days, and the Altar was made for the prolonging Mans life, and it is not fit that that which would ſhorten ſhould be lifted up upon that that would lengthen.*

Thus was the faſhion and proportion of the Altar *the Lords Table*, *Mal.* I. 7. the holineſs of it was ſuch that it *ſanctified the gift*, *Matth.* XXIII. 19. that is, whatſoever came upon it, being fit to be offered המובח מקדש הראוי לו *The Altar ſanctified whatſoever was fit for it.* It is a Talmudick *Maxim* in the Treatiſe *Zevachin*, the very beginning of the ninth Chapter: And at the ſeventh *Halacah* of the ſame Chapter, they ſay, *That as the Altar ſanctified what was fit for it, ſo alſo did the riſe of the Altar:* and there they diſcourſe at large with what things, if they were once brought to the top of the Altar, might come down, and what might not, which we ſhall not inſiſt upon.

Before we part from the Altar, we have yet one thing more to take into obſervation about it, and that is the baſe and wretched affront that ungodly *Ahaz* put upon it, in not only ſetting up another Altar by it, but alſo in removing the Lords Altar out of its place, and out of its honourable imployment to give place to his. The ſtory is 2 *King.* XVI. He ſends the pattern of an Idolatrous Altar from *Damaſcus*, and *Uriah* the Prieſt maketh one according to that pattern: and when the King came home and ſaw the Altar, he offered upon it his Burnt-offering, Meat-offering, Drink-offering, *&c. And he brought alſo the brazen Altar which was before the Lord from the fore-front of the Houſe, from between the Altar and the Houſe of the Lord, and put it on the North ſide of the Altar*, verſ. 14. *Rabbi Solomon* expounding this place, conceiveth that by the Altar of the Lord is not meant the Altar properly and indeed, but ſome appurtenances that related and belonged to the Service of the Altar, and this concluſion he produceth from two or three traditional Premiſes: his words are theſe, *This Altar that he removed cannot be the brazen Altar that Moſes made, for that was laid up; and it cannot be the Altar of ſtone which Solomon made, which indeed is called the brazen Altar in the Book of Chronicles, for that could not be removed from place to place, but by pulling down: and behold we have a Tradition, that the fire that came down from Heaven in the days of Solomon, went not off the Altar till Manaſſeh came and cauſed it to go off, for he pulled the Altar down: So that I cannot interpret the Altar here but of the Lavers and Baſes of braſs which ſerved for the Altar, and ſtood beſide it, them Ahaz removed*, &c.

You

You need not marvail if he go alone in his opinion when you look upon it, and how it is ſtrained, and eſpecially from this pinch, becauſe though the Altar of *Solomon* is called *brazen*, yet he holds it to have been of Stone, and overlaid: were it of Braſs or were it of Stone, *Ahaz* his modeſty was not ſo much but that he would pull it down to ſerve his turn as well as remove it. It appeareth by the Text alledged, that *Urijahs* modeſty was a little more than *Ahaz* had; for he had ſet his Altar behind the Altar of the Lord, betwixt it and the Eaſt-gate, ſo that the Lords Altar was betwixt that new-found one and the Temple (it ſeemeth the ſpace at the entring in from the Eaſt-gate, was more open in the times of the firſt Temple than it was in the ſecond.) But when *Ahaz* comes, he removes *Solomons* Altar towards the North, and brings up his own and ſets it in the place of it, and ſo does as it were ſupplant the Lord of his poſſeſſion and uſurp upon it, putting the Lords Altar out of uſe as well as out of its place, and giving his own the greatneſs becauſe it was the greater, in the imployment for all the Sacrifices that were to be offered, both ordinary and extraordinary, both of the King and People: while the Altar of the Lord muſt ſtand by as a cypher, only with this dignity, which was leſs than none at all, *The brazen Altar ſhall be for me to ſeek to when I think good.* As for the departure of the Divine fire from off the Altar, which had come down in the days of *Solomon*, of which our *Rabbin* ſpeaketh, it is not unworthy ſome of the Readers thoughts: For the Temple was ſo oft prophaned, yea and ſometimes ſhut up, before the Captivity into *Babel*, as 2 *Chron.* XXIV. 7. & XXVIII. 24. &c. that it is hardly to be imagined, but that the fire which had been continued from the deſcent of that Divine fire, was at ſome of theſe times or other extinguiſhed. And then *Quære* how *Hezekiah* and *Joſiah* in their Reformation did for fire again upon the Altar.

CHAP. XXXV.

The Contents of the Court betwixt the Altar and the North-ſide of it; and betwixt the Altar and the South-ſide.

THE moſt ordinary and univerſal ſlaughter of the Sacrifices was on the North-ſide of the Altar, and ſo is it declared at large in the Treatiſe *a Zevachin* through the fifth Chapter, of which we have had occaſion to ſpeak before; *The moſt Holy offerings* (ſay they) *are ſlain on the North-ſide, the Bullock and the Goat of the day of Expiation, their ſlaughter was on the North, and the taking of their Blood in a Veſſel of the Service, was on the North: The Bullocks that were to be burnt, and the Goats that were to be burnt, were ſlain on the North, and their Blood to be taken on the North: The Goats of the beginning of the months and of the ſolemn Feaſts were ſlain on the North, and their Blood taken on the North: The whole-burnt-offering moſt Holy was ſlain on the North, the Peace-offerings of the Congregation and Treſpaſs-offerings, were ſlain on the North, &c.* and generally the greateſt number of Sacrifices were ſlain on that ſide the Altar: On that ſide of the Altar therefore were neceſſaries and accommodations for that purpoſe and convenience, and thoſe were eſpecially theſe three, *the place of the Rings, the Tables, and the Hooks in, the Pillars.*

a Talm. in Zevach. per. 5.

מן המזבח לטב עזרת ח אמות *b* Eight cubits from the Altar Northward was *the place of the Rings*, and that place was four and twenty cubits over towards the North ſtill. חוו ' סדרים שהי ' ד ' *c Now the Rings were in ſix rows, four in a row: but ſome ſay they were four rows, and ſix in a row, and there they ſlew the Sacrifices.* Theſe Rings or Staples rather, were fixed down in the Stones of the Pavement, and either a bending Hook was faſtned to theſe Staples, that they might bring the Neck of the Beaſt under and hold him faſt, or they drew down the Necks of the Beaſts to be ſlain with cords to theſe Staples and there faſtned them, and ſo they had them at command to ſlay them with facility. It is not much to be controverted whether there were ſix rows of theſe Rings, four in a row, or four rows with ſix Rings in a row; this doth not much break the ſquare, ſince the ſame number of Rings and the ſame compaſs of ground remaineth ſtill.

b Mid. per. 5.

c Ibid. per. 3.

Here was the place where they tyed the Sacrifices till they were killed, and where they killed them: and this place is commonly called בית טבחים *The place of the ſlaughter:* and to theſe Rings *they tyed the Sacrifice with cords, till they were to offer him, and to ſprinkle his Blood on the Horns of the Altar*, as the *Chaldee Paraphraſt* renders the 27. *verſ.* of the hundred and eighteenth *Pſalm.*

Now although the command was ſtrict and expreſs that ſuch and ſuch Sacrifices ſhould be ſlain on the North-ſide of the Altar, *Lev.* I. 10, 11, &c. that is in propriety, juſt between the Altar and North-wall of the Court: yet where there were many ſuch Sacrifices to be ſlain at once, ſo that this place of the Rings was not able to contain them, then they killed them higher up in the Court, namely in that ſpace that was between the Altar and the Porch, but on the North-ſide of it, as near as might be in the place parallel to this place of the Rings. This matter is handled and decided in *Toſaphta* on the Treatiſe *Corbanoth* in theſe words, *d Which is the North-ſide of the Altar, where it was fit to kill the moſt Holy Sacrifices? It was from the North-ſide of the Altar, to the North-ſide of the Court even juſt over againſt the Altar which was thirty cubits breadth. The words of Rabbi Meir, Rabbi Eliezer from Rabbi Simeon addeth the ſpace from the Altar to the Porch, even to over againſt the cloſets of the Butchering knives, which was twenty two cubits. But Rabbi addeth the place where the Feet of the Iſraelites trod, which was eleven cubits broad, and one hundred eighty and ſeven cubits long: and the place where the Feet of the Prieſts trod, which was eleven cubits broad, and one hundred eighty and ſeven cubits long:* מקו הכותל הצפוני ועד כותל חעורה המורחי *From the ſide of the North-wall, to the Eaſt-wall of the Court:* That is, along the North-wall, from the Weſt-end of the Court to the Eaſt, for ſo both the meaſure of one hundred eighty and ſeven cubits, which was the juſt length of the Court confirmeth, and the ſame Author in the next following Chapter doth alſo illuſtrate in theſe words, *e Rabbi Joſi* ſaith, *All the Altar may be underſtood for North-ward: As it is ſaid, And he ſhall kill it on the ſide of the Altar, North-ward before the Lord. Rabbi Joſi from Rabbi Judah* ſaith, *From the midſt of the Altar North-ward was as the North, and from the midſt of the Altar the other way was as the South: And ſo Rabbi Joſi from Rabbi Judah* ſaith alſo, *There were two Wickets in the Houſe of the Butchering knives, opening toward the Weſt, and eight cubits from the ground, ſo that the Court might be fit for eating of the moſt Holy things, and for the killing of the leſſer Holy Sacrifices, even behind the Oracle.* From both which allegations taken up together, we may obſerve, 1. That the *Iſraelites* had a ſtanding on the North-ſide of the Court as well as on the Eaſt, which though it was not, nor indeed could be exactly eleven cubits broad, as was their ſtation at the Eaſt-end, yet was it a ſtation for them as well as that: And our Author when he ſpeaketh of *the place where the Feet of the Iſraelites trod, of eleven cubits broad*, and of *the place where the Feet of the Prieſts trod of eleven cubits broad:* he meaneth not that there was ſuch a ſpace for the *Iſraelites* and the Prieſts to ſtand in all along the North-ſide of the Court as there was in the Eaſt, but his meaning is this, that when the Sacrifices to be ſlain on the North-ſide of the Altar were exceeding many indeed, that rather than want room to kill them, they ſhould not only ſlay them in the place of the Rings, but even in the ſtanding of the Prieſts and *Iſraelites* at the Eaſt-end, namely ſo far on that ground, as lay even with that ſpace that was on the North-ſide of the Altar: and ſo might they uſe the like ſpace all along the North-ſide of the Court for the ſame purpoſe, even to beyond the Weſt-end of the Temple. 2. That the Houſe of the Butchering knives, called בירת חליפות was in that end of the Porch that pointed North-ward, and that the Doors thereof were behind the Porch Weſt-ward, even where the wing of the Porch ſtood out more Northerly than the breadth of the Temple and extended: and there the going up to theſe Doors was by ſteps even eight cubits high: and the reaſon why the Doors were there, rather than in the front or the end of the Porch, was becauſe the paſſage to them there, took up the leaſt room, and was the leaſt hindrance in the Court.

d Toſaphta in Corbanoth per. 6

e Ibid. per. 7.

מן חטבעות לשולחנות ד מן השולחנות ולמנסין ד *f* Four cubits from the North-ſide of this place of the Rings there ſtood Marble Tables upon which they waſhed the Inwards of the Sacrifice, and cut it up into pieces: and four cubits further North, there were the Pillars on which they hung up the Sacrifice upon hooks, that ſo they might flea it. These Pillars the Jews call מנסין which *g Aruch* Interprets עמודים קצרים *Pillars low or ſhorty* (it may ſeem the word is taken from the Latine *Nanus*, and ſo the Treatiſe *Parah*, ſpeaketh of a red Cow מנסת low and ſmall, *Nana & minuta:*) Now theſe Pillars were not thoſe that ſupported the Cloiſter on this North-ſide of the Court, but low Pillars ſet by theſe or joyning to them, *i* eight in number, over the Heads of which were laid tranſom beams of Cedar, and hooks of Iron faſtned both in theſe beams and in the Pillars, on which hooks they hanged up the Beaſt ſlain for Sacrifice, that they might the better come at him to flea him. The Pillars had every one of them three hooks in them, one above another, that they might be fit for Beaſts of ſeveral bigneſſes and cizes. And before theſe Pillars, or rather, before the ſpace that was between the Pillars (ſo that one might eaſily paſs between) ſtood the Marble Tables, on which, after that they had given the Entrails of the Beaſts their firſt waſhing, in *the waſhing room* mentioned before, they waſht and dreſt them a ſecond time, and made them fit and fair for the Altar, and on which after they had flead the beaſt as he hanged upon the hooks, they cut him in pieces according as he was to be cut and divided for his laying on the Altar to be offered up.

f Middoth per. 5.

g Aruch in נגס

h Parah. per. 2.

i Middoth per. 3. Tamid per. 3. Peſachim per. 5.

From

From theſe low Pillars to the North-wall of the Court were eight cubits, and this was the place and ſpace for *Iſraels* ſtanding on this ſide the Court: for though theſe Pillars ſpoken of did not bear up the Cloiſter under which the People ſtood, yet did they ſtand ſo even or cloſe to thoſe Pillars that did, that from theſe Pillars we may, and the Jews do count and meaſure the ſpace of the *Iſraelites* ſtation on this ſide, and it was three cubits narrower than their ſtanding at the Eaſt-end. Thus was the ſpace taken up that was between the Altar and the North-ſide of the Court, now let us come to view the ſpace on the other ſide of the Altar toward the South: Where firſt the כבש *Cauſey* or *Riſe* that went up to the Altar took up two and thirty cubits: even juſt as much ſpace on this ſide, as there was betwixt the Altar and the further-ſide of the place of the Rings on the other. But here a queſtion may not improperly be moved out of the Arithmetick of the Talmudicks about the meaſure of the Altar, and *the riſe* of it, which they hold out: for they ſay expreſly that *k* the Altar was two and thirty cubits ſquare, and that *l* the riſe on the South-ſide was two and thirty cubits long, and yet ſumming up both together, they ſay that *m* the Altar and the riſe were but ſixty two cubits: whereas according to the two particulars named, they ſhould be ſixty four: But the reaſon of the account is from this, either becauſe they reckon the length of *the Cauſey* or *riſe*, not from the outſide of the foundation of the Altar, but from the narrowing of the Altar above *the Circuit*; for thither did the Cauſey bring them and land them there, as the ordinary place of their Service, when they went to beſprinkle the Horns of the Altar with the Blood of the Sacrifices: or elſe becauſe they reckon not the two firſt cubits of the riſe or the very entrance upon it, it being ſo flat and near to the ground, as that there was ſo much of the riſe gone, before there was any ſtepping off to the Bridge that went to the foundation of the Altar: And yet though they do ſometime account thus of the Altar and *the riſe*, that they took up but ſixty two cubits, yet in diſtributing the one hundred thirty and ſeven cubits of the Courts breadth into particular ſpaces, they then allow, as they cannot do otherwiſe, thirty cubits to the Altar, and as many to the riſe: for the particulars are thus: (that we may ſum them again.)

k Mid. per. 3.
l Ibid.
m Ibid. per. 5.

From the North-wall to the Pillars,	8 cubits.
The place of the Marble Tables,	4 cubits.
From theſe Tables to the ſpace of the Rings,	4 cubits.
The ſpace of the Rings it ſelf,	24 cubits.
From the Rings to the Altar,	8 cubits.
The Altar it ſelf,	32 cubits.
The riſe or Cauſey,	32 cubits.
From the riſe to the South-wall,	25 cubits.
	In all 137 cubits.

Now theſe five and twenty cubits which were between the Foot of *the riſe* and the South-wall, is given account of by the Treatiſe *Middoth* in theſe words: והמותר בין הכבש לבותל ומקום הננסין *And the reſidue of ſpace which was between the riſe and the Wall, was alſo a place of low Pillars.*

Theſe were ſome Sacrifices ſlain on the South-ſide of the Altar as well as theſe that have been mentioned were on the North: There were Sacrifices which were called קדשי קדשים *The Holy of Holies*, or *the moſt Holy Sacrifices*, and thoſe were the Burnt-offering, Sin-offering and Treſpaſs-offering and others reckoned before, and theſe were diſpenſably tied to be ſlain on the North-ſide of the Altar, or at leaſt on the North-ſide of the Court, as hath been ſpoken: And there were Offerings which were called קדשים קלים *The leſſer Holy things*, and theſe might be ſlain in any part of the Court, and were not bound to that ſide: as תודה ואיל נזיר קדשים קלים *n Thanksgiving-offerings and the Nazarites Ram which were leſſer holy Offerings, were ſlain in any place of the Court: Peace-offerings which were of the leſſer holy things, were alſo ſlain in any part of the Court, and ſo were the Firſtlings, the Tenths, and the Paſsover, which were alſo reckoned as leſſer holy things.* Now although they ſpeak of any part of the Court, as permitted to ſlay the Sacrifices in, yet moſt eſpecially have they reference to the South-ſide of the Altar in oppoſition to the North, and the South-ſide underſtood in that Latitude, as the North-ſide was when extremity and multitude of Sacrifices put them to it: For when the Sacrifices were no more than what could be killed within the very compaſs between the North-ſide of the Altar and the North-wall of the Court, they were ſlain there, but when numerouſneſs of Sacrifices urged *o* all the North-ſide of the Court from Eaſt to Weſt ends, and as far South as to the middle of the Altar, was uſed to ſlay the Beaſts in, and all that, was accounted as the North: So on the South-ſide of the Altar, there were Marble Tables and low Pillars for the very ſame uſe that there were on the other ſide of the Altar, namely for the fleaing and cutting up and waſhing the Intrals of the Sacrifices, but

n Zevachim per. 5.
o Ibid. per. 6.

when greater ſtore came than that very ſpace juſt between the Altar and the South-wall would contain, then all the South-ſide of the Court was permitted for that uſe, even as far as the middle of the Altar betwixt North and South.

The five and twenty cubits ſpace therefore that we are to give account of between the South-wall of the Court, and the foot of the riſe of the Altar, were thus parcelled. 1. There were eight cubits from the Court-wall to the Pillars, as there were on the North-ſide, and this was the breadth of the Cloiſter, and the ſtanding of *Iſrael* on that ſide the Court. 2. The diſpoſal of the Tables, as on the other ſide before the Pillars, took up four cubits. 3. And then the thirteen cubits between theſe and the foot of the Altar riſe, was partly (as is probable) taken up with ſome rings as on the North-ſide, though not ſo many (for they needed not) and partly with ſome plain pavement next to the riſe, that the Prieſts might have acceſs to it the better.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The ſpace between the Altar and the Porch.

THE Altar ſtood before the Gate or entrance of the Porch, that gave acceſs into the Temple, and the ſpace between the foundation of the Altar and the foundation of the Porch *a* was two and twenty cubits: But there was not ſo much clear ground or plain pavement and paſſage between them, for the ſtairs of the Porch being in number twelve, and every ſtep a cubit broad, beſides the half pace or inlarging at every third ſtep, cauſed that theſe ſteps lay down a great way in the Court towards the Altar: and took up a good ſpace of theſe two and twenty cubits. Every one of theſe ſteps was half a cubit high, and thereupon the whole riſe ariſeth to be ſix cubits from the ground to the landing in the Porch, ſo that he that ſtood in the Porch-gate, his Feet ſtood even and level, with his Feet that ſtood upon *the Circuit* of the Altar: *b* Upon theſe ſteps of the Porch the Prieſts ſtood when they came out from burning Incenſe and bleſſed the People.

a Mid. ptr. 3.

b Tamed. ptr. 7.

As concerning the ſpace betwixt the Porch and Altar, theſe things are remarkable about it.

1. *c* That *no man might come upon this ſpace that had any blemiſh upon him, nor any man might come here bare headed:* the reaſon of the former reſtraint is eaſie to be apprehended, becauſe of the holineſs of the place, being ſo near both to the Alar and the Temple: and the reaſon of the later is, becauſe in their greateſt devotions they uſed to cover their Head, and therefore none might come bare-headed into ſo devout a place.

c Kelim. ptr. 1.

2. That no man might ſtand upon this ſpace or ſtay within it, while the Prieſt was burning Incenſe in the Holy place. *d For whileſt they burned Incenſe in the Temple every day, all the People departed from the Temple, ſo that between the Temple and the Altar there was not a man till he that burned Incenſe came forth. And ſo at the time that the High Prieſt went in with the Blood of the Sin-offering, which was to be ſprinkled within, all the People withdrew from between the Altar and the Temple, till he came forth again:* And becauſe they might know the time when to withdraw from this ſpace at the daily Incenſe, the *Sagan* or *Preſident* of the Service called to the Prieſt that was within the Holy place with a loud voice, and gave him notice when he ſhould begin with the Incenſe, ſaying to him, *Offer the Incenſe*, and as he ſpake thus, the People withdrew: The reaſon of this cuſtom I ſhall not be curious to look after, but whether the Ceremony did not fitly reſemble, how far diſtant all men are from having any ſhare with *Chriſt* in his Interceſſion, which the offering of the Incenſe reſembled, be it left to the Reader to conſider.

d Maym. in Tamia. in ptr. 3.

3. In this ſpace between the Temple and the Altar, was the murder committed upon *Zacharias* the ſon of *Barachias*, as our Saviour mentioneth, *Matth.* XXIII. 35.

Now there are various conjectures who this *Zachary* ſhould be: ſome think of *Zachary* the Prophet, whoſe Book of Propheſie we have in the Old Teſtament. Some ſuppoſe it might be *John Baptiſts* Father, and ſome conceive that *Chriſt* ſpeaketh there predictively, foretelling that they ſhould ſlay *Zachary* the ſon of *Baruch* in the Temple, the ſtory of which *Joſephus* giveth *in lib.* 4. *de bell. cap.* 19. But the Talmudiſts do help us to underſtand it of *Zachary* the ſon of *Jehoiada*, who was ſtoned by the people in this place in the days of King *Joaſh*, 2 *Chron.* XXIV. Why he is called *the ſon of Barachias* and not *the ſon of Jehoiada* is not a place here to diſpute: the *Jeruſalem Talmud* hath this ſtory concerning his ſlaughter, which may give us cauſe to think, that our Saviour ſpake according

according to the common received Opinion: and was underſtood to mean *Zachary the ſon of Jehoiada*, though for ſpecial reaſon he calleth him the ſon of *Barachias*, e *Rab. Jochanan* ſaith, *Eighty thouſand young Prieſts were ſlain for Zacharias blood. R. Jordan asked R. Aha, where ſlew they Zacharias? In the Court of the Women, or in the Court of Iſrael? He ſaith to him, Not in the Court of Iſrael, nor in the Court of the Women, but in the Court of the Prieſts, &c. And ſeven Tranſgreſſions did Iſrael tranſgreſs that day: They ſlew a Prieſt, a Prophet, a Judge, ſhed innocent Blood and defiled the Court, and the Sabbath, which was alſo the day of expiation. And when Nebuzaradan came thither he ſaw the Blood bubling. He ſaith to them, What meaneth this? They ſaid to him, It is the Blood of Bullocks and Rams and Lambs which we have offered upon the Altar. Preſently he brought Bullocks and Rams and Lambs and killed them, and as yet the Blood bubled or reeked above theirs. And when they confeſſed not, he hanged them up. They ſaid, The Lord is pleaſed to require his Blood at our hands. They ſay to him, It is the Blood of a Prieſt and Prophet and Judge, who Propheſied to us concerning all that thou haſt done to us, and we ſtood up againſt him and ſlew him. Preſently he brought Eighty thouſand young Prieſts and ſlew them: And ſtill the Blood bubled: Then he was angry at it, and ſaid to it, What wouldeſt thou have? That all the People ſhould periſh for thee? Preſently the holy bleſſed God was filled with compaſſion and ſaid: What? Is this Man that is but Fleſh and Blood, filled with pity towards my Children, and ſhall not I be much more? Of whom it is written, For the Lord thy God is a merciful God, he will not forſake thee nor deſtroy thee, nor forget the covenant of thy Fathers: Preſently he gave a ſign to the Blood and it was ſwallowed up in the place. R. Jochanan* ſaith, *The Eighty thouſand young Prieſts fled to the midſt of the Chambers of the Sanctuary, and they were all burnt, and of all them, none was left but Joſhua the ſon of Jozedeck: as it is written, Is not this a brand pluckt out of the fire?* Zech. III. 2.

e *Talm. Jeruſ. in Taanith f.* 69

In this ſpace between the Altar and the Porch, there ſtood the Laver, but not directly before the Altar, but removed towards the South, ſo that it ſtood betwixt the riſe of the Altar and the Porch, as we ſhall obſerve in the viewing of it by and by. But the *Talmud* ſpeaketh of a Veſſel, which by its relation appeareth to have lain directly betwixt Porch and Altar, which it calleth *Migrephah*, but what to Engliſh it, is not very ready.

The Treatiſe *Tamid* ſpeaketh thus of it, *f They* (that were to go into the Temple to burn Incenſe, and to dreſs the Lamps) *came between the Porch and the Altar, one of them taketh the Migrephah and Rings it between the Porch and the Altar; one man could not hear another ſpeak in Jeruſalem, becauſe of the ſound of the Migrephah. It ſerved for three things: The Prieſt that heard the ſound of it knew that his Brethren the Prieſts were gone in to Worſhip, and he ran and came. A Levite that heard the ſound of it, knew that his Brethren the Levites were gone in to ſing, and he ran and came. And the chief of the ſtationary men brought them that had been unclean and ſet them in the Gate of Nicanor.* Now what kind of thing this *Migrephah* was, I find but little light towards an exact reſolution. *g* Some ſay it was a great Veſſel which they rung to make a ſound, but of what faſhion, and whether for any other uſe alſo, they leave uncertain.

f *Tamid. per.* 5

g *Gloſſ. in Miſhnaioth ibi*

The *Chaldee* renders יעים by מגרפיתא in *Exod.* XXXVIII. 3, &c. which ſeemeth to be the ſame word with this that we are about, and ſo he underſtands it to mean ſome of the fire-ſhovels that belonged to the Altar, which being either rung upon, or ſhoved upon the pavement, would make a loud noiſe being of braſs, and very big.

The Jews upon the ſound of this and divers other things at the Temple do hyperbolize thus, *h Even from Jericho they heard the noiſe of the great Gate of the Temple when it opened. From Jericho they heard the ringing of the Migrephah. From Jericho they heard the noiſe of the Engine that Ben Kattin made for the Laver. From Jericho they heard the voice of the Crier that called them to their Services. From Jericho they heard the ſound of the Pipe. From Jericho they heard the ſound of the Cymbal. From Jericho they heard the ſound of the Song. From Jericho they heard the ſound of the Trumpets. And ſome ſay alſo, The voice of the High Prieſt when he uttered the Name Jehovah on the day of Expiation, &c.* The truth of which things is not to be pleaded, ſeeing it is apparent that they are uttered by way of Hyperbole, only it may not be improper to obſerve how common the phraſe was, *From Jeruſalem to Jericho*, which is alſo uſed in *Luke* X. 30.

h *Tamid. per.* 3

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Concerning the Veſſels and Utenſils of the Temple.

SECT. I.

The Laver. כיור

THE firſt command of making the Laver, and the end of it being made, is related in *Exod.* XXX. 18, 19, 20. &c. in theſe words, *Thou ſhalt make a Laver of braſs and his Foot of braſs, to waſh withal, and thou ſhalt put it between the Tabernacle of the Congregation and the Altar, and thou ſhalt put water therein, For Aaron and his ſons ſhall waſh their Hands and their Feet thereat, when they go into the Tabernacle of the Congregation, they ſhall waſh with water that they dye not, or when they come near the Altar to miniſter, &c.*

And the making of it is related in *Exod.* XXXIV. 8. *He made the Laver of braſs, and the Foot of it of braſs of the looking glaſſes of the Women aſſembling, which aſſembled at the Door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation.* The meaſures and the receipt of it is not at all deſcribed: The Holy Ghoſt hath left it undetermined what was the form or the cize of it, but hath given notice only of the materials of it and the end: It was made of the brazen Looking-glaſſes of the Women that aſſembled at the Door of the Tabernacle: The Septuagint expreſſeth it, *of the faſting Women which faſted at the Door of the Tabernacle*, reading צמאות for צבאות: The *Jeruſalem Targum*, with which alſo *Jonathans* agrees, reads it, *of the Looking-glaſſes of the modeſt Women, which were modeſt at the Door of the Tabernacle:* which *Aben Ezra's* Gloſs upon the place helps us to underſtand thus, *It is the cuſtom of all Women* (ſaith he) *to look their faces in Looking-glaſſes every morning, either of Braſs or Glaſs, that they may ſee to dreſs their heads; but behold there were Women in Iſrael that ſerved the Lord, that departed from this worldly delight, and gave away their Glaſſes as a free-will-offering, for they had no more uſe of them, but they came every day to the door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation, to pray and hear the words of the Commandment:* The end of it was to waſh the Hands and Feet of the Prieſts, but the moſt ultimate end was to ſignifie the waſhing and purifying by the Spirit of Grace, which is ſo oft called *water* in the Scripture; and ſo the ſprinkling of the Blood of the Sacrifice, and the waſhing in the Water of the Laver, did read the two great Divinity Lectures, of waſhing by the Blood of Chriſt from guilt, and by the Grace of God from filthineſs and pollution.

The cize and meaſure of the Laver, at the ſecond Temple, is not deſcribed neither, only we have theſe things recorded of it in the Antiquities of the Hebrew Writers.

1. That it ſtood between the Altar and the Porch, as the Primitive appointment was, *Exod.* XXX. 18. but not juſt and directly between them, but משוך כלפי הדרום a *a little aſide toward the South.* And the reaſon given for the placing of it there, is this; *b Becauſe it is ſaid, And the Altar of Burnt-offering at the Door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation: meaning that the Altar was to be before the Tabernacle of the Congregation, and the Laver not to be before the Tabernacle of the Congregation, but it was ſet a little aſide toward the South.*

a Mid. per. 3. Sect. 6.
b R. Sol. in Exod. XXX. ex Zevachin.

2. That at the firſt it had but two Spouts or Cocks out of which the Water ran, at which they waſhed, but that in aftertimes *c Ben Kattin made twelve Spouts or Cocks to it,* as the *Miſhneh* recordeth in the Treatiſe *Joma:* It calleth the Cocks דדי *Paps*, *d because* (ſaith *Aruch*) *they were as the Paps of a Woman, and Water ran out of them, at which they waſhed their Hands:* and ſo *Rabbi Solomon* characterizing the Laver, ſaith, e *It was like a great Cauldron, and it had Paps* (or Cocks) *that voided Water out of their Mouths:* Now the *Gemara* of the *Babylon Talmud* upon the *Miſhneh* cited, diſputing the caſe why *Ben Kattin* ſhould make twelve Spouts to it, they reſolve it thus, *That the Tradition was, that he made ſo many that the twelve Prieſts his Brethren which had to do with the dayly Sacrifice might waſh themſelves at it altogether:* we obſerve in its due place, that there were ſo many Prieſts imployed about the offering up of the dayly Sacrifice, ſome for one part of the Service, and ſome for another: Therefore this *Ben Kattin* being a Prieſt himſelf, did ſo provide that theſe many Prieſts that were to be imployed together, might alſo ſtand and waſh together: and by this that ſo many might waſh together at the ſeveral Cocks of it, it appeareth to be a Veſſel of great reception and capacity.

c Joma per. 3.
d Aruch in דך
e R. Sol. ubi ſupra.

3. There

3. There is frequent mention among the *Talmudicks* of an appurtenance to the Laver, which they call מוכני כיור which before we can English, will cost some inquiry. The *Mishneh* even now cited, recordeth that as *Ben Kattin* made the Cocks for the Laver, so also that *he made* מוכני לכיור *the Mukene to the Laver, that the Water of it might not be unclean by standing all night.* And so in the Treatise *Tamid*, *f* where it is discoursing of the Priest that should cleanse the Altar, going to wash his Hands and Feet at the Laver, it saith, *That his fellows heard the sound of the wood which Ben Kattin made, the Mukene for the Laver:* The *Gemara* upon the former place disputes מאי מכנת *g what is the Mukene?* *Rabba saith, It is a wheel:* And so saith *Aruch*, פירוש מוכני גלגה הוא *h The meaning of Mukene is a wheel:* Now in what place and to what use this wheel was, is now all the question: *i* some say, *it was to let down the Laver into the Well*, to fill it with Water, or to let it lie in the Well all night: and so there is speech in the Treatise *Zevachin* of *k drawing and fetching up the Laver out of the Molten Sea which Solomon made, for it was let down into that all Night, lest the Water of it should be polluted by standing all night in it.*

f Tamid. per. 1. Sect. 4.

g Joma fol. 37.

h Aruch in מכנה

i Gloss in Mishnaioth in Tamid vid. Maym. in Biath Mikd. per. 5.

k Zevach. per. 2. fol. 18.

But when we observe the greatness of this Laver that we are speaking of under the second Temple, at which, as hath been related, twelve men might stand round and wash together; and when we consider that there was no Well near to the place where the Laver stood, by divers paces, it will appear a thing unimaginable, that one Priest should let down the Laver into the Well and fetch it up again full of Water, for the Treatise *Tamid* makes, the dealing with the *Mukene of the Laver* (be it what it will) to be but one Priests work. I do not remember that I have read of what matter the Laver of the second Temple was made, whether of Brass, or stone Conduit-like: for to hold it of Wood is very unsuitable to the exceeding great stateliness of the Temple in other things: yet were it of Wood, it would have been a very hard task for any one man to manage it in that manner as they do a bucket in a Well, be the Engine of *Ben Kattins* making never so active, and cunningly contrived; *l* and therefore *Maimonides* leaves it as a thing of doubtfulness, about letting it down into the Well, for, saith he, *They let it down into a gathering of Waters, or into the Well, and on the morrow drew it up, or they filled it every day in the morning.*

l Maym. ubi sup.

Therefore by *the Mukene of the Laver*, I see not what else can be understood, than some contrival either found out, or at least the cost of it discharged by *Ben Kattin* the Priest, whereby Water was drawn up and forced by *the Wheel in the Well-room* in some singular conveyance to fill the Laver when there was occasion: Not that the Laver was stirred out of its place or needed any such removal, but (as it is known by common experience,) Water by the working of a Wheel was carried in Pipes into it at pleasure. So that whereas the standing of the Water in it all Night, did make that Water useless and unlawful for that end that the Water of the Laver was to serve unto, it either was evacuated over Night, when the work of the Day was done, or if it stood all Night it was let out in the Morning by the Priest that was to do the first work of the day, (namely who was to cleanse the Burnt-offering Altar of its ashes,) and he had no more to do to fill the Laver again, but only to go into the *Well-room*, and there to draw at the Wheel a while, and that brought up Water by conveyances into it: So that now to give an English translation to the word מוכני *Mukene*, we may very well call it *the Engine* of the Laver, and so doth *m Rabbi Nathan* give us some incouragement to do, when he tells us that it is a Greek word, and I suppose he means the Greek word Μηχανὴ *Machina, an Engine.*

m Aruch ubi sup.

4. There was never to be so little Water in the Laver, but that it might be sufficient to wash four Priests a row: and the reason of this Tradition *Baal Turim* would derive from this, *n* because the word רחצה which is used for this washing, *Exod.* XXX. 18. is observed by the Masoreth to be used in all four times: But a reason something more rational is given by others, and that is this, *o Because it is said, And Aaron and his sons shall wash thereat, now these were four, Aaron, Eleazer, Ithamar*, and *Phinehas.*

n Baal hatturim in Exod. XXX.

o Maym. ubi sup.

5. Their manner of washing at the Laver, was thus, *p* He laid his right Hand upon his right Foot, and his left Hand upon his left Foot, and the Cock or Spout running upon them, he thus stood stooping and washed Hands and Feet together: And he that went about the Service with unwashen Hands and Feet in the morning, was liable to death by the Hand of Heaven: And none might enter into the Court to do the Service there till he hath bathed, yea though he were clean: And in the Service he must stand upon the bare pavement, so that here was exceeding hard and bitter Service all the Winter when he must bath his Body in cold Water before he enter, and wash Hands and Feet in cold Water being entred, and stand in thin linnen and on the cold Stones all the while he was there.

p Id. ibid. R. Sol. in Exod XXX.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Solomons ten Lavers, 1 King. VII.

IT is not much important to queſtion and ſearch whether the Laver made by *Moſes* in the Wilderneſs eſcaped the fate of time and ſurvived to be ſet up in *Solomons* Temple, as ſome Jews aſſert; but it is pertinent to obſerve, that were it, or were it not, *Solomon* made exceeding great proviſion in that caſe, and to that end, for which the Laver was ordained, and as in all other particulars of the Temple he ſhewed and provided for magnificence as well as he did for neceſſary uſe and for conveniencies: ſo in this proviſion for Water for the occaſions of the Temple, he did not only take care for abundance, but he did it with that coſt and ſumptuouſneſs, that only himſelf in the other things he did can ſhew a parallel. I believe neither any ſtory, nor any Founders Art, did or will ever ſhew ſuch Maſter-pieces of Workmanſhip in that ſkill and in that mettle, as were his Lavers and his molten Sea: and the Holy Ghoſt hath been as copious and preciſe in the deſcription of theſe two, but eſpecially of the former, as in any piece of Art or Workmanſhip, eſpecially of that bigneſs, in all the Scripture.

a Vid. D. Kimch. in 2 Chron. IV.

The great addition that *Solomon* made to the firſt pattern, in the number of Candleſticks, Shewbread Tables, and Lavers, was not only in ſtate neither, but ſomething in Figure ſeemeth to have gone along with it; namely, that there might be ſignified the abundance of Light, Bread of Life, and Purifying, that was to be exhibited in and by him whom the Temple did repreſent: And as *Moſes* his ſingle parcels did hold out a ſignification of theſe things themſelves; ſo his decuplated number did hold out the happy abundance of them to be found in him that is all Light, Life, and Holineſs.

The Lavers, ten in number, and all of one mold, cize, and faſhion, were for the waſhing of the parts of the Sacrifices that were to be waſhed, as the Sea was for the bathing of the Prieſts. Their ſituation was five on either ſide the Court, over againſt the Altar and place of ſlaughtering, as evenly and conveniently as they could be ſet: For howſoever *b* ſome of the Hebrew Doctors have been of a mind, that all the ten Tables of Shewbread that *Solomon* made, ſtood on one ſide of the Houſe, and the Table that *Moſes* made juſt in the midſt of them, and the like by the ten Candleſticks and the ten Lavers; yet is the Text ſo plain about the Lavers, that they were placed five on the one ſide of the Houſe and five on the other, 1 *King.* VII. 39. that it doth not only put the matter out of all doubt for them, but it doth confirm the like for the two other ſufficiently, if there were no other confirmation.

b Ia. ibid.

The faſhion of every one of the Lavers (for by any one of them you may view all the reſt) is deſcribed by the Holy Ghoſt to this purpoſe.

Firſt, There was a flat piece of braſs, of a very great cize for length, breadth, and thickneſs, born upon four Wheels: ſuch pieces are not to be ſeen in theſe our days, and it is great odds that no days have ſhewed ſuch but only theſe; for every piece is ſaid to be *four cubits long, and four cubits broad, and three cubits high:* and ſince in the World we cannot find a piece of Braſs to parallel them withal, we muſt compare them to ſomething of another material, and ſo let us liken them for proportion to a Stone or Marble Table of theſe dimenſions. The *Septuagint* (by what miſpriſion, it is hard to tell) have made the length of every one of them five cubits and the height ſix, and ſo *c Joſephus* who conſtantly followeth them, hath followed their error, upon which miſtake we ſhall not ſpend time: that that *d Rabbi Solomon* giveth occaſion to ſcruple at, is better worth looking after, and that is, whether when the Text ſaith, that the height of every piece was three cubits, it mean that it was ſo thick, or that the upperſide of it was ſo far from the ground as it lay upon the Wheels. Of theſe two things the later ſeemeth to be the more probable upon theſe two conſiderations.

c Joſ Antiq. l. 8. cap. 2.

d R. Sol. in 1 Kings VII.

1. Becauſe it is not ſaid, *the thickneſs*, but *the height of it* was three cubits, as ſhewing that it meaneth not the maſſie thickneſs of the piece, but that as it ſtood ſupporting the Laver, the ſurface of it was ſo high from the ground.

2. There was no need of ſo vaſt a thickneſs, either for the weight that it was to carry, or for the ſumptuouſneſs that it was to bear, but half ſuch a thickneſs would more than abundantly diſcharge both the one and the other. And therefore the conception of our *Rabbin* is very probable, and not unfit to be entertained, and that is, that where as the Wheels are ſaid to be a cubit and an half high, *verſ.* 32. it is not to be underſtood of the full height of the Ring of the Wheel, but of the height from the ground to the Axletree, or laying on of this maſſie piece of Braſs, and that this piece was a cubit and a half thick it ſelf, and ſo the ſurface of it lay three cubits high from the ground.

Theſe

Theſe huge pieces of Braſs are called by the Original מכונות (which word the Seventy and *Joſephus* reſerve in the Greek, and write it Μαχανὰθ) which our Engliſh hath well rendred *A Baſe*, and ſo hath the *Chaldee* בסיסא by the very Greek word Βάσις. For as when *Moſes* was commanded to make the Laver, he was alſo commanded to make את כנו *his Baſe*, *Exod.* XXX. 8. (which our Engliſh hath tranſlated *his Foot:* not to be conceived a long Leg or Shank whereon the Laver ſtood, but ſome flat maſſie piece of Braſs whereupon it was to ſit) ſo for the ſetting and ſetling of theſe Lavers, this baſe of this cize and deſcription was מושב כיור as *e* the Rabbins ſtyle it *a Seat* or ſettle for the Laver to reſt upon.

e R. Levi Gerſon & D. Kimchi in 1 King. VII.

Now whereas it is ſaid, that every baſe had four brazen Wheels, *verſ.* 30. it is not to be ſo taken as to apprehend that they ſtood two and two on a ſide, as our Coach Wheels or Waggon Wheels do, but as the baſe was ſquare, ſo there was a Wheel on every ſide the ſquare. And this appeareth at *verſ.* 32. where it is related, that the Wheels were under the borders, and we ſhall obſerve by and by, that the borders were on every ſide. The Wheels that *Ezekiel* ſaw in his Viſion, *Chap.* I. were placed in the like poſture, namely, ſtanding ſquare and not one edging before another.

Thus lay the baſe upon his Wheels: And now for the working of it unto its compleatneſs; we are firſt to obſerve two rows of brazen ſtaves or bars (but not very long) molten of the ſame piece with the baſe, ſtanding up, one row upon the very edge of it round about, and the other ſtanding a little more inward, (and that but a very little) upon it. Theſe are thoſe that the Text calleth שלבים, and which word almoſt all the learned in the language both Jews and Chriſtians, do ſay doth ſignifie סולם כמין חוגקי ברים *ſtaves or bars ſet in rows like the ſtaves of a Ladder*, and which, if I may make ſo homely a compariſon, I may reſemble to the ſtaves of a Cart ſtanding on either ſide it, ſave that this had ſtaves all about, and theſe too in a double row, whereas a Cart hath but ſingle.

Between this double row of ſtaves, there was a border or board of braſs, if I may ſo term it, put between, and ſtood up between them all about upon every ſide of the ſquare, upon which border were engraven the repreſentation of Oxen, Lions, and Palm-trees. This border in the Original is called מסגרות and that in the plural number; not becauſe the row of the bordering was doubled as the row of ſtaves, but becauſe the one border went about upon every ſide of the ſquare; and under the border on every ſide ſtood a Wheel.

At the foot of the ſtaves and border, namely, upon the very edge of the baſe outward, there were large ſhelves of braſs laid round about, not level as our ſhelves that we ſet any thing upon, ſtand againſt a Wall, but ſloping and deſcending much after the manner as weather-boards are laid over windows to put off the rains. The Hebrew Text calleth theſe לויות מעשה מורך *Appendices made in a deſcending manner*, rendred by the *Italian*, our *Engliſh* and ſome of the *Rabbins*, *additions made of thin work:* The uſe of theſe ſhelves or additions, was, That upon them the Prieſts might waſh what they had to waſh, and the filth by reaſon of the ſlopeneſs of the ſhelves or benches might ſtill run off: For the waſhing of the parts of the Sacrifice, was not in the Laver it ſelf, but in water running out of the Laver in Cocks and ſpouts, which ran upon theſe benches or ſhelves, and they caſt the water, both from off the edges of the baſe, and from off the Wheels which ſtood under them as under a covert.

At the head of the rows of the ſtaves, there was כן ממעל *a Baſe above*, verſ. 29. that is, ſome reſt or ſettle edging inward, upon which the ſides of the Laver did reſt as it ſate down into its baſe. *David Kimchi* conceiveth that it may mean a *bench*, or reſt שהיו מושבין בו קיתון *whereon to ſet a Tankard*, or ſome leſſer Veſſel by which they took water out of the Laver: but if it be conſidered how high it was to the top of the Laver, this will be found a very improbable way for getting of water out of it, and neceſſity it ſelf will inforce us to conclude that the water they had out of it, they had at Cocks: This *upper reſt* or baſe was gathered into a circle or coronet, which is called a *Chapiter* in our Engliſh and כותרת in the Original, of a cubit and a half over, and about this circular edge as near as it would bear a ſquare, a ſquare bordering was ſet, ingraven as thoſe below, and ſo the Laver bottom being ſet in this Coronet, it ſtood raiſed two degrees or aſcents of borderings above the baſe. This bordering above the Coronet was a cubit high, and the Laver bottom for height was but of the breadth of a cubit and an half over, but then it flowred over and dilated it ſelf ſo, as that it lay over the upper bordering, and that it ſate upon and over the lower bordering and the ſtaves, and came out even with the edges of the baſe, and this ſpreading of it out is called its *mouth*, *verſ.* 31. and ſo we may obſerve that the Laver was round in the bottom and ſquare in the top; (we ſhall obſerve the juſt contrary in the molten Sea) and at the four corners of the baſe, with which the four corners of the Laver pointed and flowred even, there were ſquare brazen Pillars, molten with the baſe it ſelf, and of one piece with it, the feet of which ſtood upon the ground and their heads ſtood under the points of the Laver to bear it up, and

to keep it ſteady: Theſe Pillars are called כתפות *ſhoulders* in the Text, and they are ſaid to be מעבר איש ליותך *at the ſide of every one of the ſloping ſhelves*, becauſe at their joyning to the baſe theſe ſhelves joyned to it alſo, and at every corner of it theſe ſhelves were joynted to theſe Pillars and their ends reſted upon them: Now the Feet of theſe Pillars ſtood not upon the very ground, but there was a ſquare of brazen planks caſt alſo with the reſt, which lay on the ground upon which theſe Pillars and the Wheels ſtood, and theſe the Hebrew calleth סרגים, which the *Chaldee* and the *Rabbins* do explain by another word of the very ſame letters, but tranſpoſed גסרים *Boards*, or *Planks*.

And now let us take up the Text that containeth this ſtory about the Lavers, in a Paraphraſe verſe by verſe along with it, and as near the words of it as we can for the better underſtanding of the deſcription, which is as copious as the deſcription of any ſo little a piece in all the Bible, and as abſtruſe as the deſcription of any piece whatſoever, great or little.

1 *Kings chap.* VII. *verſ.* 27. And he made ten baſes of Braſs, four cubits was the length of every baſe, and four cubits the breadth, and three cubits the height of the ſurface of it from the ground.

Verſe 28. And this in the work of every baſe: they had borders, and the borders were within rows of ſtaves.

Verſe 29. And upon the borders that were within the rows of ſtaves, there were Lions, and Oxen, and Cherubins: and upon the Head of the rows of ſtaves there was another baſe or ſettle: and at the Foot of the ſtaves, or below the Lions and Oxen, there were additional boards ſet in a ſlope and deſcending faſhion.

Verſe 30. And every baſe had four Wheels of Braſs, and planks of Braſs; and the four corners of it had ſhouldring Pillars; the Pillars were caſt to be under the Laver, at the ſide of every one of the additional boards.

Verſe 31. And the mouth of the Laver, that is, the ſpreading and dilating of it ſelf into its full ſquare, was from within the circular Coronet that the upper baſe made, even from a cubit above it: and the mouth of that Coronet was round like a baſe, a cubit and an half over: and alſo about the mouth of it ingravings and borderings ſtood up a cubit high, but ſet about it in a ſquare, and not in a circle.

Verſe 32. And the four Wheels were on the four ſides under the borders: and the axle-trees of the Wheels were joyned to the baſe, and the height of a Wheel to the baſe, was a cubit and an half.

Verſe 33. And the work of the Wheels was like the work of a Charet-wheel: their Axle-trees and their Naves and their Felloes and their Spokes all molten.

Verſe 34. And there were four ſhouldring Pillars at the four corners of every baſe, theſe ſhouldring Pillars were of the baſe it ſelf.

Verſe 35. And on the top of the baſe, even at half a cubit height above the ſurface of it (ſo high were the rows of ſtaves) there was the round compaſs of the Coronet of the upper ſettle: and on the top of the baſe, the ſtaves and the borders that were there, were of one piece with it ſelf.

Verſe 36. And he graved upon the plates of the Staves and upon the borders thereof Cherubins, Oxen, and Palm-trees according to the proportion of every one: and there were ſo on the ſloping ſhelves round about.

Verſe 37. And he made ten Lavers of Braſs: one Laver contained forty baths, and every Laver was four cubits ſquare: and upon every of the ten baſes was one Laver.

SECT. III.

The Molten Sea.

IT was an equal wonder of Art, that ſo great and vaſt a veſſel as the Molten Sea ſhould be caſt, and that when it was caſt it ſhould be got up from the plain of *Jordan* where it was caſt, to the Temple: Being brought thither, it was ſet upon twelve brazen Oxen, at the Eaſt end of the Court of the Prieſts towards the North-eaſt corner.

The dimenſions and contents of it are thus accounted by the Book of *Kings*, *It was ten cubits from the one brim to the other, it was round all about, and his height was five cubits, and a line of thirty cubits did compaſs it round about: And it contained two thouſand baths*, 1 *King.* VII. 23, 26. with which account the Book of *Chronicles* doth agree exactly in every point but only in the laſt, and there it differeth exceedingly, for it ſaith, *it contained three thouſand baths*, 2 *Chron.* IV. 5. Now that difference breedeth no ſmall difficulty how to reconcile it, and that is not all the difficulty in this ſtory of the Molten Sea neither, for it is not eaſie to caſt, how ſo ſmall a compaſs (though it was indeed a huge compaſs for one veſſel) ſhould contain ſo great a quantity of Water. The *Bath* of the Hebrews which was the greateſt liquid meaſure that they

they had in use, was within a very little (a pint or such a thing) even and equal with the receit of our English bushel, or eight Gallons: now how a Vessel of but five cubits deep and of ten cubits from side to side, should contain three thousand baths, or near upon twenty four thousand gallons of Water, is of some difficulty to imagine: The cubit in this Vessel is to be taken parallel to its measure in other Vessels and parts of the Temple, and so that particular will help nothing to a resolution. The Jews have deservedly taken this scruple into their consideration and dispute; and the conclusion that they have made upon the doubt and debate is this, *a* that *this Sea was square in the bottom for three cubits high, and every side of the square was ten cubits broad, and so the whole was forty cubits about:* and this squareness they go about to prove from the Oxens standing in a square facing under it (in which opinion they are far different from their Countryman *Josephus*, for he saith, that the Sea was εἰς ἡμισφαίριον ἐσχαμισμένον, *b fashioned in form of an Hæmisphere*, or half a Globe, which if I understand aright, doth augment the scruple that we are upon. And they say withal, that the upper part of it, namely for the height of the two upper cubits it was round, and they contracting into the round and circular form did so much take in the compass which lay out in the four corners of the Quadrangle below, that now it was but thirty cubits about, according as the Text saith, that *a line of thirty cubits did compass it round about.* In which assertion although they speak that which is uncouth, and not ordinarily apprehended upon this matter, yet is their dispute so rational if it should particularly be given at length, that if it be not found on the suddain worth the believing, yet certainly is the matter very well worth the considering, and so be it left to consideration.

a Talm. in Erubbin per in Gemar. & R. Sol. & Kimch. in 1 King. VII.

b Joseph. Ant. lib.8. cap.2.

Now as for the difference which is between the Book of *Kings* and the Book of *Chronicles*, about the contents of this Vessel, (which is a doubt more obvious and conspicuous to the Eye) whilest one saith, *it contained two thousand Baths*, and the other, *three thousand*, the answer that is given generally by the Hebrew Writers, may be some satisfaction (which is, that of liquid it contained but two thousand Baths, but of dry things that would lye heaped above the brim, it would hold three) though I believe there is more in it. The Molten Sea was for the Priests washing themselves in it against they went about the Service, 2 *Chron.*IV.6. Now their washing being twofold, either of their Hands and Feet, or of their whole Bodies, this Vessel served for both, but in diverse manner: Their Hands and Feet they washed in the Water that ran out by some Cocks and Spouts out of it; but for the washing or bathing of their Bodies they went down into the Vessel it self: Now had it been always full of Water to the brim, it had been too deep for them to stand in, and would hazzard their drowning; therefore there was such a gage set by Cocks or Pipes running out continually, that the Water was kept at such a height, as should serve for their purpose abundantly, and yet should not at all indanger their persons: And so may we very well reconcile the difference in question by supposing, that the Text that saith, that *it contained two thousand Baths* meaneth, the common and constant quantity of Water that was in it, that was fit and served for their washing, and the other that saith, *it contained three thousand Baths* meaneth that it would hold so much being filled up to the brim.

About the Body of this huge Vessel, there were two borders of Ingraving., the Work of which the Book of *Kings* calleth פקיעים which the *Chaldee* and the Jews interpret *Ovals*, but the Book of *Chronicles* calleth them *Oxen:* not in their full proportion but the Heads only, and the rest in an Oval, in stead of the Body; and it is conceived by some that out of these Heads, or out of some of them the Water issued forth, they being made as Cocks or conveyances for that purpose.

The supply of Water to these huge Vessels (and that so abundantly that they were not only always full, but continually ran out and yet were full still) was from the Well *Etam*, of which we have spoken before: And the *Jerusalem Talmud* in the Treatise *Joma*, speaking particularly of this Molten Sea, and how it was for the Priests to bath their Bodies in against they came to the Service, it proposeth this question, *d But is it not a Vessel? Yes, but Rabbi Jehoshua the son of Levi saith,* אמת המים מושכת לו מעין עיטם *A Pipe of Water cometh into it out of the well Etam:* The meaning of the dispute is this; It was not lawful to bath for Purification in a Vessel, but in a gathering of Waters upon the ground, and how then might the Priests bath in the Molten Sea which was a Vessel? To this *Rabbi Joshua* giveth this satisfaction, That the Sea was as it were a spring of Water, for Water ran into it continually out of the Well *Etam*, and accordingly Water ran continually out of it.

d Talm. Jerus. in Joma. per. 3. Aruch. in מכנה *Maym. in Beth Mikd. per.5.*

SECT. IV.

Basins, Chargers, Dishes, &c. King Ptolemies and Queen Helens tables.

IT is not to be imagined that either the numbers, or the names, or the several fashions, or the several uses of all the Vessels in the Sanctuary should be given: it is ods there were but a very few Priests though they waited there, that were able to give a precise distinct account about these things: therefore our going about to speak of them, it is rather because we would not say nothing, than from any hope or possibility we have, to give an estimate or description of them any whit near unto the full.

Their number was so great, that they were reckoned to five thousand and four hundred in *Ezr.* I. 11. and ninety and three are averred by the *a Talmud* to be used every day about the dayly Sacrifice: and in the Treatise *Joma* it appeareth that *b* there were special Vessels for the Service of the day of expiation, and that King *Monobazes* made golden handles to them; and so other peculiar Services had their peculiar Vessels, in so much that partly because of the multitude of imploiments of Vessels at some certain times, and partly because of the change of Vessels at special times, the number could not but be very great, nor is it to be supposed certain: the piety of one or other still offering one Vessel or other in devotion.

a Tamid. per.3.
b [illegible] per.3.

The several fashions and cizes of them are rather to be guessed at, than determined; and the uses to which they were put, must help us better towards such a conjecture, than either their names do, or any description we can find of them.

1. There were Basins in which the Blood was taken when the Beast for the Sacrifice was slain, as *Exod.* XXIV. 6. and these the *Jerusalem Talmud* thinketh to be those that are called אגרטלין *Agartalin*, *Ezr.* I. 9. *c Thirty Agartalin of Gold. R. Samuel bar Nachman saith,* שאוגרין בו דמו של טלה *In it they gathered the Blood of Lambs. A thousand Agartalin of Silver: R. Simeon ben Lachish saith, It was that wherein they took the Blood of Bullocks.*

c Talm. Jerus. in Joma per.3.

2. There were dishes out of which the Blood was sprinkled on the Altar; and these are held to be called כפורים *Kephorim*, in the place alledged out of *Ezra*: and to be the same with מזרקים *Mizrakim*, of which word there is frequent mention in the Scripture: *d Kephorim* (saith *Solomon Jarchi*) *are Mizrakim, and they are called Kephorim, which betokeneth cleansing, because he that took the Blood in this Vessel wiped off the drops and Blood that stuck on his Hand, on the side of the dish:* which action we have taken notice of in handling the manner of sprinkling the Blood on the Horns of the Altar: So that, in these Jews construction, *Ezra* reckoneth by name but the two sorts of Vessels that were first and most certainly used in the Service, namely the great Chargers or Basins in which they took the Blood, and the lesser dishes out of which they sprinkled it: And it may be the קערה and the מזרק that every one of the twelve Princes offered at the dedication of the Tabernacle, *Numb.* VII. were these two sorts of Vessels: The *Mizrakim* are said to be before the Altar, *Zech.* XIV. 21.

d R.Sol. in Ezr. I.

3. There were great Voiders or Trays, as I may call them, of Gold or Silver, in which the inwards of the Beasts were taken and brought to washing, and brought when they were washed to the Altar: And dishes in which Salt was brought for the salting of all the Sacrifices. And dishes in which the Meat-offering was mingled, and other dishes in which it was offered. And it may be these that brought the Inwards or the Meat-offering, were those that העלות meaneth, if that word meaneth any Vessel at all, as it is thought it doth, in 2 *Chron.* XXIV. 14. *Some think it meaneth* Pestels (saith *Kimchi*) *wherewith they pounded the spices for the Incense: But in mine opinion it was a little Vessel, wherewithal they took Wine out of the Hin for the Drink-offerings: And so it is used in the words of the Rabbins, The Maids of the House of Rabbi as he was teaching them in the Language of Wisdom, said,* הכי עלת נפקת בכך *doth the* עלת *go into the Tankard? That is, the little Vessel wherewithal they drew Wine out of the Tankard, &c.* I shall not trouble my self nor the Reader about this Word nor about his Opinion; the Translation that our *English* hath made of it is not only very facil, but also very warrantable.

4. There were Vessels out of which they poured the Drink-offering, it may be those are they that *Josephus* calls *Phialas*, *Vials*, *e* as he reckoneth the holy Vessels upon the place of *Ezra* before alledged, but nameth more kinds than he doth: let the Reader draw among all the names he useth, ψυκῶρες, θηρίκλεια, κάδδοι, σπονδεῖα, φιάλαι, which may be the title of these Drink-offering Vessels that we are about; I should choose between the two last, and take *Phialæ* the rather of the two: and the pouring out of the Vials in the *Revelation* may chance receive some illustration, by the Readers reflecting upon the pouring out of the Vial of the Drink-offering.

e Jos. Ant. lib. 11. cap.1.

5. There

5. There were Chafing-diſhes to take Coals from the Altar for the burning of the Incenſe, and Diſhes wherein to take Aſhes from the Altar, and from the Altar of Incenſe, and Diſhes for Frankincenſe, and the Diſhes *Teni* and *Coz*, which they uſed about the Candles and Incenſe Altar: and Cenſer or Perfuming pans for the Incenſe, Diſhes about the Shewbread, and ſuch variety of Diſhes, Baſins, Vials, Cruſes, Tankards and ſuch like Veſſels, that it were an endleſs labour to ſpeak of them or ſeek after them particularly. To which may be added, the Axes, Knives, Fleſh-hooks, Forks, Fire-pans, Tongs, Snuffers, Pots, Chaldrons, the Veſſel *Peſachtar* (a word uſed by the Chaldee Paraphraſt, *Exod.* XXVII. 3, &c.) and the Inſtruments of Muſick, of which we have ſpoken elſewhere, the Mortars for making the Incenſe; and when we have reckoned all we can, we are ſure we cannot reckon all, and therefore muſt leave them to ſuppoſal and conjecture. And to the Diſcourſe of them which I muſt leave thus imperfect, let me add two Utenſils more, which indeed were not of the like nature with theſe that have been ſpoken of, yet may well come in mention with them, becauſe they were all Furniture of the ſame Houſe, and thoſe were two Golden Tables, but of ſeveral natures and uſes, beſtowed by *Ptolemy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*, and *Helena*, Mother to *Monobazes*.

f Ariſteas and *Joſephus* after him, relating the ſtory of *Ptolemies* ſending for the *Septuagint* to come to him to tranſlate the Bible, they tell what ſumptuous bounty and gifts he beſtowed upon the Temple and preſented thither; and among other things that they ſpake of (as a great ſum of mony, certain Golden and Silver Goblets, and certain Golden Vials, χρυσᾶς φιάλας) they mention and deſcribe a Golden Table, of that richneſs, coſt and curious Workmanſhip, as the like hardly to fellow it in any ſtory, as the Reader may peruſe them in the places cited in the Margin, for I ſhall not ſpend time upon their deſcription.

f Ariſt. in Hiſt LXX. Joſ. Ant. l.12. cap.2.

There is relation alſo in the *Talmudick* Treatiſe *Joma*, of a Golden Table of Queen *Helens* beſtowing and devoting, but it was not of the faſhion and nature of any Tables that we have mentioned hitherto, but it was of a form and quality far differing from them. It was not שולחן *Menſa*, but טבלא *Tabula*, and the Tradition concerning it is thus: *g Queen Helena, Mother to King Monobazes, made the Golden Candleſtick that was over the Temple door; And ſhe alſo made the Golden Table on which was written the Section of the Law concerning the ſuſpected Wife; Numb.* V. So that this was a written Table hanged upon a Wall, and not a Table with Feet ſtanding upon the ground, as thoſe were of which we have ſpoken. The *Gemara* of the *Jeruſalem Talmud* informs us about it in theſe words: *h She made the Table of Gold on which was written the Section of the ſuſpected Wife, and when the Sun roſe, the beams ſparkled on it, and ſo they knew that the Sun was riſen. And what was written on it? R. Simeon ben Lachiſh in the name of R. Januai ſaith, Aleph Beth was written on it. But behold the Tradition is: As was the writing on the one ſide, ſo was the writing on the other: It was not thick nor thin, but a mean between both. As was the* א *that was on the one ſide ſo was the* א *that was on the other. As* ב *on the one ſide, ſo* ב *on the other. R. Hoſaiah ſaith, All the Section of the ſuſpected Wife was written on it, and out of it he read and interpreted the whole Section.* It ſeems this Table hung upon the Wall of the Gate of *Nicanor*, for in that the trial of the ſuſpected Wife was made, the manner of which we have obſerved elſewhere.

e Joma per.3.

h Talm. Jeruſ. ibid. fol.41.

As there were Tables and Candleſticks of Gold, 2 *Chron.* IV. 7,8. in the holy place, ſo there were Tables and Candleſticks of Silver which were uſed in other places, 1 *Chron.* XXVIII. 15. as in the Courts and in the Prieſts Chambers.

SECT. V.

The Prieſts Garments.

IT will not be much neceſſary to ſpend large Diſcourſe upon this ſubject about the Garments of the ordinary Prieſts which they wore in the Service, ſince we have deſcribed the Veſtments of the High Prieſt at large in another place, who wore all the ſame Garments that the other Prieſts did, but he wore other alſo, we ſhall therefore but briefly touch theſe particulars concerning them.

1. That the Garments wherewithal the Prieſts were arraied when they were about Divine Service, were peculiar for that place and occaſion, and differing from the Garments that they uſed in their ordinary wearing. Some Jews think there were ſuch Prieſtly Garments before the Law, and they ſpeak of ſuch, bequeathed from Father to Son in the holy Line even from *Adam* to *Iſaac*, and they think the Veſture in which *Jacob* obtained the Bleſſing was of this nature: but about this we ſhall not be inquiſitive.

2. The Prieſts when they were come up in their courſes to the Service, put off their ordinary wearing Clothes, waſhed themſelves in Water, and put on the holy Garments: See *Lev.* VIII. 6. *a* Yea whilſt they were at the Temple and attending there on the Service, any

a Tamid. per.1.

any of them that would ſleep by Night, he ſlept not in the holy Garments, but in his own wearing Clothes, and in the Morning when he was to go to his Service, he put off his own Clothes, bathed himſelf in Water, and put on the Garments of the Prieſt-hood. Theſe expreſſions in Scripture, *Put off the old man, and be renewed and put on the new*, Epheſ. IV. 22, 23, 24. *Put on the Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, Rom. XIII. 14. *Baptized into Chriſt, and putting on Chriſt*, Gal. III. 27. *Waſhed from our ſins, and made Prieſts*, Rev. I. 5, 6. *Not unclothed but clothed upon*, 2 Cor. V. 4. ſeem to allude to this cuſtom.

b Rab. Sol. in Exod XXVIII.

2. The holy Garments of the Prieſts were of white Linnen, and they conſiſted of four parcels, whereas the High Prieſts Garments were of eight parcels, and they were of other Colours as well as white: And, as hath been obſerved elſewhere, every Prieſt was firſt tried by the *Sanhedrin*, whether he were right and fit, and being ſo found he had his white Garments put upon him, all which Garments were found at the publick charge. *The Man clothed with linnen, with a writers Inkhorn by his ſide*, Ezek. IX. 3. *Walking with Chriſt in white*, Rev. III. 4. *Araying in white Robes*, Rev. VII. 9, &c. do ſeem to refer to this holy Garb and Colour of the Prieſts.

3. Upon their Feet they wore nothing at all whilſt they ſerved, but ſtood in the Court barefooted, were it never ſo cold; nay though they were barefooted, yet might they not ſtand upon any thing to keep their Feet from the cold pavement, but muſt ſtand barely upon that, were the Service never ſo long and the ſeaſon never ſo ſharp: The reaſon of their barefootedneſs was becauſe of the holineſs of the ground, as *Exod.* III. 5. *Joſh.* V. 15. and the reaſon of their ſtanding only on the bare ſtones, was to ſhew their fervour and zeal to the Service.

4. Upon their Thighs and Loins they wore linnen breeches to prevent the diſcovery of their nakedneſs, *Exod.* XXVIII. 42. either when they ſtood upright aloft upon the Altar, or when they ſtooped down to any work of the Service, either there or in any other place. And here I cannot but think of that ridiculous paſſage in *c Martial. in lib.* 3. *Epig.* 24. which ſuch a proviſion as this might have prevented: And of that paſſage in the Treatiſe *Tamid d* where ſome of the Prieſts are ſaid to be delivered to the *Chazanim* or Overſeers, *and they ſtripped them of their Garments, and left nothing upon them but their breeches.*

c Martial. lib. 3 *Epig.* 24.

d Tamid. per. 5.

5. Upon their Bodies they wore a linnen Coat or Surplice which was called כתונת תשבץ *Exod.* XXVIII. 4. by the Seventy χιτῶνα κοσυμβωτὸν· upon which *Nobilius* maketh this comment: *e Græcam dictionem retinet S. Hieronymus ad Marcellam. S. Auguſt. q.* 114. *habet cum cornibus, &c. Hierome retaineth the Greek word (Coſymbotam) Auſtin in queſt.* 114. *Tranſlates it* with horns, *and addeth that the Latine Interpreters thought it better, to call it* the Coat with horns, *than if they had ſaid*, with tufts. *But others Interpret it ſtrait and girt: which Interpretation ſeemeth not impertinent, ſeeing that afterward in this ſame Chapter Coſymbi and Coſymboti do ſignifie knots. But others Tranſlate it out of the Hebrew, Ocellatum, or checkered.* And ſo it might be ſhewed from the Original of the Hebrew word uſed, that it ſo ſignifieth, and this linnen was wrought, Diaper-like, with checker or diced work, or ſome ſuch kind of Workmanſhip, which ſet it out with neatneſs as well as it was white.

e Nobil in LXX in Ex XXVIII.

6. This Coat was girt to them with a long ſcarf, which went divers times about them like a ſwaddle, which was called אבנט, and which both helped to keep them warm in their thin clothing, and to ſtrengthen their Backs in their hard Service, which ſometime they met withal, tugging with the Beaſts that they were to ſlay, and lifting at them when they were killed.

7. Upon their Heads they had a Bonnet or a Mitre, which was a linnen ſcarf often wrapped and wrapped about their Heads, after the manner of the Turkiſh Tullibants, as is more fully deſcribed in the Temple Service, *Chap.* 4.

In theſe four parcels of Veſture, the High Prieſts and the other Prieſts were alike, for the High Prieſt wore theſe as well as they, but he had four other parcels over and above which they might not wear, and by which he was ſingularly diſtinguiſhed from them; and theſe were 1. מעיל *The Coat of the Ephod:* this the Seventy call Ποδήρη· 2. אפוד *The Ephod it ſelf*, which he put upon that Coat, and claſped it together over his Paps with a curious girdle. This helpeth to underſtand that in *Rev.* I. 13. ἐνδεδυμένον ποδήρη καὶ περιεζωσμένον πρὸς τοῖς μαστοῖς. 3. חושן *The Breſt-plate:* in which were put the Urim and Thummim, *Exod.* XXVIII. 30. which in the Apoſtles application ſeem to ſignifie *Faith* and *Love*, 1 *Theſ.* V. 8. 4. ציץ The Golden Plate upon his Forehead in which was written קודש ליהוה *The holy One of the Lord* (compare *Luke* IV. 34.) which have been particularly ſpoken to in the Tract and Place cited a little above.

As the Prieſts Garments were provided at the Publick charge, ſo when they were overworn they returned to the Publick again; for their Coats and Breeches, &c. were ravelled to make yarn for the Lamps, and for the lights at the ſolemn nightly Feſtivity in the Feaſt of Tabernacles, and it is like, for the Prieſts Candles in their Chambers.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

The anointing Oil.

THE appointment and compoſition of anointing Oil is laid down, in *Exod.* XXX. 23, &c. where the Lord commanded thus, *Thou ſhalt take unto thee principal Spices, of pure Myrrhe five hundred ſhekels, and of ſweet Cinnamon half ſo much, even two hundred and fifty ſhekels: and of ſweet Calamus two hundred and fifty ſhekels: and of Caſſia five hundred ſhekels after the ſhekel of the Sanctuary, and of Oil Olive an hin: And thou ſhalt make it a holy anointing Oil, &c.* The Simples need not to be diſputed of, only I cannot but obſerve and wonder at the conception of *Rambam* about one of them, who holdeth מור *Mor* which our *Engliſh* hath very properly Tranſlated *Myrrhe* to be *a* the congealed Blood of an Indian Beaſt: whereupon one of his Gloſſaries takes him up thus, *b It cannot enter into my Head, that they would put the Blood of a Beaſt into any holy compoſition, much leſs of a Beaſt unclean. But* מור *Mor is that that is ſpoken of in the Canticles, I am come into my Garden, my Siſter, my Spouſe, I have gathered my Myrrhe.*

a Maim in Kele Mikdaſh. par. 1.
b Gloſſ. ibid.

For the making up of theſe Simples into the compound of the anointing Oil, the way and manner is recorded to have been thus; *c* They were bruiſed every one apart, and by themſelves, and then were they mingled and boiled in clean Water, till all their ſtrength was come out into that Decoction: which Decoction ſtrained, and having Oil put to it, was again boiled to the height of an Ointment and ſo reſerved.

c Ibid.

This anointing Oil was only in uſe in the times of the Tabernacle and firſt Temple, and with it were their Veſſels ſanctified, according as was appointed in the place of *Exodus* even now cited, and deſcribed *Levit.* VIII. but there was no ſuch Ointment under the ſecond Temple, for there the Veſſels were ſanctified by their very uſe and ſerving in them: and ſo indeed was the Temple it ſelf: For there was neither cloud of Glory to ſanctifie the Houſe, nor divine Fire to ſanctifie the Altar, nor holy Oil to ſanctifie the Veſſels, nor *Urim* and *Thummim* to honor the Prieſts, and yet was the Place and Service then as holy as it was before. God by this abatement of thoſe external advantages and excellencies, and yet by the continuance of the honour of his Worſhip and Service, making way to the dignifying of the Spiritual Worſhip under the Goſpel, when ſuch external and viſible appearances of his Preſence were not to be looked for, and when all Ceremoniouſneſs in holy things ſhould be aboliſhed and laid aſide.

With the holy Oil whileſt it was in uſe and imployment, was the High Prieſt anointed, as well as other things, and when the uſe of the Oil ceaſed, then was he conſecrated by the arraying of him in the Garments appointed for the High Prieſts wearing, and he was ſaid to be מרובה בגדים *conſecrated by the veſtments*, as we have obſerved in another place. The manner of his anointing whiles that was uſed, is deſcribed by the *Talmudiſts* to have been כמין כי יו ונירת *d after the form of a Greek Chi: They anointed the Kings* (ſay they) *after the form of a Crown, but the Prieſts after the form of a Chi. What means, after the form of a Chi? e R. Menaſſes the ſon of Gada ſaith, After the form of a Greek Chi.* But what means this? *f R. Solomon ſaith, It was firſt poured on his Head, and then put between his Eyebrows, and drawn this way and that way with the Finger of him that put it there:* which others expreſs thus, *g One poured the Oil upon his Head, and it ran down this way and that way, like two pearling droppings upon his Beard*, as *Pſal.* CXXXIII. 2.

d Ibid.
e Talm. in Kerithuth per. 1.
f R. Sol in Lev. VIII.
g Aruch in כי

The Oil and anointing wherewith the Prieſts and the Veſſels of the Lords Houſe were ſanctified, did denote the Word and the Spirit of God, whereby he ſanctifieth the Veſſels of his Election, even perſons of his Choice, to his Service, and Acceptance: Oil and anointing do ſignifie the Word as well as the Spirit. And in that ſenſe ſhould I interpret *the anointing*, in 1 *John* II. 20. 27. Ye have *an unction*, that is the word, from the holy One, and ye know all things by it. And *the anointing*, that is, the Word, which ye have received of him abideth in you: and ye are not to ſeek for Teaching from any Man, for the ſame Word hath taught you abundantly of all things, &c.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The Emblem of the Divine Glory at the Temple. Ezek. I. Eſay VI. Rev. IV. &c. *Explained.*

THE Prophet *Ezekiel* ſaw the viſionary Glory that he hath deſcribed, *Chap.* I. and *Chap.* X. four times over. 1. At the River *Chebar* among the Captives of his own Captivity, *Chap.* I. 1: that is, that Captivity which was carried away with *Jechoniah*, for then was he himſelf Captived. 2. In a plain among the Captives of the other Captivity, that is, *Jehoiakims*, *Dan.* I. who dwelt indeed upon the Coaſts of the ſame River, but at ſome diſtance from the other, *Chap.* III. 15, 20, 23. 3. In the Temple, *Chap.* VIII. 4. And 4. at the renewed Temple again, *Chap*, XLIII. 2, 3.

The viſion and Glory that he ſaw, was thus;

Ezek. I. *verſ.* 4. *Behold a whirle-wind out of the North, &c.*) Out of the North appeared a ſtormy cloud, with fire wrapped in it, which flamed into a brightneſs all about, and in the middle of all was as a glowing fire. For out of the North, namely, from *Babel*, was a ſtorm to riſe and fire to come, that was to deſtroy both City and Temple, and that ſhould cauſe the Glory of the Lord which dwelt there, to come out thence as out of burning, as this Glory that he ſaw which repreſented that, came out of this fire.

Verſ. 5. *Four living creatures, and this was their appearance, they had the likeneſs of a Man.*) That is, in ſtature and proportion of Body, Thighs, and Legs, they had the likeneſs and erect ſhape of a Man; only their Head and Feet and ſome particulars elſe were different, of which he giveth account in the following verſes.

Verſ. 6. *But every one had four Faces, &c.*) I render the conjunction ו *But*; becauſe (the Particle bearing it) it being ſo tranſlated, giveth the clearer and the readier ſenſe. They had the likeneſs of a Man, *But every* one had four Faces.

And in *verſ.* 7. The ſame particle ו in וכף being Tranſlated exegetically, *For*, doth alſo clear the ſenſe, Their Feet were ſtraight Feet, *for* the ſole of their Feet was as the ſole of a Calfs Feet.

And they ſparkled, &c.) that is, their Feet ſparkled like burniſhed Braſs; for the brightneſs of their Bodies is deſcribed at *verſ.* 13.

Verſ. 8. *And the hands of a Man were under their Wings on their four ſides; ſo had they four their Faces and their Wings.*) That is, they had their Faces and their Wings on their four ſides: namely, a Wing on their Breaſt and a Face that way, a Wing on the Back and a Face that way, and a Wing on either Shoulder and Faces likewiſe, and under their Wings every way was a Mans Hand and Arm.

Verſ. 9. *Their Wings were joining one to another.*) This is explained at *verſ.* 11.

They turned not about when they went, they went every one ſtraight before his Face.) Which way ſoever they were to go, they needed not to turn their Bodies, to ſet their Face that way as Men and other Creatures do; who when they are to go this way or that way, they turn their Bodies till their Faces ſtand the way they are to go: but theſe did not, nor needed they to do ſo; for go which way they would, they had a Face that led them that way.

Verſ. 10. *As for the likeneſs of their Faces, &c.*) Every one had the Face of a Man before, and the Face of an Eagle behind, the Face of a Lion towards the right Hand, and the Face of a Bullock towards the left.

It is not much important to diſpute, whether they had four Heads as well as Faces, or only one Head faced on every ſide; I ſhould rather hold for the former, and could give ſome reaſons that ſway me to that opinion, but I ſhall not inſiſt upon them here.

Some there have been that have conceived that the quarters of their Faces are named in reference to their ſtanding towards *Ezekiel*; as that the Face towards *Ezekiel* was a Mans, the Face which was upon *Ezekiels* right Hand (which was the left Hand of the *Cherub*) was a Lions; the Face on *Ezekiels* left Hand (which was the *Cherubs* right) the Face of a Bullock; and the Face of an Eagle behind: but they that have been of that opinion have not obſerved, that the four living Creatures ſtood not in a ſtraight line all facing *Ezekiel*, but in a ſquare poſture, as ſhall be ſhewed by and by.

Theſe living Creatures are called Cherubins by this Prophet very often, *Chap.* 10. and by that name, laid to this deſcription, he teacheth us how to conceive of the form of the *Cherubins* that we read of ſo oft in Scripture, as the *Cherubins* upon the Mercy ſeat, and the

the *Cherubins* that overſhadowed the Ark in *Solomons* Temple, and the *Cherubins* wrought in the Tabernacle Curtains, and carved upon the Temple-walls, &c. namely, of this four-fold feature or having ſo many Faces; ſaving that in the Imbroidery of the Curtains and Sculpture upon the Walls, only two of the four Faces could be made to appear. And ſo it is evident, in *Ezek.* XLI. 19. where he ſaith, there were *Cherubins* and Palm-trees carved upon the Walls, *ſo that a Palm-tree was between a Cherub and a Cherub, and every Cherub had two Faces: ſo that the Face of a Man was towards the Palm-tree on the one ſide, and the Face of a young Lion was towards the Palm-tree on the other ſide.* Their other two Faces were to be conceived obſcured in the Wall, as if they were looking into it. But it may not paſs unobſerved that theſe two Faces of a Man and a Lion, were not the Cherubs oppoſite Faces, that is, that before and that behind, but they were his Face before and his Face on the right ſide: and hence I have one reaſon to conjecture that they had four Heads as well as four Faces, becauſe it will otherwiſe be very harſh to imagine how his Fore-face and right Side-face ſhould be ſet to look before and behind. Now theſe two Faces of a Man and a Lion were the Faces that the *Cherub* that ſtood upon the right Hand of the Ark as it ſtood facing the People, looked upon the Ark and the People withal, his humane Face toward the Ark, his Lions towards the People: And we ſhall obſerve afterward how thoſe whom the *Cherubins* repreſented, had in Office to look mutually towards God and his People, and were Mediators between them.

The Prophet, in *Chap.* X. *verſ.* 14. reckoning the four Faces of theſe *Cherubins* again, begins with the Face of a Bullock firſt, which was a left Hand Face, and inſtead of *the Face of a Bullock*, he calls it *the Face of a Cherub:* was not the Face of a Lion or Eagle the Face of a *Cherub*, as well as the Face of a Bullock? It ſeemeth ſtrange therefore that he ſhould call the Bullocks Face, the Face of a *Cherub* rather than any other: But the reaſon ſeemeth to be taken from this conſideration: The High Prieſt when he went into the moſt Holy place up to the Ark, the *Cherub* that ſtood by the Ark upon his right Hand, whither he was more ready to look than on his left, ſtood facing him with the Face of a Bullock. Now the Prophet in this place is ſpeaking of Gods Glory flitting from the Temple, where it dwelt eſpecially on the Ark between the *Cherubins*, and as if he looked at that right Hand *Cherub*, which was now flitting from his ſtation and removing, ſo he nameth that Face that looked upon him: and he calleth the Face of a Bullock, the Face of a *Cherub*, becauſe that was the Face of the *Cherub* that was moſt looked on and obſerved by him that went into the moſt Holy place.

Verſ. 11. *Thus were their Faces: and their Wings were parted upward,*) Though their Wings joyned one to another at the ſetting on, yet they opened and parted upward, as alſo do the Wings of other flying Fowls: who though they grow near together at the roots, yet they ſpread and part wider and wider towards the points: And the like in ſome parity may be conceived concerning the parting of their Faces, that they grew upon one root as it were, but parted upward, into ſo many Heads: and ſo the conſtruction of the verſe ſeemeth to carry it ופניהם וכנפיהם where the Particle ו in the beginning of the verſe is not ordinary, and requireth obſervation: It may very well be rendred, *Both their Faces and their Wings were parted upward.*

Two Wings of every one were joyned one to another, and two covered their Bodies, &c.) The deſcription of the living Creatures, in *Eſay* VI. and the parallel to them, and theſe in *Rev.* IV. muſt help us to Interpret this eleventh verſe, about their Wings. The *Apocalyptick* calls them *living Creatures*, and numbreth them four, and nameth their four Faces punctually as this Prophet doth, but reckoneth their Wings to be ſix a piece, *Rev.* IV. 8. *Eſay* nameth indeed the living Creatures that he ſaw by another name, than either *John* or *Ezekiel* do, yet he meaneth the very ſame, both for number and form, for he ſaw the very ſame Glory of God that theſe deſcribe, that is, Gods Glory at the Temple, as the very firſt verſe of that Chapter doth explain it: And in this ſenſe is the word *His Glory* to be underſtood, *John* XII. 41. He ſaw four living Creatures, with four Faces, and in all things like to theſe deſcribed here, as to their form and proportion, and he ſaith, *every one of them had ſix Wings*, Eſay VI. 2.

The Prophet *Ezekiel* ſaith no leſs as to that matter, although he ſpeak it not ſo very plainly out: for laying *verſ.* 11. and *verſ.* 23. together, we ſhall find the account of their Wings to be to this purpoſe, and the ſame number. *They had Wings that were parted above:* theſe were the two wherewithal they flew: And they had other *two which joined one to another*, over their Heads, theſe are parallel to thoſe wherewithal *Eſay* ſaith they covered their faces: and they had *two wherewithal they covered their Bodies:* thoſe are they, that he ſaith, *covered their Feet:* Thus is the eleventh verſe to be underſtood: which the twenty fourth ſpeaketh parallel to, and ſomething explaineth. It is ſaid there, that *under the Firmament* (which was over their Heads) *their Wings were ſtraight one towards another: and they had two Wings which covered on this ſide, and two*

Wings which covered on that ſide: and the meaning thereof is this, that they always carried two of their Wings ſtraight upright, joining together over their Heads, and when they ſtood ſtill they covered their Bodies with four Wings, two on Back and Belly, and two on either ſide: Whereas it is ſaid in *verſ.* 24. that *when they ſtood they let down their Wings*, it is to be underſtood only of thoſe two Wings wherewithal they flew, for they had every one of them two Wings that they never let down, and they were thoſe wherewithal they covered their Faces; and they had two other which they never lift up, and they were thoſe wherewithal they covered their Back and Belly, or ſecret parts before and behind. For that expreſſion of *Eſay*, *They covered their Feet*, meaneth, *they covered their ſecret parts:* for in that ſenſe is *Feet* ſometime taken in Scripture, as *The hair of the Feet*, *Eſay* VII. 20. &c.

And thus are we to reconcile thoſe two verſes in this firſt Chapter of *Ezekiel*, which ſeem to be diſſonant, the one whereof, namely, *verſ.* 11. ſaith, That with two of their Wings they covered their Bodies; and the other, which is *verſ.* 23. ſpeaks of four that covered their Bodies; which mean diſtinctly thus, that two of their Wings continually covered their ſecret parts before and behind, and they never lifted them up; and when they ſtood ſtill, they let down their Wings wherewith they flew, and with them covered their ſides. And ſo it appeareth that their two Wings grew out at their Shoulders, and the Wings wherewith they covered their Faces, grew out at their Breaſt and Back, and thoſe grew out below them that covered their ſecret parts.

Verſ. 12. *And they went every one before his Face whitherſoever their mind was to go, &c.)* Went they backward, forward, ſide-way, any way, they had every one a face to go that way, and needed no turning about to ſet their Faces that way they would go.

Verſ. 13. *Their appearance was like burning coals of fire, &c.)* Hence *Eſay* calleth them *Seraphim*, or *burning ones*; and that the rather, becauſe fire is there threatned to the Temple.

It went between the living Creatures, &c.) *It*, that is, *fire:* Every one of the living Creatures was of a glowing and flaming brightneſs, glowing like coals of burning fire, and flaming like Lamps; and yet beſides this fierineſs that they carried every one with them, there was fire alſo in the midſt of them, of a great brightneſs and flaſhing as lightning: So in *Rev.* IV. 5. *Out of the Throne went lightnings, and thunders, and voices.*

Thus was the appearance of theſe *Cherubins*, one thing more being added out of *Ezek.* X. 12. *That their whole Body, and their Backs, and their Hands, and their Wings were full of Eyes:* The like is ſaid, *Rev.* IV. 6. Now their poſture or manner of ſtanding was ſuch, that ſtanding ſtill or moving, they were in a ſquare form, as if four men ſhould ſtand ſo, as to make a ſquare ſpace or a Quadrangle in the midſt between them: Their quadrangular ſtanding, was (as I may ſo expreſs it) Lozenge-wiſe, or after the Diamond ſquare; one looking toward the South with his humane Face, and another with his humane Face towards the North, a third with the ſame Face toward the Eaſt, and the fourth with the ſame towards the Weſt. Thus they ſtood when they ſtood, and in this quadrature they moved when they moved: and to this ſenſe is that paſſage to be underſtood in *Chap.* X. 6, 7. where it is ſaid that fire was between the *Cherubins*, and one of them raught fire from between them, that is, out of the ſquare ſpace that was in the midſt of them as they ſtood. And ſo is *Ezek.* I. 15. which is the next verſe that comes to be explained, to be underſtood.

Verſ. 15. *And behold a Wheel on the Earth by the living Creatures* לארבעת פניו *on his four Faces,)* That is, on the four ſides or Faces of the ſquare Body as it ſtood; namely, a Wheel before every one of the living Creatures on the out-ſide of the ſquare: A Wheel before him that ſtood with his humane Face looking Eaſt, and a Wheel before him that ſtood with his humane Face looking Weſt, and ſo before them that ſtood looking North and South. Or if you will apprehend this whole Body as it ſtood in its ſquare, in the form of any of the living Creatures as he was ſingle, do but conceive that one ſtood looking Eaſt with his Face of a Man, and another Weſt with his Face of an Eagle, another looking South with his Face of a Lion, and the fourth looking North with his Face of a Bullock; and ſo you have the four ſeveral Faces on the out-ſide of the ſquare, and the four ſeveral Faces on the inſide of it, and the four Wheels ſtanding before the out-ſide ſtaves.

Verſ. 16. *As it were a Wheel within a Wheel,)* The faſhion of every Wheel was ſo, as it were one Wheel put croſs within another, ſo that they could run upon either of theſe croſſing Rings as there was occaſion: were they to go Eaſtward, they ran upon the one Ring, but were they ſuddainly to turn South, then they ran upon the croſs Ring: And ſo as the living Creatures had Faces to lead them any way, ſo had theſe Wheels Rings or Rims to go on any way: And this is meant in *verſ.* 17. when it ſaid, *they went upon their four ſides, and turned not when they went:* Not but that they turned about as Wheels do when they go, but when they were to change their way, as to go from Eaſt to South or North, or from Weſt to either of theſe quarters, they needed not to fetch a compaſs and wind

wind about to ſet themſelves to go that way, but they readily turned upon the croſſing Ring and needed no more ado.

And thus did the living Creatures ſtand in one ſquare, and the Wheels in another ſquare about them: And let us take a pattern of their motion, ſuppoſing the living Creatures to ſtand with their humane Faces looking ſeverally to the four quarters of Heaven. Were they to move Eaſt, he that ſtood Eaſt his humane Face led him, and his Wheel ran before him; He that ſtood Weſt, his Eagles Face led him, and his Wheel followed him; He that ſtood South, his Face of a Bullock led him; and he that ſtood North, his Lions Face led him, and their Wheels ran beſide them: Were they to turn ſuddainly South; He that ſtood South, his humane Face led him, he that ſtood North, his Eagles, he on the Eaſt his Lions, and he on the North his Bullocks, and now the Wheels ran upon the other Ring.

Verſe 18. *Thus were their Rings,*) That is, one croſs within another: *And they were high, and they were reverent,*) ויראה להם It were an eaſie ſenſe, if the clauſe were Tranſlated, *And they were dreadful*, that is, Wheels had their dreadfulneſs as well as the living Creatures: But ſince the word יראה doth moſt properly and moſt generally ſignifie, the inward affection of fear or reverence, it ſeemeth in this place to mean the reverential and attendent poſture in which the Wheels ſtood, ready to move or ſtand according to the motion or ſtanding of the living Creatures, and both they and the living Creatures obſervant of that Preſence and Glory, upon which they waited: Had it been יראה מהם it might very well have carried it into that conſtruction, but being יראה להם it may the better countenance this that is produced, and *R. Solomon* ſpeaketh of ſome that did ſo interpret it.

Such was the faſhion of this divine Chariot, of living Creatures and Wheels, the Creatures drawing as it were and acting the Wheels, whitherſoever they moved, and the Wheels moving or ſtanding together with them in all voluntarineſs and compliance: Now the Lords riding upon this glorious Carriage, is deſcribed in the verſes following; An Azure Sky juſt over their Heads, born up as it were with the points of their Wings which they held upright over their Heads, covering their Faces with them: Above that Sky a Throne, on which ſat the reſemblance of a Man all fiery; from his Loins upward like fire glowing, and from his Loins downward like fire flaming: and a brightneſs in the form of a Rain-bow round about him. Compare *Rev.* IV. 2, 3.

And now to take up the moral or ſignification of this *Emblem*, we will firſt begin with the conſideration of the general Intention of it, and then deſcend to the Application of particulars.

That it intends in general to ſignifie and character out unto us, the Lords Glory and Preſence dwelling at his Temple, and among his People, theſe Obſervations will make it paſt doubting or peradventure.

1. The Temple is very commonly in Scripture ſtiled by the Name of Gods *Throne*, as *Jer.* XVII. 12. A glorious high Throne from the beginning is the place of our Sanctuary, *Ezek.* XLIII. 7. *The place of my Throne, and the place of the ſoles of my Feet, where I will dwell in the midſt of the Children of Iſrael, &c.* Which the Lord proclaimeth when his Glory was returned to the renewed Temple, as is apparent in the verſes immediately preceding. And ſo the Prophet *Eſay* ſaith, *I ſaw the Lord ſitting upon a Throne high, and lifted up, and his Train filled the Temple, &c. And the Houſe was filled with ſmoak, &c. Eſay* VI. 1, 4. Where he characterеth the Lords ſitting parallel to his dwelling in the Cloud of Glory upon the Ark, and from thence filling the whole Houſe with the train of his Glory. And ſo in the Book of the *Revelation*, where the Lord is inthroned, with ſuch living Creatures attending him as are deſcribed here, there are ſo plain intimations, that it meaneth his Glory at his Temple, that nothing can be plainer: for when there is mention of a Sea of Glaſs before the Throne, and of ſeven Lamps, *Rev.* IV. *verſ.* 5, 6. and of a golden Altar of Incenſe, *Chap.* VIII. 3. and of a voice from that Altar, *Chap.* IX. 13 *&c.* the alluſion is ſo clear to the Molten Sea, ſeven Lamps of the golden Candleſtick, the Altar of Incenſe, and the Oracle given from beyond it, which all were before the Ark where the Lords Glory dwelt in the Cloud, that the matter needeth no more proof than only to obſerve this: And that the Throne and Glory of God throughout all that deſcription meaneth in this ſenſe, there is evidence enough in that one clauſe in *Chap.* XVI. *verſ.* 17. a voice came out of the *Temple* of Heaven from the *Throne*.

2. *Ezekiel* himſelf ſheweth that this glory referred to the Temple, becauſe he hath ſhewed it pitched there, flitting thence and returning thither again. 1. He ſaith, That the Glory of the God of *Iſrael* was at the Temple, namely, that that he had ſeen and deſcribed in the firſt Chapter, *Chap.* VIII. 4. though he be there in numbring up the abominations that were committed in the Temple, which were great and many, yet doth he relate that this Glory was there ſtill, becauſe the Lord had not yet withdrawn his Preſence thence. But, 2. At the laſt the provocations in that place do cauſe it to depart; and

and that departure he deſcribeth in *Chap.* X. and there he ſetteth forth the very ſame Glory, and almoſt in the very ſame terms that he doth in *Chap.* I. He telleth that this Glory of the Lord departed *from off the Cherub*, that is, from off the Mercy ſeat, where it had always dwelt between the *Cherubins*, and went out, firſt to the threſhold, *verſ.* 4. then to the Eaſt-gate, *verſ.* 19. then to the City and to the Mount Olivet, and ſo departs, *Chap.* IX. 23. But, 3. When he ſpeaketh of and deſcribeth a new Temple, then he ſheweth his Glory returned thither again, *Chap.* XLIII. 2, 3, 4. And upon theſe three particulars of its pitching at the Temple, flitting thence and returning thither again, we may take up theſe obſervations for the further clearing of this ſignification.

1. That the Prophet maketh ſome diſtinction betwixt the Glory of the Lord dwelling upon the *Cherub*, that is, on the Mercy Seat, over the Ark, and the Glory of the Lord upon theſe *Cherubins:* for he ſaith, The *Glory of the Lord went up from the Cherub, and ſtood over the threſhold of the Houſe*, theſe Cherubins then ſtanding on the right ſide of the Houſe, *Chap.* X. 3, 4. and then that the Glory of the Lord departed from off the threſhold of the Houſe, and ſtood over the Cherubins, *verſ.* 18. The Glory of the Lord in the repreſentation that the Prophet deſcribeth in the firſt Chapter was upon the Cherubins already, for he ſaith, The Glory of the God of *Iſrael* was there, according to the viſion that I ſaw in the plain *Chap.* VIII. 4. and yet he mentioneth another Glory now added to it: namely, the Cloud of Glory that dwelt upon the Mercy ſeat, for he ſaith, that upon the flitting of that Glory from off the Cherub to the threſhold, the Houſe was filled with the Cloud; the meaning of this we ſhall look at afterward.

2. As to the flitting of this Glory from the Temple, the Prophet ſaith, He ſaw it when he came to deſtroy the City, *Chap.* XLIII. 3. that is, when he came to foretel that the City ſhould be deſtroyed. And he dated the time of his firſt ſeeing of this Glory, in the fifth year of the Captivity of *Jehoiakim*, *Chap.* I. 2. which was the fifth year of the reign of *Zedekiah*, 2 *Kings* XXIV. 8, 17, 18. in which very year *Zedekiah* did rebel againſt the King of *Babel*, which action was the very beginning of *Jeruſalems ruine.*

3. As to the returning of this flitted Glory again to the new built Temple, *Chap.* XLIII. it is obſervable that the Cloud of Glory which had deſcended and filled the Tabernacle, and had done the like at *Solomons* Temple, did never ſo at the ſecond Temple, or that built after the Captivity, as the Jews themſelves confeſs, and that not without good reaſon: Yet doth the Prophet as clearly bring that Glory into his new Temple, as ever it had come into them: but only that this was in a viſion, and ſo it ſhewed viſionarily, the Lords dwelling in his Ordinances and preſence among his People under the ſecond Temple, unto which the People returned out of *Babel*, and in the Spiritual Temple or Church under the Goſpel (for *Ezekiels* new Temple promiſed a bodily Temple to the returned, and promiſed and typified a Spiritual Temple under the Goſpel) even as he had done viſibly in his Cloud of Glory, in the Tabernacle and firſt Temple. And ſecondly he addeth further, that when that Glory was entred, the Eaſt-gate at which it came in, was ſhut and never opened after, *Chap.* XLIV. 2. to denote the Everlaſting dwelling of the Lord in the Church of the Goſpel among his People, and never departing as he had done from *Hieruſalem* Temple.

This then being the ſignification of this appearance and Glory, in general, we are next to look upon the particulars of it, which will more fully alſo confirm and clear this matter, and firſt we will begin with the *living Creatures*, or *Cherubins.*

For the better diſcovery of them what they were, and what they meant, theſe things do deſervedly challenge ſpecial conſidering and obſervation.

1. That they are plainly diſtinguiſhed from Angels: For in *Rev.* V. 11. there is mention *of many Angels round about the Throne, and about the living Creatures, and the number of them was ten thouſand times ten thouſand, and thouſands of thouſands:* And in *Rev.* VII. 11. *All the Angels ſtood round about the Throne, and about the Elders, and the four living Creatures:* So that here is apparent difference between Angels and living Creatures both in their names and in their placing: For the living Creatures were about the Throne, the twenty four Elders about the living Creatures, and the innumerable multitude of Angels about all.

2. That they were ſuch as Chriſt redeemed from the Earth; For obſerve in *Rev.* V. 8, 9. *The four living Creatures* as well as the *four and twenty Elders fall down before the Lamb, &c.* ſaying, *Thou waſt ſlain and haſt redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every Kindred and Tongue, and People and Nation, and haſt made us unto our God Kings and Prieſts, &c.* So that the living Creatures were redeemed, and were of People and Nations, and were made Kings and Prieſts as well as the twenty four Elders, which cannot be applied to Angels.

3. That theſe *living Creatures* or *Cherubins* are never mentioned but in viſion or *Hieroglyphick*; In viſion, as in theſe places that have been cited of *Eſay*, *Ezekiel*, and the *Revelation*,

Revelation, and in *Hieroglyphick*, as the *Cherubins* covering the Ark, and wrought in the Tabernacle Curtains, and on the Temple Walls. It is true indeed that it is ſaid, in *Gen.* III. God placed *Cherubins* at the Gate of *Eden*, which is only for the fuller and more feeling apprehenſion of the thing, the *Cherubins* being ſuch forms as with which the People were beſt acquainted ſeeing them in the Tabernacle Curtains.

4. They therefore being thus conſtantly held out in a Doctrinal and ſignificative tenor, as Viſions and *Hieroglyphicks* are, they are to be expounded to ſuch a Doctrinal and Figurative ſenſe, and ſo is the whole body of Glory, as I may ſo call it, the whole viſionary Theatre or ſpectacle that is before us, to be taken.

And firſt to begin with the quadrature or four-ſquare poſture of the whole appearance, which was touched before, and now a little more to be conſidered on. There is intimation enough in *Ezekiel*, that the four living Creatures ſtood ſquare, with a fire in the midſt of them, and the Wheels in a ſquare on the outſide of the ſquare of the living Creatures: but in the *Revelation* it is yet more plain, for there it is ſaid, the four living Creatures ſtood round about the Throne, which could not be but in a quadrature, one before, another behind, and one of either ſide; for how elſe could four ſtand round about it? The Throne then meaning the Temple, as was ſhewed before, this double quadrature about it, doth call us to remember the double Camp that pitched about the Tabernacle upon the four ſides of it, Eaſt, Weſt, North, and South: When the Lord did firſt platform and order the incamping of *Iſrael* in the Wilderneſs.

1. He pitched his own Tabernacle in the middle, as that being the very Center, Heart, and Life of the Congregation, and they being all to attend upon it, and God thereby declaring himſelf to be in the midſt of them, *Lev.* XXVI. 11, 12.

2. He pitched the Tribe of *Levi* in four Squadrons on the four ſides of the Tabernacle next unto it: for they being the Miniſters that attended upon the Publick Service, and that drew near unto the Lord, and were Mediators 'twixt God and his People, the Lord cauſed them to Incamp next unto his Sanctuary, and betwixt the Camp of the People and Himſelf.

3. The outmoſt of all, in four main Bodies on the four ſides of the Tabernacle, and of the *Levites* Camp, did the whole Congregation pitch, and ſo there were two quadratures, the Levites about the Sanctuary, and the Congregation about the Levites. See *Numb.* II.

Anſwerable is the platform here, and the quadrangular poſture is in reference and alluſion to that, and from thence muſt we explain it. In the midſt was a Quadrangle of fire: and upon every ſide of that Quadrangle a *Cherub*, and on the outſide of the *Cherubins* even before every one of them was a Wheel. And in the *Revelation*, A Throne in the middle, four living Creatures next about it, and the twenty four Elders about them.

So that by this parallel to *Iſraels* Camp from whence the platform both in the Prophet and the Apocalyptick is taken, the four living Creatures did ſignifie the Prieſts and Miniſters of the Lord, and the Wheels in the one, and the twenty four Elders in the other did repreſent the People or the Congregation: And this will ariſe clearer and clearer ſtill to our obſervation, as we go along to conſider their Place, Actions and Deſcriptions.

1. I know it is conceived by ſome that the twenty four Elders in the *Revelation* were nearer the Throne than the *Cherubins* (and that Opinion muſt needs conclude the like in *Ezekiel*) but the contrary is apparent by theſe Obſervations.

Firſt, That (beſides what hath been ſaid upon *verſ.* 15.) in *Ezek.* X. 6. a man clothed in linnen, being bidden to take fire from between the Wheels, from between the *Cherubins*, he firſt goeth in within the compaſs of the Wheels, and then a *Cherub* taketh fire from the midſt of the *Cherubins* and reacheth it to him.

Secondly, It is ſaid there again at *verſ.* 9. that *the four Wheels were by the Cherubins*, whereas if the Wheels had been inmoſt, it had been proper to have ſaid, the *Cherubins* were by the Wheels.

Thirdly, And at *verſ.* 18. It is ſaid the Glory of the Lord ſtood over the *Cherubins*, and *Chap.* I. 22, 26. &c. it is ſaid the Throne of God was juſt over their Heads, and there is no mention of being over the Wheels, which ſhews it very unlikely that the Wheels were in the middle of the *Cherubins*.

Fourthly, In *Rev.* V. 6. the platform is named thus, *In the midſt of the Throne, and of the four living Creatures, and in the midſt of the Elders*; the Throne in the midſt, the living Creatures next, and the Elders outmoſt: and ſo again in *verſ.* 11. *&c.*

Fifthly, In *Chap.* IV. 4. It is ſaid, that *about the Throne were four and twenty ſeats, and on them four and twenty Elders ſitting*; and at *verſ.* 6. ἐν καὶ μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου, καὶ κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου τέσσαρα ζῶα · which is a hard piece of Greek to conſtrue, becauſe there is an *Ellipſis* of a particle, which not obſerved, hath produced but harſh Interpretations of the place. The *Syriack* hath rendred it, *In the midſt of the Throne, and about it, and before*

before it; the moſt Tranſlations, *In the midſt of the Throne, and about the Throne*, which how to make a ſmooth Expoſition of, is hard to find. The particle τῶ ſeemeth to be underſtood, which expreſſed, the ſentence would run thus, ἀ μέσῳ τῦ θρόνυ, ἢ τῦ κύκλῳ θρόνυ, that is, *between the Throne and the incompaſſing that was about it* (of twenty four ſeats and Elders on them) *there were four living Creatures.*

Thus then was the place of the *living Creatures*, next the Throne; and that being the place of the Levites next the Sanctuary, it ſheweth that theſe *Cherubins* or Creatures, did repreſent the Miniſters and the Wheels, and twenty four Elders did repreſent the Congregation.

And this will yet appear the clearer by obſerving that the living Creatures were the firſt agents and movers continually in any expedition or imploiment, as the Miniſters were in the Publick Service. In *Ezek.* I. and X. the Wheels moved or ſtood, according as the living Creatures did firſt. And in the *Apocalypſe* the living Creatures firſt praiſe and worſhip, and then the Elders, *Chap.* V. 14. *The four living Creatures ſaid Amen, and the twenty four Elders fell down and worſhipped, &c.* Chap. IV. 9, 10. *When the living Creatures give Glory and Honour, &c. the twenty four Elders fell down, &c.*

2. And now to come to the conſideration of their figure and reſemblance, and firſt to begin with their four Faces; the Jews acknowledge that theſe four Faces were ſeverally pictured in the four Standards of the ſquadrons of *Iſraels* Camp, as they pitched in the quadrangular form that hath already been ſpoken of. *There were figures* (ſaith * *Aben Ezra*) *in every Standard and Standard: And our Ancients do ſay that in the Standard of Reuben, there was the picture of a Man, and in the Standard of Judah the picture of a Lion, in the Standard of Ephraim the picture of a Bullock, and in the Standard of Dan the picture of an Eagle, ſo that they were like the Cherubins which Ezekiel ſaw:* With which aſſertion *Ramban* alſo agreeth, and *Targum Jonathan* doth not much diſſent, and this opinion was entertained as an ancient Tradition of the Nation: upon what ground, and upon what references of theſe Pictures to the Tribe and Standard to which they belonged, it is not much material to inſiſt upon, to debate here.

* *Aben Ezra in Numb.* XXII.

Upon the obſervation that theſe repreſentations were ſeverally in the Standards of *Iſraels* Camp, ſome have concluded, that therefore the four living Creatures which bare theſe repreſentations did ſignifie the Congregation or People, and not the Levites or Miniſters: which is unproper to conceive, becauſe ſuch a conſtruction allotteth all the four figures to every Standard, whereas all the four Standards did but make up and carry theſe four figures amongſt them all. But it is not improper to allot all theſe four figures to every one of the ſquadrons of the *Levites*, for every one of them, nay every particular one of the Prieſts and Levites had intereſt in and relation to the whole Congregation, as being Miniſters in their behalf: And as *Aaron* carried all the Tribes upon his Shoulders and Breaſt, ſo are the Miniſters in theſe Emblems of the living Creatures, decyphered as carrying the Faces of all the Standards of the whole Congregation: becauſe of their reference to the whole Congregation, they ſerving at the Temple for it. What allegorical Interpretations are made of theſe four Faces, I ſhall not trouble the Reader to produce, every one may find one ſuch application of them or other as his conception upon them ſhall lead him to it.

As for the reſt of the Proportion of theſe living Creatures, they are eſpecially remarkable for their Wings and Feet, for the reſt of their Bodies was like the Body of a Man: Two of their Wings were always erect over their Heads covering their Faces, from under which they ſpied, as it were, at their way they were to go, and at the Glory they attended on: which pertinently denoteth the reverential reſpect that the Miniſters of the Lord have to his Glory and to the Myſteries of his Counſel; compare 1 *Pet.* I. 12. With two other Wings they covered their ſecrets, in ſign of humble ſenſibleneſs of their own deformity; and with two they flew, in ſignification of ready activity and attendance for and upon the Lords Service; their Feet were in faſhion like to the Feet of a Bullock, and in colour like to burniſhed Braſs: according to which later character the Feet of our Saviour are deſcribed, *Rev.* I. 15. *His Feet like unto fine Braſs as if they burned in a furnace.* Every one will be ready to frame an allegorical application of theſe circumſtances, according to his own conception: It may be ſome (if they take thoſe living Creatures to repreſent the Miniſters, as I ſuppoſe they do) will when they read of *their Feet like to the Feet of Bullocks*, apprehend that it is, becauſe they trod out the Corn of the Word for the People; and as that was alſo done with a Wheel, ſo there are Wheels here in the like manner: It may be they will think they are deſcribed thus footed for the fitter ſetting them forth as the drawers of this Divine Charret: It may be they will ſuppoſe the beauty and ſhining brightneſs of their Feet, may ſignifie the holineſs of their ways, ſhining in ſanctity and burning in zeal: It may be they may think of the Prieſts Feet red for cold as they ſtood upon the bare Stones in their Service, and they ſeeming unſenſible of it, as are the Feet of Bullocks, and ſuch variety of apprehenſions will be ready to be taken up upon

upon theſe things, that a Man may ſpeak his own thoughts and opinion in this matter, but not readily bring another to be of his mind.

The likeneſs of theſe living Creatures all over their Bodies, was *as burning coals of fire, and like the appearance of Lamps, Ezek.* I. *verſ.* 13. for the faithful Miniſters of the Lord are as a flame of fire, as *Pſal.* CIV. 4. ſhining in Life and Doctrine like Lamps and Lights, *John* V. 35. *Matth.* V. 14, 15, 16. and by the Word of the Lord even devouring the diſobedient, as *Jer.* V. 14. *I will make my words in thy Mouth fire, and this People wood, and it ſhall devour them.*

The fire that was in the midſt of theſe Creatures, which went up and down among them, and out of which proceeded Thundrings and Lightnings, *Ezek.* I. 14. *Rev.* IV. 5. may draw our thoughts to the Altar and fire there, and to obſerve the Prieſts ſtanding on the four ſides of it in their attendance on it (and ſo *Eſay* ſaith, one of the *Seraphins* took a fiery coal from the Altar and touched his Lips with it, *Eſa.* VI. 6, 7.) as theſe living Creatures ſtood on the four ſides of a Quadrangle of fire which was in the midſt of them, or rather it ſo plainly denoteth the Word of God among his Miniſters, and the Thundrings and Lightnings and Voices do ſo clearly relate to the giving of the Word at *Sinai*, that ſo to Allegorize it, is without any ſtraining at all, eſpecially conſidering how commonly the Word of God is compared to fire in the Scripture, as *Deut.* XXXIII. 2. *Jer.* V. 14. & XXIII. 29. & XX. 9. 1 *Cor.* III. 13.

Thus were theſe living Creatures which did reſemble and emblem the Lords Miniſters: the emblem of the People or the Congregation was two-fold; in *Ezekiel*, *Wheels*; in the *Revelation*, *four and twenty Elders*; and theſe later help to underſtand the meaning of the former. As the Ark and *Cherubins* upon it, and by it, are called *the Charet of the Cherubins*, 1 *Chron.* XXVIII. 18. the Lord there riding as it were in his Glory and Preſence, in the Cloud that dwelt upon it, even ſuch another compoſture doth *Ezekiel* deſcribe here, the Divine Charet of the Lord, of his Glorious and Triumphant riding and ſitting among his People in his Word and Ordinances, and his Preſence in them: And it is remarkable what is ſpoken by *Ezekiel*, in *Chap.* X. 4, 18. of which mention was made before, when he ſaith, *That the Glory of the Lord went up from the Cherub and ſtood over the Cherubins:* which meaneth but this, that that Glory which had dwelt upon the Ark in the moſt Holy place, did now depart and came to dwell upon this other Charet which he had deſcribed, of living Creatures and Wheels denoting this, that though the viſible Preſence of the Lord which had appeared in the Cloud of Glory upon the Ark were now departed, yet was his Preſence ſtill among his People, in that manner which he emblemed in that Scheme, namely his Miniſters and People attending him in his Word and Ordinances, and acting and moving according thereunto. And in the deſcription of this Divine Charet, you may obſerve, that the living Creatures or Miniſters, are charactered out, as both the Body of the Charet and they alſo that acted the Wheels: for the Lord rideth upon their Miniſtry (as it were) and his Name is thereby carried where he pleaſeth: and they are thoſe whom he uſeth by that Miniſtry to draw and move the People to Obedience, and Conforming to his Word: and there the Lord doth ride triumphantly among a People, as *Pſal.* XLV. 4. where Miniſters and People in joint and ſweet harmony and conſent, do agree and concur to carry up the Word, Name, and Glory of the Lord, and both do act in the Power of the Word and Ordinances: the Miniſters miniſtring, and the People moving or ſtanding according to the direction and influence of that Word.

What the *Apocalyptick* meaneth by the four and twenty Elders, he himſelf giveth ſome explanation of, in *Chap.* XXI. 12, 14. where he ſpeaketh of the Gates and Foundations of the New *Jeruſalem*, parallel to the Twelve Tribes of *Iſrael*, and the Twelve Apoſtles of the Lamb. And as theſe Twelve and Twelve, were the beginnings as we may call them, the one number of the Church under the Law, and the other number of the Church under the Goſpel; ſo under the ſum and number of both theſe united together, or under the notion of theſe four and twenty Elders he intendeth the whole Church or Congregation both of Jews and Gentiles. Both Wheels and living Creatures are deſcribed full of Eyes, in *Ezek.* I. 18. *Rev.* IV. 8. becauſe of the great meaſure of Knowledge the Lord vouchſafed to his People, and to denote the heedfulneſs of the Saints in their walking before him. The Lord himſelf is deſcribed dwelling upon them and among them, in Bright, Glorious, and Majeſtick repreſentations, but withal, incircled with the likeneſs of the Bow that is in the Cloud in the day of Rain, *Ezek.* I. 28. *Rev.* IV. 3. which was the Emblem of the Lords Covenant with his People, as *Gen.* IX. 13, 14, 15.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIX.

The motions and ſtations of the Ark and Tabernacle.

THE Tabernacle (which in its time was as a moving Temple) being brought into the Land of *Canaan* by *Joſhua*, *a* was firſt pitched and ſet up at *Gilgal*, the famous place of their firſt Incamping, *Joſh.* IV. 19. but the Ark and it were parted aſunder, immediately after the pitching of it: For that was carried into the field and marched with them in the Wars of *Canaan*, *Joſh.* VI. 12. & VIII. 33, &c. while the Tabernacle ſtood without it at *Gilgal*, and there the *Sanhedrin* ſat near unto it, with a ſtrong Camp as a Guard for defence of both, *Joſh.* IX. 6, 15. & XX. 43.

a Maym. in Beth habbech. per. 1. & Kal. hag. in Joſh. IV.

The time of the Tabernacles ſtanding there, was till the Land was conquered, and *Judah* and the Sons of *Joſeph* were ſeated, *Joſh.* XVIII. 1. which was ſeven years: though *b* ſome of the Jews do allot it fourteen: in which time, as they alſo aſſert, high places were lawful, and it was permitted to offer Sacrifices elſewhere than at the Tabernacle: becauſe in that time they were abroad in the Wars, and their condition was unſetled. *Before the Tabernacle was firſt ſet up, c* (ſay they) *high places were permitted, and the Service was done by the firſt born: But after the Tabernacle was erected, high places were prohibited, and the Service was performed by the Prieſt-hood. The moſt Holy things were eaten within the curtains, and the leſs holy in any part of the Camp of Iſrael. When they came to Gilgal, high places were permitted again: and the moſt Holy things were eaten within the curtains, and the leſs holy in any place.*

b Maym. ubi ſup. & Seder Olam.

c Talm. in Zevachim. per. 14.

The memorable monuments that had been at *Gilgal*, did leave it as a place of honour and renown, and did prove occaſion in after times of exceeding much ſuperſtition, will-worſhip and Idolatry there: for there they ſacrificed Bullocks, *Hoſ.* XII. 11. and all their wickedneſs was there, and there the Lord hated them, *Hoſ.* IX. 15. *d either becauſe they reſerved the Kingdom in Gilgal*, 1 *Sam.* XI. 12. *and refuſed the Lord to reign over them, or becauſe the Tabernacle had been firſt ſet up at Gilgal, and that was a choice place, therenpon the Prophets of Baal perſwaded them there to worſhip Baal.*

d Kimch. in Hoſ. IX.

When the Land was conquered and now at peace, they removed the Tabernacle from *Gilgal* to a Town of *Ephraim*, for his birth-right ſake, and ſet it up there, and called the place *Shiloh* or *Peaceable*, becauſe the Lord had given them reſt from their Wars and from their Enemies round about. Here was built a Houſe of Stone for the Tabernacle, *e* as the Jews ſuppoſe, but only it was not roofed over with any thing, ſave with the curtains with which it had been covered from its firſt making: and this they ground from 1 *Sam.* I. 9. becauſe it is called *a Temple*, and 1 *Sam.* III. 15. becauſe it is ſaid to have doors.

e Talm. & Maym. ubi ſupr.

The time of the abode of the Tabernacle at *Shiloh* (*Ephrata* or in the Tribe of *Ephraim*, *Pſal.* CXXXII. 6.) was from the ſeventh year of the rule of *Joſhua* to the death of *Eli* three hundred forty and nine years, in which time occurred all the Story of the Book of *Judges*, and the tranſlation of the High Prieſt-hood from the line of *Eleazar* to the line of *Ithamar*, which is not there mentioned, and the cauſe of which alteration is not recorded.

f In this time high places were prohibited: and at Shiloh, there was no roof but a Houſe of Stone below and curtains above: and it was a place of reſt: the moſt Holy things were eaten within the curtains, and the leſs Holy and ſecond Tithe without, &c. In theſe times there is mention of *a Sanctuary at Shechem*, *Joſh.* XXIV. 1, 25, 26. which meaneth only the Houſe where the Ark was lodged for that preſent time: for all the Tribes meeting at *Shechem*, and being to make a Covenant with the Lord, they fetch the Ark of the Covenant thither, that the preſence and dread of the Lord might be more viſible among them, and the place where the Ark was ſet for that time was called *the Sanctuary*: as *Moſes* Tent was called *the Tabernacle of the Congregation*, becauſe the Glory of the Lord reſted upon it before the Tabernacle of the Congregation it ſelf was built, *Exod.* XXXIII. 7.

f Zevachim ubi ſupr.

From *Shiloh*, upon that fatal blow that *Iſrael* received by the *Philiſtins*, 1 *Sam.* IV. the Ark was captived, into the Land of theſe uncircumciſed, and the Tabernacle removed into another Tribe, and they ſo parted that they never met again, till they met together at *Solomons* Temple.

The Tabernacle was removed to *Nob*, a City of Prieſts, 1 *Sam.* XXII. 19. in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, *Nehem.* XI. 31, 32. and by the Jews *Chorography*, within the ſight or proſpect of *Jeruſalem*. The Chaldee Paraphraſt Gloſſeth, *Eſay* X. 32. where there is mention of this Town; thus, *g He came and ſtood in Nob a City of Prieſts before the Wall of Jeruſalem: He anſwered and ſaid unto his Army, Is not this the City of Jeruſalem for which I have*

g Chald. par. in Iſa. X.

have muſtered all my Army, and for which have I levied all my Province! Behold it is leſs and weaker than any of the Cities that I have ſubdued. He ſtood and nodded his Head and waved his Hand againſt the Mountain of the Houſe of the Sanctuary. For (ſaith *Kimchi*) *from Nob he might ſee Jeruſalem, and when he ſaw it from thence, he ſhook his Hand at it as one deſpiſing it.*

I ſhall not be curious to inquire whether *Nob* were any of the four Cities that were allotted at the firſt diviſion, to the Prieſts out of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, *Joſh.* XXI. 17, 18. or whether it were of a later poſſeſſion (as *Ramah* was to the Levites of the Stock of *Samuel*, 1 *Sam.* I. 1.) or if *Nob* were one of thoſe four Cities (and the ſame with *Almon*, for the other three are clearly diſtinguiſhed from it, *Eſa.* X. 29, 30. 2 *Chron.* I. 30.) whether it were *Bahurim*, which the *Chaldee* Paraphraſt conſtantly rendreth *Alemeth*, the ſame with *Almon*, 1 *Chron.* VI. 60. I ſhall only obſerve this, that when the Tabernacle had left the Tribe of *Joſeph* one of the Sons of *Rachel*, it betakes it to *Benjamin* another Son of the ſame Mother.

The warrant of its conveyance hither I doubt not was Divine, by ſome prophetical direction, though it be not expreſſed: I dare aver that the removal of it from hence to *Gibeon* was ſo, though that be not expreſſed neither, and I judge of the one by the other: and my reaſon is this; becauſe when *David* brings up the Ark to his own City and there ſettles the Prieſts and Levites in their attendance upon it, he alſo ſettles Prieſts and Levites in their attendance on the Tabernacle at *Gibeon*, 2 *Chron.* XVI. 39, 40, 41, &c. Now what reaſon can be given why *David* ſhould not rather have fetched up the Tabernacle to his own City as he did the Ark, than thus divide the Service of the Prieſts and Levites, but becauſe he knew the Tabernacle was placed in *Gibeon* by Divine warrant and direction, and he would not alter it?

If the Tabernacle removed to *Nob* preſently upon the captiving of the Ark from *Shiloh*, it reſided there about thirty ſeven years, all which time *Samuel* is alive, and ſeeth both the fall of *Shiloh* and the fall of *Nob*, and it may very well be, he was the director of the Tabernacle from *Shiloh* to *Nob*, and from *Nob* to *Gibeon*: *In the time of its reſidence in both theſe places high places were permitted* (as the *Talmud* conceiveth in the place cited even now) *and the moſt holy things were eaten within the curtains, and the leſs Holy things in any City of Iſrael.*

At *Gibeon* another place of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, did the Tabernacle ſtay from its firſt pitching there, till *Solomon* brought it up to the Temple when it was built: and whileſt it ſtood here, a memorable piece of Divine Juſtice againſt *Saul* cannot but be obſerved (to omit all other particulars) for as he had ſlain the Prieſts of the Lord, and had ruined the Tabernacle at *Nob*, ſo his Sons are hanged up before the Tabernacle in *Gibeon*, 2 *Sam.* XXI. 9. And now let us trace the Ark as we have done the Tabernacle till we bring them together.

The Ark being captived by the Philiſtins in the battel at *Aphek*, was detained in their Land ſeven months, rather becauſe they knew not what to do with it, than for any comfort or happineſs they found in it, for it was a Plague to their Gods, People and Country: At laſt it was reſtored: and firſt to *Bethſhemeſh*, a City of Prieſts, *Joſh.* XXI. 16. but there it proved alſo the deſtruction of the People: The Hebrew Commentators do ſcruple both at the cauſe of the ſlaughter, and at the number ſlain: The cauſe is not ſo very abſtruſe, for the Text ſaith, it was becauſe they looked into the Ark (though their various conſtruction of the words hath bred their doubting) but it is ſomething ſtrange that *Bethſhemeſh* a Town of no great note ſhould loſe fifty thouſand and ſeventy inhabitants at one time (beſide what eſcaped) a number of People anſwerable to the greateſt Cities. The Commentators ſpoken of, having obſerved this improbability, will heal the matter with as improbable a Gloſs: Seventy men (ſay they) which were valuable, every one to fifty thouſand; and others retaining the ſcruple ſtill, do raiſe it higher by their Interpretation; for the fifty thouſand men (ſay they) were every one of them valuable to the ſeventy men in the *Sanhedrin*. The Text doth plainly diſtinguiſh of the perſons, for it ſaith, *That he ſmote of the men of Bethſhemeſh*, becauſe they looked into the Ark, *and he ſmote of the People:* For the return of the Ark had occaſioned no doubt the concourſe of the People all about, beſides the Inhabitants of *Bethſhemeſh* (it was now upon the time of the Feaſt of Tabernacles when the Ark came up to them, and it may be that might cauſe the more conflux to the Ark when it was come) and the Lord for the boldneſs of Prieſts and People that would be looking into the Ark, breaketh out upon them with the Plague, and deſtroyeth ſo many thouſands of them.

The Prieſts of *Bethſhemeſh* that had eſcaped, ſent to the Men of *Kiriathjearim* to fetch up the Ark to them, and ſo they do. It is equally queſtionable, why they that were Prieſts ſhould ſend about ſuch a matter as this to the Men of *Kiriathjearim*, which were not, and that the Men of *Kiriathjearim* ſhould venture to fetch up the Ark, when they had ſeen the ſpeeding of *Bethſhemeſh* by it: But the Lord had now forſaken the Tribe of *Ephraim*,

Ephraim, in which Tribe *Shiloh* stood, and had made choice of the Tribe of *Judah*, *Psal.* LXXVIII. 67, 68. of which *Kiriathjearim* was a chief City: and whether he used the counsel of *Samuel* to the People for a means to accomplish his determination, or what other way, is not determinable, but it is brought to pass, and the Ark now seated in the Tribe of *Judah*, out of which it never unsetled again whilest it was in being.

A long time whilest it stayed in *Kiriathjearim* it was under the curb of a *Philistine* Garrison, which was in that City, 1 *Sam.* X. 5. which might much damp the Peoples seeking and resorting to it, especially in this looseness and lukewarmness, or rather utter coldness of Religion that was amongst them. However, at the end of twenty years a general Reformation doth begin amongst them, and they begin to hearken after God, the Ark and Religion, and put away the strange gods that were among them, and God at that very instant doth grant them a miraculous Victory against the *Philistins*, 1 *Sam.* VII.

We read once of the Arks being within the compass of the Tribe of *Benjamin* before *David* fetched it up to *Jerusalem*, and that was with *Saul* at *Gibeah*, 1 *Sam.* XIV. 18. but it was restored from thence to *Kiriathjearim* at the place appointed for it as yet, by Divine direction, for otherwise it might as easily have been set up in *Nob* where the Tabernacle was now standing.

David about the second year of his Reign in *Jerusalem*, fetcheth it up from *Kiriathjearim* thither, and there pitched an habitation for it in *Sion*, where it resided till it was translated into *Solomons* Temple, save only that once it was taken out to have flitted with *David* in his flight from his son *Absalom*, but soon restored to its place again, 2 *Sam.* XV. At this Tabernacle in which the Ark was lodged in *Sion*, *David* sets up an Altar, 1 *Chron.* XVI. 2. for the offerings at that present time of the Arks bringing up thither, but not for continual sacrificing: And there he appointed a constant Musick to attend, of the Levites, but the Priests waited at *Gibeon*, where the Tabernacle was and the daily Sacrifice.

CHAP. XL.

The state and fate of the first Temple.

AT *Naioth* in *Ramah* where *Samuel* and *David* spent some time together, they platformed the buildings of the Temple and the manner of the Service: It was an unlikely time for *David* to think and contrive for such a thing at that time, when he knew not where to hide his own Head from the fury of *Saul*, yet so sure was the Promise to him, and so assured was his Faith in it, that even from that time he laid the Foundation of his thoughts towards the building of a Temple, setling of a Service, and even all his time after was preparing towards it. In all his Wars and Victories he still remembred to dedicate something of his spoils for that purpose, 2 *Sam.* VIII. 10, 11. 1 *Chron.* XVIII. 8, &c. so that at his death he left the greatest sums of Silver and Gold, and stock of Brass and Iron and such materials that is Recorded in any Story: And as he had his first instructions from *Samuel*, so did he ripen then by the Prophetick directions of *Gad* and *Nathan* the Prophets, 2 *Chron.* XXIX. 25. and so setled the Priests and Levites in their courses, and Carpenters and Masons to work, and had described the platform of all things so exactly, that he left to *Solomon* in a manner but the care to see the Work done, for he had prepared all things before.

About eleven or twelve years space was the Work of the Temple in Hand, before it was finished, namely, four years in hewing Stone and framing Timber, and seven years and an half in bringing up the building: For *David* in the last year of his Reign had gathered all the Proselytes in the Land to the number of one hundred fifty and three thousand, and had set them to work, and so they continued framing and preparing materials till the fourth year of the Reign of *Solomon*, in the second month of which year the Foundation of the House was laid, and in the eighth month of the eleventh year the Work was finished, 1 *King.* VI. 38. and so it was seven years and an half in building, which the Text for roundness of number doth count but seven.

It was a year within a month after that it was finished before the Dedication of it, in which time it is likely, they were getting away the rubbish, and preparing for its consecration, it lying useless all the while, for the Providence of the Lord disposed that it should be Dedicated at such a time, as that the time should carry a Mystery and Type with it, as well as the Temple it self: In the eleventh year of *Solomons* Reign in the month

month *Bull* which is the eighth month it was finiſhed, 1 *Kings* VI. 38. and in his twelfth year in the month *Ethanim* which is the ſeventh month it was conſecrated: even at the time of the Feaſt of Tabernacles, 1 *King.* VIII 20. 2 *Chron.* V. 3. or the fifteenth day of that month: Concerning the title *Ethanim*, by which this month was named, the Jews have theſe Gloſſes: The *Chaldee* renders that verſe in the Book of Kings thus, *And all the Men of Iſrael were gathered to the King in the old month, which they called the firſt month, but now the ſeventh.* *h* Some of the Rabbins ſay, *it was called Ethanim* (which ſignifieth *ſtrength*, or ſtrong ones) *becauſe the Fathers were born in it which were the mighty ones of the World:* And others, *i becauſe in it were the greateſt Feaſts:* or *k* as others, *becauſe in it the Fruits were gathered, which are the ſtrength of Mans life, &c.* But whatſoever was the notation of the Name, certainly the remarkableneſs of that month was ſingular, in regard of many eminent occurrences that befel in it, of which we have ſpoken elſewhere; the moſt renowned of all which was, that our Saviour in that month was born into the World (and what if on that very day that the Temple was Conſecrated, namely the fifteenth day of the month) of whoſe Incarnation and Birth how lively a Type, the Temple and its Dedication were, I need not to illuſtrate: Thus was the Temple dedicate and the Service of it began, *Anno Mundi* three thouſand and one.

h *Aruch in voce* אתנים

i *Levi Gerſh. in* 1 *King* VIII.

k *Kimch. ibi.*

At the Dedication of it, both the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* inform us, that the Tabernacle of the Congregation, and all the Holy Veſſels that had been in the Tabernacle, were brought up thither, 1 *Kings* VIII. 4. 2 *Chron.* V. 5. But the queſtion is, What became of them there, were they uſed or were they laid up? There are that aſſert either way: and the later ſeemeth the more probable, namely, that theſe things of *Moſes*, upon the riſing of a greater and more eminent Glory, did decay and were laid aſide, as all his Ceremonies were to do upon the riſing of the Goſpel.

The Temple though it were of a Heavenly reſemblance, uſe and concernment, as figuring *Chriſts* Body, *John* II. 19. enjoying Gods preſence, 2 *Chron.* VII. 16. and *Iſraels* worſhip, *Pſal.* CXXII. 4, &c. yet being but an earthly building, it was ſubject to the univerſal condition of earthly things, caſualty and changing: Nay, there is hardly any State or Place in any Story, of which may be found more viciſſitudes and alterations of condition than of this: and there is hardly any Kings time of all thoſe that reigned in the time of the Temple, in which it received not ſome remarkable alteration of eſtate or other. In the time of *Solomon* that built it, it received that vile affront of an Idol Temple built by him in the face of it, and what became of the Service of the Temple in theſe times may be ſhrewdly ſuſpected: In his ſon *Rehoboams* time, it was firſt forſaken by the Ten Tribes, and afterward by *Judah* it ſelf, who fell to Idolatry, and then it was plundred by *Shiſhak*. How oft the Treaſuries of it were plundred, ſometimes by Forainers, ſometimes by their own Kings; how oft it ſelf prophaned, as by *Athaliah*, *Ahaz*, *Manaſſeh*; how the Service of it either totally ſlighted, or ſlightly performed; how Idols ſet up in it, and Altars to ſtrange gods; how the Blood of the High Prieſt ſhed, and the manners of the Prieſts corrupt, and the Houſe of Prayer made a Den of Thieves; as alſo how ſometimes again it was repaired, the Service reſtored, the Prieſts reformed, and matters amended with it, is ſo plainly and copiouſly deſcribed in the Books of Scripture, that it were but tranſcription of the Text to recite them in particular. At laſt it had run out its date, and it ſelf fired and all its precious Veſſels were Captived by the *Babylonian:* what became of the Ark the Scripture doth not mention, the Jews conceive that it was hid in ſome Vault, that they ſay *Solomon* had purpoſely made againſt ſuch a time, where it eſcaped the Conquerors fury: but this we leave to their own credit.

The time of the ſtanding of this firſt Temple from its finiſhing in the eleventh year of *Solomon*, to its firing by *Nebuzaradan*, was four hundred and twenty years.

SECT. I.

The ſtate of the ſecond Temple under the Perſian Monarchy.

ALthough between the return out of the *Babylonian* Captivity, and the final deſolation of *Jeruſalem*, there might ſeem to be ſtrictly and literally two Temples, that of *Zorobabel*, and that of *Herod*, (for *Herod* began his Temple from the very Foundation) yet do the Scriptures, and all Jewiſh Writers ſo unanimouſly and generally own them but for one Temple, calling it the *Second Temple* all the time there was a Temple after its firſt building under *Cyrus*, that it would be but needleſs labour and unwarrantable curioſity to take up any other notion or diſtinction of it. For though the Temple built by *Zorobabel* were pulled down to the very ground by *Herod*, when he built that Fabrick that ſtood to the laſt fate of *Jeruſalem*, yet ſince that demolition was not by deſtruction

deſtruction and ruine, but for reparation and for its bettering, there is no reaſon to reckon theſe as two ſeveral Temples, but as one Temple firſt built and then repaired to a more excellent and glorious condition.

From the firſt year of *Cyrus* (in which he Proclaimed Redemption to the Captives, and gave Commandment to reſtore and build *Jeruſalem*) to the death of Chriſt, were four hundred and ninety years, as they be ſummed by an Angel, *Dan.* IX. and from the death of Chriſt to the fatal and final deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* were forty years more, five hundred and thirty years in all. In all which time it were endleſs to ſhew every particular occurrence, and change of condition that befel the Temple, and it would require a large Story and Volume: I ſhall therefore only touch upon the chiefeſt, diſtributing the times into thoſe ſeveral and remarkable periods that they fell into, and applying the Stories to the times accordingly.

The firſt parcel of this time was taken up by the *Perſian* Monarchy, which how long it continued, and for how many Kings Succeſſion, is a thing of as diſputable and controverted a nature, as any one thing in Chronology: I will keep to the number and names of the Kings of that Throne that we find in Scripture.

In *Dan.* XI. 2. there are theſe words, *Behold there ſhall ſtand up yet three Kings in Perſia, and the fourth ſhall be far richer than they all: and by his ſtrength through his riches he ſhall ſtir up all againſt the Realm of Grecia. And a mighty King ſhall ſtand up, &c. And when he ſhall ſtand up his Kingdom ſhall be broken, and ſhall be divided toward the four Winds of Heaven, and not to his poſterity, &c.* It is obſervable concerning this Propheſie and account about the Perſian Monarchy.

1. That this was told *Daniel* in the third year of *Cyrus*, *Chap.* X. 1. and ſo when he ſaith, *There ſhall ſtand up yet three Kings, and the fourth, &c.* he meaneth four beſides *Cyrus*, the firſt beginner of the Kingdom; and therefore ſome of the Jews do make but a croſs reckoning upon this place, who will have *Cyrus* which was the firſt, to be meant by this that is called the *fourth*.

2. The Propheſie ſpeaketh of the length of the *Perſian* Monarchy, till it brings it up to *Alexander* the Great, the deſtroyer of that Monarchy, of whom it ſpeaketh plainly, *verſ.* 3, 4. and of his Succeſſors afterwards, *verſ.* 5, &c.

3. There were therefore, by the account of the Angel here, but five Kings of *Perſia*, namely, *Cyrus*, and four more.

4. Theſe four are thus named in the Scripture, 1. *Ahaſhueroſh*, *Ezra* IV. 6. 2. *Darius*, *Ezra* IV. 24. & VI. 1. &c. 3. *Artaxerxes*, *Ezra* VI. 14. 4. *Darius*, *Neh.* XII. 22. To which may be added for the confirmation of this account,

5. That *Nehemiah* lived quite through the whole length of the *Perſian* Monarchy, being at Mans eſtate the firſt year of it, *Ezra* II. 2. and ſeeing *Darius* its laſt King, and probably his laſt times, *Nehem.* XII. 12. Nay *Ezra* who was born either before or in the firſt year of the *Babylonian* Monarchy, yet liveth near the expiration of the *Perſian*: by which it is eaſie to conclude how far the Heathen Hiſtories are out, who reckon fourteen Kings ſucceſſively in the *Perſian* Throne, and two hundred years of their rule, before its fall.

In the firſt year of *Cyrus*, the returned Captives out of *Babel* only built an Altar, and ſacrificed thereon for ſeven months together, having yet no Temple: but in this ſecond year, the ſecond month of that year they lay the foundation of the Houſe, *Ezra* 3. 8, &c. the progreſs of which work is ſoon oppoſed, and indeavoured to be made fruſtrate by the *Samaritans* all the time of *Cyrus*, *Ezra* IV. 5. but in his time they prevailed not.

In his third year *Artaxerxes* cometh to the Kingdom, who is alſo called *Ahaſhueroſh*, *Ezra* IV. 6, 7. he is perſwaded by evil Counſellors to interdict and prohibit the Temple building, and ſo it lay intermitted all his time, *Dan.* X. 1, 2, 3. *Ezra* IV. 23, 24.

Darius ſucceeded him, called alſo *Artaxerxes*, *Ezra* VI. 1. & VII. 1. &c. In his ſecond year the building goes on again, and is finiſhed in his ſixth, *Hag.* I. *Ezra* VI. 14. And thus had the Temple lien waſte and deſolate juſt ſeventy years, from the nineteenth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in which year it was fired, to the ſecond of *Darius*, when it began to be wrought upon ſo as that it came to perfection, *Zech.* I. 12. & IV. 3, 5.

In the ſeventh year of this *Darius*, which was the year after the Temple was finiſhed, *Ezra* cometh up, *Ezra* VII. 8. and thirteen years after, namely, in the twentieth year of this *Darius* (called alſo *Artaxerxes*) *Nehemiah* cometh up to *Jeruſalem*, *Neh.* I. 1. and both help to repair, ſettle and rectifie, Temple, City, and People, as their Story is at large in their own Books.

In the two and thirtieth year of this *Darius*, *Nehemiah* having finiſhed what he had to do, about the building, beautifying, and ſettling of City, Temple and People, he

he returneth again unto the King, *Neh.* XIII. 6. and here ends *Daniels* firſt parcel of his ſeventy weeks, namely, ſeven weeks, in which Street and Wall ſhould be built, and that in troublous times, *Dan.* IX. 25. By ſeven weeks he meaneth ſeven times ſeven years, which amounts to nine and forty: and ſo there were hitherto 3 namely, three of *Cyrus*, fourteen of *Ahaſhueroſh*, and thirty two of *Darius*.

After *Darius* there reigned *Artaxerxes*, commonly known in Heathen Stories by the name of *Xerxes*, the invader of *Greece* with his huge Army, &c. He was a favourer of the Jews at the leaſt for a while, as it appeareth by that paſſage, in *Ezra* VI. 14. *They builded and finiſhed according to the Commandment of the Lord, and according to the Commandment of Cyrus, and Darius, and Artaxerxes:* where this *Artaxerxes* is ſet in parallel equipage with *Cyrus* and *Darius* for favouring the Temple: It is true indeed the work was finiſhed in the time of *Darius*, as to the very building of the Houſe, yet were the buildings about it ſtill coming on and encreaſing, and this *Xerxes* did favour the work as well as thoſe Princes had done before him.

Yet did there an unhappy occurrence befal in this Kings time in the Temple it ſelf, which if it did not alienate and change his affection from well-willing to it, yet did it prejudice the Temple in the affection of him that was chief Commander under this King in thoſe parts, whoſe name was *Bagoſes*: The occaſion was this, *a Jochanan* who was then High Prieſt, upon ſome diſpleaſure againſt his own Brother *Jeſus*, did fall upon him and ſlay him in the very Temple: *Bagoſes* favoured this *Jeſus*, and intended to have made him High Prieſt, and it is like that *Jochanan* ſmelt the deſign, and out of jealouſie of ſuch a thing, thought to prevent it by his Brothers diſpatch: whatſoever was the cauſe of this his murder, the fruit of it was this: that *Bagoſes* violently preſſeth into the Temple, which he might not have done, and layeth a mulct upon the People, namely, forty *Drachmes* upon every Lamb that was to be Sacrificed: *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* were both now alive, and do but imagine how their piety would digeſt a thing ſo impious.

a Joſeph. Ant. lib. 11. cap. 7.

The next in the Throne after this *Artaxerxes* mentioned in Scripture, was *Darius*, *Nehem.* XII. 22. the Man with whom the Empire fell under the victorious Sword of *Alexander the Great*. In his time another occaſion from another Brother of an High Prieſt occurreth, which accrewed not a little to the prejudice of the Temple and Nation; and that was this, *b Manaſſeh* one of the ſons of *Joiada* the ſon of *Eliaſhib* the High Prieſt, had married *Nicaſſo* the Daughter of *Sanballat*, for which being driven from the Altar and Prieſthood, he betaketh himſelf to his Father-in-law to *Samaria*; and they betwixt them obtain a Commiſſion from *Darius*, and get it confirmed alſo by *Alexander the Great*, to build a Temple upon Mount *Gerizim*, *John* IV. 20. which being built in affront to the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, it proved no ſmall diſadvantage to it, and the Service there: for it not only cauſed a faction and defection in the Nation, but alſo it became the common refuge and ſhelter of all lawleſs and irregular deſpiſers of diſcipline and Government.

b ibid. cap. 8. Neh. XIII. 28.

In this *Darius* was the end of the *Perſian* State and Kingdom, having continued for the ſucceſſion of theſe Kings, but whether any more, and how many preciſe years is not eaſily determinable; what times went over the Temple in their Reigns beſides what is mentioned here, may be obſerved in the Books of *Nehemiah*, *Ezra*, *Haggai*, *Zechary*, and *Malachi*.

SECT. II.

The occurrences of the Temple under Alexander.

a ALEXANDER *the Great*, the Conqueror of *Darius* and overthrower of the *Perſian* Kingdom, did in his own Perſon viſit *Jeruſalem* and the Temple, coming towards it like a Lion, but he came into it like a Lamb. He had taken indignation at *Jaddua* the High Prieſt, *Nehem.* XII. 22. becauſe he denyed him aſſiſtance at the Siege of *Tyrus* (for *Jaddua* had ſworn fealty to *Darius*.) Hereupon he cometh up towards *Jeruſalem* breathing fire and fury againſt it, till he came within the ſight of the City: There he was met by *Jaddua* in the High Prieſts garments, and by all the Prieſts in their veſtments, and the People in white: whom when he came near, in ſtead of offering them violence, he ſhewed reverence to the *High Prieſt* and courteouſly ſaluted all the People.

a Joſ. Ant. ſup.

When his Commanders wondred at ſuch a change, he told them that in a dream in *Macedon*, he ſaw one in the very ſame Attire that the High Prieſt was in, who encouraged him to invade the *Perſian* Empire, and promiſed to lead his Army and to make him victorious. So he goeth with them into the City, offereth at the Temple, is ſhewed *Daniels* Propheſie concerning himſelf, granteth favourable priviledges to the Jews about their Religion, and ſo departeth.

b Vid. Juch. fol. 15.

b It is held by ſome of the Jews, that in the very year that *Alexander* came to *Jeruſalem*, *Ezra*, *Haggai*, *Zechary* and *Malachi* died, and the Spirit of Propheſie departed from *Iſrael*; which if we follow the computation of Heathen Stories is a thing of utter improbability, they prolong the *Perſian* Monarchy to ſo large a time; but if we follow the account of Scripture, it makes the improbability a great deal leſs, as might be ſhewed if we were following the purſuit of Chronology: And if it be queſtioned how it ſhould be poſſible, that all Heathen Stories that handle the ſucceſſion of the *Perſian* Kings, ſhould be ſo far wide as to double, nay, almoſt to treble the number of the Kings more than they were, theſe three things may be produced as thoſe that either ſeverally, or rather jointly might be the reaſons of ſuch a miſtake.

1. Becauſe every one of the *Perſian* Kings had a double, nay, ſome a treble name, and this multiplicity of Names might deceive the heedleſs Hiſtorian into an aſſertion of numerouſneſs of Perſons.

2. The *Perſian* Kingdom was a double Kingdom, *Media* and *Perſia*, the two Arms and Shoulders in *Dan.* II. now the King of *Perſia* and the Viceroy of *Media* might be likewiſe miſconceived in after-times for two differing *Perſian* Monarchs.

3. It was the manner of the *Perſian* Kings when they went into the Wars, to create a King to rule at home while they were abſent, and this might cauſe the accounting of ſo many Kings and of ſo long a time. And ſo *Herodotus* beareth witneſs, that *c* Δεῖ μὲν ἀποδείξαντα βασιλῆα καὶ τὸν Περσέων νόμιον οὕτω στρατεύεσθαι; when the King went to War, it was the Law of the *Perſians* that he ſhould appoint a King and ſo go his way on his expedition. And this cuſtom was that that made *Cyrus* his third year to be accounted for *Artaxerxes* his firſt, though *Cyrus* was yet alive, becauſe he left him King at home whileſt he himſelf went to Wars abroad.

c Herod. Polymn. vel lib. 7.

Alexander dying in the flower of his Age and Victories, his large Dominions obtained ſo ſuddainly by the Sword, were divided as ſuddainly again, in a manner by the Sword, amongſt four of his chief Commanders, according as was Propheſied, *Dan.* VIII. 8. & XI. 4. Two of them were *Seleucus Nicanor*, who obtained *Syria*, and *Ptolomy Lagus*, who obtained *Egypt*, whoſe families (*the Houſe of the North and the Houſe of the South*, *Dan.* XI.) being ill Neigbours one to another, did both of them prove ill Neighbours to *Judea*, and through and under them the People and Temple did undergo divers varieties of fortune, but moſt commonly the worſt.

The Kings of theſe Countries are reckoned theſe.

d Vid. Euſeb. in Chron. Strab. Geog. l. 17.

d Kings of Syria.

1	*Seleucus Nicanor*	32 years
2	*Antiochus Soter*	19
3	*Antiochus Theos*	15
4	*Seleucus Gallinicus*	20
5	*Seleucus Ceraunos*	3
6	*Antiochus Magnus*	31
7	*Seleucus Philopator*	12
8	*Antiochus Epiphanes*	11
9	*Antiochus Eupator*	2
10	*Demetrius Soter*	22
11	*Alexander*	11
12	*Demetrius*	3
13	*Antiochus Sedetes*	9
14	*Demetrius iterum*	4
15	*Antiochus Grippus*	12
16	*Antiochus Cyzicenus*	18
17	*Philippus*	2

d Kings of Egypt.

1	*Ptolomy Lagus*	40 years
2	*Ptol. Philadelphus*	18
3	*Ptol. Euergetes*	26
4	*Ptol. Philopator*	17
5	*Ptol. Epiphanes*	24
6	*Ptol. Philometor*	36
7	*Ptol. Euergetes*	29
8	*Ptol. Phyſcon*	17
9	*Ptol. Alexander*	10
10	*Ptol. Lathurus*	8
11	*Ptol. Dionyſius*	30
12	*Cleopatra*	22

SECT.

SECT. III.

A Brief of the ſtate of the Temple in the times of theſe Kings.

IF we were to write a Story of the City and People, as we are of the Temple, here were a very large field before us, for exceeding much of the Story of *Jeruſalem* and *Judea* hath to do with the Story of theſe Kings: but ſince our confinement is to the Temple only, we ſhall make a ſhorter cut, becauſe the peculiar relations that we find about that, are but few in compariſon of the general Story of the City and Nation.

a *Seleucus Nicanor*, (or *Nicator* as ſome do call him) the firſt of theſe Kings of *Syria*, was a great favourer of the Jewiſh Nation, for he infranchiſed them in his *Syrian* Cities, yea even in *Antioch* the *Metropolis* it ſelf: and *b* he beſtowed benevolences upon the Temple, to an exceeding liberal and magnificent value.

a *Joſ. Ant. lib. 12. cap. 3.*

b *Id. in lib. Maccab. cap. 3. 2 Mac. III. 3.*

But *Ptolomy Lagus* King of *Egypt* his contemporary, was as bitter to the Nation as he was favourable: He having his Army in the Country, took advantage one Sabbath day of the Jews ſtrict reſting on that day, and pretending to come into the City to Sacrifice, he ſurprized the City, and it is like the Temple ſped but indifferently with him, and he carried exceeding many thouſands away Captive.

c His ſon and ſucceſſor *Ptolomy Philadelphus* was again as favourable to the Nation, as he had been miſchievous: He ſent for the Seventy Elders to Tranſlate the Bible, and ſent exceeding great munificence to the Temple, which we have had ſome cauſe to ſpeak of before.

c *Ariſteas & Joſ. ubi ante.*

In the time of *Ptolomy Euergetes* the ſucceſſor of *Philadelphus*, the covetize of *Onias* the High Prieſt, had provoked the diſpleaſure of that King, and was like to have brought miſchief upon the place and people, but that it was wiſely appeaſed by *Joſeph Onias* his ſiſters ſon.

From the time that *Ptolomy Lagus* had ſo baſely ſurprized *Jeruſalem*, it was under homage to the Crown of *Egypt*, till *Antiochus the Great* releaſed it, or changed it rather into ſubjection to *Syria*; whether it were of his goodneſs and devotion, or whether rather out of his policy to make ſure the Jews to him *d* in the great Wars that he had, eſpecially with the *Romans*, he beſtowed many favours upon the People, and liberal Donations and Priviledges upon the Temple: And particularly this Edict in its behalf, *That no ſtranger ſhould come into the virge of the Temple prohibited*; which it may be firſt occaſioned thoſe Inſcriptions upon the Pillars at the entrance into the *Chel* that we have ſpoken of, that *no ſtranger ſhould come there upon pain of death*.

d *Appian. in Syriac.*

After him ſucceeded *Antiochus Epiphanes* (ſave only that *Seleucus Philopater* reigned twelve years between) a Man or a Monſter ſhall I call him? Of whom and of whoſe curſed actings are thoſe Propheſies, in *Dan.* VII. 21, 25. & VIII. 10, 11, 12, 24, 25. & 11. 28, &c. & 12. 1, &c. and *Ezek.* XXXVIII. & XXXIX. and who performed according to thoſe predictions to the utmoſt of wickedneſs.

He began his Reign by the account of the Book of the *Maccabees* in the one hundred thirty and ſeventh year of the Reign of the *Seleucian* family, 1 *Mac.* I. 10. And in the one hundred forty and third year, as both that Book and *e* *Joſephus* reckon, he came up to *Jeruſalem*, being invited thither by a wrethed faction of *Onias*, who was alſo called *Menelaus* the High Prieſt, and he taketh the City by their means, and ſlew many of the contrary party, and took away many of the Holy things and much ſpoil, and ſo returned to *Antioch*. This was the beginning of thoſe two thouſand and three hundred days mentioned in *Dan.* VIII. 13, 14. or the days of deſolation, when the Hoſt and the Sanctuary were both trodden under Foot. Two years and ſome months after, namely, in the year one hundred and forty five he cometh up again, and under colour of peaceableneſs obtaining entrance, he ſacketh *Jeruſalem*, plundreth the Temple, fireth the faireſt buildings of the City, pulls down the Walls, ſlayeth even ſome of thoſe that had invited him, taketh many thouſands priſoners, and ſetteth a *Syrian* Garriſon for a curb to the City and Temple. Here was the beginning of thoſe one thouſand two hundred and ninety days mentioned, *Dan.* XII. 11. *The time that the dayly Sacrifice was taken away, and the abomination of deſolation was ſet up*; which ſpace is called *a time, times and half a time*: which was three years and an half, and ſome twelve or thirteen days.

e *Joſ. Ant. l. 12 c. 6. 1 Mac. I. 21. &c.*

The miſchief that this Tyrant and Perſecutor wrought to the Temple, Nation and Religion is not expreſſible: how he forbad Circumciſion, aboliſhed Religion, burnt the Books of the Law, perſecuted the Truth, murdred thoſe that profeſſed it, and defiled the Sanctuary with all manner of abomination, inſomuch that the Holy Ghoſt hath ſet this character upon thoſe ſad times, that *that was a time of trouble, ſuch as was not ſince they were a Nation even to that ſame time*, *Dan.* XII. 1. And here began the Story and Glory of

of *Mattathias* the Father of the *Maccabean* family, who withstood this outrage and villany,
f 1 Mac. II. 70. *f* but died in the next year, namely one hundred and forty sixth of the *Seleucian* Kingdom.
Judas Maccabeus succeeds him in his zeal and command, and prevaileth so gallantly against the Commanders appointed by the Tyrant, *Apollonius Seron Gorgias* and *Lysias*, that in the year one hundred forty eight he and his people return and purifie the Temple, erect a new Altar, restore the Service, and keep the Feast of Dedication for eight days, and ordain it for an annual solemnity, *And from thence even till now* (saith *Josephus*) *we keep that Feast and call it φῶτα* (*Candlemas*, if I may so English it) *naming the Feast as I think from this, because such a restauration shone upon us unexpected.* There is mention of this Feast, and it was honoured with *Christs* presence, *Joh.* X. 22. and what was the manner of its solemnity, especially by lighting abundance of Candles at it, I have shewed in another place.

Both *Josephus* and the Book of *Maccabeus* make it but exactly three years between the time of *Antiochus* his defiling of the Altar, with abomination, and *Maccabeus* his restoring and purifying it again: *g* Only the one of them saith, its defiling began on the 15 day
g 1 Mac. I. 54. Jos. ubi sup. of the month *Cisleu* in the one hundred forty and fifth year of the *Seleucian* Kingdom; and the other saith, it began on the five and twentieth day of the same month in the same year; but both agree that it was purified on the five and twentieth day of the same month, in the year one hundred forty and eight, which teacheth us how to distinguish upon that passage of *Daniel* forementioned, in *Chap.* XII. 11. namely, that the time the daily Sacrifice was taken away, was one thousand two hundred and ninety days, or three years and an half and some few days over; but the time that the abomination that maketh desolate was set up, that is, Idols in the Temple, and an Idol Altar upon the Lords Altar, was but three years.

Antiochus died in *Persia*, within forty five days after the restoring of the Temple, as *Dan.* XII. 12. seemeth to intimate, when it pronounceth him blessed that cometh to one thousand three hundred thirty and five days, for then he should see the Tyrants death.
h Id. ibid. cap. 15. *h* His son *Antiochus Eupator* who succeeded him, was invited into *Judea* by some Apostate Jews to come to curb *Judas Maccabeus*, who was besieging the *Syrian* Garrison that was in *Jerusalem*: He cometh with a mighty power, forceth *Judas* into the Temple, and there besiegeth him: But being straitned for provisions, and hearing of stirrings in his own Kingdom, he offereth the besieged honourable conditions, upon which they surrender. But he entring and seeing the strength of the place, and suspecting it might be troublesom to him again, he breaketh his Articles and his Oath, and putteth down the Wall that incompassed the holy ground down to the ground. And thus poor *Judas* and the Temple are in a worse condition than before, for the *Antiochian* Garrison in *Jerusalem* that was ready upon all occasions to annoy it, is not only not removed, but now is the Temple laid naked to their will and fury.

i Ibid. *i* This *Antiochus* put *Menelaus* the High Priest to death (and he rewarded him but justly for calling the Tyrant this Mans Father in) and he made *Alcimus* High Priest in his stead, one that was not of the High Priests line at all: which made *Onias* who was next to the High Priesthood indeed, to flee into *Egypt*, and there by the favour *Ptolomy Philometor*, he built a Temple parallel to that at *Jerusalem*: And thus hath *Jerusalem* Temple two corrivals, a Temple on Mount *Gerizim* in *Samaria* on the North, and a Temple in *Egypt* on the South. Of this Temple built by *Onias* in *Egypt* the *Talmudical* Writers
k Succah. per. 5. do make frequent and renowned mention. They speak in the Treatise *k Succah*, of a great Synagogue or *Sanhedrin* here in the time of *Alexander the Great*, in which they say there were seventy golden Chairs, and a Congregation belonging to it of double the number of *Israelites* that came out of *Egypt*: And that *Alexander* destroyed them, to bring upon them the curse denounced by *Jeremy* against their going down into *Egypt*, *Jer.* XLIV. and the curse due to them for the violation of the command, *Ye shall return thither* (to Egypt) *no more.*

l Jos. Ant. lib 13 cap. 6. Juchas. fol. 14. *l* Yet would *Onias* venture to build a Temple here again, and that the rather, building upon that Prophesie, *Esay* XIX. 19. *There shall be an Altar to the Lord in the Land of Egypt, &c.* Upon which passage take the Gloss of *R. Solomon*: *m We learn in Sedar Olam, that after the fall of Sennacherib, Ezekiah stood up, and let go all the multitudes, that he had brought with him from Egypt and Cush, and they took upon them the Kingdom of Heaven, and they returned to their own place, as it is said,* In that day there shall be five Cities in the Land of *Egypt*, &c. *They went and built an Altar to the Lord in the Land of Egypt, and offered upon it an offering to God to fulfill what was spoken,* In that day there shall be an Altar to the Lord in the Land of *Egypt*, &c. *But some of our Doctors in the Treatise Menacoth, do understand it of the Altar of the Temple of Onias the Son of Simeon the Just, who fled to Egypt and built there an Altar.*
m R. Sol. in Esay XIX.

In the last Chapter of the Treatise *Menacoth*, the tract which our *Rabbin* citeth, the *Talmudists* have speech concerning this Temple of *Onias*, and particularly these passages;

n A man ſaith, Behold I undertake to offer a burnt-offering, he muſt offer it at the Sanctuary, and if he offer it at the Temple of Onias he is not diſcharged. If he ſay, I undertake for an offering in the Temple of Onias, he is to offer it at the Sanctuary, but if he offer it at the Temple of Onias he is diſcharged. If he ſay, I undertake to be a Nazarite, he is to poll his Head at the Sanctuary, and if he poll it at the Temple of Onias he is not diſcharged: But if he ſay, I will poll at the Temple of Onias, let him poll at the Sanctuary, yet if he do poll at the Temple of Onias he is quit: The Prieſts that ſerve at the Temple of Onias, ſhall not ſerve at the Sanctuary at Jeruſalem: So that it appeareth that there were Sacrifices offered and other Temple-rites uſed in this Temple in *Egypt* as were in the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, *o and it ſo ſtood in great glory two hundred years according to the opinion of Rambam: But it ſeems (they are the words of Juchaſin) that it ſtood all the time of the Sanctuary: for Joſhuah the ſon of Perahiah fled thither, and ſo in the time of Hillel: and they were obedient to the wiſe Men of Jeruſalem and brought offerings, and ſo they brought their Wives eſpouſal writings to Hillel (for they ſaid they were baſtards) and he allowed them: And there was there a great Congregation double to the number that came out of Egypt, till after the deſtruction of the ſecond Temple, when Adrian the Emperor came up againſt them and ſlew them all at the time of the deſtruction of Bitter:* Think of this great plantation of *Jews* in *Egypt* when ye read *Matth.* II. 13, 14.

n Maſechoth per. 13.

o Juchaſ. ubi ſupra.

But let us return from this Temple in *Egypt* to the Temple at *Jeruſalem* where our buſineſs lies. *Alcimus* the High Prieſt (whoſe illegal induction to that Office, had occaſioned this Act of *Onias*) as he was the Creature of the *Antiochian* family, ſo was he ſerviceable to it to his utmoſt, even to the miſchief of that Religion and People, in and among which he took on him the High Prieſthood: He aſſiſts *Demetrius* (though he had ſlain *Antiochus* who had ſo favoured him) in the invaſion of *Judea*, and attempteth to pull down the Wall of the inner Court of the Sanctuary: but is ſuddainly ſtruck with a Divine ſtroke from Heaven, and ſo dieth.

p 1 *Mac.* IX. *Joſ. Ant. lib.* 12 *cap.* 17.

Nicanor a Commander of this *Demetrius* forced *Judas Maccabeus* to betake himſelf to a Garriſon in *Jeruſalem:* and he himſelf going up into the Temple, and there intertained fawningly by the Prieſts, who clawed him by ſhewing him the Sacrifices which they ſaid they offered for his Lord the King, he taunted them, and threatned miſchief to the place if *Judas* were not delivered to him: but ere long the proud boaſter and threatner was overthrown and ſlain.

Jonathan the Brother, and Succeſſor of *Judas Maccabeus* in his command, proved to be ſo in favour with *Alexander* the Succeſſor of *Demetrius*, and *Demetrius* again the Succeſſor of *Alexander*, and *Antiochus* that ſucceeded him, that though there were now and then ſome ſtirrings among them, yet the Temple, which is our ſcene that we are upon, did ſuffer little alteration or prejudice all his time; no more did it in the times of *Simon* his Brother and Succeſſor: nay, he in his firſt year, obtains the peoples liberties, diſmantles the *Antiochian* Garriſon in *Jeruſalem*, purifies the place, and appoints that day for a yearly rejoycing, and reſtores the Land to intire peace and proſperity.

Hyrcanus the Son and Succeſſor of *Simon* being ſtraitly beſieged in *Jeruſalem* by *Antiochus*; at the Feaſt of Tabernacles, deſires a ceſſation for the time and ſolemnity of the Feaſt: which he not only obtaineth, but many and coſtly Sacrifices alſo from *Antiochus:* which nobleneſs cauſeth *Hyrcanus* to ſeek for an agreement, and ſo the Siege is raiſed: He is reported to have heard a voice in the Temple whileſt he was offering Incenſe there, which told of the victory of his Sons who were then in battel with *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, and when he came out he told ſo much to the people. *Joſephus* ſticks not to ſtyle him a King, Prieſt and Prophet: or at leaſt he ſpeaketh but little ſhort of ſo much, when he ſaith, *q* that *God vouchſafed him the three greateſt honours, the rule of the Nation, the honour of the High Prieſthood, and Propheſie.* He caſt off the *Syrian* yoke and homage.

q Id. ib. lib. 13 *cap.* 18.

Alexander his Son proves an unhappy ſcourge to his own Nation, ſo much ſcorned and deſpiſed by them, that at the Feaſt of Tabernacles they pelted him with their Pomecitrons, whereupon he ſlays ſix thouſand of them, and troubles the Land with a ſix years civil War. He railed in the Court of the Prieſts, that none but the Prieſts might come in there for fear of the peoples diſturbance.

Ariſtobulus and *Hyrcanus* the Sons of this *Alexander* quarrel about the rule, and call in forrain aid, as firſt *Aretas* King of *Arabia*, who beſiegeth *Ariſtobulus* in the Temple: and then *Pompey* who cometh in, taketh the City, and Temple, bringeth the Nation under the *Roman* yoke, from under which it never delivered its neck, till City and Temple by that power was raked up in aſhes.

SECT. IV.

The ſtate of the Temple under the Romans.

SO ſad were the beginnings of the Temple under the *Roman* Power, that an *Omen* might have been taken from them, what would become of it, ere this Nation had done with it. *Pompey* coming up to *Jeruſalem* had the Gates ſhut againſt him, ſo that he preſently begirt it with a Siege: *a But the taking of the City coſt him not much labour* (ſaith *Dion Caſſius*) *for he was let in by the party of Hyrcanus: But the Temple which Ariſtobulus party had poſſeſſed, coſt him ſome work. It was ſeated on a high pitch, and fenced with a Wall of its own. And if the defendants had guarded it all days alike, it had not been taken: but they intermitting to ſtand upon their defence on Saturdays* (being their Sabbath) *on which days they do no work, the Romans had opportunity on that day to batter the Wall. And when they had diſcovered this cuſtom of the beſieged, they did no great matter all the week long, till Saturday came again, and then they ſet upon them again; and ſo at the laſt the Jews not reſiſting were ſuprized and ſubdued.* Great ſlaughter was made upon the *Romans* entrance, to the number of twelve thouſand Jews, as *b Joſephus* reckoneth; and yet even whileſt the Conqueror was killing as faſt as he could, the Prieſts at the Altar went on in the Service as inſenſibly and fearleſly, by the ſame Authors relation, as if there had been no ſuch danger and deſtruction at all, till the ſword came to their own ſides: *Pompey* being thus victor, he and divers other with him, went into the Temple, even into the moſt Holy place, and ſaw all its glory and riches, and yet was ſparing of offering any violence to it, but cauſed the place to be purged and the Service to be ſet a foot again.

a *Dion. Caſſ. lib.* 36.

b *Joſ. Ant. l.*14 *c.*8.

But what *Pompey* had ſpared, *Craſſus* ere long ſeized upon, plundering the Temple of exceeding much wealth, as he went on his expedition into *Parthia*. *c* That *Parthian* War was undertaken by him, as *Dion* tells us, more upon his covetouſneſs than upon any other warrantable or honourable ground, and he ſped accordingly, coming to a miſerable end anſwerable to ſuch principles and beginnings.

c *Id. ibid. c.* 22

In the beginning of the reign of *Herod* (which was not very long after) the City and Temple was again beſieged and taken by him and *Soſius*, and the Temple in danger again to be rifled, but prevented by *Herod* as much as he could: and now *Antigonus* the ſon of *Ariſtobulus* the laſt of *Aſmonean* Rulers is cut off by *Antony*.

Herod in the eighteenth year of his Reign, beginneth to repair the Temple, taking it down to the very foundations, and raiſing it again in larger dimenſions than it had been of before, and in that form and ſtructure that hath been obſerved and ſurveyed in the foregoing diſcourſe.

About ſome nine or ten years after the finiſhing of it, the Lord came to his own Temple, even the Meſſenger of the Covenant whom they deſired, *Mal.* III. 1. being preſented there by his Mother at forty days old, and owned by *Simeon* and *Anna*, *Luke* II. Twelve years after that, he is at the Temple again, ſet among the Doctors of one of the *Sanhedrins*, either in one of their Conſiſtories or in their *Midraſh*, and ſheweth his Divine Wiſdom to admiration: It is needleſs to ſpeak of the occurrences that befel in the Temple, about Chriſt and his Apoſtles, as his being on a Pinnacle of it in his temptations, his whipping out buyers and ſellers at his firſt and laſt Paſsover, his conſtant frequenting the place whenſoever he was at *Jeruſalem*, and his foretelling the deſtruction of it as he ſat upon Mount *Olivet* in the face of it, a little before his death: The Apoſtles reſorting thither to the Publick Service, and to take opportunity of Preaching in the concourſe there, their healing a Creeple there, and converting thouſands: *Pauls* apprehenſion there upon miſpriſion of his defiling it by bringing in of Gentiles, and other particulars which are at large related by the Evangeliſts, that it is but unneceſſary labour to inſiſt upon them, ſince any Reader may fetch them thence.

As for the paſſages there, that are not mentioned in the Scripture, but by *Joſephus* and others, as *Pilates* imbezelling the holy Treaſures of the Temple upon an Aquæduct, *Petronius* his going about to bring in *Caligula*'s Image thither, a Tumult cauſed there by the baſe irreverence of a *Roman* Souldier, *Agrippa*'s Sacrifices there, and *Anathemata*, *Vitellius* his favour to it and the people, a baſe affront and abuſe put upon the place by the *Samaritanes*, the horrid confuſions there in the time of the ſeditious, the ſlaughter of one *Zacharias* in it, and at the laſt the firing of it by the *Romans*, and the utter ruine of it and the City, they would require a larger Diſcourſe, than one Chapter or Paragraph will afford: It may be they will come to be proſecuted to the full in another Treatiſe, and therefore I ſhall but only name them here.

FINIS.

THE

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THE
INDEXES or *Alphabetical TABLES* belonging to the FIRST VOLUME.

To the READER.

READER,

THE use and advantage of *Indexes* (or *Alphabetical Tables*) to large and Elaborate *Volumes*, is great, even in the Judgment of the most Learned and Industrious; among which number, *One* that speaks the meanest, says, That *an Index is the Bag and Baggage of a Book, of more use than honour, even to such as seemingly slight it, secretly using it, if not for need, yet for speed of what they desire to find.* --- The following *Indexes*, besides the common *advantage* and *use* of other *Indexes*,

1. Shew, where to find such *Texts* of Scripture, *Hebrew* and *Greek* words, as also such *principal Matters* or Things, as are not to be found by the Authors *Titles*, *Chapters*, *Verses*, &c. For as to *Scriptures* explained, It may be there is neither *Chapter* nor *Verse*, or but *one* of them, or not the *words* so explained, all which are supplied and made perfect in the *Scriptural Index*.

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3. These are much sooner read than the two *Great Volumes*; where the Reader may meet (as is in part intimated) with all the *JEWISH Customs*, *Rites*, *Affairs*, or *History*, &c. also with all the *Chief Matters*, concerning *Christ*, the *Gospel*, the *Apostles*, and the first *Gospel Age* and *Church*; And how great a help is this to them that have but *little* time, and cannot read the *whole*, much less put things of the same kind, which lie *remote*, altogether? Which was peremtorily necessary in order to knowledge, there being no *Works* or *Writings* in the World of the same kind beyond these for illustrating the Scriptures by *Jewish* Learning. Thus much for the *Indexes*.

Reader, I must further tell thee, That though this Learned *Author* seems several times to have the *same Things over again*, yet I think it is almost always with some improvement by adding new *Matter*.

I must also desire thee to correct the *Errors* of the Press, especially those that refer to the right Numbring of the *Pages*, which will be of high advantage and use referring both to the *Book* and the *Indexes*: Remembring that wherever a *Star* or *Asterisk* follows any *Quotation*, or *Head* in these *Indexes*, it shews it is to be sought for in the *Postscript of the Temple*, at the later end of the *First Volume*.

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THE

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FINIS.